

Public Opinion on Global Issues

Chapter 10: U.S. Opinion on International Institutions

www.cfr.org/public_opinion

November 2009

CHAPTER 10: U.S. OPINION ON INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

THE UNITED NATIONS

Assessments of the United Nations as an Institution

A large majority of Americans believes that the United Nations (UN) plays a necessary role in the world and supports U.S. participation in the UN. Large majorities favor the United States working through the UN more than it does, even if this means the United States has to accept compromises. At the same time Americans have in recent years shown significant dissatisfaction with the UN's performance in fulfilling its mission. This mixture of strong support for the UN in principle and dissatisfaction with its actual performance seems to contribute to surprisingly erratic overall evaluations of the UN as an institution.

A majority of Americans believes that the UN plays a necessary and useful role in the world. In a February 2005 Gallup poll, 64 percent said that the "The United Nations plays a necessary role in the world", while 34 percent said it did not.¹ A May 2005 German Marshall Fund (GMF) poll found that 56 percent agreed that the UN "can manage many of the world's most pressing problems better than any single country," and 66 percent agreed that the UN "enables the costs of international actions to be shared among different countries".² A November 2003 Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) poll found 72 percent saying they would like to see the UN play "a greater role ... in dealing with world problems."³

Americans strongly support U.S. participation in the United Nations. A February 2005 Gallup poll found that only 13 percent favor the United States giving up its UN membership, while 85 percent were opposed.⁴ Sixty-nine percent said in a January 2006 Public Agenda poll that "U.S. support of the UN peacekeeping efforts" is "important and worthwhile," while only 24 percent said it was "a waste of resources."⁵

Support for the United Nations is sustained even when Americans are presented with the argument that international institutions are too bureaucratic and tend to oppose the United States. In an October 2006 PIPA poll, respondents were offered two arguments. Only 23 percent chose the one that said: "International institutions are slow and bureaucratic and often used as places for other countries to criticize and block the United States. It is better for the United States to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own instead." Sixty-nine percent chose the argument that said: "As the world becomes more interconnected, and problems such as terrorism and the environment are of a more international nature, it will be increasingly necessary for the United States to work through international institutions." Indeed, the number endorsing this second view has increased over recent years: in 1999 56 percent agreed and in 2004 64 percent agreed, while support for the disparaging view of working through international institutions dropped from 39 percent in 1999 and 30 percent in 2004.⁶

Americans find attractive the argument that the UN is a way for the United States to share the burden of maintaining world order. In the same October 2006 WorldPublicOpinion.org (WPO) poll, two in three (68 percent) agreed with the statement, "For the United States to move away from its role as world policeman and reduce the burden of its large defense budget, the United States should invest in efforts to strengthen the UN's ability to deal with potential conflicts in the world." In November 1995, PIPA had found 73 percent agreement with this statement.⁷

The United States Working Through the United Nations

A majority of Americans favors the United States working through the UN more than it does, even when reminded that this might require forgoing optimal U.S. preferences. A 2009 WPO poll found that 60 percent agreed with the statement, "When dealing with international problems, the United States should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice." The Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) has asked this question three times from 2004 through 2008 and 52-66 percent of respondents agreed.⁸

Several polls have found support for cooperating with the United Nations. A Public Agenda poll asked respondents in March 2008 how much they thought "closer cooperation with the UN" would "enhance our security," and 80 percent said a great deal (35 percent) or somewhat (45 percent). Just 15 percent said not at all. These findings represent a slight increase from September 2006 (when 76 percent said a great deal or somewhat). Public Agenda found similar responses in January 2006 and June 2005.⁹ Similarly, Pew found 57 percent agreeing in December 2006 that "the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations," consistent with opinion in recent years.¹⁰ Nearly a decade ago, in a September 2000 PIPA poll, 81 percent said it was extremely (41 percent) or somewhat (40 percent) important "for the United States to cooperate with other countries by working through the United Nations," "now that the Cold War has ended." Only 17 percent said it was "not so important" (7 percent) or "not at all important" (10 percent).¹¹

When asked to weigh the pragmatic benefits of acting unilaterally against the legitimacy derived from working through the UN, Americans widely endorse the more multilateral course. Asked in a September 2005 CCGA/PIPA poll which was the better approach for the United States pursue in promoting democracy, 25 percent chose "acting on its own because the United States can act more decisively and effectively," while 68 percent chose "working through the UN because such efforts will be seen as more legitimate."¹²

Americans are responsive to the argument that participation in UN efforts ultimately serves U.S. interests. In the October 1999 PIPA poll a decade ago, an overwhelming 79 percent agreed with the argument that: "Because the world is so interconnected today, the United States should participate in UN efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights, and promote economic development. Such efforts serve U.S. interests because they help create a more stable world that is less apt to have wars and is better for the growth of trade and other U.S. goals." By contrast, 39 percent agreed with a counterargument that: "...the world is so big and complex that such [UN] efforts only make a minimal difference with little benefit to the United States. Therefore it is not really in the U.S. interest to participate in them."¹³

Varying Levels of Satisfaction with UN Performance

Although large majorities of Americans have consistently expressed support for the purpose and mission of the United Nations, satisfaction with the UN's performance has varied dramatically over the years. Since 1990, polling organizations have regularly asked U.S. citizens whether "the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face." Answers to this question have gone through many swings. Since 2003, when the UN Security Council failed to come to a consensus on how to deal with Iraq, majorities have said the UN is doing a poor job—the view expressed by 65 percent in a February 2009 Gallup poll.¹⁴

Other recent polls suggest persistent dissatisfaction with UN performance since 2003. Fox News in September 2007 asked respondents whether they "approve or disapprove of the job the United Nations is doing." Just 34 percent approved, while 48 percent disapproved and a large 18 percent said they did not know. These numbers are similar to findings in March 2005, when 32 percent expressed approval, 46 percent indicated disapproval and a 22 percent said they did not know.¹⁵ Two NBC News/Wall Street Journal polls in 2005 asked respondents how much confidence they

had in the United Nations: in May, 67 percent said they had not very much confidence (47 percent) or not confidence at all (20 percent), while in September, 65 percent expressed took these positions (not very much 44 percent, no confidence 21 percent).¹⁶ A September 2006 World Values Survey poll of Americans revealed a similar lack of confidence, with 63 percent saying “not very much” (44 percent) or “none at all” (19 percent). In contrast, a broader World Values Survey survey of fifty-two nations from 2005 to 2008 found an average of 46 percent expressing lack of confidence in the UN.¹⁷ Public Agenda found in June 2005 that 64 percent of Americans worried a lot (27 percent) or somewhat (37 percent) that “the UN may be ineffective.”¹⁸

Overall, vicissitudes in U.S. public approval of the UN's performance appear to track global events. The highest level of U.S. approval occurred in 1991, during the Gulf War, when the Security Council was acting in highly concerted fashion and the UN-authorized, U.S.-led coalition successfully reversed Iraqi aggression in Kuwait. In August 1993, as the UN peacekeeping operation in Somalia appeared to be going well, approval was also high. But when the Somalia operation encountered problems, followed by the UN Security Council failing to act effectively on Bosnia, U.S. public approval plunged sharply. By the late 1990s, U.S. public approval had recovered to a majority position and reached another high point after 9/11, when the UN Security Council rallied behind the United States and took concerted action in Afghanistan. In November 2001, as the war on terrorism got under way, the public's job approval rating of the United Nations rose to 63 percent, a level last seen in the early 1990s (CBS). Subsequently, however, the UN Security Council's failure to find common ground on Iraq appears to have created a prolonged slump in U.S. evaluations of the UN's performance. Asked by PIPA in November 2003 about “how countries have been working together in the UN lately,” 53 percent of respondents said they felt the results had been “unsatisfactory.”¹⁹

Net Evaluations of the UN: Mostly Positive But Erratic

When respondents are simply asked for their net evaluation of the UN as an institution, in recent years responses have been mostly on the positive side but also quite erratic, even when polls are taken fairly close in time. This presumably reflects ongoing tensions and complex interactions between positive aspirations for the UN, on the one hand, and the ups and downs of its perceived performance, on the other.

The clearest case is the question of whether respondents have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the United Nations. Most recently in 2009, Pew found 61 percent of Americans giving it a favorable rating, compared to 56 percent in an average of twenty-five countries—a significant rise since 2007, when another Pew poll found a favorable rating of just 48 percent (and 39 percent unfavorable).²⁰

During the 1990s, views of the United Nations as an institution were quite stable, with the percentage giving a favorable rating ranging from the low-sixties to mid-seventies. After the failure of the UN Security Council to find consensus in the run-up to the Iraq war, ratings began to slip: in 2003 and 2004 the percentage giving favorable ratings bobbed between the high-fifties and mid-sixties. Then, in 2005, they oscillated between a low of 43 percent in February (Gallup 2005), up to 59 percent the next month (Pew 2005), even higher to 62 percent in May (GMF 2005), then back down to 48 percent in October (Pew 2005). In May 2006, they were 51 percent (Pew 2006), back up to 61 percent in June (GMF 2006), down to 53 percent in July (Pew 2006), and up to 57 percent in December 2006 (Pew 2006). Most recently in April 2007, Pew found the favorable rating had dropped down to 48 percent. However, throughout this fluctuation, the percentage of Americans giving an unfavorable rating remained fairly stable, in the 32-39 percent range. What varied more were the numbers declining to answer. Thus, reluctance to give a favorable judgment did not always mean an unfavorable judgment.²¹

Lukewarm feelings have also been found in polls that ask U.S. respondents to rate their feelings toward the UN using a thermometer scale, ranging from a cold 0 degrees to a warm 100 degrees. CCGA found a mean of 54 degrees in July 2008 and 55 degrees in 2006.²² The United States had the lowest mean of among eight nations polled between 2006 and 2008 (WPO/CCGA).²³

In a WPO/Knowledge Networks December 2006 poll, nearly two in three Americans (64 percent) said that the UN has a mainly positive influence, while 27 percent said it has a mainly negative influence. However, results were more lukewarm in a November 2005 British Broadcasting Company (BBC)/GlobeScan/PIPA poll, with 52 percent saying it was mainly positive, 36 percent saying mainly negative, and 12 percent not answering either way.²⁴ Global views were more positive, with an average of 59 percent of respondents in thirty-two countries surveyed saying the UN had a positive influence and 16 percent saying a negative one.²⁵

In July 2005, Gallup International asked the 73 percent of U.S. respondents that had said they were familiar with the United Nations whether they had a positive, negative, or neutral view of the world body. Once again views were lukewarm. The largest number (38 percent) gave the UN a neutral rating, but more gave a positive rating (35 percent) than a negative rating (26 percent). In the larger sample of sixty-five countries polled, by contrast, an average of 83 percent had heard of the UN and of those, 48 percent had a positive view, 35 percent had a neutral view, and 13 percent had a negative view.²⁶

Sources of Support for United Nations

U.S. public support for the United Nations appears to be derived from a perceived need for collective action to deal with global problems and from a belief in the efficiencies of collective action. Reservations appear to be related to performance issues.

Between 2004 and 2005, GMF sought to determine the underlying sources of public attitudes about the United Nations. In 2004, respondents were divided according to whether they had a favorable or unfavorable view of the United Nations.

