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## PRESENTATION

In 1991, U.S. president George Bush Senior victoriously led the Gulf war under U.N. mandate to oust the Iraqi army of Kuwait. At the time, a broad international coalition stood behind him and public opinion was in favour of such an intervention.

Today, 12 years later, president George Bush Junior is following in the footsteps of his father and preparing yet another US-led war against Iraq. This time however, the task seems more difficult to convince the rest of the World that a military intervention is justified. Public opinion in America has barely been won over, let alone the general opinion around the World, which seems opposed to war on Iraq.

And all along, these events are taking place in a context of international crisis. Terrorism continues to threaten the World, the Middle-East peace process has stalled, ethnical and religious differences threaten to set ablaze new conflicts around the World...

For the first time citizens of 30 European countries have the opportunity to respond to the same opinion poll and speak out their positions on the Iraqi crisis, but also on different international issues and the situation in the World in general.

The EOS Gallup Europe network conducted this exceptional opinion poll from the 21<sup>st</sup> to the 27<sup>th</sup> of January 2003. 15080 people aged 15 years and over took part in the survey, which covers the 15 Member States of the European Union, the 13 Candidate Countries, as well as two Members of the European Free Trade Agreement, Norway and Switzerland.

The following pages are aimed at showing the main results obtained. Along with the results of each separate country, the averages of three major groups of countries are represented in order to give the general opinion of the European Union, that of the Candidate Countries, and a projection of where the future European Union of 2004, comprising 25 Member States, would stand on these issues.

Some social and demographic characteristics of respondents in the European Union are also presented in this report. These include gender, age, education level, locality types, religion, and political proximity.

The sample sizes amount to 500 respondents in each country. The methodology used is that of telephone interviews with the exception of the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Turkey, where face-to-face interviews were conducted.

A technical note pertaining to the way the 30 EOS Gallup Europe institutes conducted interviews is attached to the document. It provides further details on interviewing methods as well as statistical margins of error.



Q7e Estimez-vous qu'il serait tout à fait justifié ou non, que notre pays participe à une intervention militaire en Irak ? :

Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq?

Si les Etats-Unis interviennent militairement en Irak sans une décision préalable de l'ONU

If the United States intervenes militarily in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations

	Tout à fait justifié Absolutely justified	Plutôt justifié Rather justified	Plutôt pas justifié Rather unjustified	Pas justifié du tout Absolutely unjustified	(nsp/sr) (dk/na)	(+++) JUSTIFIE (+++) JUSTIFIED	(--/-) PAS JUSTIFIE (--/-) UNJUSTIFIED
Belgique	4%	9%	25%	59%	4%	13%	84%
DANMARK	4%	10%	25%	58%	4%	13%	83%
DEUTSCHLAND	4%	6%	29%	61%	1%	10%	89%
ELLAS	2%	7%	24%	64%	3%	9%	88%
ESPANA	2%	10%	31%	47%	11%	12%	78%
IRELAND	2%	11%	24%	56%	6%	13%	81%
ITALIA	3%	14%	39%	42%	2%	18%	81%
Luxembourg	7%	7%	22%	62%	3%	13%	84%
NEDERLAND	5%	7%	23%	61%	3%	13%	84%
OSTERREICH	2%	7%	14%	71%	6%	8%	85%
Portugal	2%	15%	49%	28%	7%	16%	77%
FINLAND	1%	6%	18%	72%	4%	7%	89%
FRANCE	3%	10%	25%	60%	3%	13%	84%
SWEDEN	3%	6%	10%	75%	6%	9%	85%
UNITED KINGDOM	9%	18%	27%	41%	6%	27%	68%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>82%</b>
BULGARIA	3%	3%	15%	67%	13%	6%	81%
CYPRIOUS	2%	0%	7%	83%	8%	2%	90%
CZECH REPUBLIC	11%	19%	28%	37%	5%	30%	65%
ESTONIA	2%	6%	24%	60%	8%	8%	85%
HUNGARY	4%	5%	14%	62%	16%	8%	76%
LATVIA	1%	6%	16%	69%	8%	7%	85%
LITHUANIA	2%	11%	38%	34%	15%	12%	73%
MALTA	1%	3%	19%	73%	5%	4%	91%
POLAND	9%	13%	25%	47%	7%	21%	72%
ROMANIA	9%	8%	10%	61%	13%	16%	70%
SLOVAKIA	8%	33%	38%	21%	1%	41%	59%
SLOVENIA	4%	5%	9%	77%	6%	8%	86%
TURKEY	0%	11%	44%	37%	8%	11%	81%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>75%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>80%</b>
SWITZERLAND	2%	5%	19%	71%	2%	8%	90%
NORWAY	3%	4%	23%	69%	2%	7%	92%

## 1. Level of opposition to war

In this first section, we will be showing the overwhelming opposition of the European public to a war against Iraq without United Nations approval. First, we will analyse results concerning the participation of European countries in a US-led military intervention in Iraq. Then, we will observe results of the general public opinion on the eventuality of an American intervention in Iraq without formal agreement of the United Nations. And finally, we will find out which hypotheses justify an intervention in Iraq in the eyes of European citizens.

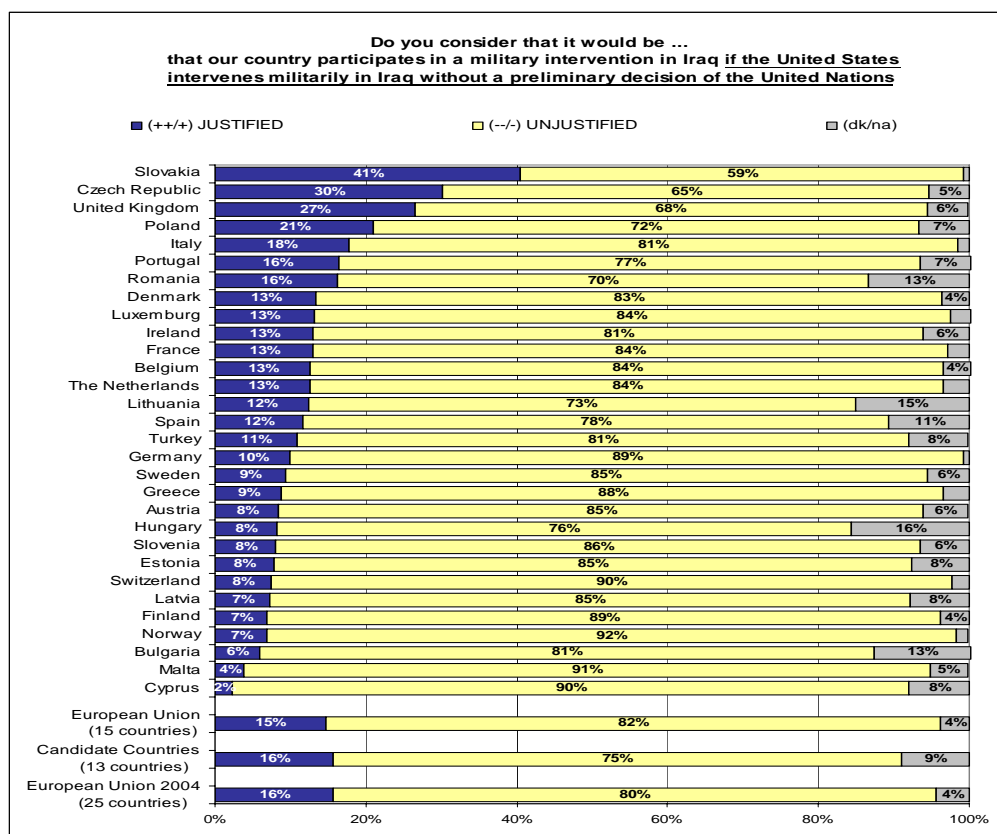
### 1.1 European military participation in a US-led war on Iraq is unjustified

*- 82% of Europeans refuse to participate in a war against Iraq if the United States decides to use force unilaterally -*

Four out of five Europeans are opposed to participation in a US-led war on Iraq without explicit U.N. backing. Among the 30 surveyed European countries, a participation of their respective countries in a US-led military intervention in Iraq without a preliminary decision of the United Nations seems widely rejected: 82% at **European Union** level, 75% at the level of the **13 Candidate Countries** and respectively 92% and 90% among the two EFTA countries **Norway** and **Switzerland**. Results that contrast with the position adopted by several European political representatives on the 29th of January 2003.

The future **European Union of 2004** is close to the result of the current European Union with 80% of respondents opposed.

The only European country to differ from this major trend is **Slovakia** with 41% of opinions justifying military participation in a US-led war on Iraq, but still 59% rejecting it.



From a social and demographic point of view, all segments of the population in the European Union seem to agree that their countries participation in a US-led intervention is not justified without U.N. support. However, populations with a lower education level are less opposed to such participation (75% not justifying this opinion) compared to highly educated people (89%).

Q6g Pour chacune des propositions suivantes, dites-moi si vous êtes d'accord ou non ? :

For each of the following propositions, tell me if you agree or not?

Les Etats-Unis devraient intervenir militairement en Irak même si les Nations-Unies ne donnent pas leur accord formel

The United States should intervene militarily in Iraq even if the United Nations does not give its formal agreement

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt pas d'accord	Pas d'accord du tout	(nsp/sr)	(++/+) D'ACCORD	(--/-) PAS D'ACCORD
	Absolutely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Absolutely disagree	(dk/na)	(++/+) AGREE	(--/-) DISAGREE
BELGIQUE	7%	13%	25%	53%	2%	20%	78%
DANMARK	9%	10%	26%	53%	3%	18%	79%
DEUTSCHLAND	3%	10%	23%	64%	0%	13%	87%
ELLAS	6%	5%	20%	66%	3%	11%	86%
ESPANA	5%	11%	29%	48%	8%	15%	77%
IRELAND	7%	11%	31%	46%	5%	18%	77%
ITALIA	7%	13%	35%	45%	1%	20%	79%
LUXEMBOURG	9%	8%	23%	58%	2%	17%	81%
NEDERLAND	7%	11%	21%	59%	2%	18%	80%
OSTERREICH	4%	4%	23%	62%	7%	8%	85%
PORTUGAL	5%	17%	48%	24%	6%	22%	72%
FINLAND	6%	12%	26%	52%	5%	18%	78%
FRANCE	5%	7%	29%	57%	2%	12%	86%
SWEDEN	6%	5%	13%	68%	9%	11%	81%
UNITED KINGDOM	14%	15%	25%	43%	3%	29%	68%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>80%</b>
BULGARIA	5%	5%	20%	55%	15%	10%	75%
CYPRUS	3%	1%	8%	76%	12%	4%	83%
CZECH REPUBLIC	12%	21%	28%	34%	6%	32%	61%
ESTONIA	3%	9%	26%	54%	8%	12%	80%
HUNGARY	10%	8%	22%	49%	11%	18%	71%
LATVIA	6%	6%	18%	57%	14%	12%	74%
LITHUANIA	4%	10%	34%	35%	18%	14%	69%
MALTA	8%	13%	27%	41%	11%	20%	68%
POLAND	15%	14%	23%	41%	8%	29%	63%
ROMANIA	10%	7%	9%	61%	13%	17%	70%
SLOVAKIA	22%	32%	32%	14%	0%	54%	46%
SLOVENIA	8%	10%	12%	62%	9%	17%	74%
TURKEY	2%	6%	40%	48%	5%	8%	88%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>74%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>78%</b>
SWITZERLAND	3%	7%	21%	66%	4%	10%	86%
NORWAY	4%	8%	24%	63%	2%	11%	87%

## 1.2 Europeans strongly oppose any use of force without explicit U.N. authority

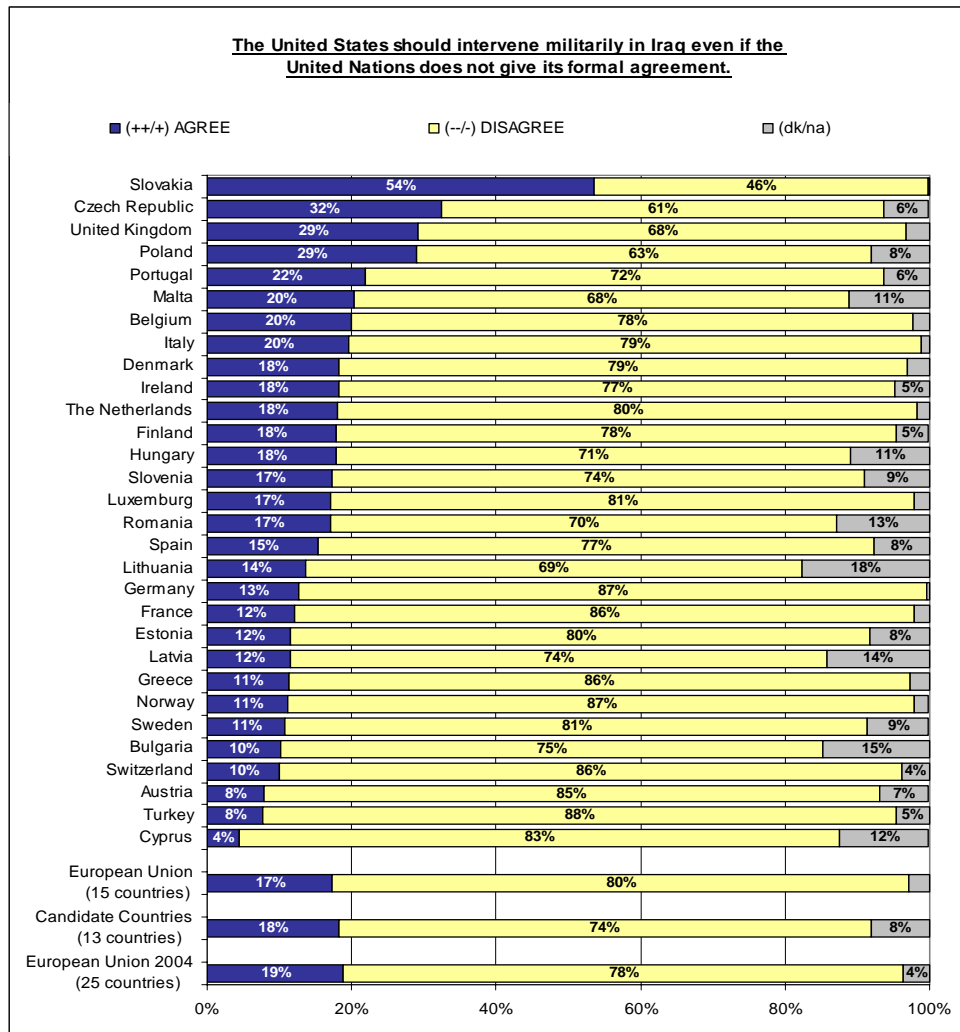
*- Throughout Europe, public opinion massively opposes a US military intervention in Iraq even if their country is not involved in a military intervention -*

Europeans strongly disagree when asked their opinion on whether the United States should intervene militarily in Iraq even if the United Nations does not give its formal agreement. In all **30 European countries** (80% in the **European Union**, 74% among the **Candidate Countries**) public opinion rejects any military intervention by the United States without the formal agreement of the United Nations. Opinions in the two EFTA countries (**Norway** 87% and **Switzerland** 86%) follow this tendency.

Once again, the only country to step out of the lot is **Slovakia** with a slight majority of opinions (54%) agreeing to an American intervention without U.N. approval.

We can ask ourselves whether the recent invitation to join NATO in May 2004 and the possibility of appearing as a close ally of the United States has not influenced the opinions of Slovaks.

Overall however, these results clearly demonstrate a major opposition of Europeans to a US-led war on Iraq without explicit backing by the United Nations.



Looking at social and demographic variables of the European Union, we can see that once again there is an opposition of opinions in the levels of education: the lesser educated populations are 74% to disagree, while the highly educated seem the most opposed of all categories with 88% of respondents against a US-led war without U.N. authorization. Otherwise, all other categories seem to have the same opinion on this matter.

Q7d Estimez-vous qu'il serait tout à fait justifié ou non, que notre pays participe à une intervention militaire en Irak ? :

Do you consider that it would be justified or not that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq?

