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## **23-Country Poll Finds Strong Support for Dramatic Changes at UN, and for Increased UN Power**

**Citizens of All Countries Favor Adding New Permanent Members to  
UN Security Council,  
With Most Favoring Germany, Japan, India, Brazil**

**Most Favor Giving Security Council the Power to Override Permanent  
Member Veto  
Even in the US, Britain and China; Russians, French Divided**

A BBC World Service poll that surveyed 23 countries finds nearly universal support for dramatic reforms in the United Nations in parallel with a desire for increased UN power in the world. Majorities throughout the world favor adding permanent new members to the UN Security Council, with most favoring adding Germany, India, Japan, and Brazil. Most favor giving the UN Security Council the power to override the veto power of the permanent members, including majorities in three of the permanent member states: the US, Britain, and China: in France and Russia citizens are divided.

The poll of 23,518 people was conducted for the BBC World Service by the international polling firm GlobeScan together with the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) at the University of Maryland. The 23-nation fieldwork was coordinated by GlobeScan and completed during December 2004 in most countries.

The poll reveals that expanding the UN Security Council to include new permanent members is supported by a majority in 22 of the 23 countries. These include majorities in four of the current permanent members, the United States (70%), Britain (74%), France (67%), and China (54%). Russia is the only country polled for which support is a plurality (44% in favor), though opposition is quite low (28%). On average for all countries, 69 percent favor expanding the permanent membership. Majorities in favor are especially robust in Italy (86%), Canada (84%), Germany and Australia (both 81%), and Spain (80%). Besides Russia, support for expanding the permanent membership is relatively modest in Mexico (52%), Chile (55%), and South Korea (56%).

Of five countries that are widely discussed as candidates for permanent membership, Germany and Japan are especially popular. Germany is favored in 21 countries (14 majorities, 7 pluralities) with an average of 56 percent across all countries. In the two remaining countries, China and South Korea, opposition is mostly to expanding Council

membership in general—not focused on Germany. Japan is favored by 20 countries (16 majorities, 4 pluralities). However, Japan lacks support from three close neighbors, two of which are on the Security Council: Russia is divided (41% in favor, 10% opposed to Japan specifically and 28% opposed to expansion in general), China has a majority (51%) opposing Japan, and in South Korea 32% were opposed to Japan and 40% to expansion in general. On average 54 percent favor Japan’s membership. For both Germany and Japan, developed countries are a bit more enthusiastic than developing countries.

A majority of countries also favor India and Brazil, but in each case the average is not a majority. Sixteen countries favor adding India (9 majorities, 7 pluralities), with two countries divided and 5 opposed to India specifically or to expansion in general (3 majorities: China, Germany, and South Korea, and 2 pluralities: the Philippines and Turkey). On average 47 percent favored India with 19 percent opposed, and another 17 percent opposed to any expansion of the Security Council. Attitudes toward Brazil are remarkably similar, with 16 countries in favor (10 majorities, 6 pluralities) and 47 percent overall in favor (18% opposed to Brazil and 17% to all expansion). Four countries are opposed to Brazil specifically or to expansion in general: majorities in South Korea, and pluralities in China, Russia, and Turkey. Indonesia, France, and Germany are divided.

South Africa receives less support, with 10 countries in favor (5 majorities, 5 pluralities); 7 countries divided and 6 countries with opposition—to South Africa or to expansion in general—by a plurality (China, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, and Turkey) or a majority (South Korea). On average, 43 percent favor South Africa and 21 percent are opposed (plus 17% opposed to all expansion).

In all countries but two, more people favor than oppose the idea of giving the UN Security Council the power to override the veto of a permanent member. Respondents were asked about the right, held by each of the five permanent Security Council members, to block any resolution with a veto, and were told: “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.” Respondents in the US, Britain, France, Russia, and China were reminded in the question that their own country would lose the veto: for instance, Americans heard that “if a decision was supported by all the other members, no one member, not even the United States, could veto the decision.” In the US, 57 percent favor giving up the absolute veto (34% opposed), Britain is similar at 56 percent (35% opposed) and in China a 48 percent plurality is in favor (36% opposed). Overall, citizens in 21 countries favor ending the absolute veto (16 majorities, 5 pluralities), with an average of 58 percent in favor and just 24 percent opposed. However, two permanent members are divided: France and Russia (France, 44% in favor, 43% opposed; Russia, 25% in favor, 29% opposed, with 46% not answering).