Those who had a favorable view were then asked, “Among the following reasons ... which one best explains why you have a favorable opinion of the UN?” and given three options. The most popular response, chosen by a plurality (48 percent) of Americans was, “Many global problems can’t be solved by any single country.” The second most popular response (chosen by 33 percent) was, “We can’t afford to pay the whole cost of international actions; we need others to share the cost.” The least popular response among Americans (11 percent) was, “Military actions are not legal unless the UN approves them.” This last response, however, was the second most popular response among the French (24 percent) and Germans (26 percent).²⁷

Those respondents who had an unfavorable view of the United Nations were also offered three explanations. In the United States, a plurality of this group (48 percent) explained their attitude with the following option: “When we need international action, it has to be done quickly, but the UN slows things down.” Roughly one-third of U.S. respondents (27 percent) chose the explanation: “The UN is wasteful and inefficient with its money.” The smallest numbers chose, “Other countries should not have a veto when” their country’s “important interests are at stake” (11 percent). What is notable here is that the most common criticisms were related to UN performance, while concerns about encroachment on national sovereignty were relatively limited.²⁸

In 2005, the GMF also presented two affirmative statements about the United Nations. A large majority of Americans (66 percent) agreed that “the United Nations enables the costs of international actions to be shared among different countries,” only slightly lower than the European average of 69 percent.²⁹

A majority of Americans (56 percent) also agreed with the statement that the “UN can manage the world’s problems better than any one single country.” A substantially larger number of Americans (43 percent) than Europeans (22 percent) disagreed, however.³⁰

UN SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM

Adding New Permanent Members to United Nations Security Council

Polls have found U.S. public support for adding new countries as permanent members of the UN Security Council. Specifically, majorities of Americans support the inclusion of Germany, Japan, India, and Brazil, while they are divided on including South Africa.

As a general principle, there is strong U.S. support for adding new permanent members to the UN Security Council. Responding to a January 2005 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll, a majority of Americans (70 percent) said they supported additional countries becoming permanent members. This was equivalent to the global average (69 percent in favor and 17 percent opposed).³¹

Polls have also explored views of adding specific countries. Two polls, a 2005 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll and a 2006 CCGA survey, asked respondents in a number of countries, including the United States, a series of questions on specific countries as possible permanent members to the UN Security Council. (The BBC question was only asked of respondents who replied positively to the generalized question on UNSC expansion; percentages below are of the total sample). In each of the specific country cases, U.S. support for including additional nations in the UN Security Council was higher than the global average. More recently, in 2008, CCGA asked the same series of questions of Americans.

A majority (60 percent) of U.S. respondents in the BBC poll said Germany should be added to the UN Security Council, slightly higher than the global average of 56 percent favoring such an addition (12 percent opposed). A similar majority of Americans (62 percent) in the 2006 CCGA poll agreed on Germany’s inclusion, a higher percentage than in four other countries polled.³² The U.S. level of support for adding Germany increased to 66 percent in 2008 (CCGA).³³

In both the BBC and 2006 CCGA polls, a majority of Americans also favored including Japan (62 percent and 66 percent, respectively). This compares with 54 percent of respondents globally in the BBC poll favoring Japan’s admission, with 14 percent opposed. (The 2006 CCGA poll indicated strong opposition to this step in China and South Korea.)³⁴ In a 2008 CCGA poll, a similar majority of Americans (67 percent) favored Japan’s inclusion.³⁵

A smaller majority of Americans favored India’s addition to the Security Council. In the BBC poll, 51 percent declared themselves in favor, 19 percent opposed (slightly above the global average of 47 percent to 19 percent). In the 2006 CCGA poll, U.S. support for India’s inclusion outweighed opposition more narrowly, 53 percent to 42 percent (global figures were 53 percent to 30 percent).³⁶ U.S. public support for India’s addition remained unchanged in 2008 (CCGA) at 53 percent.³⁷

Likewise, slightly more than half of Americans supported including Brazil as a permanent member (51 percent in the BBC poll, 52 percent in the 2006 CCGA poll (52 percent), but this was again higher than the global averages (47 percent in favor and 18 percent opposed in the BBC poll, 42 percent in favor and 32 percent opposed in the CCGA poll).³⁸ CCGA found roughly similar U.S. support for Brazil's inclusion in 2008 (53 percent).³⁹

Adding South Africa was the only question on which Americans were divided. While a decisive plurality of Americans (48 percent in favor, 23 percent opposed) in the BBC poll were supportive, U.S. responses in the CCGA poll were split, with 48 percent opposed and 45 percent in favor of the nation's inclusion. (Among all global respondents, an average of 43 percent favored and 21 percent opposed South Africa's entry in the BBC poll, while 39 percent were in favor and 35 percent opposed in the CCGA poll).⁴⁰ In the 2008 CCGA poll, 47 percent of Americans favored adding South Africa.⁴¹

EU Seat in the UN Security Council

While most European nations favor having a single permanent seat on the UN Security Council even if it means replacing the permanent seats of the United Kingdom and France, the U.S. public is opposed.

GMF's 2005 Transatlantic Trends survey asked whether respondents agreed with the idea of the European Union having a single permanent seat on the UN Security Council, even if it replaced the permanent seats of the United Kingdom and France. Overall, an average of the 57 percent of Europeans approved of this proposal and 33 percent disapproved of the idea, with only the British public in opposition. Yet despite a general European agreement on an EU seat, a majority of Americans (55 percent) opposed this prospect, while only 36 percent agreed. Interestingly, this was the same statistical response the British public gave to the question.⁴²

Veto Override

There is robust support among Americans for giving the UN Security Council the power to override the veto of a permanent member if all other members are in favor of a resolution.

The January 2005 BBC poll also asked publics in a number of countries about changing the rules of the UN Security Council so that a veto of a permanent member could be overridden by an otherwise unanimous vote of the other members. The exact wording of the question was:

"As you may know, there are currently five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and any one of them can veto (block) any resolution. Some people have proposed that this should be changed so that if a decision was supported by all the other members, no one member could veto the decision. Would you favor or oppose this change?"

For publics of the five permanent members (i.e., China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States), the pollsters added an extra clause to the second sentence: "Some people have proposed that this should be changed so that if a decision was supported by all the other members, no one member, *not even [survey country]* could veto the decision."

A majority of Americans (57 percent) favored the change while 34 percent were not in favor. The average of all countries showed that 58 percent of respondents were in favor while 24 percent were opposed. Among permanent members of the Security Council, majorities in the United States, United Kingdom, and China agreed, while publics in Russia and France were divided.⁴³

Democratizing the United Nations

There is variable U.S. public support for several proposed approaches to make the UN more democratically representative. Large majorities of Americans favor direct elections of their country's UN representative to the General Assembly, as well as a new UN parliament with directly elected representatives, while a more modest majority favors giving non-governmental actors a formal role in the United Nations. Additionally, global support for these proposals is consistently stronger than U.S. support.

In 2005, GlobeScan asked a series of questions on making the United Nations more democratically representative. One idea was “having your country's official representative to the United Nations General Assembly be elected by the people of your country.” The U.S. public favored this idea 64 percent to 32 percent, though support was lower than in the average of the nineteen countries surveyed, where the comparable figures were 74 percent and 16 percent.⁴⁴

The pollsters also tested public attitudes on “creating a new UN Parliament, made up of representatives directly elected by citizens, having powers equal to the current UN General Assembly.” Among Americans, 55 percent supported the idea, 35 percent opposed it. (Global averages were 63 percent and 20 percent).⁴⁵

Americans were also more lukewarm than their counterparts abroad about a third proposal: “giving leaders of major environmental and social groups, trade unions, and business organizations a formal role in shaping United Nations policies and actions, rather than having only government leaders do this.” A modest majority of Americans (52 percent) supported the idea (43 percent opposed), compared with 61 percent of respondents abroad who favored the proposed change and 23 percent who opposed it.⁴⁶

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Views of the World Bank, IMF and WTO

In general, Americans express a positive view of the influence of international financial institutions, including the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). While both get mildly positive ratings, the World Bank is more popular than the IMF. The World Trade Organization (WTO) has a fairly positive image among Americans, who support strengthening it. Respondents in the United States, as in most other nations, say that their government should comply with adverse WTO decisions.

The Pew Global Attitudes Project in 2002 asked respondents in forty-three nations if international organizations like the World Bank, IMF, and WTO were having a good or bad influence on the way things were going in their country. Six in ten Americans thought that the organizations are having a good influence, while 26 percent said they are having a bad influence. This mirrored the average of all countries polled.⁴⁷

More recently, a January 2006 BBC poll found more muted attitudes about the World Bank specifically. Slightly less than half of Americans (47 percent) responded that the World Bank was having a mainly positive influence in the world, while 28 percent said it had a predominantly negative one. This favorability rating was somewhat lower than the global average of 55 percent (in thirty-two countries) saying that the Bank's influence was positive and 18 percent saying negative.⁴⁸

In the same poll, enthusiasm for the IMF was even more tepid. A plurality of Americans (37 percent) said that the IMF's influence was mainly positive, while 26 percent said mostly negative, compared to comparable global figures of 47 percent and 21 percent.⁴⁹

U.S. attitudes to the World Bank and the IMF appear more negative when pollsters ask respondents to rank both institutions on a thermometer scale. In a 2006 CCGA poll that asked respondents to rate their feelings toward the World Bank on a scale from 0 degrees (cold) to 100 degrees (warm), Americans gave a mean of 46 degrees, well below the average mean of the seven countries polled of 59 degrees (WPO/CCGA).⁵⁰ When CCGA asked Americans to rate the World Bank again in 2008, the mean response had barely increased to 48 degrees.⁵¹

When asked to rate the IMF in 2006 (CCGA), the U.S. mean was even lower, at 44 degrees, well below the global average of 54 degrees (WPO/CCGA). The average U.S. response remained at 44 degrees in 2008.⁵²

Another international poll that explicitly offered respondents the option of saying that they had neutral feelings toward the World Bank produced more muted findings. The 2005 Gallup International Voice of the People survey asked respondents who said they had heard of the World Bank whether they had a positive, neutral, or negative view of it. Of the total sample of Americans, a plurality (30 percent) had a neutral view of the organization, while 13 percent had a positive view and 12 percent a negative view. This was a decidedly more neutral stance than the global average of sixty-seven countries, which showed 29 percent of respondents giving the World Bank a positive rating, 26 percent a neutral rating, and just 11 percent a negative rating.⁵³⁻⁵⁴

The Gallup International poll also asked those who said they had heard of the IMF their opinion of it. Among Americans, 23 percent had a neutral view, 9 percent had a positive view, and 8 percent a negative view. This was decidedly less positive than the average of sixty-seven countries polled, which showed 24 percent positive views, 24 percent neutral, and 13 percent negative.⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶

Strengthening the IMF and World Bank

A 2002 GMF/CCGA poll asked whether the World Bank needs to be strengthened to deal with shared problems or if this would only create more bureaucracy. A plurality of Americans (49 percent) agreed that the World Bank needs to be strengthened, a similar figure to the average of European nations polled.⁵⁷

The idea of strengthening the IMF met with more modest agreement, with a 42-percent plurality of Americans in favor, with 38 percent opposed. Among the six European countries polled, support was higher, with 53 percent in favor and 35 percent opposed.⁵⁸

World Trade Organization

Americans express a fairly positive opinion of the WTO. When asked by GMF in September 2006, a plurality of 48 percent said their opinion of the institution was “very favorable” (8 percent) or “somewhat favorable” (40 percent), while 32 percent said they had a “very unfavorable” (12 percent) or “somewhat unfavorable” (20 percent) view. In response to the same question, publics in six European nations on average offered a slightly more favorable view.⁵⁹

Another 2006 poll asked respondents if their country should comply with WTO decisions against their nation. A majority of respondents in the United States (73 percent) supported such compliance. This was the largest show of support among nine countries polled (WPO/CCGA).⁶⁰ When CCGA re-asked the question in 2008, 72 percent of Americans once again said the United States should comply.⁶¹

INTERNATIONAL COURTS

International Court of Justice

A majority of Americans express confidence that the International Court of Justice would rule fairly and impartially in cases involving their country. A majority favors the United States accepting compulsory jurisdiction of the court.