Si le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU décide d'intervenir militairement en Irak

If the United Nations Security Council decides on a military intervention in Iraq

	Tout à fait justifié Absolutely justified	Plutôt justifié Rather justified	Plutôt pas justifié Rather unjustified	Pas justifié du tout Absolutely unjustified	(nsp/sr) (dk/na)	(+++) JUSTIFIE (+++) JUSTIFIED	(--/-) PAS JUSTIFIE (--/-) UNJUSTIFIED
BELGIQUE	19%	37%	22%	18%	4%	56%	40%
DANMARK	35%	36%	14%	12%	3%	71%	26%
DEUTSCHLAND	18%	27%	30%	23%	3%	45%	52%
ELLAS	6%	19%	26%	45%	3%	25%	71%
ESPANA	7%	38%	24%	19%	13%	45%	43%
IRELAND	13%	38%	12%	30%	7%	51%	42%
ITALIA	16%	49%	18%	15%	1%	66%	33%
LUXEMBOURG	25%	38%	15%	19%	3%	63%	34%
NEDERLAND	40%	28%	15%	14%	3%	68%	29%
OSTERREICH	3%	16%	18%	55%	8%	19%	73%
PORTUGAL	10%	46%	27%	9%	8%	56%	36%
FINLAND	9%	22%	20%	46%	3%	31%	66%
FRANCE	18%	50%	15%	14%	4%	67%	29%
SWEDEN	20%	19%	9%	44%	7%	39%	53%
UNITED KINGDOM	35%	44%	10%	5%	7%	79%	15%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>38%</b>
BULGARIA	11%	19%	17%	41%	13%	29%	58%
CYPRUS	3%	6%	9%	71%	12%	9%	79%
CZECH REPUBLIC	28%	42%	19%	8%	3%	71%	27%
ESTONIA	6%	21%	24%	40%	8%	28%	65%
HUNGARY	8%	21%	13%	43%	15%	30%	56%
LATVIA	4%	20%	22%	45%	10%	24%	66%
LITHUANIA	8%	25%	30%	21%	16%	33%	51%
MALTA	3%	14%	17%	59%	7%	17%	76%
POLAND	17%	35%	25%	17%	6%	52%	42%
ROMANIA	30%	20%	11%	27%	12%	50%	38%
SLOVAKIA	14%	46%	32%	7%	1%	60%	39%
SLOVENIA	7%	15%	11%	59%	8%	22%	70%
TURKEY	3%	30%	42%	16%	9%	33%	58%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>49%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>39%</b>
SWITZERLAND	7%	23%	22%	44%	4%	30%	66%
NORWAY	18%	46%	19%	15%	3%	63%	34%

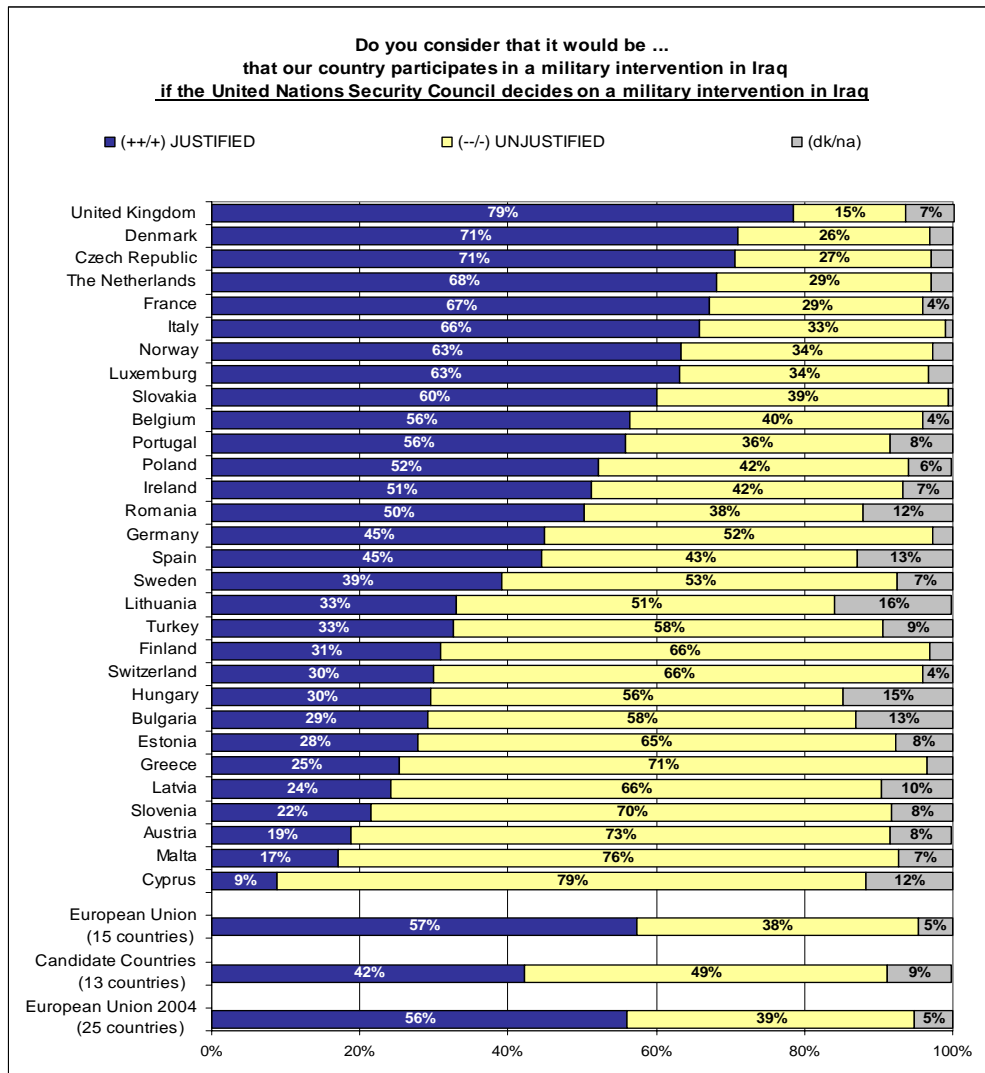


### 1.3 Military participation only justified with U.N. decision

*- Europeans accept military participation if Security Council gives the go-ahead -*

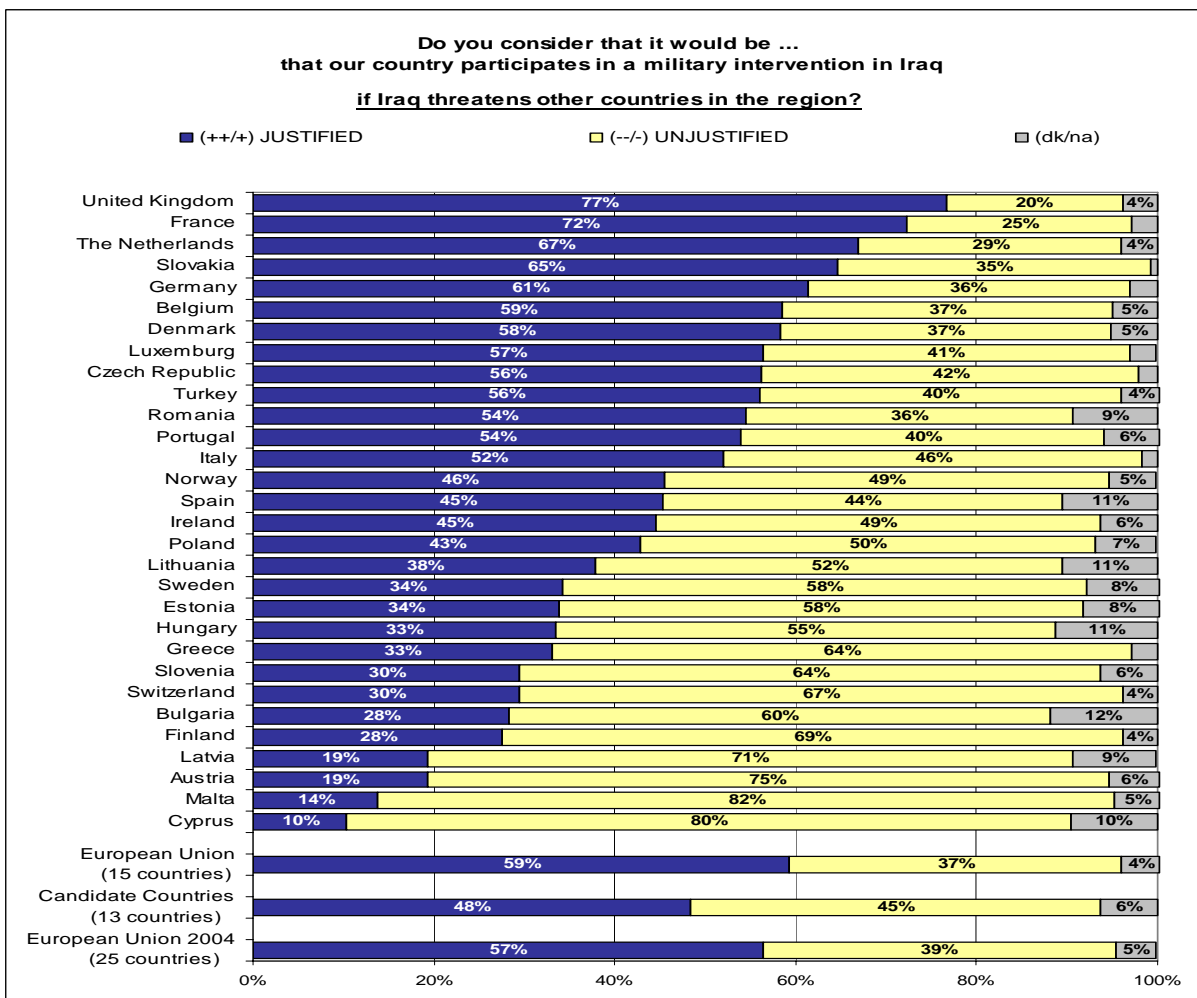
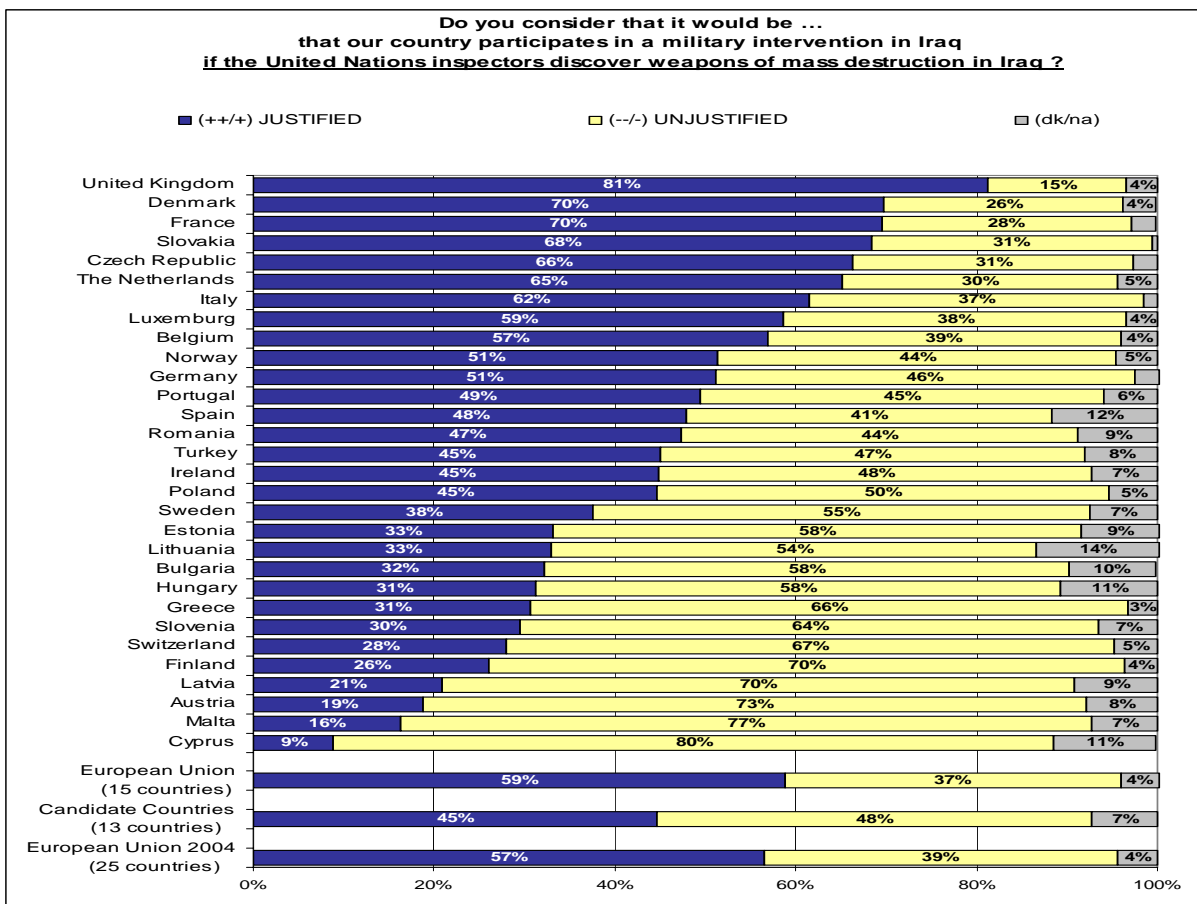
Results change on the issue of European participation if the U.N. Security Council decides on a military intervention in Iraq. With U.N. support, a relative majority of Europeans justifies a military participation of their country in a conflict against Iraq.

Observing the averages of the main groups we can note a slight difference between the European Union Member States and the Candidate Countries. In this respect, 57% in the **European Union** are in favour of military intervention, while only 42% of respondents in the **Candidate Countries** share the same opinion. Nevertheless, the average of the future **European Union of 2004** is almost identical to that of the current European Union with 56% justifying a military participation: this is due to the fact that Turkey represents an important part of the average of the 13 Candidate Countries (33% of the interviewees in this country consider unjustified such a hypothesis).



However, results by country show that there are considerable variations among the different European nations on this matter. **Cyprus** (79%), **Malta** (76%), **Austria** (73%), **Greece** (71%) and **Slovenia** (70%) are the countries where populations are the most opposed to war even with U.N. support.

On the opposite side of the scale countries that mostly justify a military participation in this case are the **United Kingdom** with 79%, **Denmark** and the **Czech Republic** with 71%.



#### 1.4 Further hypotheses where Europeans justify a military intervention

*- A lack of cooperation with the U.N. inspectors does not justify a military intervention -*

The results indicate that among the hypotheses proposed, only three justify the military participation of European countries in a US-led intervention in Iraq:

- a decision by the United Nations Security Council to intervene militarily in Iraq (as seen in the previous graph)
- the discovery of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq
- an Iraqi threat to other countries in the region

Percentage of respondents finding an intervention justified (absolutely justified and rather justified).

	European Union	Candidate Countries	European Union 2004
If the United Nations inspectors discover weapons of mass destruction in Iraq	59%	45%	57%
If Iraq threatens other countries in the region	59%	48%	57%
If the United Nations Security Council decides on a military intervention in Iraq	57%	42%	56%

In the chart above, we can note that while a majority of opinions in the **European Union** justifies the participation in a war on Iraq, this is not the case for the **Candidate Countries** where a slight majority opposes military intervention in any case.

If we were to project ourselves into the future, the enlarged **European Union of 25 Member States** would nevertheless justify such an intervention with results close to the current European Union of 15 Member States.

Comparing the country results among each other, we can note that there are large discrepancies not only among, but also inside of the two main groups, the European Union and the Candidate Countries.

In each of the three hypothetical cases, the **United Kingdom** shows the strongest majority in favour of a military participation in Iraq with 81% in case inspectors discover weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, 77% if Iraq threatens other countries in the region, and 79% if the U.N. Security Council decides on a military intervention in Iraq.