There is an extraordinary degree of consensus in favor of the UN becoming “significantly more powerful in world affairs.” This prospect is seen as “mainly positive” in every country (21 majorities, 2 pluralities) and by an average of 64 percent. A mere 19 percent on average sees this prospect as mainly negative. Especially enthusiastic are Germany (87%), Spain (78%), Indonesia (77%), and the Philippines (77%). Six in ten Americans

(59%) favored it, with only 37 percent opposed. The only two countries to have just a plurality in favor are Turkey (40% to 24%) and Argentina (44% to 22%).

Steven Kull, director of PIPA comments, "Very large majorities all around the world are calling for the UN to become more powerful in world affairs. Consistent with this sentiment there is broad support for making the UN Security Council more representative by adding new members, and making it less unwieldy by giving the UN Security Council the power to override the veto of a permanent member. Most striking, even citizens in three of the five permanent member states are willing to give up their absolute veto power, and the other two are divided. The readiness for dramatic change is very palpable."

Doug Miller, President of GlobeScan says, "Results suggest that the tight control of the United Nations by a few countries may soon be history. There is strong popular support for the democratization of the UN system."

Polling was conducted from November 15, 2004 to January 3, 2005 with of 23,518 people. In eight of the countries the sample was limited to major metropolitan areas. The margin of error per country ranged from +/-2.5-4%. For more details, please see the Methodology section below or visit <<http://www.pipa.org>>.

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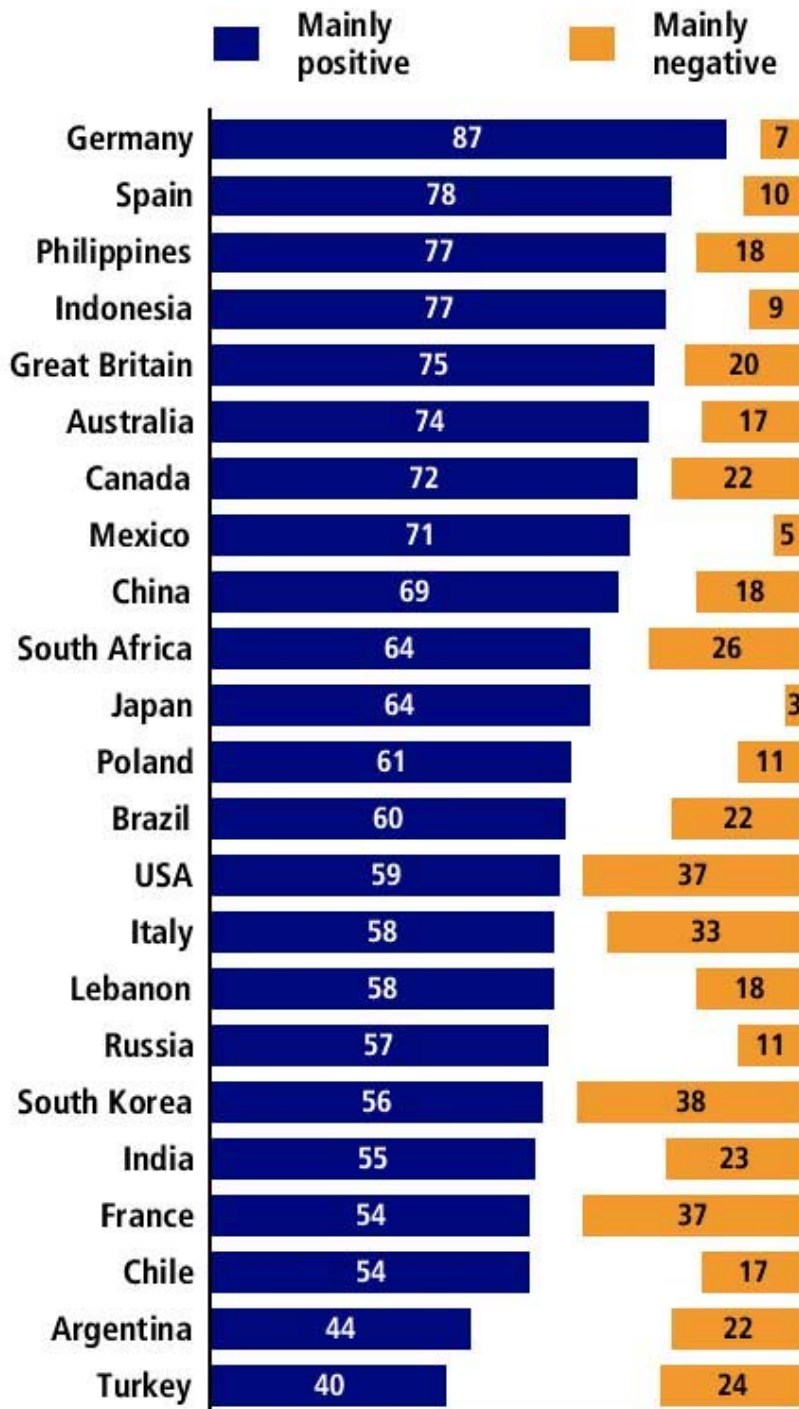
**GlobeScan Incorporated** is a global public opinion and stakeholder research firm with offices in Toronto, London, and Washington. GlobeScan conducts custom research and annual tracking studies on global issues. With a research network spanning 50+ countries, GlobeScan works with global companies, multilateral agencies, national governments, and non-government organizations to deliver research-based insights for successful strategies.