In a 2009 WPO poll of twenty countries, respondents were told what the International Court of Justice (World Court) was and asked, “If there were a case involving [country], how confident are you the Court’s decision would be fair and impartial?” A majority of Americans (57 percent) were confident that the decision would be a fair one, while 42 percent responded that they would not be very confident in an impartial decision by the Court. On average, 54 percent of the nineteen countries polled said that they would be at least somewhat confident in the fairness and impartiality of the Court’s decision, as opposed to 36 percent who said that they would not be very confident in the decision.⁶²

In June 2004, the Chicago Council found a majority of Americans favored granting compulsory jurisdiction to the World Court. The question read as follows:

“The World Court is part of the United Nations. It makes rulings on disputes between countries based on treaties the countries have signed. There is a debate about whether countries should give the World Court more power by making a general commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court or restrict the power of the Court by deciding on a case-by-case basis whether they will accept the Court’s decisions. Do you think the United States should or should not make the general commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court?”

Fifty-seven percent of Americans said that it should, while 35 percent said that it should not. PIPA asked a similar question in 1999 and found 53-percent support.⁶³

International Criminal Court

Large majorities of Americans favor U.S. participation in the International Criminal Court (ICC), even when presented with the U.S. government argument against it, and large majorities favor trying terror suspects in the ICC. A modest majority favors sharing intelligence with the ICC.

A large majority of Americans supports the United States participating in the ICC. Most recently, when asked in 2008 by CCGA if the United States should take part in “the agreement on the [ICC] that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won’t try them,” 68 percent were in favor and 30 percent opposed. CCGA has consistently found large majority support for some years now.⁶⁴

In 2002, CCGA also presented a separate sample question containing both the pro and con arguments for ICC participation, including the U.S. government position that “trumped up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, U.S. soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation.” Despite the inclusion of this viewpoint, 65 percent of Americans nonetheless supported U.S. participation, only slightly less than in the sample that did not hear the arguments.⁶⁵

Large majorities of Americans consistently support the trial of suspected terrorists in the ICC. In polling done between 1998 and 2008, CCGA has found roughly 80 percent favored trying terror suspects in the ICC. The most recent 2008 finding had 79 percent in favor and 19 percent opposed.⁶⁶

A Greenberg Quinlan Rosner poll presented competing arguments on the United States sharing intelligence with the ICC in December 2006. Respondents were told:

“Some people believe that the United States should help the International Criminal Court by sharing intelligence about genocide that would build its case against the government of Sudan's leaders, who are accused of planning and implementing the genocide. Others believe that the United States should not help the International Criminal Court because there is some chance that, in the future, its prosecutors might try to prosecute the U.S. military personnel for their actions in Iraq or in other military missions around the world.”

Fifty-three percent believed the United States should help the ICC and 38 percent believed it should not.⁶⁷

Nonetheless, Americans have a tepid feeling about the ICC as an institution. CCGA in June 2008 asked respondents for their feelings toward the ICC on a thermometer scale from 0 degrees (unfavorable) to 100 degrees (favorable). The average response was 52 degrees.⁶⁸

NEW INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Creating New International Institutions

A majority of Americans favor creating new international institutions to monitor compliance with climate change treaties, to monitor global financial markets, to monitor the energy market, and to provide information about migration.

In 2008, CCGA polled Americans about their views on creating four new proposed international institutions. In all cases clear majorities favored establishing them. The highest support was 69 percent, for creating an organization to “monitor the worldwide energy market and predict potential shortages.” Respondents expressed a similar level of support (68 percent) for a proposed body that would “monitor whether countries are meeting their treaty obligations to limit their greenhouse-gas emissions that contribute to climate change.” Another 59 percent favored the creation of an institution to “monitor financial markets worldwide and report on potential crises.” Finally, more than half of Americans (57 percent) also favored founding an institution to “provide information and assistance to countries dealing with problems resulting from large-scale migration of people across borders.”⁶⁹

REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

EUROPE

General Support for NATO

Most Americans agree that NATO is still essential, think that it needs to be strengthened, and do not want to cut spending for it. Most also agree that Europe should have its own defense alliance. Large majorities agree that the United States should contribute troops to defend a NATO member that has been attacked.

Large majorities of Americans agree that NATO members should contribute troops to defend a NATO ally.

Americans agree along with Europeans that NATO is still a critical institution. In 2008, GMF polled the United States and a number of NATO allies on whether the alliance was still essential to their country's security. A majority of Americans (59 percent) said that it was, while 32 percent said that it was not. This was quite similar to the twelve European countries polled, where an average of 57 percent said NATO was still essential and 30 percent said it was not.⁷⁰

The 2002 GMF/CCGA poll asked respondents in the United States and Europe whether they favored strengthening a series of international institutions, including NATO. A majority of Americans (61 percent) were in favor, while 29 percent were opposed—once again, similar to the European average (63 percent in favor, 31 percent opposed).⁷¹

The GMF's 2008 Transatlantic Trends poll asked publics in the United States and Turkey whether their respective governments were spending too much, too little, or about the right amount in support of the NATO alliance. U.S. opinion was divided on the question (35 percent saying about the right amount, 32 percent saying too much) while most respondents in Turkey said their government was spending about the right amount.⁷²

The GMF in 2005 asked whether respondents agreed that NATO allows democratic countries to act together. A majority of Americans were in agreement (73 percent) and 16 percent disagreed. In the average of ten European countries, 71 percent also agreed, while 21 percent disagreed.⁷³

A majority in the United States (75 percent) agreed with the proposition that NATO can help the United States share its military burden while 18 percent disagreed.⁷⁴ In a June 2004 *Los Angeles Times* poll, 56 percent of respondents favored giving NATO the principal role in the security of Iraq, while 31 percent were opposed.⁷⁵

Overall, Americans have a mostly warm feeling toward NATO. Given a thermometer scale from 0 degrees (unfavorable) to 100 degrees (favorable), respondents rated NATO at 57 degrees in a June 2008 CCGA poll.⁷⁶

On Europe Acting Separately

The 2005 GMF study also asked whether Americans agreed with the statement, "The United States is stretched too thin" and therefore "Europe should have its own defense alliance separate from the United States". Two-thirds of Americans (66 percent) agreed with this proposition, while 27 percent disagreed.⁷⁷

Joining in Military Action

In 2004, GMF asked respondents if they approved of using their country's military forces to defend a NATO ally that has been attacked. An overwhelming 87 percent of Americans agreed, well above the average of 75 percent of the ten European countries polled (in which 19 percent disapproved).⁷⁸

GMF in 2008 asked respondents in NATO nations whether they agreed that all alliance members should contribute troops if the alliance decides to take military action. A large majority of Americans (82 percent) agreed, while only 12 percent disagreed. In the European average meanwhile, 57 percent agreed that all member countries should contribute troops and 36 percent disagreed.⁷⁹

GMF also asked in 2008 if all NATO member countries should share in the financial costs of a NATO military action even when they do not contribute troops. Once again, an overwhelming proportion of Americans (82 percent) agreed

with this principle (only 13 percent disagreed). Europeans were far more divided on this question, with an average of 58 percent agreeing and 34 percent disagreeing.⁸⁰

The European Union's Role in the World

Americans perceive the European Union as playing a positive role in the world.

Americans lean toward favoring the European Union becoming more powerful, though they do not favor it becoming as powerful as the United States.

Most Americans perceive the European Union as having a positive international influence. Asked in a 2009 BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA poll whether the European Union is having a positive or negative influence in the world, a majority of Americans (62 percent) judge its influence as mainly positive, 19 percent mainly negative. This is a slightly higher percentage than the average of all twenty-one countries polled (in which 54 percent of respondents regarded the European Union as having a positive influence, 20 percent a negative one).⁸¹

Americans generally believe a stronger European Union would be positive for their country. At the same time, they are apprehensive of it becoming as powerful as the United States itself. An October 2005 Pew survey found that a plurality (47 percent) of Americans believed that a stronger European Union would be a good thing for the United States (with 28 percent saying it did not matter, and only 12 percent saying it would be a bad thing).⁸² Asked by GMF in 2005 whether a more powerful European Union would compete or cooperate with the United States, respondents were split, with a slight plurality of Americans (45 percent) saying that a more powerful European Union would cooperate rather than compete (41 percent) with it.⁸³ However, in a February 2004 poll, 50 percent of Americans said the European Union becoming as powerful as the United States would be a bad thing, while 33 percent said it would be a good thing.⁸⁴

¹ **Gallup Poll 2005**

In your view, does the United Nations play a necessary role in the world today, or not?

64%	Yes, necessary role
34	No, not
2	No opinion

² **German Marshall Fund 2005**

And, do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following: The United Nations (UN) can manage many of the world's most pressing problems better than any single country.

25%	Agree strongly
31	Agree somewhat
18	Disagree somewhat
25	Disagree strongly
2	Don't know/ Refused

And, do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following: The United Nations (UN) enables the costs of international actions to be shared among different countries.

25%	Agree strongly
41	Agree somewhat
16	Disagree somewhat
14	Disagree strongly
4	Don't know/ Refused

³ **Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks 2003**

In general, would you like to see the United Nations play a greater role or a lesser role in dealing with world problems?

72%	Greater role
24	Lesser role
4	No opinion

⁴ **Gallup Poll 2005**

Should the United States give up its membership to the United Nations, or not?

13%	Yes, should
85	No, should not
2	No opinion

⁵ **Public Agenda Foundation 2006**

Would you say that the U.S. support of UN Peacekeeping efforts is important and worthwhile, or a waste of resources?

69%	Important and worthwhile
24	A waste of resources
1	Other (Vol.)
6	Don't know

⁶ **World Public Opinion.org/ Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks, October 2006**

Please tell me which comes closer to your point of view:

	As the world becomes more interconnected, and problems such as terrorism and the environment are of a more international nature, it will be increasingly necessary for the United States to work through international institutions	International institutions are slow and bureaucratic, and often used as places for other countries to criticize and block the United States. It is better for the United States to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own instead	(No Answer)
October 2006	69%	23	8
January 2004	64%	30	6
October 1999	56%	39	5

⁷ **World Public Opinion.org/Knowledge Networks, October 2006, and Program on International Policy Attitudes, November 1995**

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: For the United States to move away from its role as world policeman and reduce the burden of its large defense budget, the United States should invest in efforts to strengthen the UN's ability to deal with potential conflict around the world.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
WPO/KN October 2006	68%	28	4
PIPA November 1995	73%	24	3

⁸ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008**

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

U.S.-UN joint decision-making

52%	Agree
46	Disagree
2	Not sure/ Decline

World Public Opinion 2009

When dealing with international problems, the United States should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations, even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

60% Agree
37 Disagree
3 Don't know/ Refused

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

U.S.-UN joint decision-making

	Agree	Disagree	Not sure/Decline
WPO/KN October 2006	61%	35	4
CCGA 2006	60%	36	4
CCGA 2004	66%	29	4

⁹ **Public Agenda Foundation Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index Poll, March 2008**

Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all: Closer cooperation with the UN

A great deal 35%
Somewhat 45
Not at all 15
Don't know 5

Public Agenda Foundation 2006

Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat, or not at all...Closer cooperation with the UN

	A great deal	Somewhat	Not at all	Don't know
September 6	36%	40	21	3
January 6	33%	46	18	3
June 5	34%	37	26	3

¹⁰ **Pew Research Center**

We have a few questions about America's place in the world...Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements....The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations

Agree Disagree Don't know/Refused

December 6	57	35	8
October 5	54	39	7
August 4	6	30	10

¹¹ Program on International Policy Attitudes, 2000

Now that the Cold War has ended, how important do you think it is for the United States to cooperate with other countries by working through the United Nations-extremely important, somewhat important, not so important, or not important at all?