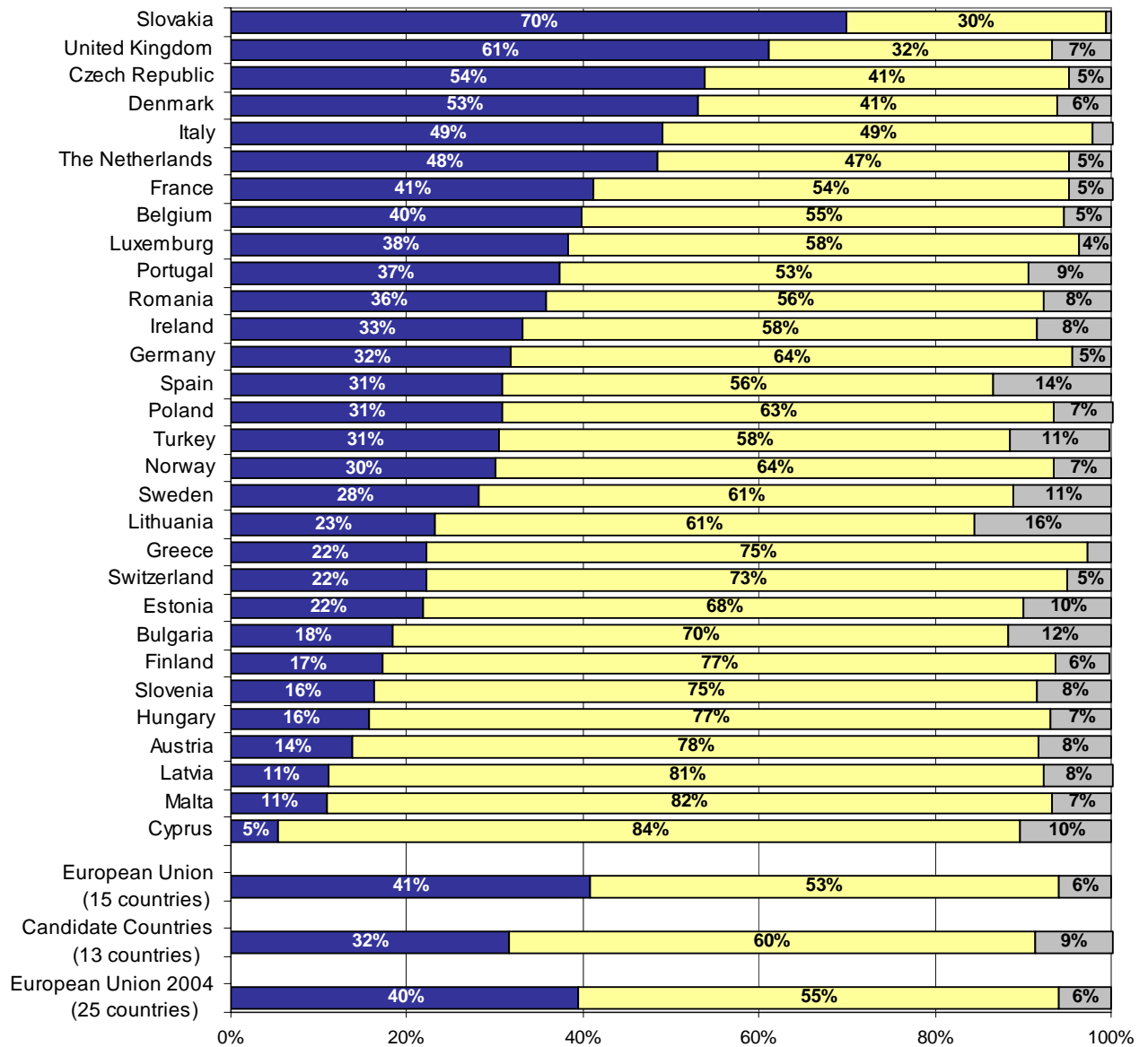
On the opposite side of the scale, opinions in **Cyprus** and **Malta**, but also **Austria** show that a majority of respondents are opposed to military intervention in Iraq in any case.

**Do you consider that it would be ...  
that our country participates in a military intervention in Iraq  
if the Iraqi regime does not cooperate with the United Nations inspectors?**

■ (++/+) JUSTIFIED

□ (--/-) UNJUSTIFIED

□ (dk/na)



It is important to note that in the assumption that the Iraqi regime does not cooperate with the United Nations weapons inspectors, the participation of European countries in a military intervention remains mainly unjustified, with an average of 53% in the **Member States of the European Union** and 60% in the **13 Candidate Countries**. A lack of cooperation, which has been the case already in the past (its peak being reached in 1998 when Saddam Hussein decided to end all cooperation and expulse the weapons inspectors from Iraq), still does not make a military intervention legitimate in the eyes of Europeans.

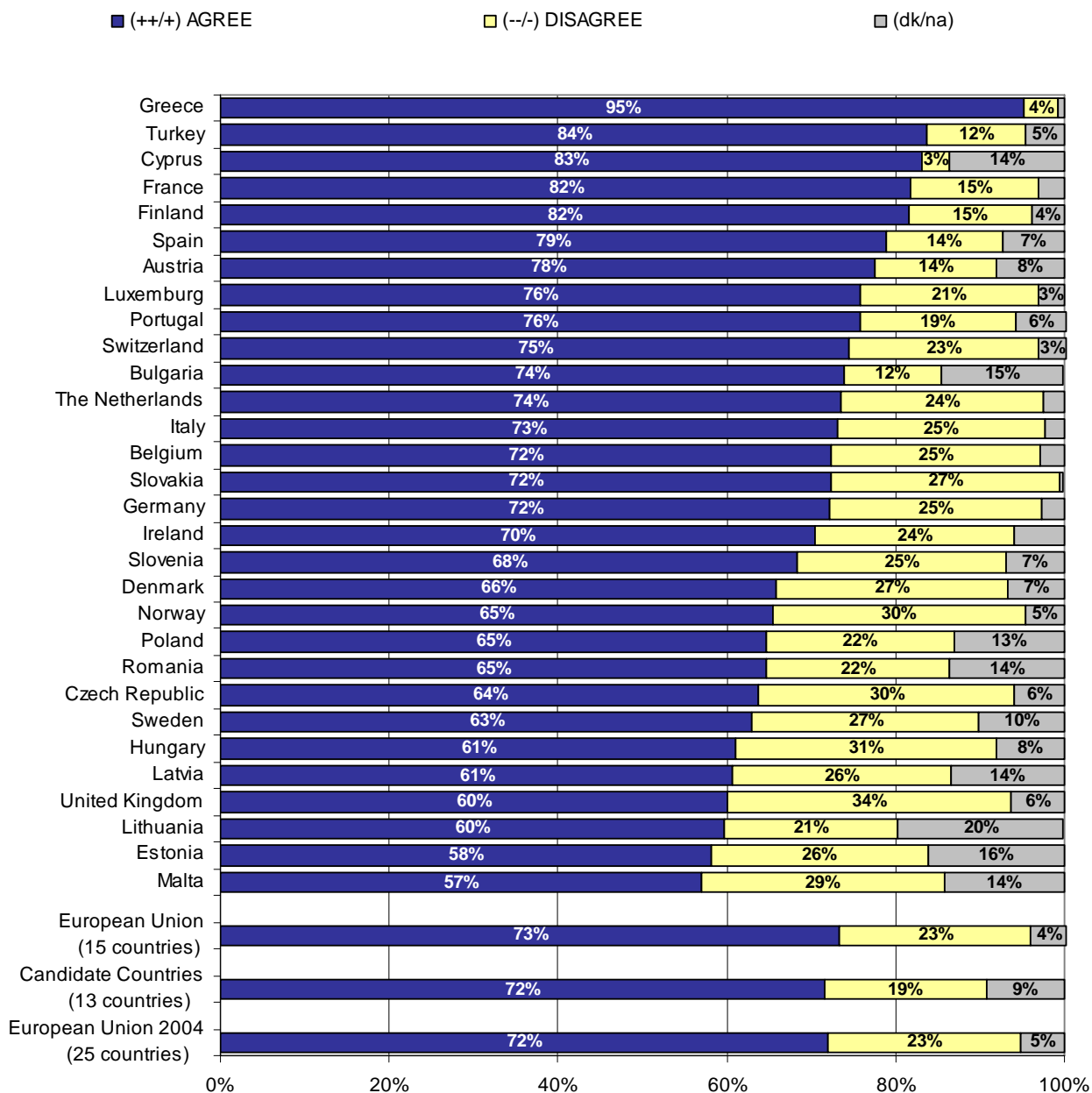
However, certain countries do justify a military intervention in case of non-cooperation, namely **Slovakia** (70%), the **United Kingdom** (61%), the **Czech Republic** (54%) and **Denmark** (53%).

As for the average of the **European Union of 2004**, all results closely resemble those of the current European Union.

From a social and demographic viewpoint of the European Union, there are several remarks that can be made:

- For all three hypotheses, there is a clear distinction between men and women concerning the justification of a military participation. While men strongly justify a military intervention, women are much less of this opinion. The largest gap among genders can be noted in the hypothesis that the United Nations decides on a military intervention, since 66% of men justify this while only 49% of women feel the same.
- Other distinctions can be made among the different age categories in this last hypothesis, where the younger populations (63%) clearly justify military intervention supported by the U.N. more than elder populations (50%).
- On the contrary of what we have seen in the case of unilateral military intervention of the USA, highly educated people much more justify (64%) an intervention decided by the UN in comparison with the less educated (49%)
- As for the religious categories, 50% of Muslims do not justify a military intervention even with U.N. backing, while Catholics and non-believers are respectively 35% and 38% against a military operation in this case.

**Oil is the main motivation for which the United States wants to intervene militarily in Iraq.**



## 2. Reasons behind a military intervention

In this section we will study what Europeans consider as the main reasons why a military intervention is on the brink of taking place against Iraq.

In a first part, we will see if Europeans truly believe oil is the main motivation for a US-led intervention in Iraq. In a second part, we will show how respondents perceive Iraq as a threat to World peace. And lastly, we will examine to what extent Europeans believe that Saddam Hussein's regime is supported by the Iraqi people.

### 2.1 Is oil a main motivation for US intervention in Iraq?

- *72% of respondents across Europe believe Iraq's oil resources are the main reason behind America's desire to intervene militarily -*

The results show a majority of the respondents agreeing that Iraq's oil resources are the main motivation for which the United States wants to intervene militarily in Iraq. This majority is even more strengthened by the fact that among the 72% of **Europeans** who agree with this opinion, 43% are absolutely in agreement.

We can note that **Greece** (95%) is by far the country where interviewees agree with this opinion, while **Malta** (57%) and **Estonia** (58%) seem slightly more balanced.

Here we must nevertheless take into account the high levels of answers where respondents did not know or refused to give their opinion: 14% for **Malta**, 16% for **Estonia**, as well as in other Candidate Countries such as **Lithuania** (20%) or **Bulgaria** (15%), which considerably alter the results for these countries.

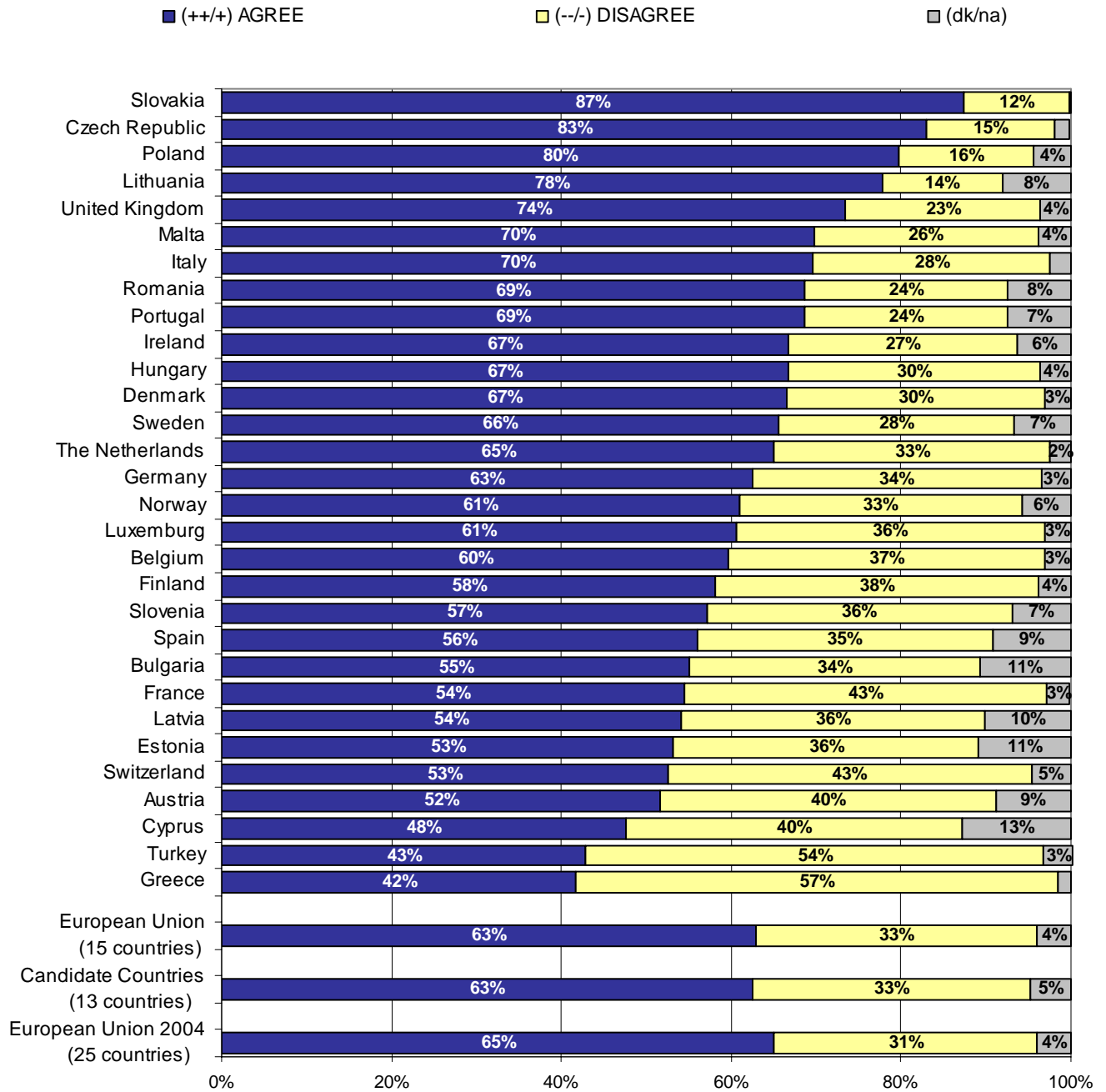
It is worth noting that this opinion on oil being the main US motivation is shared by 60% of the population in the **United Kingdom**, the United States closest ally in Europe. This result is nevertheless one of the lowest in Europe.

A further striking result coming from another close US ally is that of **Turkey**, where 84% of respondents agree with this opinion.

Looking at social and demographic variables in the European Union, all categories seem to agree with this opinion. Nevertheless, there are two important discrepancies:

- Categories of political orientation show that populations positioning themselves to the left clearly agree more with this opinion (80%) than do populations of the right (69%).
- Another distinction can be made among the age categories where the elder populations (76%) agree more than the younger (69%) that oil is the main US motivation.

**Iraq represents a threat to World peace.**





## 2.2 Iraq continues to remain a threat to World peace

*- Two thirds of respondents across Europe agree that Iraq represents a threat to World peace -*

Overall, Europeans agree with the opinion that Iraq represents a threat to World peace. The results in each of the main groups are virtually identical since overall, 63% of **Europeans** perceive Iraq as a threat.

Opinions rise as high as 87% in **Slovakia** and 74% in the **United Kingdom** and drop to 43% in **Turkey** and 42% in **Greece**.

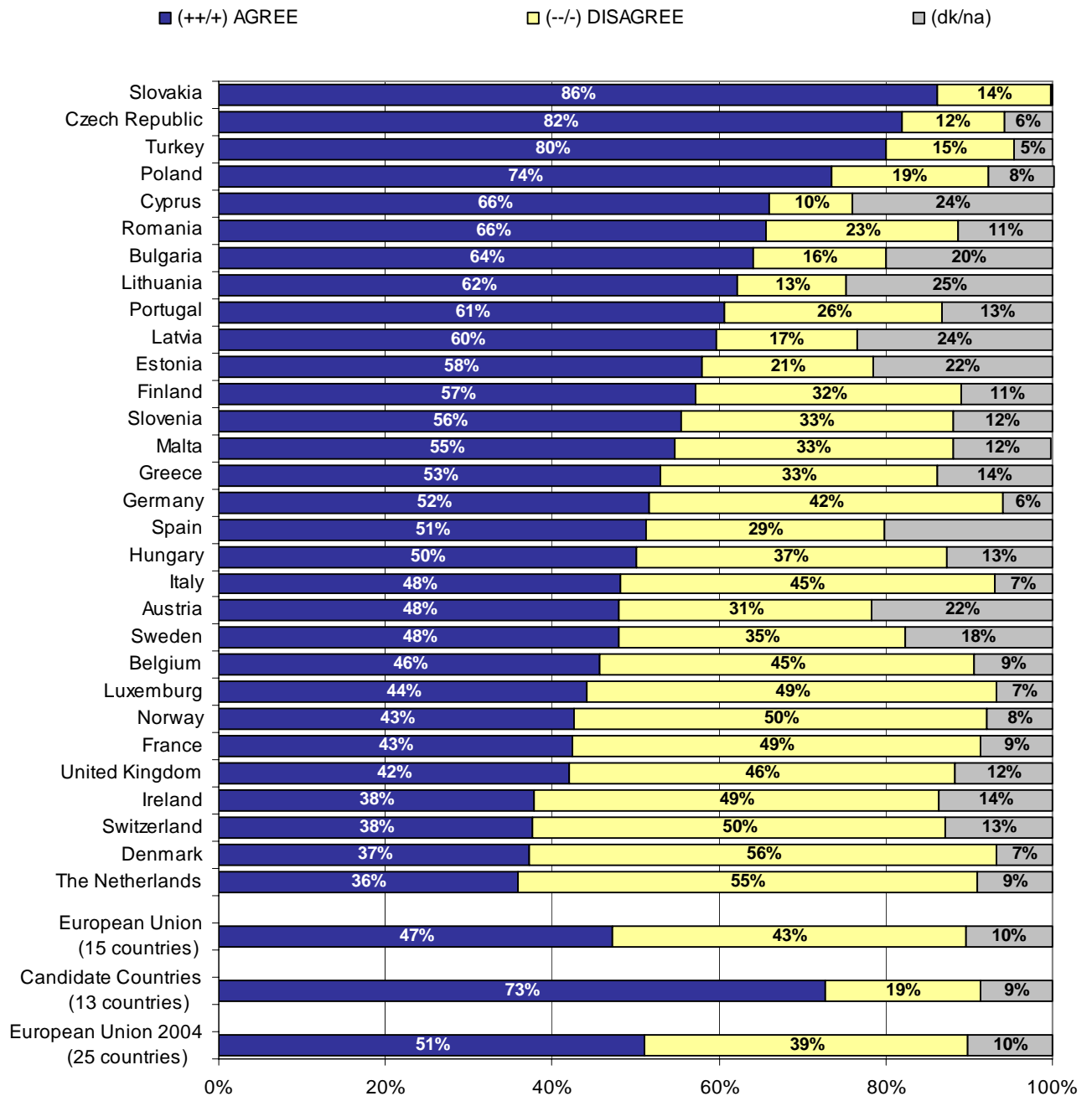
In these last two countries a majority of respondents disagree and do not think that Iraq represents a threat to World peace. The Turkish result is all the more interesting since only 9% among the 43% of agreeing respondents 'absolutely agree' that Iraq is a threat. It is interesting to point out that they are the two countries located the closest to Iraq.