**The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA)** is a joint program of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland. PIPA undertakes research on attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues.

It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public as well as academia.

## Potential Future Trend

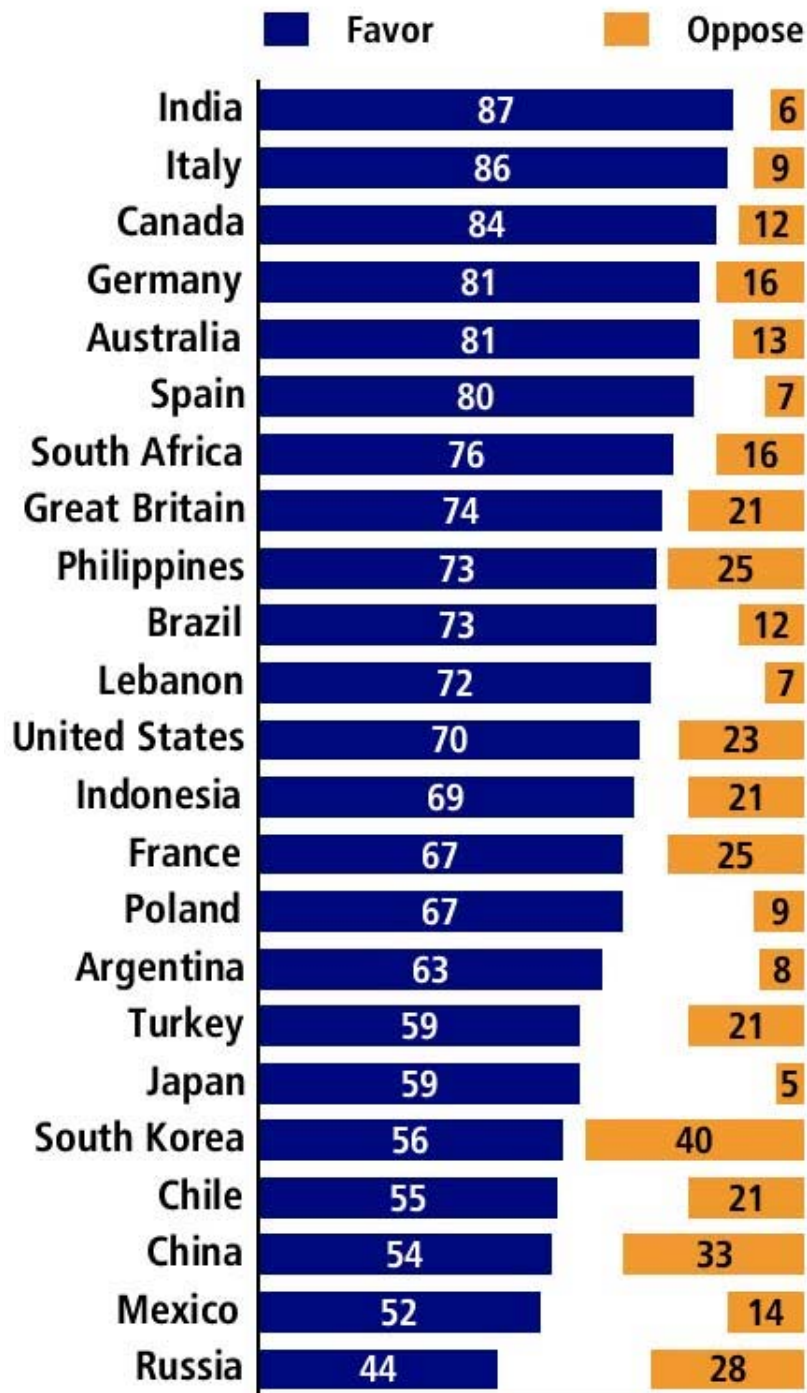
More Powerful UN in World Affairs



The white space in this chart represents "Depends/Neither," and "DK/NA."