Extremely important	41%
Somewhat important	40
Not so important	7
Not important at all	10
Don't know	2

¹² Chicago Council on Global Affairs /PIPA, September 2005

In general, is it better for the United States to promote democracy by:

Acting on its own because the United States can act more decisively and effectively	25%
Working through the UN because such efforts will be seen as more legitimate	68
No answer	7

¹³ Program on International Policy Attitudes, 1999

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement:

Because the world is so interconnected today, the United States should participate in efforts to maintain peace, protect human rights, and promote economic development. Such efforts serve U.S. interests because they help to create a more stable world that is less apt to have wars and is better for the growth of trade and other U.S. goals.

Agree	79%
Disagree	18
Don't know	3
Refused	*

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is nice to think that joining in international efforts makes a more stable world. But in fact, the world is so big and complex that such efforts only make a minimal difference with little benefit to the United States. Therefore, it is not really in the U.S. interest to participate in them.

Agree	39%
Disagree	58

Don't know	3
Refused	*

¹⁴ Gallup Poll, 2009

Do you think the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

Good job	26%
Poor job	65
No opinion	9

Do you think the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

	Good job	Poor job	No opinion
Gallup 2/2007	29%	66%	5%
Gallup 2/2006	30	64	7
Gallup 2/2005	36	61	3
Gallup 2/2004	36	60	4
Gallup 8/2003	37	60	3
CBS 3/2003	38	55	7
Gallup/CNN/USA Today 3/2003	37	58	5
CBS/NYT 2/2003	51	41	8
Gallup/CNN/USA Today 1/2003	50	42	8
Gallup/CNN/USA Today 10/2002	43	51	6
CBS 9/2002	40	50	10
Gallup 2/2002	58	36	6
CBS 11/2001	63	27	10
AP 11/2001	64	24	12
Gallup 2/2001	54	38	8
Gallup 5/2000	52	43	5
UNA-USA/Wirthlin 8/1998	60	37	3

¹⁵ Fox News/ Opinion Dynamics Poll, September 2007

Do you approve or disapprove of the jobs the United Nations is doing?

Approve	34%
Disapprove	48
Don't know	18

Fox News, March 2005

Do you approve or disapprove of the job the United Nations is doing?

Approve	32%
Disapprove	46
Don't know	22

¹⁶ **NBC/ Wall Street Journal 2005**

How much confidence would you say that you have in the United Nations: a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all?

	A great deal of confidence	Quite a lot of confidence	Not very much confidence	No confidence at all	Not sure
1-Sep	7%	26	44	21	2
1-May	9%	21	47	20	3

¹⁷ **World Values Survey 2005-2008**

I am going to name a number of organizations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence, or none at all? United Nations

	A great deal	Quite a lot	Not very much	None at all	Don't know	No answer	N/A
France	10	45	29	15	2	0	0
Great Britain	8	31	34	14	12	1	0
Italy	9	47	31	8	5	1	0
Netherlands	2	33	40	17	7	1	0
Spain	6	51	31	7	5	1	0
United States	4	28	44	19	2	2	0
Canada	11	43	28	9	8	1	0
Japan	5	47	24	5	19	0	0
Mexico	15	36	27	18	3	1	0
South Africa	15	32	23	9	21	0	0
Australia	6	38	43	11	0	2	0
Sweden	13	64	18	3	1	0	0
Argentina	2	17	36	31	13	1	0
Finland	8	55	32	4	1	0	0
South Korea	6	49	36	8	0	1	0
Poland	6	34	33	9	17	0	0
Switzerland	6	42	38	10	3	1	0
Brazil	14	32	27	20	5	2	0
Chile	7	31	31	20	11	0	0
India	13	13	10	5	57	3	0
Slovenia	5	25	49	12	8	2	0
Bulgaria	11	41	23	11	14	0	0
Romania	10	44	20	9	15	1	0
China	5	22	11	3	59	1	0
Taiwan	3	26	43	23	5	0	0
Turkey	6	22	27	35	10	1	0
Ukraine	5	30	21	19	21	4	0
Russian Federation	7	27	24	17	22	2	0
Peru	8	20	38	21	0	14	0
Ghana	34	36	19	4	5	3	0

Moldova	12	33	34	14	7	0	0
Georgia	7	37	29	13	14	1	0
Thailand	7	23	49	22	0	0	0
Indonesia	12	35	34	10	8	2	0
Vietnam	37	31	11	1	19	1	0
Colombia	14	33	26	21	6	0	0
Serbia	3	22	39	29	5	2	0
New Zealand	5	37	30	11	13	4	0
Egypt	7	26	25	35	8	0	0
Morocco	3	13	29	28	0	28	0
Iran	14	23	49	9	4	1	0
Jordan	18	15	20	31	17	0	0
Cyprus	11	30	35	24	0	0	0
Iraq	5	6	12	62	12	2	0
Trinidad and Tobago	10	29	41	13	6	0	0
Andorra	3	37	41	17	2	0	0
Malaysia	8	41	35	16	0	0	0
Burkina Faso	20	28	16	10	18	4	4
Ethiopia	5	30	35	20	5	4	0
Mali	32	29	19	9	6	4	2
Rwanda	9	28	31	10	21	1	0
Zambia	25	29	28	14	3	2	0
Germany	5	31	40	16	8	1	0
Average	10	32	30	16	10	2	0

¹⁸ **Public Agenda Foundation, June 2005**

Some people say they are worried about various things, while others are not. I am going to read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me if this is something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat, or is this something you do not worry about....The United Nations may be ineffective.

Worry a lot	27%
Worry somewhat	37
Don't worry	34
Don't know	2

¹⁹ **CBS Poll, 2001**

Do you think the United Nations is doing a good job or a poor job in trying to solve the problems it has had to face?

Good job	Poor job	No opinion
63	27	10

Program on International Policy Attitudes/ Knowledge Networks, October- November 2003

Thinking about how countries have been working together in the UN lately, would you say that the results achieved there have been:

Very satisfactory	3%
-------------------	----

Somewhat satisfactory	49
Somewhat unsatisfactory	34
Very unsatisfactory	19
No answer	4

²⁰ **Pew Global Attitudes Project Poll, April 2007**

Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of...the United Nations

Very favorable	9%
Somewhat favorable	39
Somewhat unfavorable	23
Very unfavorable	16
Don't know/ Refused	13

Pew Global Attitudes Project, June 2009

Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of...the United Nations

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused
United States	18	43	16	13	10
Canada	19	51	14	6	10
Britain	17	50	15	7	12
France	9	65	20	6	0
Germany	6	59	23	4	7
Spain	8	53	20	4	14
Poland	10	62	10	2	16
Russia	10	46	17	6	21
Turkey	3	15	11	46	26
Egypt	15	41	23	21	0
Jordan	13	31	23	34	0
Lebanon	30	32	18	20	0
Palestinian Territories	4	26	24	43	3
Israel	5	27	34	31	3
China	10	45	25	7	13
India	11	32	18	12	27
Indonesia	24	55	8	1	12
Japan	5	40	33	7	15
Pakistan	5	23	16	15	42
South Korea	9	70	10	1	10
Argentina	4	26	17	8	45
Brazil	3	49	24	5	20
Mexico	20	38	15	5	23
Kenya	48	28	6	4	14

Nigeria	39	32	15	8	6
Average	14	42	18	13	14

²¹ **Pew Research Center for the People and the Press Values Update Survey, December 2006**

I'd like to get your opinion of some groups and organizations in the news. Is your overall opinion of...the United Nations very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

Very favorable	14%
Somewhat favorable	43
Somewhat unfavorable	19
Very unfavorable	14
Never heard of (Vol.)	1
Can't rate (Vol.)	9

Date	Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	DK/Ref
7/19/06@	12	41	24	12	11
6/1/06\$	8	53	22	14	3
5/2/06@	15	36	19	19	11
10/12/05@	9	39	24	15	13
5/30/05\$	11	51	19	16	3
3/17/05@	14	45	11	21	9
2/7/05€		43**	48**		9
12/04\$	12	47	23	13	6
6/1/04\$	15	49	20	14	-
2/24/04@	14	41	20	15	10
6/10/03\$	16	50	20	12	2
5/21/03#	13	44	23	16	4
2/19/03#	16	49	22	11	2
2/6/03#	18	50	17	12	3
8/21/01@	23	54	12	6	4
09/09/99*	19	57	14	5	5
06/13/99*	19	51	16	7	7
12/00/98^	20	15	23	19	4
09/11/97*	11	53	19	9	8
02/06/97#	21	52	16	8	3
02/25/96*	19	46	20	9	6
06/11/95*	14	53	20	8	5
02/12/95*	13	49	18	8	12
07/25/94*	21	55	14	5	5
05/24/93+	21	52	13	4	10
01/25/93#	22	55	14	5	4

05/31/90+	15	55	13	6	11
------------------	----	----	----	---	----

@ Organization: Pew Research [Is your overall opinion of...]

\$ Organization: German Marshall Fund [Would you say your overall opinion of...]

€ Organization: Gallup

* Organization: Pew/Times Mirror

+ Organization: Pew/Times Mirror ["How would you describe your opinion of..."]

Organization: Time/CNN ["In general, is your opinion of..."]

^ Organization: Zogby ["Is your overall opinion toward the..."]

²² **Democracy Corps Poll, May 2009**

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so...The United Nations: Give the United Nations a rating, with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. (If "Don't know," ask:) Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of the United Nations, or have you never heard of the United Nations?

Warm 51-100	39%
Cool 0-49	34
Not particularly warm or cold 50	21
Never heard of/ Don't know/ Refused	6

Religion and Ethics Newsweekly/ United Nations Foundation Religion and America's Role in the World Survey, September 2008

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so....The United Nations: Give the United Nations a rating, with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. (If "Don't know," ask:) Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of the United Nations, or have you never heard of the United Nations?

Warm 51-100	44%
Cool 0-49	30
Not particularly warm or cold 50	22
Never heard of/ Don't know/ Refused	4

Public Support for Ethanol Survey, June 2008

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so....The United Nations: Give the United Nations a rating, with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not

particularly warm or cold. (If “Don't know,” ask:) Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of the United Nations, or have you never heard of the United Nations?

Warm 51-100	36%
Cool 0-49	37
Not particularly warm or cold 50	22
Never heard of/Don't know/Refused	5

Democracy Corps Poll, March 2008

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so....The United Nations: Give the United Nations a rating, with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. (If “Don't know,” ask:) Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of the United Nations, or have you never heard of the United Nations?