Globally however, this result clearly shows us that Europeans consider Iraq as a threat to World peace. Public opinion indicates that action must be undertaken by the international community to disarm Iraq of any eventual weapons of mass destruction.

In the European Union, from a social and demographic point of view, most categories seem to have the same opinion on this matter. However, 53% of the population of Muslim religion does not agree that Iraq represents a threat.

Other discrepancies can be noted between both genders, where men are far less to believe that Iraq is a threat (55%) than women who seem much more certain of this (70%).

**The people of Iraq support Saddam Hussein's regime.**



## 2.3 Europeans dubious of Iraqi peoples support to Saddam Hussein's regime

*- European citizens seem split over the fact whether the Iraqi people support Saddam Hussein's regime or not -*

Results obtained in the European Union and the Candidate Countries are somewhat opposed on this issue. The **European Union** average shows that only 47% of respondents agree with this opinion while they are 73% in the **Candidate Countries** to agree.

The graph clearly shows Candidate Countries vastly agreeing with the opinion that the people of Iraq support Saddam Hussein. Results are as high as 86% in **Slovakia**, 82% in the **Czech Republic**, 80% in **Turkey** and 74% in **Poland**.

Quite on the opposite, results coming from the **European Union** show that the Member States are very mitigated concerning their opinions on the Iraqi people. Regarding the EU average, 47% of respondents consider that the Iraqi leader can rely on his people while 43% believe the contrary.

Once again, the high rate of answers where respondents did not know or refused to give their opinion must also be taken into account, showing a great lack of information or a doubt on the results of the last Iraqi referendum organised by Saddam Hussein.

From a social and demographic point of view in the European Union, most categories seem undecided on this issue. Nevertheless, among men and women there is a notable difference: while 48% of men disagree with the opinion that the Iraqi people support Saddam Hussein's regime, only 38% of women think the same.

Q2a Parmi les problèmes internationaux suivants, quel est celui qui vous paraît le plus important de régler en priorité ?  
En premier

According to you, among the following international problems, which one should be solved in top priority?  
Firstly

	L'éventualité d'une guerre en Irak	Le conflit israélo-palestinien	Le conflit en Tchétchénie	Les tensions entre l'Inde et le Pakistan	Le terrorisme international	Reprise par la Corée du Nord de son programme d'armement nucléaire	Autre	Aucun de ceux là / Ils ont tous la même importance	(nsp/sr)
	The eventuality of a war in Iraq	The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians	The conflict in Chechnya	The tensions between India and Pakistan	International terrorism	The possibility of North Korea resuming its nuclear weapons programme	Other	None of these / They are all of equal importance	(dk/na)
BELGIQUE	47%	16%		1%	26%	4%	2%	3%	2%
DANMARK	36%	17%	0%	1%	33%	7%	1%	3%	2%
DEUTSCHLAND	53%	12%	1%	1%	23%	5%	1%	4%	0%
ELLAS	47%	7%	0%	1%	22%	7%	3%	10%	1%
ESPANA	31%	15%	1%	1%	35%	4%	1%	8%	4%
IRELAND	53%	14%	0%	1%	17%	8%	2%	4%	2%
ITALIA	34%	19%	0%	2%	27%	4%	4%	10%	1%
LUXEMBOURG	48%	15%	0%	2%	25%	3%	0%	6%	1%
NEDERLAND	42%	24%	1%	1%	22%	4%	2%	3%	2%
OSTERREICH	43%	16%	0%	2%	15%	4%	4%	14%	3%
PORTUGAL	33%	9%		1%	33%	5%	2%	12%	6%
FINLAND	49%	9%	2%	1%	21%	6%	4%	7%	2%
FRANCE	31%	16%	1%	2%	37%	5%	2%	6%	1%
SWEDEN	38%	20%	1%	2%	17%	7%	1%	10%	5%
UNITED KINGDOM	39%	14%		1%	30%	10%	4%	1%	1%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>1%</b>
BULGARIA	46%	3%	0%	1%	32%	1%	1%	9%	8%
CYPRUS	41%	4%		0%	10%	3%	16%	16%	11%
CZECH REPUBLIC	42%	5%	1%	1%	31%	4%	1%	12%	4%
ESTONIA	34%	3%	7%	1%	29%	7%	1%	13%	6%
HUNGARY	43%	9%	0%	0%	20%	7%	2%	13%	6%
LATVIA	30%	4%	11%	1%	37%	7%	2%	7%	2%
LITHUANIA	37%	4%	13%	1%	30%	3%	0%	5%	6%
MALTA	41%	14%	0%	0%	29%	6%	1%	6%	3%
POLAND	47%	7%	6%	1%	25%	5%	1%	6%	3%
ROMANIA	44%	3%	2%	1%	27%	9%	0%	9%	5%
SLOVAKIA	59%	8%	3%	2%	20%	6%	1%	1%	1%
SLOVENIA	36%	8%	0%	2%	26%	6%	4%	14%	5%
TURKEY	78%	5%	1%	0%	7%	2%	1%	4%	2%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>3%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>1%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>2%</b>
SWITZERLAND	40%	17%	1%	1%	23%	3%	2%	10%	3%
NORWAY	46%	22%	0%	1%	17%	8%	0%	3%	2%

### 3. Priorities on the international scene and judgment of taken actions

In this section, we will show how Europeans tend to perceive the international issues and which actors they judge the most capable of solving global problems.

In the first part, we will examine which international problems Europeans are the most concerned about and would like to see solved in priority. Then, in a second part, we will find out to which international actor Europeans look up to the most in order to have problems of global importance solved.

#### 3.1 Iraqi crisis is top priority

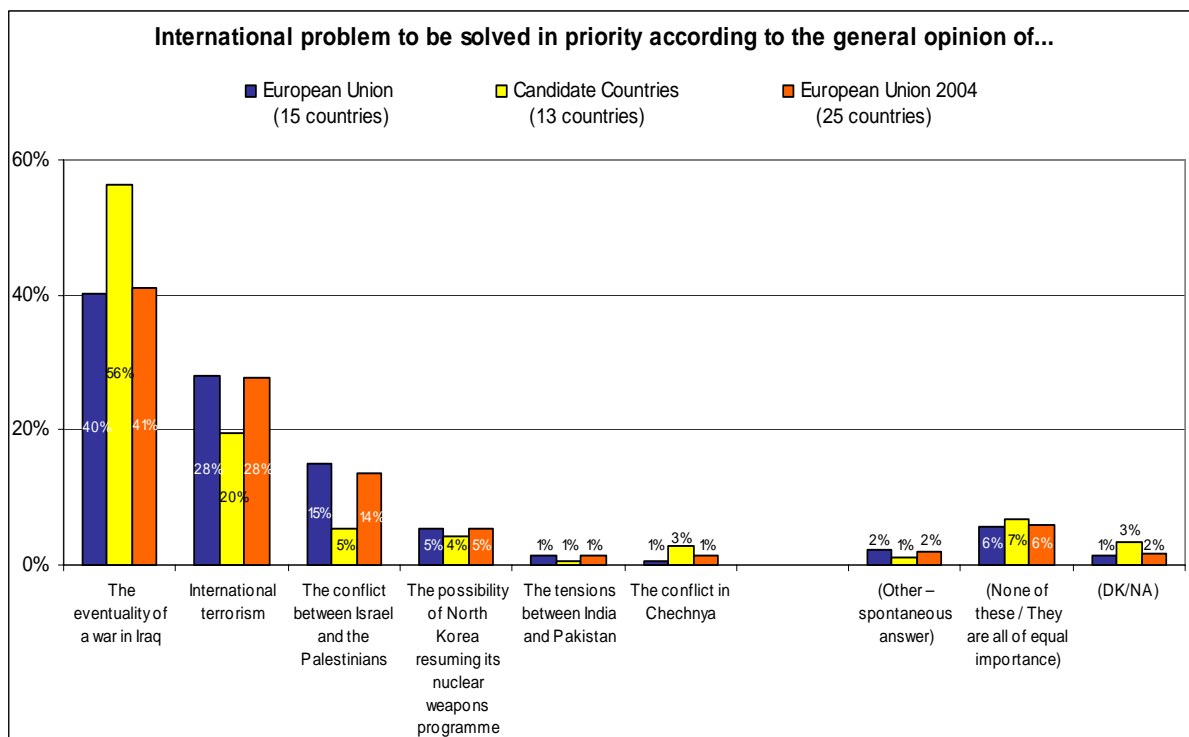
*- Europeans deeply concerned by Iraqi crisis -*

The results show that among the European public opinion, the international problem to be solved in priority is the eventuality of a war in Iraq. Averages reach 40% of respondents in the **European Union** and 56% of respondents in the **Candidate Countries**.

The Iraqi crisis is followed by the problem of international terrorism (28% in the **EU**, 20% in the **Candidate Countries**) and by the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians (15% in the **EU**, 5% in the **Candidate Countries**).

Results by country show that **Germany** (53%) and **Ireland** (53%) have the highest rates for respondents who consider the Iraqi crisis as the problem to solve in top priority.

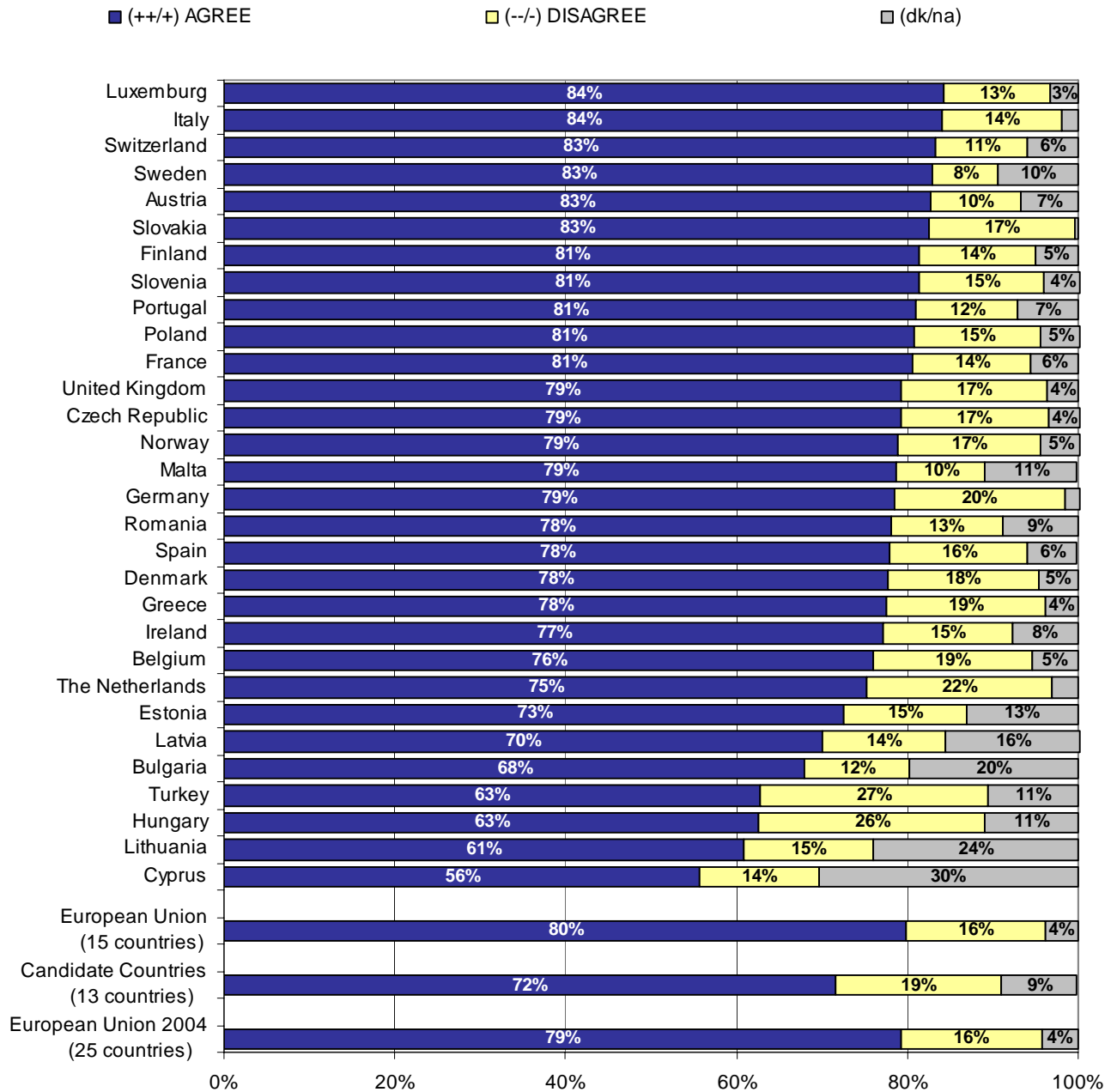
On the contrary, countries with the lowest rate of respondents indicating the Iraqi crisis as top priority are **Latvia** (30%), **Spain** (31%) and **France** (31%). In these three countries, public opinion indicates that the problem of international terrorism should be solved in priority. In **Portugal**, respondents consider both issues of equal importance.



Looking at social and demographic variables at European Union level, we can say that there are no truly significant discrepancies. All categories seem to recognize the importance of resolving the Iraqi crisis.

The only remark, which can be made, is the importance that Muslim populations and the highly educated population attach to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. For both of these categories, this issue comes in second place after the Iraqi crisis.

**We should be as concerned by North Korea's nuclear programme as by Iraq's attitude towards weapons of mass destruction.**



*- North Korea's nuclear programme as worrying as the Iraqi crisis -*

However, two important remarks must be made concerning the priority of the Iraqi crisis.

First of all, respondents do not want a double-measured policy and express the need to give as much attention to North Korea's plans as to the Iraqi crisis. 80% of respondents in the **European Union** and 72% of respondents in the **Candidate Countries** agree that we should be as concerned by North Korea's nuclear program as by Iraq's attitude towards weapons of mass destruction.

Results by country show that there are no important disparities among Europeans. Highest levels of agreement are found in **Luxembourg** (84%), **Italy** (84%), **Switzerland** (83%), **Sweden** (83%), **Austria** (83%) and **Slovakia** (83%). Other countries nevertheless closely follow these results.