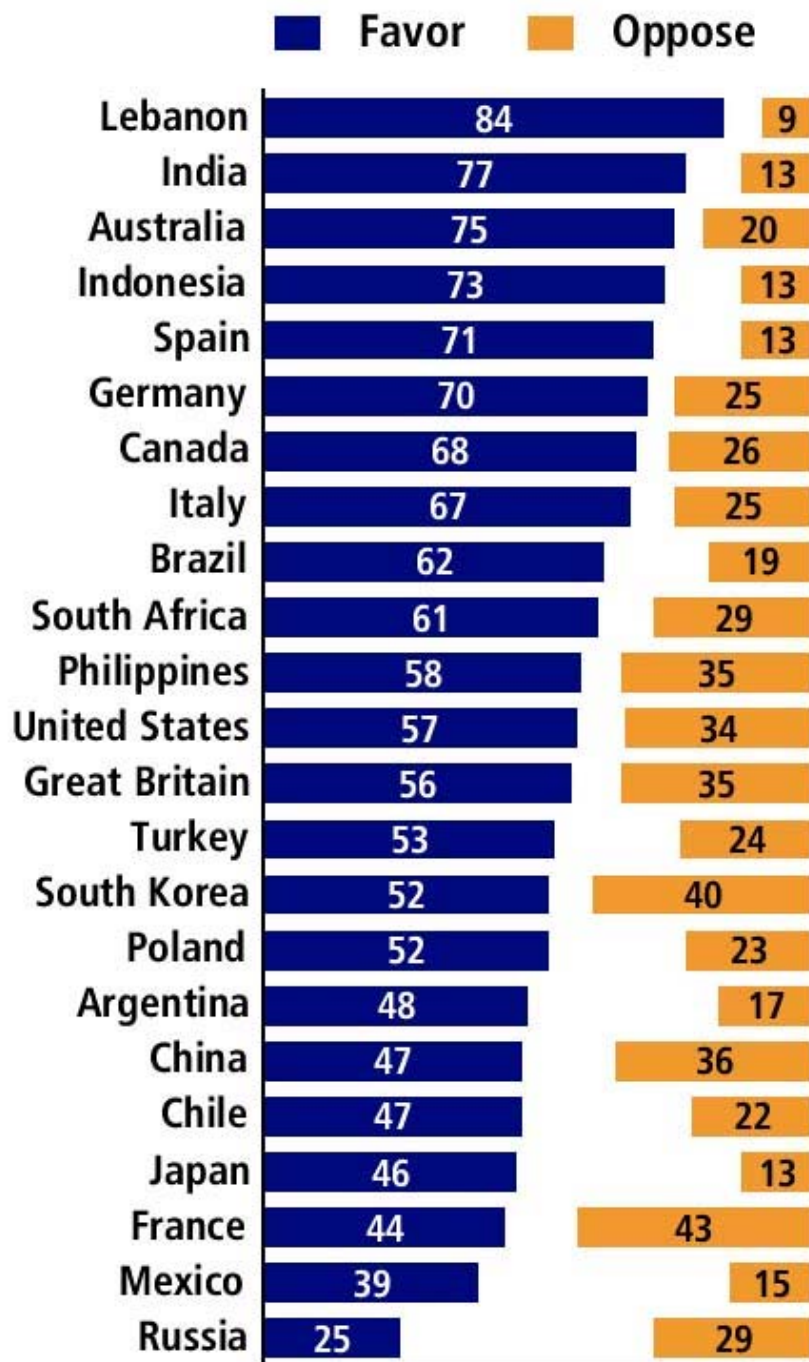
## UN Security Council

Expanding the Number of Permanent Members



## Permanent Member Veto

Giving UN Security Council Power to Override Veto



The white space in this chart represents "Depends/Neither," and "DK/NA."

## Questionnaire

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

a) The United Nations becomes significantly more powerful in world affairs.

- 01 Mainly positive
- 02 Mainly negative

### **VOLUNTEERED**

- 03 Depends
- 04 Neither, no difference
- 99 DK/NA

- 2 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, Britain, or United States) add “not even [COUNTRY,]” could veto the decision. Would you favor or oppose this change?