Warm 51-100	42%
Cool 0-49	35
Not particularly warm or cold 50	21
Never heard of/Don't know/Refused	2

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2008

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

The United Nations

Year	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees	75-51 degrees	50 degrees	49-31 degrees	30-0 degrees	Not familiar/decline
2002	64	69	33	27	18	5	13	4
2004	57	69	25	23	15	5	20	12
2006	55	60	24	22	16	5	20	14
2008	54	50	24	22	20	5	25	4

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

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

The United Nations

	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees	75-51 degrees	50 degrees	49-31 degrees	30-0 degrees
United States	55°	60°	24	22	16	5	20
Armenia	72°	80°	51	14	19	2	10
China	75°	80°	52	29	8	2	2
India	63°	70°	40	15	12	4	20
Mexico	80°	80°	60	14	10	1	3
Palestinian Territories	58°	60°	39	11	20	2	25
South Korea	70°	70°	39	39	18	2	2
Thailand	71°	--	38	8	22	1	6

²⁴ **World Public Opinion/ Knowledge Networks 2006, BBC 2005**

Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world....The United Nations

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Depends (Vol.)	Neither (Vol.)	Don't know/No answer
WPO/KN 12/06	64%	27	-	-	9
BBC 11/2005	52%	36	3	4	5

²⁵ **BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA, January 2006**

Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

The United Nations

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Depends (vol)	DK/NA
Afghanistan	79	8	6	8
Argentina	34	31	4	31
Australia	61	26	5	9
Brazil	46	36	5	13
Canada	65	20	3	12
Congo	55	16	15	15
Finland	77	8	6	9
France	52	33	7	8
Germany	80	6	8	5
Ghana	74	8	8	9
Great Britain	66	24	2	8
India	44	12	16	29
Indonesia	80	8	9	3
Iran	63	21	10	6

Iraq	34	40	22	4
Italy	56	19	6	19
Kenya	74	3	7	16
Mexico	62	17	6	15
Nigeria	75	8	8	9
Philippines	74	13	4	9
Poland	72	7	4	17
Russia	38	14	16	32
Saudi Arabia	41	20	25	14
Senegal	60	8	11	21
South Africa	48	9	15	29
South Korea	76	19	0	4
Spain	61	17	9	13
Sri Lanka	36	7	5	52
Tanzania	69	10	14	8
Turkey	32	18	25	25
United States	52	36	3	9
Zimbabwe	57	5	20	18
Average	59	16	9	15

²⁶ Gallup International, June-July 2005

Which, if any, of the following global institutions have you heard of?... United Nations (UN)

United Nations

United States	73%
Average of 65 countries	83%

And is your overall opinion of...the United Nations (UN) positive, neutral or negative?

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	DK/NR
United States	35	38	26	1
Average of 65 countries	48	35	13	4

²⁷ German Marshall Fund December 2004

Among the following reasons that could explain why you have a favorable opinion of the UN, which one best explains why you have a favorable opinion of the UN? [ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID "FAVORABLE" TO PREVIOUS QUESTION]

	Military actions are not legal unless the UN approves them	Many global problems can't be solved by any single country	We can't afford to pay the whole cost of international actions; we need others to share the cost	All of the above (vol.)	None of the above(vol.)	DK/NR
United States	11	48	33	6	2	1
France	24	57	14	3	1	2
Germany	26	49	18	6	0	1

²⁸ German Marshall Fund December 2004

Among the following reasons that could explain why you have an unfavorable opinion of the UN, which one best explains why you have an unfavorable opinion of the UN? [ASKED ONLY OF THOSE WHO SAID “UNFAVORABLE” TO PREVIOUS QUESTION]

	Other countries should not have a veto when [survey country's] important interests are at stake	The UN is wasteful and inefficient with its money	When we need international action, it has to be done quickly, but the UN slows things down	All of the above (vol.)	None of the above (vol.)	DK/NR
United States	11	27	48	9	5	1
France	22	29	40	2	3	5
Germany	15	35	40	3	4	3

²⁹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

And, do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following:
The United Nations (UN) enables the costs of international actions to be shared among different countries

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	[DK/Refusal]
United States	25	41	16	14	4
France	25	50	14	6	5
Germany	21	50	20	6	3
United Kingdom	33	44	11	6	6
Italy	19	49	18	6	8
Netherlands	31	50	11	4	4
Poland	13	47	12	3	24
Portugal	42	36	8	3	10
Spain	22	51	12	5	11
Slovakia	27	41	14	4	13
Turkey	27	25	18	15	16
European Average	24	45	15	7	9

³⁰ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005

And, do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following:
The United Nations (UN) can manage many of the world's most pressing problems better than any single country

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	[DK/Refusal]
United States	25	31	18	25	2
France	31	45	16	7	1

Germany	43	41	12	4	0
United Kingdom	32	35	18	11	4
Italy	33	44	14	7	2
Netherlands	34	45	13	7	2
Poland	29	42	13	3	13
Portugal	54	31	6	3	6
Spain	35	48	8	4	4
Slovakia	31	41	14	5	7
Turkey	26	27	16	16	15
European Average	34	40	14	8	5

³¹ BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2005

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose additional countries becoming permanent members

	Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)
Argentina	63	8	1	28
Australia	81	13	3	3
Brazil	73	12	2	14
Canada	84	12	1	3
Chile	55	21	4	20
China	54	33	5	8
France	67	25	1	8
Germany	81	16	1	1
Great Britain	74	21	2	4
India	87	6	1	6
Indonesia	69	21	3	6
Italy	86	9	2	4
Japan	59	5	0	36
Lebanon	72	7	16	5
Mexico	52	14	11	22
Russia	44	28	1	27
Philippines	73	25	1	1
Poland	67	9	2	22
South Africa	76	16	1	7
South Korea	56	40	1	3
Spain	80	7	2	12
Turkey	59	21	3	17
United States	70	23	3	4
Average	69	17	3	11

³² BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2005

Would you favor or oppose adding each of the following specific countries as permanent members of the UN Security Council

Germany

	Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)	Oppose expansion
Argentina	48	17	1	27	8
Australia	69	9	1	8	13
Brazil	56	15	2	15	12
Canada	72	13	0	4	12
Chile	49	6	3	21	21
China	42	15	3	8	33
France	65	6	0	4	25
Germany	79	3	0	1	16
Great Britain	63	12	1	4	21
India	45	20	10	19	6
Indonesia	55	15	4	6	21
Italy	72	14	1	4	9
Japan	50	4	0	41	5
Lebanon	64	15	9	6	7
Mexico	35	13	9	28	14
Russia	45	7	3	18	28
Philippines	59	13	1	2	25
Poland	54	13	1	23	9
South Africa	60	15	1	7	16
South Korea	43	14	1	2	40
Spain	66	8	2	16	7
Turkey	41	12	7	20	21
United States	60	13	0	4	23
Average	56	12	3	12	17

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

Germany

	Should	Should not	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/Decline
United States	62	32	4	2
China	41	27	21	11
India	40	22	25	13
South Korea	54	31	14	2
Average	49	28	16	7

³³ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008**

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

Germany

Favor	66%
Oppose	31
Not sure/ Decline	3

³⁴ **BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2005**

Would you favor or oppose adding each of the following specific countries as permanent members of the Security Council

Japan

	Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)	Oppose expansion
Argentina	48	17	1	26	8
Australia	67	10	1	9	13
Brazil	61	10	3	14	12
Canada	72	12	0	3	12
Chile	50	6	2	22	21
China	10	51	2	5	33
France	58	11	0	6	25
Germany	64	16	1	2	16
Great Britain	61	15	1	3	20
India	53	15	8	18	6
Indonesia	61	9	3	5	21
Italy	66	20	1	4	9
Japan	64	3	0	29	5
Lebanon	63	15	8	7	7
Mexico	46	10	5	25	14
Russia	41	10	3	18	28
Philippines	68	5	1	1	25
Poland	52	12	1	26	9
South Africa	57	18	1	8	16
South Korea	26	32	0	2	40
Spain	58	15	3	18	7
Turkey	42	10	7	20	21
United States	62	11	0	4	23
Average	54	14	2	12	17

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

Japan

	Should	Should not	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/Decline
United States	66	29	3	2
China	10	75	8	6
India	46	29	16	9
South Korea	18	72	8	1
Average	35	51	9	5

³⁵ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008**

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

Japan

Favor	67%
Oppose	30
Not sure/ Decline	3

³⁶ **BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2005**

Would you favor or oppose adding each of the following specific countries as permanent members of the Security Council

India

	Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)	Oppose expansion
Argentina	51	11	1	29	8
Australia	60	16	2	10	13
Brazil	51	20	1	15	12
Canada	61	20	0	7	12
Chile	44	5	3	26	21
China	31	24	3	9	33
France	45	22	1	8	25
Germany	44	36	1	3	16
Great Britain	62	13	1	4	21
India	88	1	0	4	6
Indonesia	48	19	4	7	21
Italy	61	22	1	7	9
Japan	31	13	0	52	5
Lebanon	48	32	5	9	7

Mexico	38	10	7	30	14
Russia	37	10	4	21	28
Philippines	45	25	2	2	25
Poland	38	20	1	31	9
South Africa	49	24	1	9	16
South Korea	31	26	1	2	40
Spain	52	17	3	20	7
Turkey	24	23	9	23	21
United States	51	19	0	6	23
Average	47	19	2	15	17

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

India

	Should	Should not	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/Decline
United States	53	42	4	2
China	37	32	20	11
India	75	11	7	8
South Korea	46	34	18	2
Average	53	30	12	6

³⁷ Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

India

Favor	53%
Oppose	42
Not sure/ Decline	4

³⁸ BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2005

Would you favor or oppose adding each of the following specific countries as permanent members of the Security Council

Brazil

	Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)	Oppose expansion
Argentina	58	9	1	25	8

Australia	50	22	1	15	13
Brazil	70	6	1	11	12
Canada	61	20	0	7	12
Chile	56	2	2	19	21
China	36	16	4	11	33
France	50	18	1	8	25
Germany	45	33	1	4	16
Great Britain	50	21	2	6	21
India	27	35	10	21	6
Indonesia	43	21	7	8	21
Italy	64	19	1	7	9
Japan	29	12	0	55	5
Lebanon	52	26	8	7	7
Mexico	59	6	5	16	14
Russia	32	13	4	22	28
Philippines	54	15	2	3	25
Poland	43	16	1	31	9
South Africa	47	25	1	10	16
South Korea	30	27	1	3	40
Spain	54	16	4	19	7
Turkey	27	20	9	23	21
United States	51	18	1	8	23
Average	47	18	3	15	17

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

Brazil

	Should	Should not	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/Decline
United States	52	42	5	2
China	39	25	23	13
India	36	23	25	17
South Korea	41	37	19	3
Average	42	32	18	9

³⁹ Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

Brazil

Favor	53%
Oppose	43
Not sure/ Decline	4

⁴⁰ **BBC January 2005**

Would you favor or oppose adding each of the following specific countries as permanent members of the Security Council

South Africa

	Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)	Oppose expansion
Argentina	53	11	1	28	8
Australia	49	27	2	10	13
Brazil	56	15	2	15	12
Canada	56	25	0	7	12
Chile	43	5	4	27	21
China	39	16	3	10	33
France	44	24	1	7	25
Germany	47	33	1	3	16
Great Britain	49	25	1	4	21
India	34	31	10	19	6
Indonesia	39	24	6	10	21
Italy	59	24	1	6	9
Japan	28	12	0	55	5
Lebanon	50	26	7	10	7
Mexico	24	22	11	28	14
Russia	24	19	4	25	28
Philippines	47	24	2	2	25
Poland	35	24	1	31	9
South Africa	72	6	1	5	16
South Korea	26	30	1	3	40
Spain	50	20	3	20	7
Turkey	25	23	9	22	21
United States	48	23	0	6	23
Average	43	21	3	15	17

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

South Africa

	Should	Should not	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/Decline
United States	45	48	5	2

China	38	27	20	15
India	35	25	22	18
South Korea	38	40	19	3
Average	39	35	17	10

⁴¹ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008**

The five permanent members of the UN Security Council are China, France, Russia, Britain, and the United States. Some people have proposed that the permanent membership should be expanded. Would you favor or oppose each of the following specific countries becoming permanent members:

South Africa

Favor	47%
Oppose	49
Not sure/ Decline	4

⁴² **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2005**

Some say that in order for the European Union to assume a greater international role it needs to do certain things. To what extent do you agree with the following: The European Union should have a single permanent seat on the United Nations (UN) Security Council, even if it replaces the permanent seats of the United Kingdom and France.