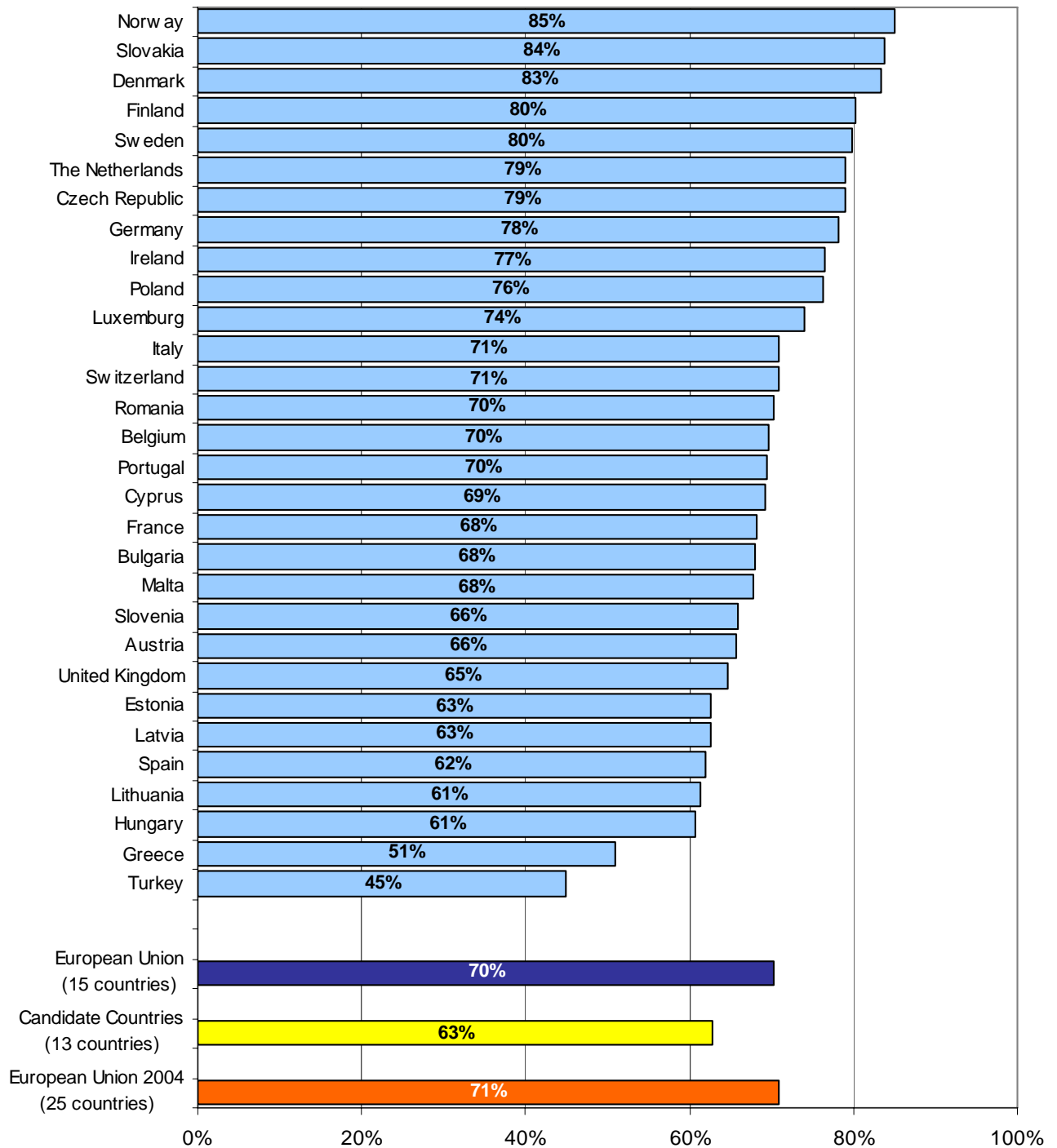
Countries, which agree the least are **Cyprus** (56%), **Lithuania** (61%), **Hungary** (63%) and **Turkey** (63%).

In the case of **Cyprus**, we must however take into consideration the high rate of respondents (30%) who did not know or refused to give an answer on this issue. The same can be said for **Lithuania** (24%) and **Bulgaria** (20%).

Looking at social and demographic results, the only notable difference among categories is found among religions. While 81% of Catholics agree with the fact that we should be as concerned by North Korea's plans as by Iraq's attitude towards weapons of mass destruction, they are only 70% to agree among the Muslim population.

The second important remark, which we will develop, is the fact that the response to the Iraqi problem should not be undertaken outside of a collective action or decision. In this regard, action undertaken by the United Nations on the international scene is considered positive by a majority of Europeans, an opinion that we will analyse in the following section.

**How would you judge action undertaken by the following organisations or countries on the international scene ? Answer -Very positive / Rather positive- "The United Nations"**

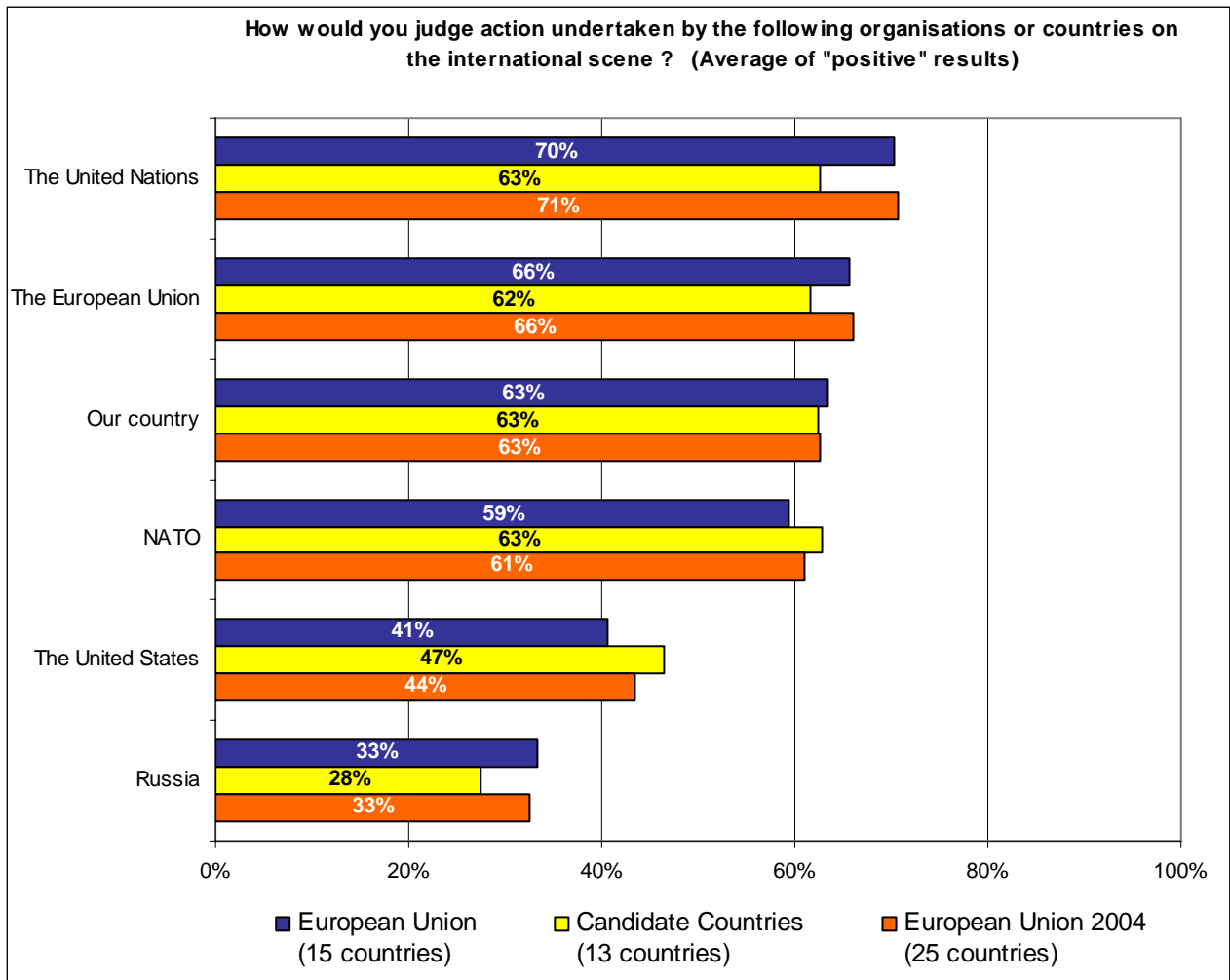




### 3.2 Perception of different international actors: collective action is favoured

*- Europeans think highly of the United Nations -*

When asked which international actor has undertaken the most positive actions on the global scene, the results of this survey point to the fact that the United Nations enjoys a positive image across Europe. This result confirms that a collective action by the international community is the Europeans preferred answer to solve the Iraqi problem and other international issues.



In the **European Union**, 70% of respondents judge the United Nations actions on the international scene as positive, while this opinion reaches 63% in the **Candidate Countries**.

Results by country show that the only exceptions concern **Greece** and **Turkey** with respectively 51% and 45% of positive judgments on the United Nations.

The most positive results come from the Scandinavian countries (**Norway** 85%, **Denmark** 83%, **Finland** 80% and **Sweden** 80%) as well as from **Slovakia** (84%).

Q5a D'une manière générale, comment jugez-vous l'action des organisations ou pays suivants sur la scène internationale ? Diriez-vous que cette action est très positive, plutôt positive, plutôt négative ou très négative ?

In general, how would you judge action undertaken by the following Organisations or countries on the international scene? Would you say that this action is very positive, rather positive, rather negative, or very negative?

L'Union européenne

The European Union

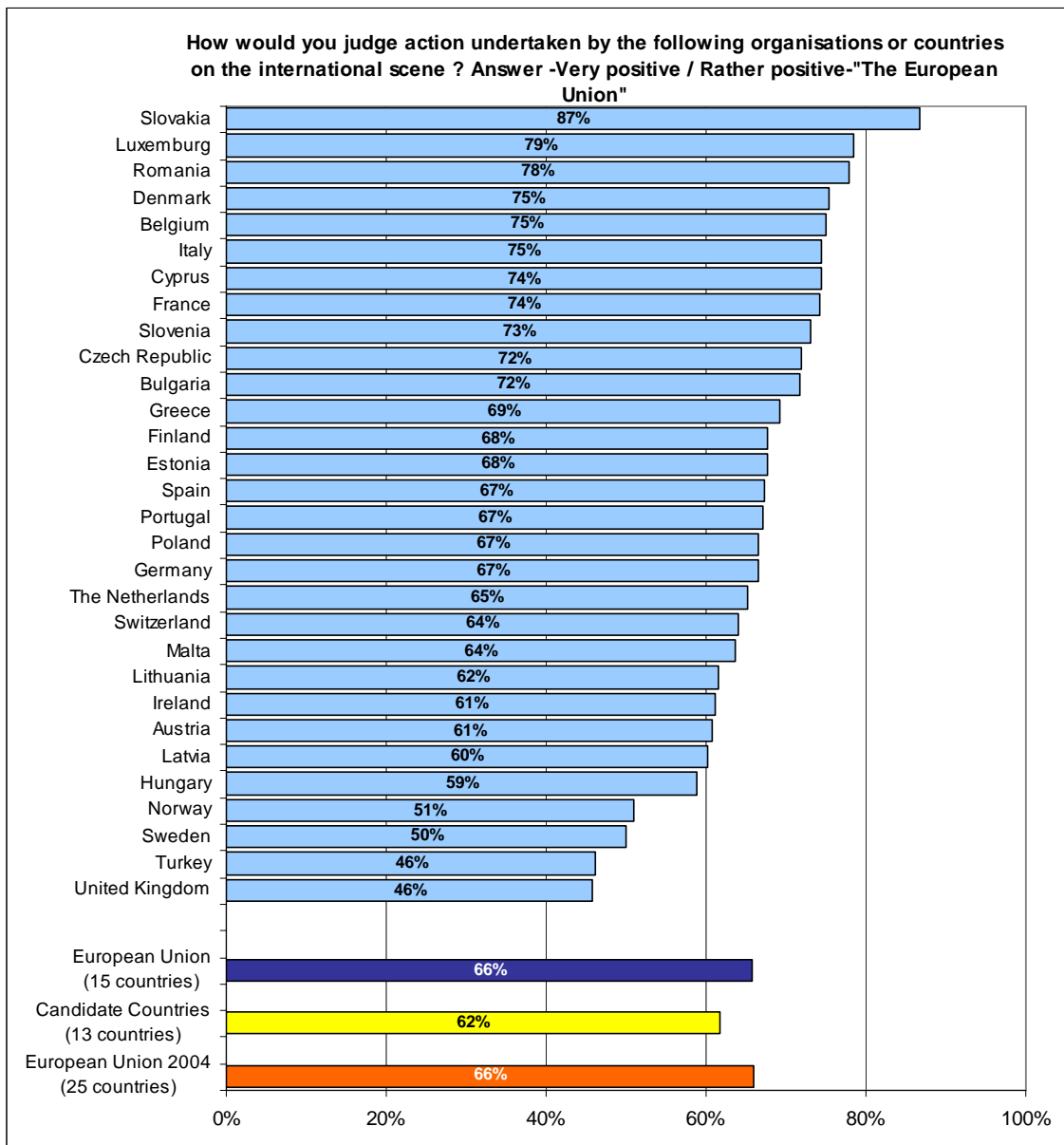
	Très positive	Plutôt positive	Plutôt négative	Très négative	(nsp/sr)	(++/+) POSITIVE	(--/-) NEGATIVE
	Very positive	Rather positive	Rather negative	Very negative	(dk/na)	(++/+) POSITIVE	(--/-) NEGATIVE
BELGIQUE	9%	66%	16%	3%	6%	75%	19%
DANMARK	10%	65%	15%	2%	8%	75%	16%
DEUTSCHLAND	11%	55%	22%	3%	8%	67%	25%
ELLAS	16%	53%	22%	5%	4%	69%	27%
ESPANA	6%	61%	15%	3%	15%	67%	18%
IRELAND	13%	48%	21%	4%	14%	61%	25%
ITALIA	8%	66%	21%	3%	2%	75%	24%
LUXEMBOURG	17%	61%	14%	2%	6%	79%	16%
NEDERLAND	10%	55%	25%	4%	6%	65%	29%
OSTERREICH	7%	54%	21%	4%	15%	61%	25%
PORTUGAL	5%	63%	17%	1%	14%	67%	19%
FINLAND	5%	63%	17%	3%	13%	68%	19%
FRANCE	9%	65%	17%	3%	6%	74%	19%
SWEDEN	2%	48%	28%	5%	16%	50%	34%
UNITED KINGDOM	6%	40%	28%	13%	14%	46%	41%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>26%</b>
BULGARIA	23%	49%	8%	2%	18%	72%	10%
CYPRUS	41%	34%	2%	1%	22%	74%	3%
CZECH REPUBLIC	19%	53%	19%	7%	3%	72%	25%
ESTONIA	8%	59%	12%	2%	19%	68%	13%
HUNGARY	9%	50%	22%	4%	16%	59%	25%
LATVIA	13%	47%	14%	3%	23%	60%	17%
LITHUANIA	8%	53%	13%	4%	22%	62%	17%
MALTA	20%	44%	18%	5%	13%	64%	23%
POLAND	13%	53%	18%	7%	8%	67%	25%
ROMANIA	36%	42%	9%	5%	8%	78%	14%
SLOVA KIA	51%	35%	11%	2%	0%	87%	13%
SLOVE NIA	16%	57%	13%	1%	13%	73%	14%
TURKEY	10%	37%	42%	4%	8%	46%	46%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>29%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>25%</b>
SWITZERLAND	5%	59%	22%	2%	12%	64%	24%
NORWAY	5%	46%	29%	8%	12%	51%	37%

- A good assessment of EU actions -

The longing for collective action is also expressed through the positive judgments Europeans have concerning the European Union and its actions undertaken on the international scene. In fact, both respondents of the **European Union** (66%) and those of the **Candidate Countries** (62%) judge as 'positive' the European Union's actions on the international scene.

However, when studying each country one by one, several exceptions can be made:

- The least positive responses concerning the European Union appear in the **United Kingdom** and **Turkey**, with only 46% of positive opinions in both countries. The poor result in the United Kingdom reflects this country's high euroscepticism, which is amplified by the fact that 13% of respondents in the UK suggest that the European Union's actions are 'very negative' on the international scene (compared to the 5% observed on average). Turkey's result may be influenced by its recent non-admittance into the group of the 10 countries accepted for the enlargement of the European Union, creating a negative image of the European Union among its population.
- Similar remarks can be made for results in **Sweden** (50%) and **Norway** (51%), where opinions are generally not in favour of the European Union, as noticed in national referendums concerning the adoption of the Euro for the Swedes, and the entry into the European Union for the Norwegians.



Q6e Pour chacune des propositions suivantes, dites-moi si vous êtes d'accord ou non ?

For each of the following propositions, tell me if you agree or not?