- 01 Favor
- 02 Oppose

### **VOLUNTEERED**

- 03 Depends
- 04 Neither
- 99 DK/NA

- 3 The five permanent members of the 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 additional countries becoming permanent members?

- 01 Favor
- 02 Oppose

### **VOLUNTEERED**

- 03 Depends
- 04 Neither
- 99 DK/NA

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

a) India

01 Favor

02 Oppose

**VOLUNTEERED**

03 Depends

04 Neither

99 DK/NA

b) Brazil

c) Germany

d) Japan

e) South Africa

## Methodology

The following table gives more details of the methodologies used in each of the 23 countries.

Country	Sample Size (unweighted)	Field dates	Sample frame	Survey methodology	Type of sample
Argentina	1005	Dec 10 – Dec 13 2004	18 years and over	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Australia	1018	Dec 1 – Dec 29 2004	18 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide
Brazil	800	Nov 16 – Dec 30 2004	18 years to 69 years	Face-to-face	Urban <sup>1</sup>
Canada	1000	Nov 23 – Dec 6 2004	18 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide
Chile	1200	Dec 10 – Dec 29 2004	18 years and over	Face-to-face	Urban <sup>2</sup>
China	1800	Dec 4 – Dec 20 2004	18 years and over	Telephone	Urban <sup>3</sup>
France	1001	Dec 8 – Dec 15 2004	15 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide
Germany	1004	Nov 29 – Dec 31 2004	16 years to 70 years	Telephone	Nation-wide
Great Britain	1002	Nov 15 – Nov 28 2004	18 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide
India	1005	Dec 4 – Dec 15 2004	15 years to 65 years	Face-to-face	Main Metropolitan <sup>4</sup>
Indonesia	1000	Nov 30 – Dec 19 2004	18 years to 60 years	Face-to-face	Major Metropolitan <sup>5</sup>
Italy	1035	Dec 3 – Dec 17 2004	18 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide
Japan	1403	Dec 9 – Dec 12 2004	20 years and over	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Lebanon	1000	Dec 15 – Jan 3 2005	16 years to 64 years	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Mexico	1000	Nov 16 – Dec 15 2004	18 years and over	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Philippines	500	Dec 11 – Dec 22 2004	18 years and over	Face-to-face	Urban <sup>6</sup>
Poland	943	Nov 25 – Nov 29 2004	18 years and over	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Russia	1028	Dec 2 – Dec 28 2004	18 years and over	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
South Africa	1011	Jan 3 – Jan 5 2005	18 years and over	Telephone	Major Metropolitan <sup>7</sup>
South Korea	1000	Nov 26 – Dec 16 2004	20 years and over	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Spain	808	Jan 17 – Jan 19 2005	18 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide
Turkey	1200	Dec 9 – Dec 20 2004	15 years and over	Face-to-face	Urban <sup>8</sup>
USA	1000	Nov 17 – Dec 12 2004	18 years and over	Telephone	Nation-wide

- <sup>1</sup>In Brazil the survey was conducted in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, Curitiba, Salvador, & Brasília.
- <sup>2</sup>In Chile the survey was conducted in Arica, Iquique, Calama, Antofagasta, Copiapó, La Serena, Coquimbo, Ovalle, Quilpué, Villa Alemana, Viña, Valparaíso, Quillota, San Antonio, Santiago, Rancagua, Curicó, Linares, Talca, Chillán, Talcahuano, Concepción, Coronel, Lota, Los Angeles, Temuco, Valdivia, Osorno, Puerto Montt & Chiguayante.
- <sup>3</sup>In China the survey was conducted in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Wuhan, Xi'an, Chengdu, Shenyang, Zhengzhou & Hangzhou.
- <sup>4</sup>In India the survey was conducted in Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, and Chennai.
- <sup>5</sup>In Indonesia, the survey was conducted in Jakarta and Surabaya.
- <sup>6</sup>In Philippines the survey was conducted in Quezon City, Manila, Caloocan, Las Piñas, Makati, Malabon, Mandaluyong, Marikina, Muntinlupa, Parañaque, Pasay, Pasig, Taguig, Valenzuela, Navotas, Pateros & San Juan.
- <sup>7</sup>In South Africa the survey was conducted in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage, East London, Durban, Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Vaal, Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg, Soweto & East Rand.
- <sup>8</sup>In Turkey, the survey was conducted Istanbul, Bursa, Izmir, Ankara, Konya, Adana, Antalya, Samsun, Erzurum, Diyarbakir & Zonguldak.

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