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	[DK/Refusal]
United States	13	23	21	34	9
France	20	42	19	15	3
Germany	21	43	21	12	4
United Kingdom	16	21	23	32	8
Italy	25	37	20	8	11
Netherlands	33	32	18	13	4
Poland	21	37	15	7	19
Portugal	39	27	13	7	14
Spain	26	49	11	4	10
Slovakia	25	36	15	7	17
Turkey	18	19	17	21	26
European Average	22	35	18	15	11

⁴³ **BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2005**

As you may know, there are currently five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, and any one of them can veto (block) any resolution. Some people have proposed that this should be changed so that if a decision was supported by all the other members, no one member [if Permanent 5 member (i.e., China, France, Russia, United Kingdom, or United States) add “not even [COUNTRY,]” could veto the decision. Would you favor or oppose this change?

Favor	Oppose	Depends (vol)	DK/NA (vol)
--------------	---------------	----------------------	--------------------

Argentina	48	17	3	32
Australia	75	20	2	3
Brazil	62	19	2	18
Canada	68	26	1	5
Chile	47	22	3	28
China	48	36	5	12
France	44	43	1	12
Germany	70	25	2	3
Great Britain	56	35	3	6
India	77	13	3	7
Indonesia	73	14	4	9
Italy	67	25	2	6
Japan	46	13	0	42
Lebanon	84	9	2	5
Mexico	39	15	16	30
Russia	25	29	10	36
Philippines	58	35	4	3
Poland	52	23	2	24
South Africa	61	29	2	9
South Korea	52	40	5	4
Spain	71	13	2	14
Turkey	53	24	4	18
United States	57	34	2	7
Average	58	24	3	14

⁴⁴ **GlobeScan 2005**

The United Nations is currently exploring possible reforms. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of the following proposals.

Having your country's official representative to the United Nations General Assembly be elected by the people of your country.

	Favor	Oppose	Depends	Neither	DK/NA
Argentina	81	3	1	1	14
Australia	66	30	1	1	2
Brazil	77	9	1	1	12
Canada	77	19	-	1	3
Chile	80	6	1	2	10
China	79	13	3	1	4
France	74	20	1	2	4
Germany	85	11	1	1	1
Britain	77	19	1	1	2
India	85	6	1	1	7
Indonesia	83	9	5	1	2
Italy	76	18	1	2	3
Mexico	78	6	7	1	8
Philippines	66	29	2	1	2
Poland	75	7	1	6	12

Russia	42	28	5	9	16
South					
Korea	59	37	2	-	2
Turkey	74	8	5	-	12
United					
States	64	32	1	-	3
Average	74	16	2	2	6

⁴⁵ **GlobeScan 2005**

The United Nations is currently exploring possible reforms. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of the following proposals.

Creating a new UN Parliament, made up of representatives directly elected by citizens, having powers equal to the current UN General Assembly that is controlled by national governments.

	Favor	Oppose	Depends	Neither	DK/NA
Argentina	66	6	2	1	26
Australia	56	35	3	1	6
Brazil	73	10	2	-	15
Canada	65	28	1	1	6
Chile	64	7	4	4	21
China	68	20	4	1	7
Germany	66	24	3	1	5
Britain	64	28	1	1	6
India	56	22	10	3	10
Indonesia	73	13	7	2	5
Italy	70	20	1	2	7
Mexico	80	5	8	-	7
Philippines	65	29	2	-	4
Poland	59	9	1	7	23
Russia	33	22	5	10	29
South					
Korea	62	33	1	-	3
Turkey	55	18	10	1	17
United					
States	55	35	1	-	9
Average	63	20	4	2	11

⁴⁶ **GlobeScan 2005**

The United Nations is currently exploring possible reforms. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of the following proposals.

Giving leaders of major environmental and social groups, trade unions, and business organizations a formal role in shaping United Nations policies and actions, rather than having only government leaders do this.

	Favor	Oppose	Depends	Neither	DK/NA
Argentina	60	11	3	1	25
Australia	61	32	3	-	3
Brazil	70	15	2	-	14
Canada	64	30	1	1	4

Chile	61	8	4	4	22
China	61	28	4	-	8
France	57	31	1	2	8
Germany	57	37	3	1	2
Britain	65	30	1	1	3
India	55	20	8	5	11
Indonesia	70	12	9	2	6
Italy	68	22	2	2	7
Mexico	77	6	10	-	7
Philippines	72	21	3	1	3
Poland	52	16	2	6	24
Russia	36	19	5	9	31
South Korea	61	35	2	-	3
Turkey	56	16	9	1	18
United States	52	43	1	-	3
Average	61	23	4	2	11

⁴⁷ **Pew Global Attitudes Project 2002**

Here is a list of groups, organizations. For each, please tell me what kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in (survey country). Is the influence of international organizations like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad, or very bad in (survey country)?

	Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/R
United States	10	50	18	8	14
Canada	11	53	15	7	15
Argentina	3	13	24	42	18
Bolivia	17	47	19	6	11
Brazil	2	28	34	14	22
Guatemala	27	46	12	6	10
Honduras	22	47	13	3	16
Mexico	16	43	15	5	21
Peru	16	39	12	8	25
Venezuela	28	40	19	9	4
Great Britain	12	55	19	4	10
France	8	58	22	6	7
Italy	12	46	18	5	19
Germany	9	57	24	3	7
Bulgaria	10	38	17	6	29
Czech Republic	8	62	19	2	9
Poland	4	46	18	3	29
Russia	3	39	17	10	31
Slovakia	8	66	15	3	8
Ukraine	18	44	14	10	14
Angola	26	48	7	4	15
Ghana	32	40	11	2	14
Ivory Coast	39	48	9	4	0

Kenya	40	31	13	10	6
Mali	25	44	8	6	18
Nigeria	34	45	7	4	11
Senegal	37	44	9	5	5
South Africa	30	38	7	6	19
Tanzania	18	35	12	4	32
Uganda	32	31	6	3	27
Bangladesh	16	26	9	8	41
China	20	50	5	1	25
India	29	21	4	5	41
Indonesia	13	35	22	8	22
Japan	9	48	17	1	25
Philippines	26	55	9	2	7
South Korea	5	53	21	5	16
Vietnam	52	33	2	1	12
Jordan	7	25	29	34	5
Lebanon	15	29	20	14	23
Pakistan	9	14	8	10	59
Turkey	8	16	17	40	20
Uzbekistan	40	45	4	1	10

⁴⁸ BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2006

Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world:

The World Bank.

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Depends (vol)	Neither/ No difference	DK/NA (vol)
Afghanistan	79	7	5	2	7
Argentina	26	47	4	1	23
Australia	42	34	5	4	16
Brazil	48	34	3	2	12
Canada	43	28	3	4	22
Congo	75	6	11	2	6
Finland	59	21	8	2	11
France	48	28	5	1	17
Germany	51	20	9	5	15
Ghana	76	6	9	0	8
Great Britain	45	37	2	4	13
India	51	9	19	4	17
Indonesia	80	12	6	0	2
Iran	42	21	13	12	11
Iraq	44	18	29	2	6
Italy	37	27	6	7	24
Kenya	81	5	6	1	7
Mexico	44	22	14	8	13
Nigeria	83	6	5	2	4

Philippines	69	16	6	1	8
Poland	60	7	4	2	26
Russia	41	10	13	6	30
Saudi Arabia	55	12	20	3	10
Senegal	74	6	7	2	12
South Africa	58	5	7	4	27
South Korea	66	29	1	1	4
Spain	55	22	10	2	12
Sri Lanka	44	8	6	1	41
Tanzania	79	8	8	2	3
Turkey	30	28	20	6	15
United States	47	28	4	5	17
Zimbabwe	43	19	18	5	15
Average	55	18	9	3	14

⁴⁹ BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2006

Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world

The International Monetary Fund.

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative	Depends (vol)	Neither/No difference (vol.)	DK/NA/ (vol)
Afghanistan	36	13	20	6	24
Argentina	19	60	3	1	18
Australia	35	30	5	4	27
Brazil	27	57	3	2	12
Canada	38	25	3	4	30
Congo	66	10	13	1	10
Finland	53	17	6	3	21
France	42	31	6	1	21
Germany	49	16	10	6	19
Ghana	66	9	13	2	11
Great Britain	44	30	2	4	21
India	39	10	21	10	21
Indonesia	64	24	8	1	3
Iran	38	24	15	11	12
Iraq	39	22	30	3	6
Italy	38	25	5	7	25
Kenya	73	8	7	1	11
Mexico	47	21	15	5	12
Nigeria	67	16	6	2	9
Philippines	62	19	5	1	14
Poland	57	6	5	3	29
Russia	36	14	13	6	31
Saudi Arabia	52	9	23	4	11

Senegal	67	6	9	2	16
South Africa	39	7	10	4	39
South Korea	64	33	1	1	1
Spain	53	24	9	1	13
Sri Lanka	38	7	5	1	48
Tanzania	66	14	13	3	4
Turkey	15	49	19	5	12
United States	37	26	3	6	29
Zimbabwe	38	23	21	6	13
Average	47	21	10	6	18

⁵⁰ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006**

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

The World Bank

	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees	75-51 degrees	50 degrees	49-31 degrees	30-0 degrees	Not familiar / Decline
United States	46°	50°	8	14	27	6	20	25
Armenia	63°	60°	35	16	24	4	14	7
China	74°	75°	40	28	9	2	2	19
India	60°	70°	35	18	11	5	21	10
Palestinian Territories	40°	50°	13	11	23	3	35	15
South Korea	61°	60°	19	39	33	4	5	0
Thailand	67°	--	30	7	26	1	7	29
Average	59°	63°	26	19	22	4	15	15

⁵¹ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008**

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

The World Bank

	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees	75-51 degrees	50 degrees	49-31 degrees	30-0 degrees	Not familiar / Decline	Total
--	-------------	---------------	---------------------------	--------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---	--------------

2002									
(telephone)	51	49	12	19	23	6	20	20	100
2004									
(internet)	46	50	11	15	23	6	23	23	100
2006									
(internet)	46	50	8	14	27	6	20	25	100
2008									
(internet)	48	50	13	15	36	7	23	6	100

⁵² **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, June 2008**

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF)

	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees	75-51 degrees	50 degrees	49-31 degrees	30-0 degrees	Not familiar/ Decline	Total
2002									
(telephone)	48	49	6	17	21	7	16	33	100
2004									
(internet)	44	50	9	11	23	5	23	29	100
2006									
(internet)	44	50	6	13	24	6	20	30	100
2008									
(internet)	44	50	9	11	40	7	25	9	100

WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that organization, leave the box blank and move on to the next question.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF)

	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees (percent)	75-51 degrees (percent)	50 degrees (percent)	49-31 degrees (percent)	30-0 degrees (percent)	Not familiar / Decline (percent)
United States	44°	50°	6	13	24	6	20	30
Armenia	50°	50°	15	13	24	7	21	19
China	70°	70°	27	28	11	2	2	31
India	55°	60°	24	22	15	7	20	12
Palestinian Territories	38°	50°	10	11	24	3	34	19

South Korea	59°	60°	19	35	31	7	7	0
Thailand	65°	--	29	8	25	2	9	28
Average	54	58	19	19	22	5	16	20

⁵³ **Gallup International Voice of the People 2005**

Which, if any, of the following global institutions have you heard of?