L'Union européenne devrait agir davantage en matière de politique étrangère

The European Union should be more active in matters relating to Foreign Policy

	Tout à fait d'accord	Plutôt d'accord	Plutôt pas d'accord	Pas d'accord du tout	(nsp/sr)	(+++) D'ACCORD	(--/-) PAS D'ACCORD
	Absolutely agree	Rather agree	Rather disagree	Absolutely disagree	(dk/na)	(+++) AGREE	(--/-) DISAGREE
BELGIQUE	35%	49%	8%	4%	5%	83%	12%
DANMARK	41%	35%	14%	5%	6%	76%	18%
DEUTSCHLAND	46%	42%	8%	3%	2%	88%	11%
ELLAS	78%	17%	2%	1%	2%	95%	3%
ESPANA	25%	57%	8%	2%	9%	82%	10%
IRELAND	44%	38%	8%	3%	7%	82%	11%
ITALIA	44%	48%	6%	0%	3%	92%	6%
LUXEMBOURG	60%	32%	5%	1%	1%	92%	6%
NEDERLAND	41%	37%	15%	4%	4%	77%	19%
OSTERREICH	37%	45%	9%	2%	8%	82%	10%
PORTUGAL	31%	55%	6%	0%	8%	85%	7%
FINLAND	37%	39%	12%	2%	10%	76%	14%
FRANCE	37%	46%	9%	5%	3%	83%	14%
SWEDEN	41%	34%	6%	9%	11%	75%	15%
UNITED KINGDOM	35%	44%	12%	5%	5%	79%	17%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>12%</b>
BULGARIA	48%	28%	3%	1%	21%	75%	4%
CYPRUS	65%	19%	1%	1%	14%	84%	2%
CZECH REPUBLIC	32%	49%	15%	2%	2%	81%	17%
ESTONIA	42%	32%	8%	1%	17%	74%	9%
HUNGARY	51%	23%	10%	4%	12%	74%	14%
LATVIA	42%	29%	9%	1%	19%	71%	11%
LITHUANIA	26%	51%	8%	1%	14%	77%	9%
MALTA	27%	40%	12%	5%	16%	67%	17%
POLAND	33%	41%	11%	2%	14%	73%	13%
ROMANIA	65%	20%	5%	3%	7%	85%	8%
SLOVAKIA	41%	47%	10%	2%	0%	88%	12%
SLOVENIA	49%	30%	8%	5%	9%	79%	13%
TURKEY	28%	50%	14%	2%	7%	78%	16%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>2%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>13%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>3%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>12%</b>
SWITZERLAND	28%	47%	15%	5%	6%	75%	19%
NORWAY	26%	48%	15%	5%	7%	74%	19%

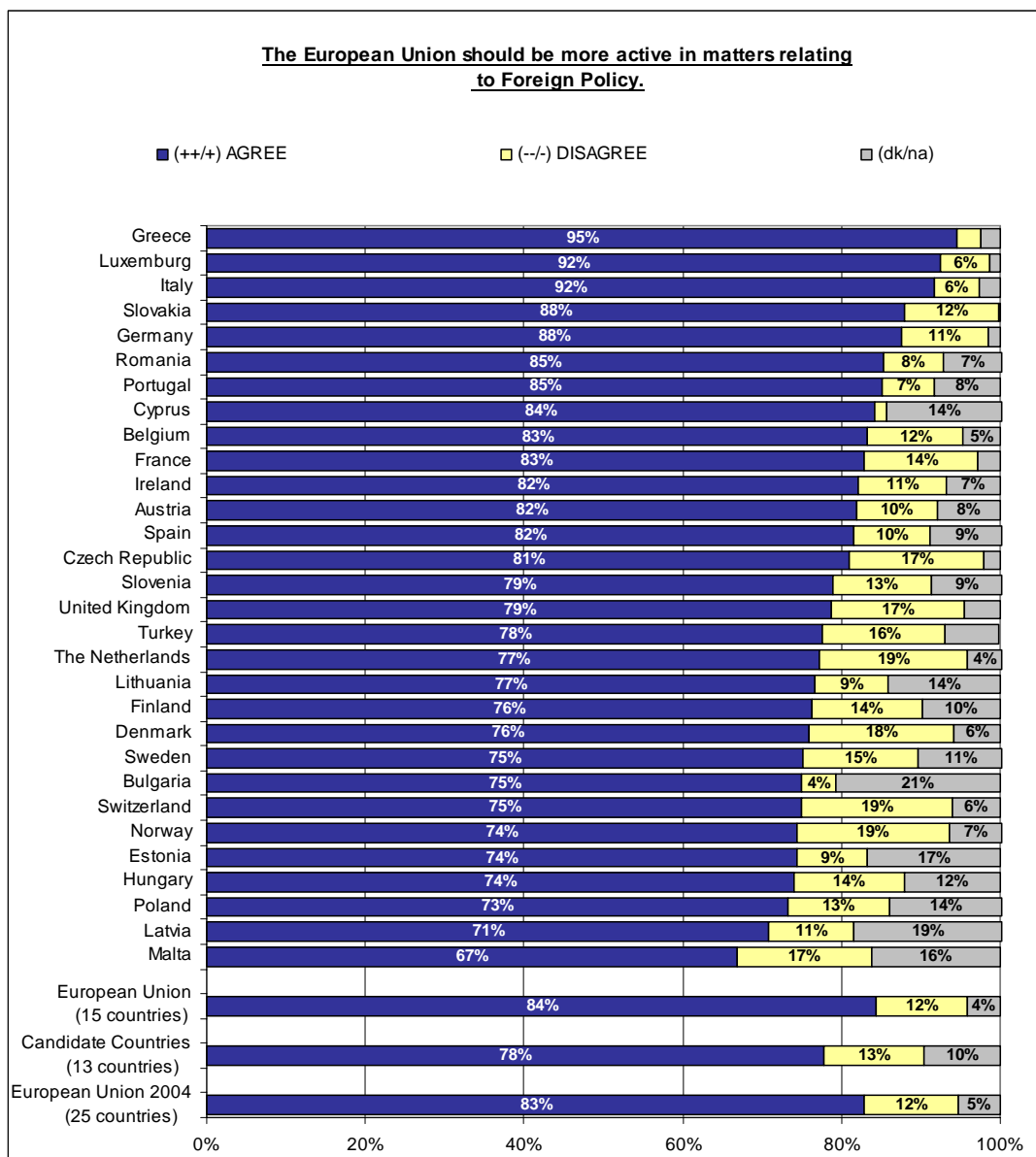
*- The EU has to develop its Foreign Policy -*

However, while Europeans seem to praise actions undertaken by the European Union on the global scene, they also point out to the fact that they expect the EU to develop its foreign policy.

When observing results whether the European Union should be more active in matters relating to Foreign Policy, we can note that a vast majority of Europeans agree with this opinion. The average result of the **EU Member States** (84%) is somewhat higher than that of the **Candidate Countries** (78%).

Results by country confirm these averages, with a slightly lower result for **Malta** (67%) nevertheless.

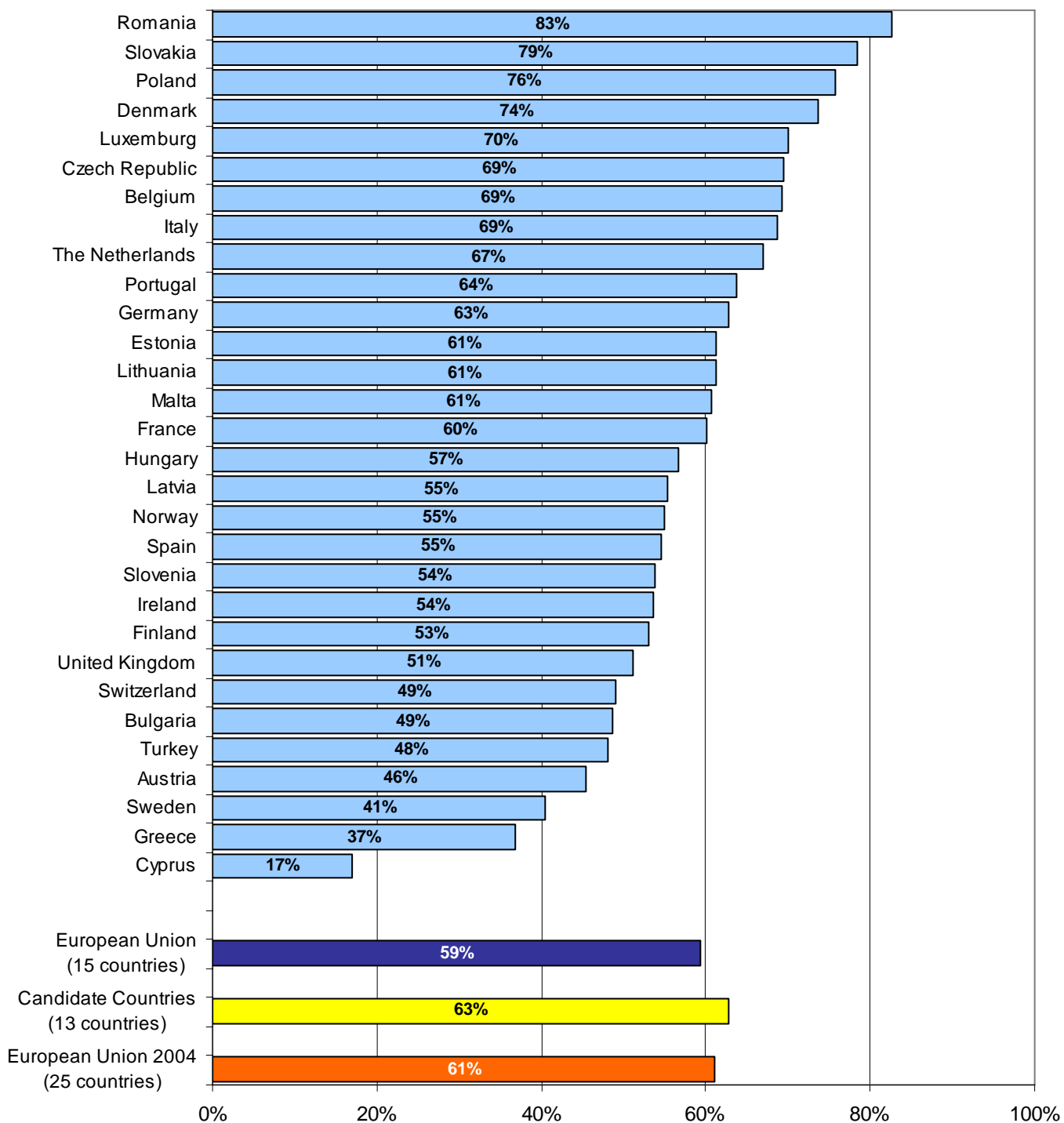
Countries mostly agreeing with this opinion are **Greece** (95%), **Luxembourg** (92%) and **Italy** (92%).



The social and demographic results confirm the average of the European Union, with very high rates agreeing in all categories.

The Muslim population distinguishes itself by the fact that its rate of agreement for this opinion reaches 96%, highly exceeding all other categories.

**How would you judge action undertaken by the following organisations or countries on the international scene ? Answer -Very positive / Rather positive- "NATO"**



*- NATO, positively judged -*

Finally, NATO also enjoys positive perception among European public opinion with an average of 59% in the **European Union** and 63% in the **Candidate Countries**.

When analysing each country separately, we can note that the results are even more positively pronounced among countries that have recently been invited to join the Organisation in May 2004, namely **Romania** with 83% and **Slovakia** with 79% of positive responses.

Countries with low levels of positive results are Cyprus with 17% (but 39% of the inhabitants of this country did not give an answer), Greece with 37% and Sweden with 41%.

Interesting results come from Turkey and the United Kingdom, which are both NATO members. In these countries respectively 48% and 51% of respondents have a positive judgment of this organisation, rates notably below the average level of European countries.

Regarding social and demographic variables of the population of the European Union, we can observe that all categories clearly support the United Nations and the European Union.

For the United Nations, highly educated populations give the highest rate of support, with 77% perceiving the U.N.'s actions as positive, while this rate drops to 66% for lesser-educated people.

Concerning the actions of the European Union, there seems to be a difference of perspective among the age categories: while 73% of respondents aged 15 to 24 believe the European Union's actions are positive, they are only 61% among people aged 55 and older.

There is a large discrepancy between the political categories as well. While 71% of respondents of leftist orientation are in favour of the EU's actions, right-oriented populations are only 62% to appreciate these actions.

As for the results concerning NATO actions, the only significant remark can be made for results coming from the Muslim population of which 51% judge the Organisations actions as negative.

Q5b D'une manière générale, comment jugez-vous l'action des organisations ou pays suivants sur la scène internationale ? Diriez-vous que cette action est très positive, plutôt positive, plutôt négative ou très négative ? :

In general, how would you judge action undertaken by the following organisations or countries on the international scene? Would you say that this action is very positive, rather positive, rather negative, or very negative?

Les Etats-Unis

The United States

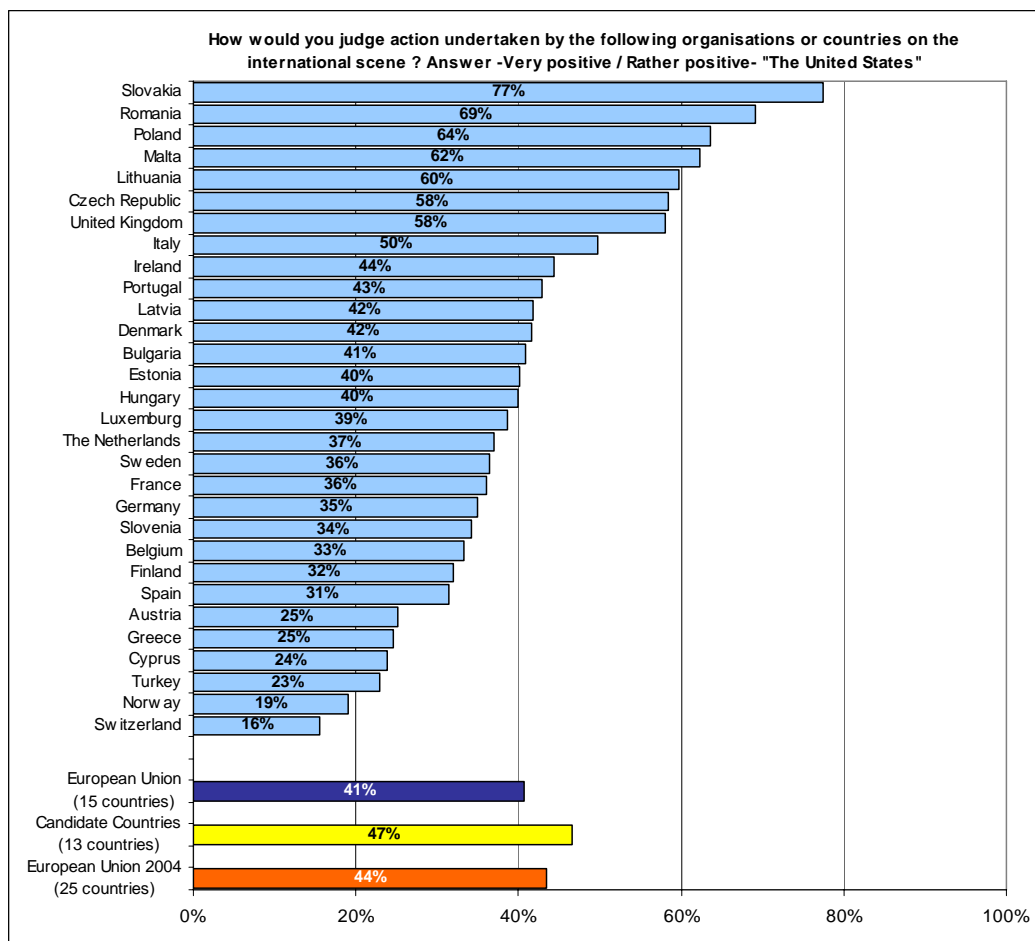
	Très positive	Plutôt positive	Plutôt négative	Très négative	(nsp/sr)	(+++) POSITIVE	(--/) NEGATIVE
	Very positive	Rather positive	Rather negative	Very negative	(dk/na)	(+++) POSITIVE	(--/) NEGATIVE
BELGIQUE	6%	27%	43%	20%	4%	33%	63%
DANMARK	8%	33%	35%	20%	4%	42%	55%
DEUTSCHLAND	12%	24%	41%	21%	3%	35%	62%
ELLAS	5%	20%	34%	38%	4%	25%	71%
ESPANA	4%	28%	38%	20%	10%	31%	59%
IRELAND	19%	26%	29%	19%	8%	44%	48%
ITALIA	10%	39%	30%	18%	2%	50%	49%
LUXEMBOURG	9%	30%	38%	19%	4%	39%	57%
NEDERLAND	7%	30%	40%	19%	4%	37%	59%
OSTERREICH	4%	21%	41%	22%	11%	25%	64%
PORTUGAL	7%	36%	37%	8%	13%	43%	45%
FINLAND	4%	28%	42%	18%	8%	32%	61%
FRANCE	9%	27%	42%	18%	5%	36%	59%
SWEDEN	6%	31%	35%	17%	12%	36%	52%
UNITED KINGDOM	25%	33%	18%	19%	6%	58%	36%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>54%</b>
BULGARIA	11%	30%	31%	14%	14%	41%	45%
CYPRUS	13%	11%	18%	27%	31%	24%	45%
CZECH REPUBLIC	23%	36%	25%	14%	3%	58%	39%
ESTONIA	6%	35%	38%	8%	14%	40%	46%
HUNGARY	8%	32%	36%	8%	16%	40%	45%
LATVIA	9%	33%	27%	12%	19%	42%	39%
LITHUANIA	12%	48%	15%	5%	20%	60%	20%
MALTA	24%	39%	21%	5%	12%	62%	25%
POLAND	20%	44%	21%	10%	5%	64%	31%
ROMANIA	35%	34%	14%	9%	9%	69%	22%
SLOVAKIA	52%	26%	17%	5%	1%	77%	22%
SLOVE NIA	5%	29%	36%	20%	10%	34%	56%
TURKEY	2%	21%	46%	24%	8%	23%	69%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>45%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>51%</b>
SWITZERLAND	2%	14%	48%	30%	7%	16%	78%
NORWAY	3%	16%	43%	30%	8%	19%	73%



### 3.3 US and Russian actions are poorly appreciated

- 41% characterise US foreign policy as 'positive' while 54% believe it is 'negative' -

Unlike results for the previous actors, the United States seems to be much less appreciated for its actions on the international scene. Only 41% of **European Union** citizens and 47% of citizens in the **Candidate Countries** consider that action undertaken by the USA on the international scene is positive, while 54% of the average of the European Union and 45% of the average of the Candidate Countries believe it is negative.



It is perhaps on this issue that the greatest variations among countries surveyed can be observed.

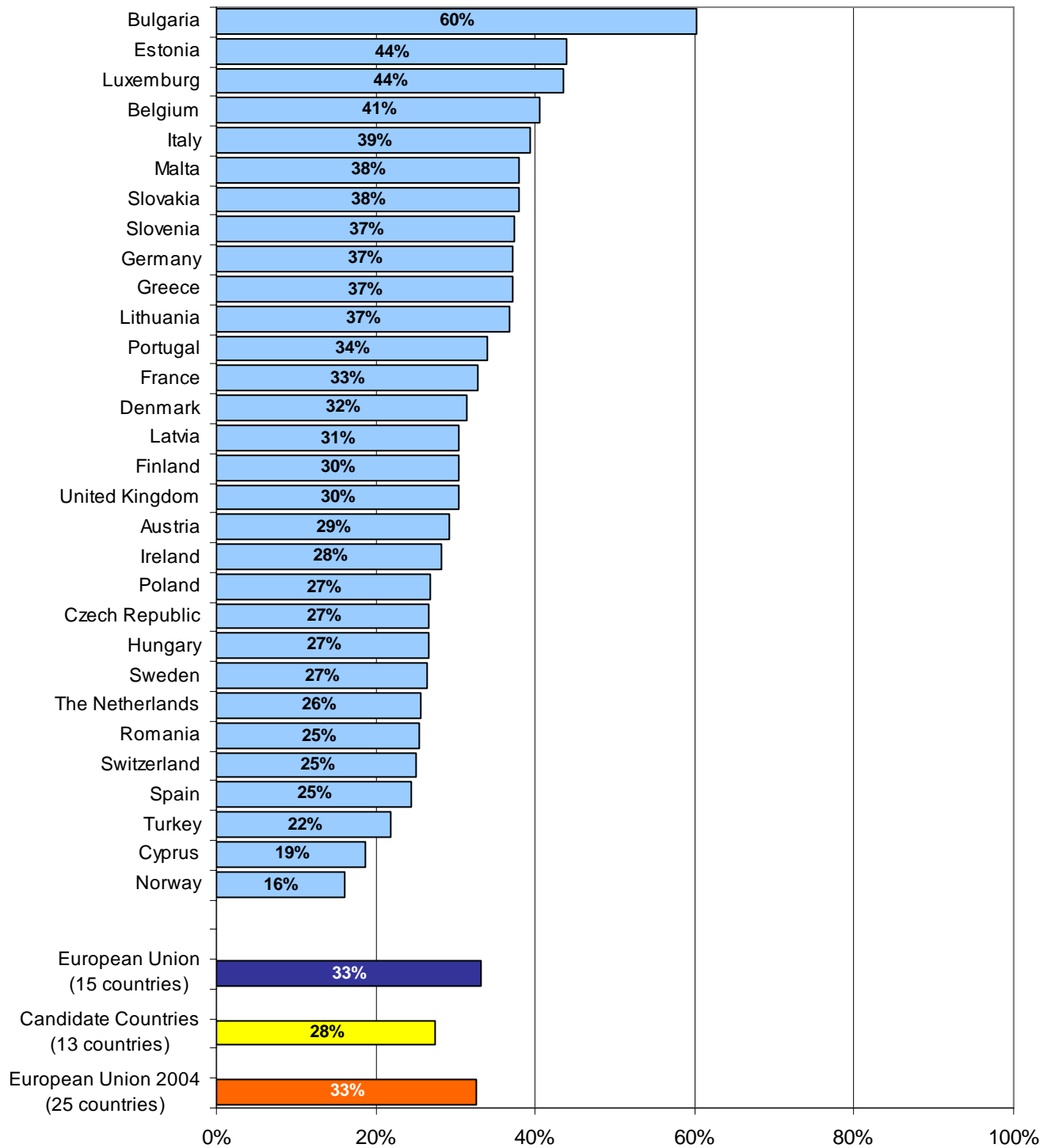
The **United Kingdom** and **Italy** are the only EU countries where a majority of respondents (respectively 58% and 50%) view US actions on the international scene as positive.

The results of the two EFTA countries are the least favorable towards US actions. Both **Norway** and **Switzerland** consider the US actions on the international scene as negative, with respectively 73% and 78% of respondents. This negative stance towards the United States is furthermore accentuated by the fact that in both countries, 30% of respondents judged US actions as 'very negative'.

Results from the Candidate Countries show the most disparities. While **Slovakia** (77%), **Romania** (69%) and **Poland** (64%) indicate the highest positive rates, **Turkey** (23%) and **Cyprus** (24%) have the lowest rates. In this last country, however, results show that 31% of respondents did not know or refused to give their judgment on US actions.

Overall results confirm the European publics position concerning a rejection of a US-led war on Iraq without explicit U.N. authorization. Europeans opt for a collective action led by the international community on the Iraqi issue.

**How would you judge action undertaken by the following organisations or countries on the international scene ? Answers -Very positive / Rather positive- "Russia"**



**Russia** seems to be the actor least appreciated for its actions on the international scene. Both the **EU average** (33%) and that of the **Candidate Countries** (28%) indicate little appreciation for this countries foreign policy.

When observing the results by country, **Norway** is the country in Europe to least appreciate the Russian foreign policy with a low rate of 16% positive responses.

One exception to this general opinion can be noted: 60% of respondents in **Bulgaria** estimate that Russia's actions on the international scene are positive.

Looking at the **social and demographic variables** of the European Union, several remarks can be made. Although the majority of categories views US actions as mainly negative, there are however discrepancies between some of them:

- Concerning the different levels of education, while the lesser educated seem undecided whether the US actions are positive (47%) or negative (46%), the highly educated strongly insist that its actions are negative (67%).
- A difference of opinion also appears between people living in metropolitan areas, of which 62% respond that the US actions are negative, and those of urban zones, who are only 51% to consider this.
- Between the two religious groups there are also discrepancies: while 73% of Muslims consider the actions of the United States as negative (of which 40% perceive it as very negative), only 51% of Catholics think the same way.
- Finally, there are once again differences between the two political orientations: 64% of the leftist populations consider negative the US actions on the international scene, while rightist populations seem undecided with 48% of negative responses and 48% of positive responses.
- As for actions undertaken by Russia, responses are mainly negative among all categories of the European Union's population. The highly educated populations (55%) express the most negative results along with the Muslim population (58%).

Q5e D'une manière générale, comment jugez-vous l'action des organisations ou pays suivants sur la scène internationale ? Diriez-vous que cette action est très positive, plutôt positive, plutôt négative ou très négative ?

In general, how would you judge action undertaken by the following organisations or countries on the international scene? Would you say that this action is very positive, rather positive, rather negative, or very negative?

NOTRE PAYS

OUR COUNTRY

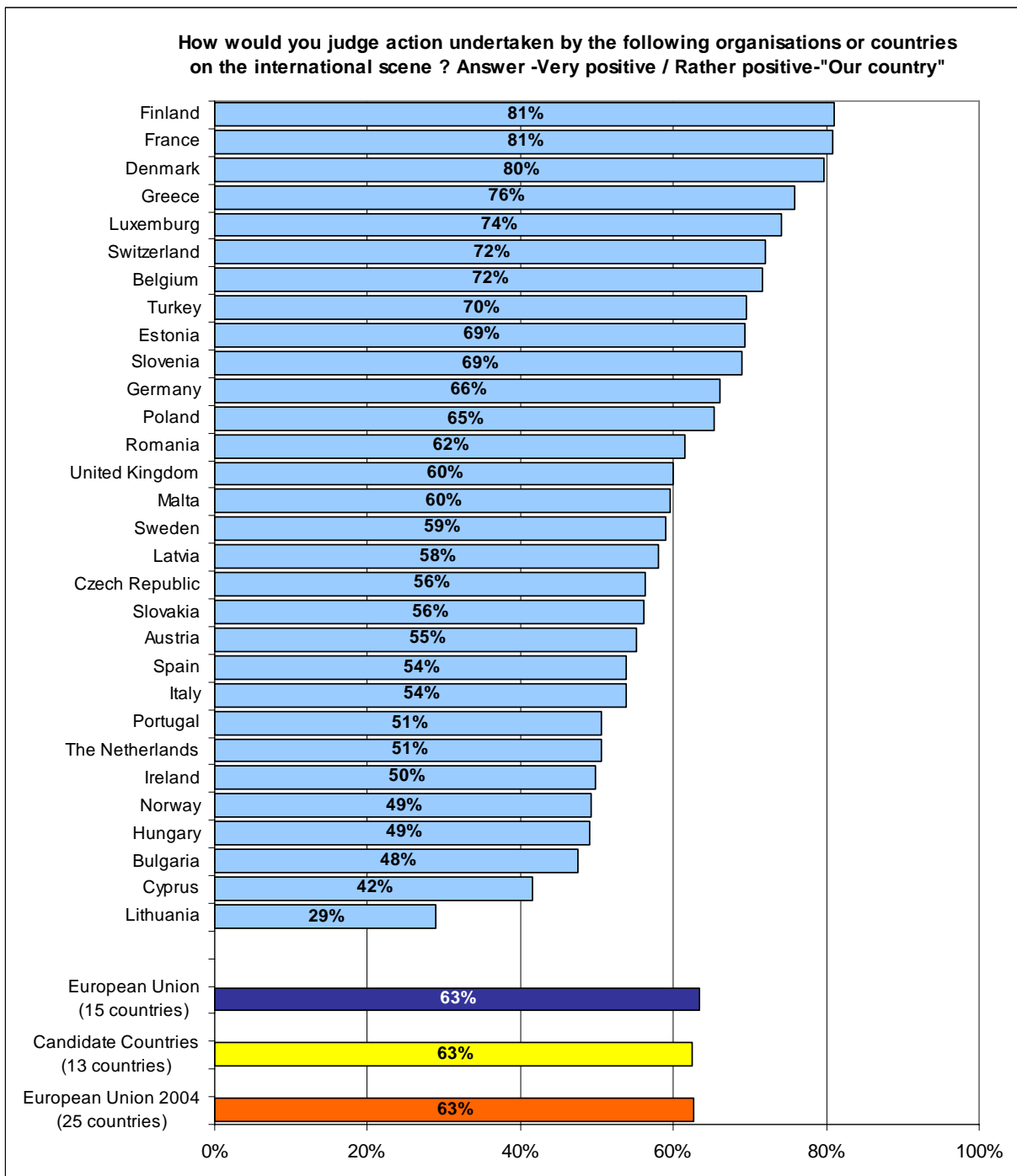
	Très positive	Plutôt positive	Plutôt négative	Très négative	(nsp/sr)	(+++) POSITIVE	(--/) NEGATIVE
	Very positive	Rather positive	Rather negative	Very negative	(dk/na)	(+++) POSITIVE	(--/) NEGATIVE
BELGIQUE	10%	62%	18%	4%	7%	72%	22%
DANMARK	15%	65%	13%	3%	5%	80%	16%
DEUTSCHLAND	11%	55%	25%	5%	4%	66%	30%
ELLAS	26%	50%	16%	4%	5%	76%	20%
ESPANA	3%	51%	27%	6%	13%	54%	33%
IRELAND	11%	39%	28%	8%	14%	50%	36%
ITALIA	7%	46%	35%	8%	3%	54%	43%
LUXEMBOURG	17%	58%	13%	5%	8%	74%	18%
NEDERLAND	5%	46%	35%	11%	4%	51%	45%
OSTERREICH	7%	49%	16%	3%	26%	55%	19%
PORTUGAL	2%	49%	27%	5%	18%	51%	32%
FINLAND	16%	65%	9%	2%	9%	81%	10%
FRANCE	11%	70%	15%	1%	3%	81%	17%
SWEDEN	8%	51%	22%	4%	15%	59%	26%
UNITED KINGDOM	15%	45%	24%	9%	7%	60%	33%
<b>EU 15</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>30%</b>
BULGARIA	13%	34%	24%	8%	20%	48%	32%
CYPRUS	11%	31%	5%	23%	31%	42%	28%
CZECH REPUBLIC	10%	47%	31%	9%	4%	56%	39%
ESTONIA	7%	62%	10%	0%	20%	69%	10%
HUNGARY	4%	45%	25%	8%	18%	49%	33%
LATVIA	17%	41%	10%	4%	28%	58%	14%
LITHUANIA	2%	27%	33%	14%	24%	29%	48%
MALTA	12%	47%	14%	9%	18%	60%	23%
POLAND	11%	54%	22%	6%	7%	65%	28%
ROMANIA	23%	39%	14%	13%	12%	62%	27%
SLOVAKIA	12%	44%	36%	8%		56%	44%
SLOVENIA	15%	54%	16%	3%	12%	69%	19%
TURKEY	13%	57%	22%	4%	5%	70%	26%
<b>CC 13</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>29%</b>
<b>EU 2004</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>30%</b>
SWITZERLAND	8%	64%	17%	1%	10%	72%	19%
NORWAY	9%	41%	28%	14%	9%	49%	42%

### 3.4 Europeans satisfied with their own countries foreign policies

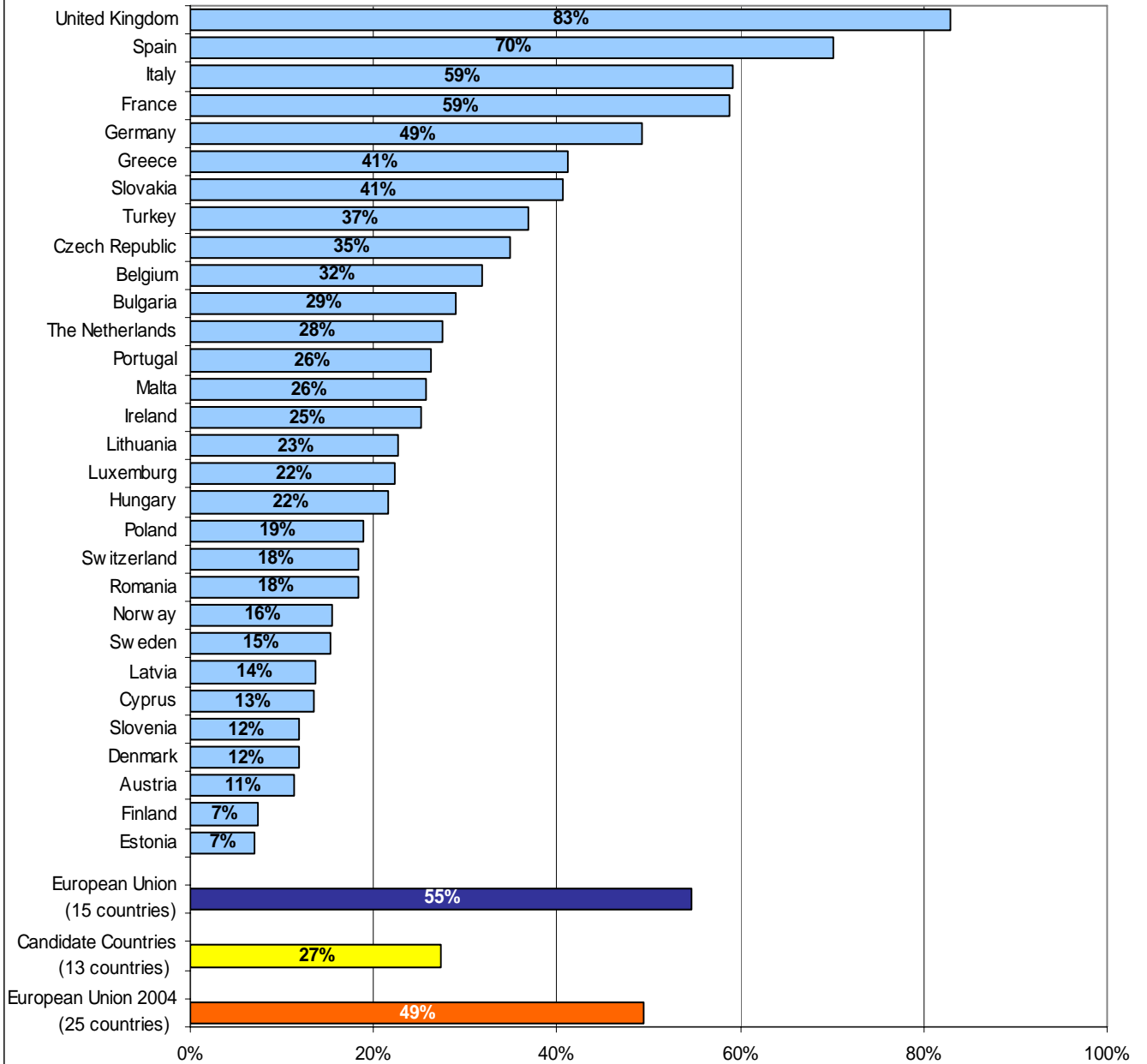
Public opinion in the 30 European nations considers their own countries actions on the international scene as generally positive. The **general European average** for this opinion reaches 63%.