The World Bank

	Not mentioned	Mentioned	Total
Austria	53	48	100
Denmark	10	90	100
Finland	13	87	100
France	32	68	100
Germany	15	85	100
Greece	42	58	100
Ireland	15	85	100
Italy	28	73	100
Netherlands	33	67	100
Norway	18	82	100
Portugal	22	78	100
Spain	54	46	100
Switzerland	14	86	100
United Kingdom	27	73	100
Bosnia and Herzegovina	5	95	100
Bulgaria	28	72	100
Croatia	9	91	100
Czech Republic	21	79	100
Kosovo	32	69	100
Lithuania	43	58	100
Macedonia	19	81	100
Moldova	23	77	100
Poland	25	75	100
Romania	22	78	100
Russia	32	68	100
Serbia	10	90	100
Ukraine	35	65	100
Egypt	20	80	100
Israel	13	87	100
Turkey	21	79	100
Argentina	32	68	100
Bolivia	25	75	100
Canada	26	74	100
Colombia	30	70	100
Costa Rica	28	72	100
Ecuador	35	65	100
Guatemala	45	55	100
Mexico	32	68	100

Nicaragua	22	78	100
Panama	37	63	100
Dominican Republic	23	77	100
Peru	31	69	100
Uruguay	17	83	100
United States	43	58	100
Venezuela	59	41	100
Hong Kong	35	65	100
Indonesia	42	58	100
India	24	76	100
South Korea	29	71	100
Malaysia	25	75	100
Pakistan	34	66	100
Philippines	31	69	100
Singapore	34	67	100
Taiwan	53	47	100
Thailand	32	68	100
Vietnam	50	50	100
Cameroon	5	95	100
Kenya	24	76	100
Nigeria	12	88	100
South Africa	47	53	100
Ghana	9	91	100
Senegal	26	74	100
Togo	18	82	100
Ethiopia	22	78	100
Paraguay	22	78	100
Iceland	17	83	100
Japan	57	43	100
Total	28	72	100

⁵⁴ Gallup International Voice of the People 2005

And is your overall opinion of the World Bank positive, neutral or negative?

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	DK/NA	Total
Austria	10	9	22	7	48
Denmark	29	49	10	2	90
Finland	16	52	13	7	87
France	22	30	10	5	68
Germany	11	50	21	4	85
Greece	17	25	15	1	58
Ireland	20	34	25	6	85
Italy	25	28	15	5	73
Netherlands	15	43	4	5	67
Norway	13	42	17	10	82
Portugal	46	18	7	7	78
Spain	16	21	6	3	46

Switzerland	21	40	17	8	86
United Kingdom	16	35	16	5	73
Bosnia and Herzegovina	43	36	12	4	95
Bulgaria	33	26	5	8	72
Croatia	28	38	21	4	91
Czech Republic	23	41	9	6	79
Kosovo	47	16	1	4	69
Lithuania	33	18	3	4	58
Macedonia	35	28	14	5	81
Moldova	47	22	2	6	77
Poland	28	39	5	3	75
Romania	40	22	8	7	78
Russia	23	39	6	0	68
Serbia	25	38	20	7	90
Ukraine	27	26	5	6	65
Egypt	39	18	9	14	80
Israel	42	33	8	4	87
Turkey	22	18	32	8	79
Argentina	8	18	32	9	68
Bolivia	30	17	26	2	75
Canada	18	35	15	6	74
Colombia	28	22	14	6	70
Costa Rica	30	16	18	9	72
Ecuador	16	22	25	2	65
Guatemala	20	24	8	3	55
Mexico	26	27	13	2	68
Nicaragua	60	10	6	2	78
Panama	31	15	13	4	63
Dominican Republic	49	11	12	5	77
Peru	30	23	12	4	69
Uruguay	17	23	30	14	83
United States	13	30	12	3	58
Venezuela	20	14	5	1	41
Hong Kong	20	34	5	5	65
Indonesia	23	27	7	1	58
India	51	12	3	9	76
South Korea	22	39	4	5	71
Malaysia	33	24	6	11	75
Pakistan	22	22	10	13	66
Philippines	50	10	8	1	69
Singapore	23	33	5	6	67
Taiwan	13	25	3	6	47
Thailand	24	35	5	4	68

Vietnam	30	16	2	2	50
Cameroon	48	23	14	10	95
Kenya	48	16	8	4	76
Nigeria	55	23	9	0	88
South Africa	24	20	5	4	53
Ghana	63	19	6	4	91
Senegal	52	7	5	9	74
Togo	57	9	8	8	82
Ethiopia	49	18	10	1	78
Paraguay	36	24	12	6	78
Iceland	26	45	6	6	83
Japan	10	30	1	1	43
Total	29	26	11	5	71

⁵⁵ **Gallup International Voice of the People 2005**

Which, if any, of the following global institutions have you heard of?

The International Monetary Fund

	Not mentioned	Mentioned	Total
Austria	56	44	100
Denmark	60	40	100
Finland	19	81	100
France	25	75	100
Germany	14	86	100
Greece	23	77	100
Ireland	25	75	100
Italy	17	83	100
Netherlands	33	67	100
Norway	39	61	100
Portugal	25	75	100
Spain	54	46	100
Switzerland	14	86	100
United Kingdom	23	77	100
Bosnia and Herzegovina	6	94	100
Bulgaria	18	82	100
Croatia	4	96	100
Czech Republic	20	80	100
Kosovo	46	54	100
Lithuania	50	50	100
Macedonia	20	80	100
Moldova	38	62	100

Poland	43	57	100
Romania	19	81	100
Russia	34	66	100
Serbia	9	91	100
Ukraine	32	68	100
Egypt	29	71	100
Israel	23	77	100
Turkey	18	82	100
Argentina	17	83	100
Bolivia	39	61	100
Canada	38	62	100
Colombia	26	74	100
Costa Rica	25	75	100
Ecuador	30	70	100
Guatemala	54	46	100
Mexico	38	62	100
Nicaragua	28	72	100
Panama	40	60	100
Dominican Republic	11	89	100
Peru	35	65	100
Uruguay	8	92	100
United States	57	43	100
Venezuela	59	41	100
Hong Kong	13	87	100
Indonesia	28	72	100
India	67	33	100
South Korea	6	94	100
Malaysia	42	58	100
Pakistan	42	58	100
Philippines	50	50	100
Singapore	36	64	100
Taiwan	44	56	100
Thailand	21	79	100
Vietnam	58	42	100
Cameroon	8	92	100
Kenya	37	63	100
Nigeria	25	75	100
South Africa	69	31	100
Ghana	30	70	100
Senegal	34	66	100
Togo	26	74	100
Ethiopia	46	54	100
Paraguay	24	76	100

Iceland	25	75	100
Japan	47	53	100
Total	32	68	100

⁵⁶ **Gallup International Voice of the People 2005**

And is your overall opinion of the International Monetary Fund positive, neutral or negative?

	Positive	Neutral	Negative	DK/NA	Total
Austria	8	9	21	7	44
Denmark	11	24	3	2	40
Finland	12	53	10	7	81
France	22	34	13	6	75
Germany	15	47	21	3	86
Greece	23	36	17	1	77
Ireland	22	31	18	4	75
Italy	28	34	16	4	83
Netherlands	16	41	5	5	67
Norway	6	32	12	11	61
Portugal	33	25	8	8	75
Spain	21	15	6	4	46
Switzerland	22	43	11	9	86
United Kingdom	18	39	14	6	77
Bosnia and Herzegovina	40	39	12	4	94
Bulgaria	32	28	12	10	82
Croatia	30	38	26	3	96
Czech Republic	21	40	12	7	80
Kosovo	36	12	1	4	54
Lithuania	26	19	1	4	50
Macedonia	30	26	19	5	80
Moldova	35	18	3	6	62
Poland	16	34	4	3	57
Romania	37	22	14	7	81
Russia	20	38	8	0	66
Serbia	25	38	20	8	91
Ukraine	29	26	7	7	68
Egypt	28	17	12	14	71
Israel	38	28	6	6	77
Turkey	13	14	49	7	82
Argentina	7	17	50	9	83
Bolivia	21	15	23	2	61
Canada	16	28	14	4	62
Colombia	26	23	18	7	74
Costa Rica	28	16	20	10	75

Ecuador	13	22	32	3	70
Guatemala	17	19	6	3	46
Mexico	23	26	11	1	62
Nicaragua	50	12	8	2	72
Panama	29	14	13	4	60
Dominican Republic	47	13	25	4	89
Peru	24	23	15	3	65
Uruguay	18	21	43	10	92
United States	9	23	8	3	43
Venezuela	22	11	6	1	41
Hong Kong	28	46	6	7	87
Indonesia	33	25	13	1	72
India	17	9	3	5	33
South Korea	32	42	16	4	94
Malaysia	24	18	8	8	58
Pakistan	19	17	9	11	58
Philippines	33	9	8	1	50
Singapore	22	29	7	6	64
Taiwan	18	26	5	7	56
Thailand	21	34	20	4	79
Vietnam	24	15	1	3	42
Cameroon	46	21	14	11	92
Kenya	36	14	10	3	63
Nigeria	44	18	13	1	75
South Africa	13	13	3	2	31
Ghana	44	16	6	4	70
Senegal	42	9	4	11	66
Togo	46	11	7	9	74
Ethiopia	28	16	8	2	54
Paraguay	34	24	14	4	76
Iceland	23	41	4	7	75
Japan	13	37	2	1	53
Total	24	24	13	5	67

⁵⁷ Chicago Council on Global Affairs/German Marshall Fund Worldviews 2002

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 each of the following institutions, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

The World Bank.

Yes, needs to be strengthened	No, does not need to be strengthened	Don't know/other
--------------------------------------	---	-------------------------

Great Britain	52	38	10
France	53	39	8
Germany	47	44	8
The Netherlands	57	33	10
Italy	72	26	12
Poland	54	24	21
European Average	53	36	11
United States	49	39	12

⁵⁸ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs/German Marshall Fund Worldviews 2002**

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 each of the following institutions, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

The International Monetary Fund

	Yes, needs to be strengthened	No, does not need to be strengthened	Don't know/other
Great Britain	50	38	12
France	59	30	11
Germany	41	53	6
The Netherlands	55	35	10
Italy	70	19	11
Poland	49	25	26
European Average	53	35	12
United States	42	38	20

⁵⁹ **German Marshall Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey 2006**

Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of:

The World Trade Organization

	Favorable	Unfavorable	DK/NR
Denmark	52	30	18
France	51	44	5
Italy	68	19	13
Portugal	47	14	39
Slovakia	44	31	26
United Kingdom	56	22	22
United States	48	32	20
Average	52	29	19

⁶⁰ **WorldPublicOpinion.org/Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2006**

The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against [survey country], as a general rule, should [survey country] comply with that decision or not?

	Yes	No	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/ Decline
United States	73	22	3	1
Armenia	26	35	24	14
China	58	19	16	8
India	37	29	21	14
Mexico	53	21	18	8
Philippines	48	49	n/a	3
South Korea	37	52	10	1
Thailand	34	17	25	24
Ukraine	40	12	29	19

⁶¹ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008**

The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the United States, as a general rule, should the United States comply with that decision or not?

	Yes	No	Depends (vol.)	Not sure/ Decline	Total
2002 (telephone)	64	24	3	9	100
2004 (internet)	69	24	n/a	6	100
2006 (internet)	73	22	3	1	100
2008 (internet)	72	25	n/a	3	100

⁶² **WorldPublicOpinion.org 2009**

As you may know when there is a dispute about whether a country is abiding by international law, the case is tried in front of the International Court of Justice, also called the World Court. It is comprised of fifteen justices from around the world. If there were a case involving [country], how confident are you the Court's decision would be fair and impartial? Would you say that you are:

	Very confident	Somewhat confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident	Depends (vol.)	DK/NR
Mexico	14	28	38	15	2	3
United States	8	49	31	11	-	1
France	15	54	19	6	2	4
Germany	29	45	17	4	2	3
Great Britain	13	55	23	7	1	2
Poland	24	49	13	3	7	4
Russia	5	20	35	14	10	17
Ukraine	11	33	20	9	11	16

Egypt	22	45	18	9	6	0
Iraq	15	24	23	17	3	19
Pakistan	14	33	20	23	2	7
Palestinian Territories	6	40	38	14	1	1
Turkey	10	23	25	26	3	13
Kenya	40	39	15	2	2	2
Nigeria	30	36	22	9	1	2
China	17	45	22	4	5	7
Macau	20	45	14	4	5	12
India	20	33	18	14	11	4
Indonesia	5	31	48	3	3	10
South Korea	3	37	52	7	0	1
Taiwan	10	44	31	8	-	7
Average	16	38	26	10	4	6

*Macau, Taiwan not included in average

⁶³ Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2004

The World Court is part of the United Nations. It makes rulings on disputes between countries based on treaties the countries have signed. There is a debate about whether countries should give the World Court more power by making a general commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court or restrict the power of the Court by deciding on a case-by-case basis whether they will accept the Court's decisions. Do you think the United States should or should not make the general commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court?

Should	57%
Should not	35
Don't know/Refused	7

PIPA 1999

The World Court is part of the United Nations. It makes rulings on disputes between countries based on treaties the countries have signed. Some countries have made commitments to accept the decisions of the World Court. Other countries decide in advance for each case whether to accept the court's decisions. Do you think the United States should or should not make the commitment to accept the decisions of the World Court?

Should make commitment	53%
Should not make commitment	38
Never accept (vol.)	9
Don't know	*

⁶⁴ Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008

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	Total
2002 (telephone)	71	22	7	100
2002 (internet)	77	20	4	100

2004 (internet)	76	19	5	100
2006 (internet)	71	25	5	100
2008 (internet)	68	30	2	100

⁶⁵ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2002**

A permanent International Criminal Court has been established by the United Nations to try individuals suspected of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Some say the United States should not support the Court because trumped up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, U.S. soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation. Others say that the United States should support the court because the world needs a better way to prosecute war criminals, many of whom go unpunished today. Do you think the United States should or should not support the permanent international criminal court?

	Should support	Should not support	Not sure/ Decline	Total
2002	65	28	7	100

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008

Trial of suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline	Total
1998	84	10	6	100
2002 (telephone)	83	14	3	100
2002 (internet)	82	15	2	100
2004 (internet)	82	13	4	100
2008 (internet)	79	19	2	100

⁶⁶ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2002**

A permanent International Criminal Court has been established by the United Nations to try individuals suspected of war crimes, genocide, and crimes against humanity. Some say the United States should not support the Court because trumped up charges may be brought against Americans, for example, U.S. soldiers who use force in the course of a peacekeeping operation. Others say that the United States should support the court because the world needs a better way to prosecute war criminals, many of whom go unpunished today. Do you think the United States should or should not support the permanent international criminal court?

	Should support	Should not support	Not sure/ Decline	Total
2002	65	28	7	100

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008

Trial of suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline	Total
1998	84	10	6	100
2002 (telephone)	83	14	3	100
2002 (internet)	82	15	2	100
2004 (internet)	82	13	4	100

2008 (internet)	79	19	2	100
------------------------	----	----	---	-----

⁶⁷ **Greenberg Quinlan Rosner poll, 2006**

Now, the International Criminal Court is an independent, permanent court in Europe. It puts people accused of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes on trial. The International Criminal Court is supported by many countries, but not the United States government. Some people believe that the United States should help the International Criminal Court by sharing intelligence about genocide that would build its case against the government of Sudan's leaders, who are accused of planning and implementing the genocide. Others believe that the United States should not help the International Criminal Court because there is some chance that, in the future, its prosecutors might try to prosecute the United States military personnel for their actions in Iraq or in other military missions around the world. Which comes closer to your view?

United States should help the International Criminal Court	53%
United States should not help the International Criminal Court	38
Both (Vol.)	< .5
Neither (Vol.)	1
Don't know/Refused	8

⁶⁸ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008**

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations.

International Criminal Court

	Mean	Median	100-76 degrees	75-51 degrees	50 degrees	49-31 degrees	30-0 degrees	DK/ NR	Total
2008 (internet)	52	50	17	15	36	4	21	6	100

⁶⁹ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2008**

Some people say that the world is facing some new problems that require some new international institutions or agencies to deal with them. Do you think that there should or should not be new international institutions to:

	Should be	Should not be	Not sure/ Decline	Total
52/1. Monitor whether countries are meeting their treaty obligations to limit their greenhouse-gas emissions that contribute to climate change	68	30	2	100
52/2. Monitor financial markets worldwide and report on potential crises	59	38	2	100
52/3. Monitor the worldwide energy market and predict potential shortages	69	30	2	100

52/4. Provide information and assistance to countries dealing with problems resulting from large scale migration of people across borders

57 42 1 100

⁷⁰ **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

Some people say that NATO is still essential to our country's security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which of these views is closer to your own?

	Still essential	No longer essential	DK/R
European average	57	30	10
United States	59	32	9
France	62	34	4
Germany	62	36	2
United Kingdom	68	25	7
Italy	55	41	4
Netherlands	70	26	4
Poland	51	32	18
Portugal	60	30	10
Spain	60	35	5
Slovakia	47	27	26
Turkey	38	32	31
Bulgaria	54	25	21
Romania	57	19	24

⁷¹ **Chicago Council on Global Affairs/German Marshall Fund Worldviews 2002**

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 each of the following institutions, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

NATO

	Yes, needs to be strengthened	No, does not need to be strengthened	Don't know/other
Great Britain	66	28	6
France	62	33	5
Germany	62	34	4
The Netherlands	62	36	3
Italy	61	34	5
Poland	68	19	12
European Average	63	31	6
United States	61	29	10

⁷² **German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008**

Overall, do you think the [NATIONALITY] government is spending too much, too little, or about the right amount in support of the NATO alliance?

	Too much	Too little	About the right amount	DK/R
United States	32	17	35	16
Turkey	23	11	31	35

⁷³ **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 allows democratic countries to act together.

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/R
European average	24	47	14	7	8
United States	30	43	10	6	11
France	20	54	15	7	4
Germany	24	54	15	5	4
United Kingdom	33	45	9	5	9
Italy	15	49	20	11	6
Netherlands	35	50	8	4	3
Poland	18	47	13	3	19
Portugal	40	35	9	3	13
Spain	24	51	10	6	9
Slovakia	20	44	14	11	10
Turkey	27	30	16	13	14

⁷⁴ **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.

[EUROPE] NATO enables European countries to influence the United States when it is considering military action

[United States] NATO can help the United States share its military burden

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/R
European average	16	34	25	16	9
United States	34	41	10	8	8
France	16	35	26	20	4
Germany	18	35	29	15	3
United Kingdom	23	36	17	14	9
Italy	10	31	30	23	6
Netherlands	24	42	21	11	3
Poland	10	38	24	9	19
Portugal	24	30	18	15	13
Spain	13	30	29	17	11
Slovakia	14	35	20	17	14
Turkey	21	27	19	15	17

⁷⁵ Los Angeles Times Poll, June 2004

Should the United States give NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) the principal role in the security of Iraq, or not?

Yes	56%
No	31
Don't know	13

⁷⁶ Democracy Corps Poll, May 2009

(Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so.)...NATO, which is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization...Give NATO, which is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization a rating, with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold. (If "Don't know," ask:) Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of NATO, which is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or have you never heard of NATO, which is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?

Warm 51-100	36%
Cool 0-49	22
Not particularly warm or cold 50	21
Never heard of/Don't know/Refused	21

Chicago Council on Global Affairs June 2008

Please rate your feelings toward some international organizations, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward those organizations.

NATO

			100-76	75-51	50	49-31	30-0	Not familiar/ Decline	Total
	Mean	Median	degrees	degrees	degrees	degrees	degrees		
2008 (internet)	57°	50°	22	25	29	5	14	6	100

⁷⁷ 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.

[EUROPE] NATO is dominated by the United States, Europe should have its own defense alliance separate from the United States.

[United States] The United States is stretched too thin, Europe should have its own defense alliance separate from the United States

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/R
----------------	----------------	-------------------	-------------------	------

European average	30	36	18	9	7
United States	34	32	16	11	7
France	32	29	20	5	3
Germany	32	34	23	9	2
United Kingdom	32	31	18	12	7
Italy	29	45	16	7	4
Netherlands	30	39	18	10	3
Poland	26	34	19	6	16
Portugal	36	27	16	10	12
Spain	29	39	17	7	9
Slovakia	32	32	15	8	13
Turkey	29	27	14	13	17

⁷⁸ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

Now I would like to ask you some questions about when [country] should use its military force. For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of [survey country] military forces?

To defend a NATO ally that has been attacked

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/NR
European Average	75	19	6
France	79	16	5
Germany	74	22	4
United Kingdom	85	10	5
Italy	67	27	5
Netherlands	86	11	3
Poland	73	19	8
Portugal	70	13	17
Spain	69	23	9
Slovakia	50	28	22
Turkey	60	27	13
United States	87	9	4

⁷⁹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008

To what extent do you tend to agree or disagree that all NATO member countries should contribute troops if the NATO alliance decides to take military action? [If respondent asks: "NATO is the Alliance among the United States, Canada, and many European states".]

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	DK/NR	Agree	Disagree
European Average	24	33	20	16	8	57	35
France	19	43	21	15	2	62	36
Germany	22	33	27	15	2	56	43
United Kingdom	50	32	9	6	3	82	15
Italy	17	34	26	22	2	51	48
Netherlands	53	28	8	8	2	82	16
Poland	19	38	21	10	12	57	31

Portugal	31	38	12	14	6	68	26
Spain	24	32	19	22	3	56	41
Slovakia	9	28	33	15	14	37	49
Turkey	11	18	14	23	35	28	37
Belgium	17	25	24	23	11	42	47
Romania	25	39	19	7	12	63	25
United States	54	28	7	5	6	82	12

⁸⁰ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2008

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

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	DK/NR	Agree	Disagree
European Average	28	30	18	16	8	58	34
France	24	38	19	17	2	62	36
Germany	32	30	20	16	1	62	36
United Kingdom	56	24	9	8	3	80	17
Italy	18	33	25	22	3	50	47
Netherlands	59	23	8	8	2	82	17
Poland	20	37	22	10	11	57	32
Portugal	29	35	15	15	7	64	29
Spain	28	32	17	20	2	60	37
Slovakia	9	28	32	20	11	37	52
Turkey	9	18	14	23	37	27	36
Belgium	16	25	22	25	13	41	47
Romania	26	42	16	6	11	67	21
United States	60	22	7	6	5	82	13

⁸¹ BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA January 2009

Is your view of the European Union's influence mainly positive or mainly negative?

	Mainly positive	Mainly negative
Canada	73	9
United States	62	19
Chile	64	13
Central America	56	20
Mexico	37	15
Germany	81	5
Spain	76	11
Italy	72	12
France	71	17
United Kingdom	55	28
Russia	31	23
Egypt	39	35
Turkey	34	44

Ghana	70	7
Nigeria	58	26
Australia	65	16
Philippines	65	21
China	57	28
Japan	39	3
Indonesia	37	25
India	36	11
Average	54	20

⁸² **Pew Research Center for the People & the Press/CFR America's Place In The World Survey, October 2005**

Do you think a stronger European Union is a good thing for the United States, a bad thing for the United States, or doesn't it matter for the United States?

Good thing	47%
Bad thing	12
Doesn't matter	28
Don't know/Refused	13

⁸³ **German Marshall Fund 2005**

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

Compete	41%
Cooperate	45
Don't know/Refused	6

⁸⁴ **Pew Global Attitudes Project Poll, February 2004**

In your opinion, would it be a good thing or a bad thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the United States?

Good	33%
Bad	50
Don't know/Refused	17

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

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

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