When observing the results by country, we can note that **Finland** (81%), **France** (81%) and **Denmark** (80%) receive the most positive responses from their public opinion.

On the opposite side of the scale, public opinion in **Lithuania** (29%) and **Cyprus** (42%) is little in favour of their countries foreign policy. The result in Cyprus also indicates that 23% of respondents find their countries foreign policy 'very negative', a result, which stands out from the rest of Europe. Is it the special status of Northern Cyprus that produces this result?



**Today, would you say that the threat of terrorist attacks in our country is ...**  
**Responses : Very high / Rather high**



#### 4. Europeans continue to feel threatened by international terrorism

In this section, we will be showing the full results obtained for a number of aspects in connection with the public's opinion on terrorism.

In a first part we will examine how Europeans perceive the threat of terrorist attacks in their countries. Secondly, we will show to what extent Europeans still believe that the Al-Qaeda terrorist network remains a threat to World peace. In a final part, we will attempt to find out which country or organisation, in the opinion of Europeans, is best placed to fight terrorism.

##### 4.1 Terrorist attacks feared in home country

*- Large Member States of the European Union feel the most vulnerable -*

Today terrorism continues to be feared across Europe, and principally so within countries of the European Union. The opinion poll shows that 55% of respondents in the **15 Member States** consider the threat of terrorist attacks in their country as high.

The country where this threat appears to be greatest is the **United Kingdom** with 83%. That of **Spain** follows this result with 70% of respondents feeling threatened. This high rate is certainly influenced by the many terrorist actions undertaken by separatist groups in this country.

**France** and **Italy** also have high rates with 59% of respondents admitting that the threat is high.

We must however note that it is within the larger Member States that respondents seem to indicate an important terrorist threat in their countries, while the smaller countries feel less exposed to terrorism.

Among the Member States of the European Union, **Finland** is the country where populations feel the least threatened, with only 7% of respondents indicating a high threat of terrorism.

The **Candidate Countries** seem much less threatened by terrorist attacks. In average, only 27% of respondents say that this threat is high.

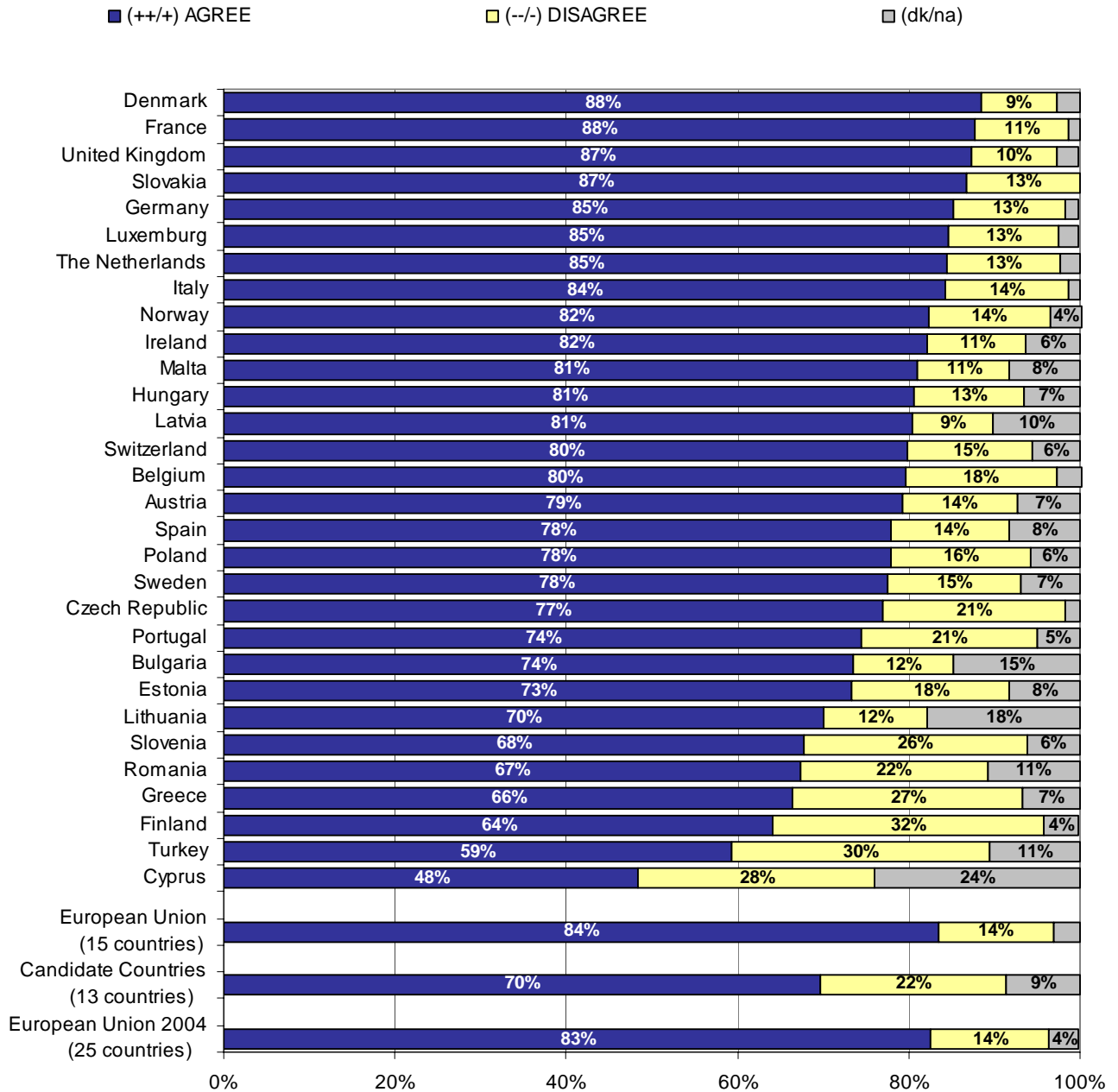
**Slovakia** (41%), **Turkey** (37%) and the **Czech Republic** (35%) are the countries of this group where terrorist attacks are considered as being the 'highest', while **Estonia** (7%) seems by far the least threatened.

Social and demographic variables of the European Union show that there is a large difference of opinion between men and women on this issue. While 62% of women believe the threat is high, only 47% of men are of the same opinion.

The level of education also indicates differences: 60% of the lesser educated populations express a high threat while only 46% of highly educated persons express this feeling.

Finally, it is also important to note the result of the Muslim population: only 35% of Muslims in the EU consider the terrorist threat as high. This is by far the lowest rate among the different categories.

**Today Al-Quaeda's terrorist network continues to present a major threat to World peace.**





#### 4.2 Al-Quaeda network still perceived as a threat to World peace

The fear of terrorism in Europe is all the more intensified by the fact that the Al-Quaeda network still presents a great threat to World peace for a vast majority of Europeans.

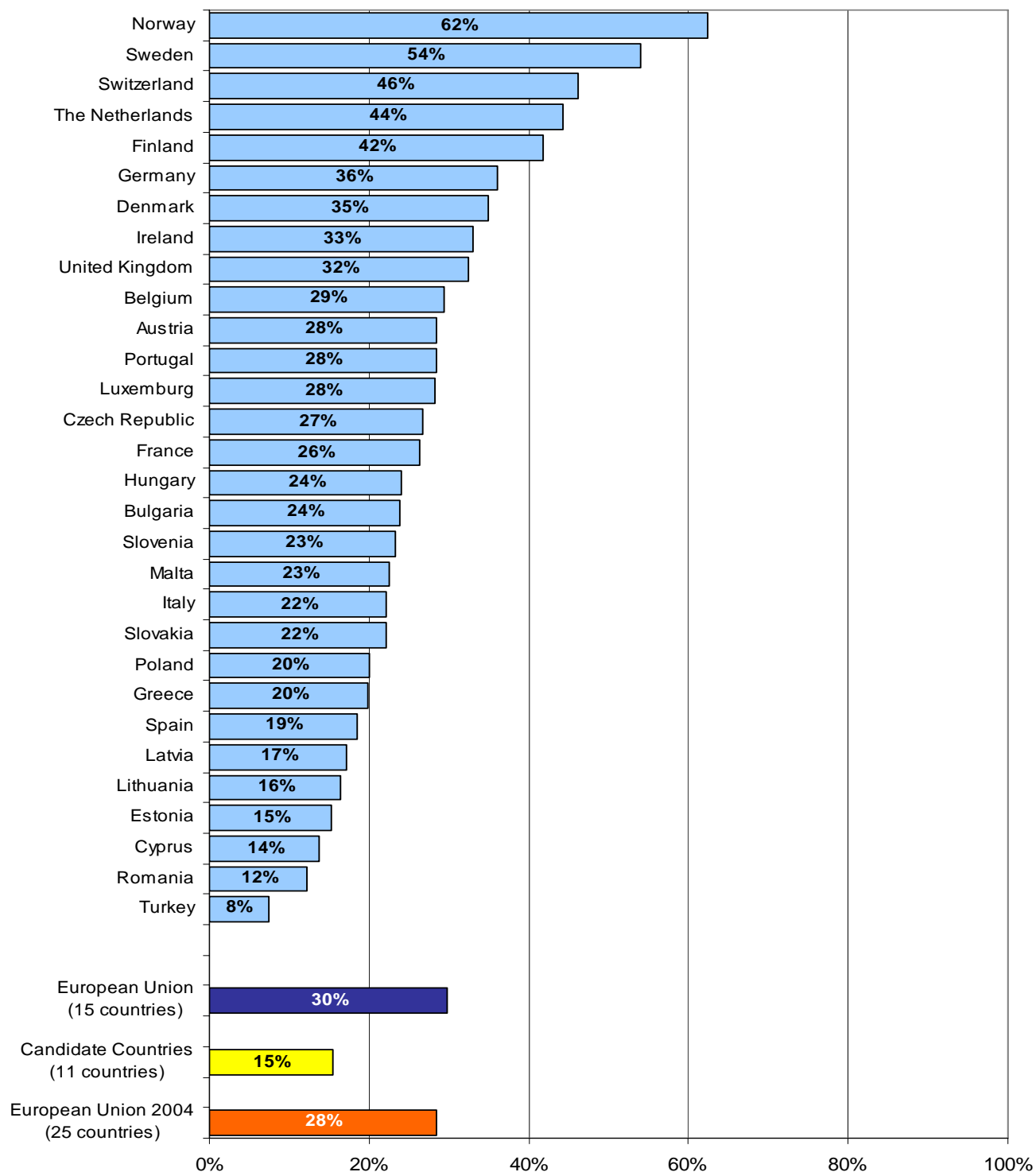
In the **European Union**, 84% of public opinion agrees with this proposition. In the **Candidate Countries** this rate is slightly lower with 70% of respondents agreeing.

When examining the results by country, several remarks can be made:

- Countries, which agree the most with this opinion, are **Denmark** (88%), **France** (88%), the **United Kingdom** (87%) and **Slovakia** (87%).
- On the opposite side of the graph, **Cyprus** is by far the country which least agrees with this opinion (48%). Nevertheless, the high rate of respondents who refused to answer or did not know (24%) may explain this Cypriot position.
- **Turkey** has the second lowest rate with only 59% agreeing. In this country 30% of the population does not agree that Al-Quaeda remains a threat.
- Finally, a peculiar result comes from **Finland** where one third of the respondents do not believe Al-Quaeda remains a threat (32%). This rate distinguishes itself strongly from the rest of the European Union and is the highest across Europe to disagree.

From a social and demographic viewpoint, the overall response rate reflects the distribution of answers received for the European Union average rate. The only remark concerns a slight difference by gender: while 80% of men agree that Al-Quaeda remains a threat, they are 87% of women agreeing with this opinion.

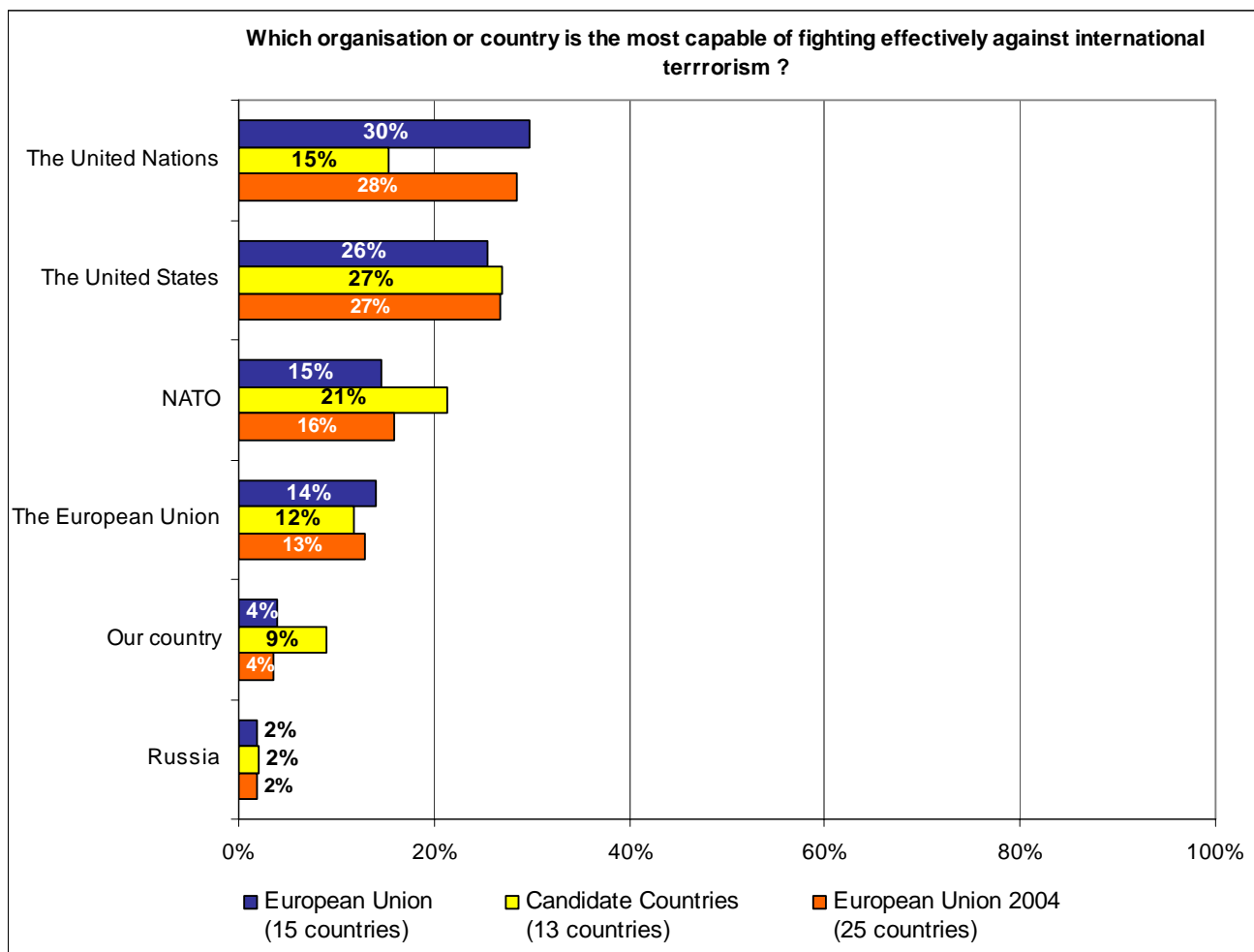
**Which organisation or country is the most capable of fighting effectively against international terrorism ? Answer "The United Nations"**



### 4.3 Who is best placed to fight terrorism?

- Europeans believe the United Nations is best placed to fight international terrorism -

When asked which international actor is best placed to effectively fight against international terrorism, Europeans designate the United Nations ahead of the United States. Follow NATO, the European Union, their own country, and lastly Russia.

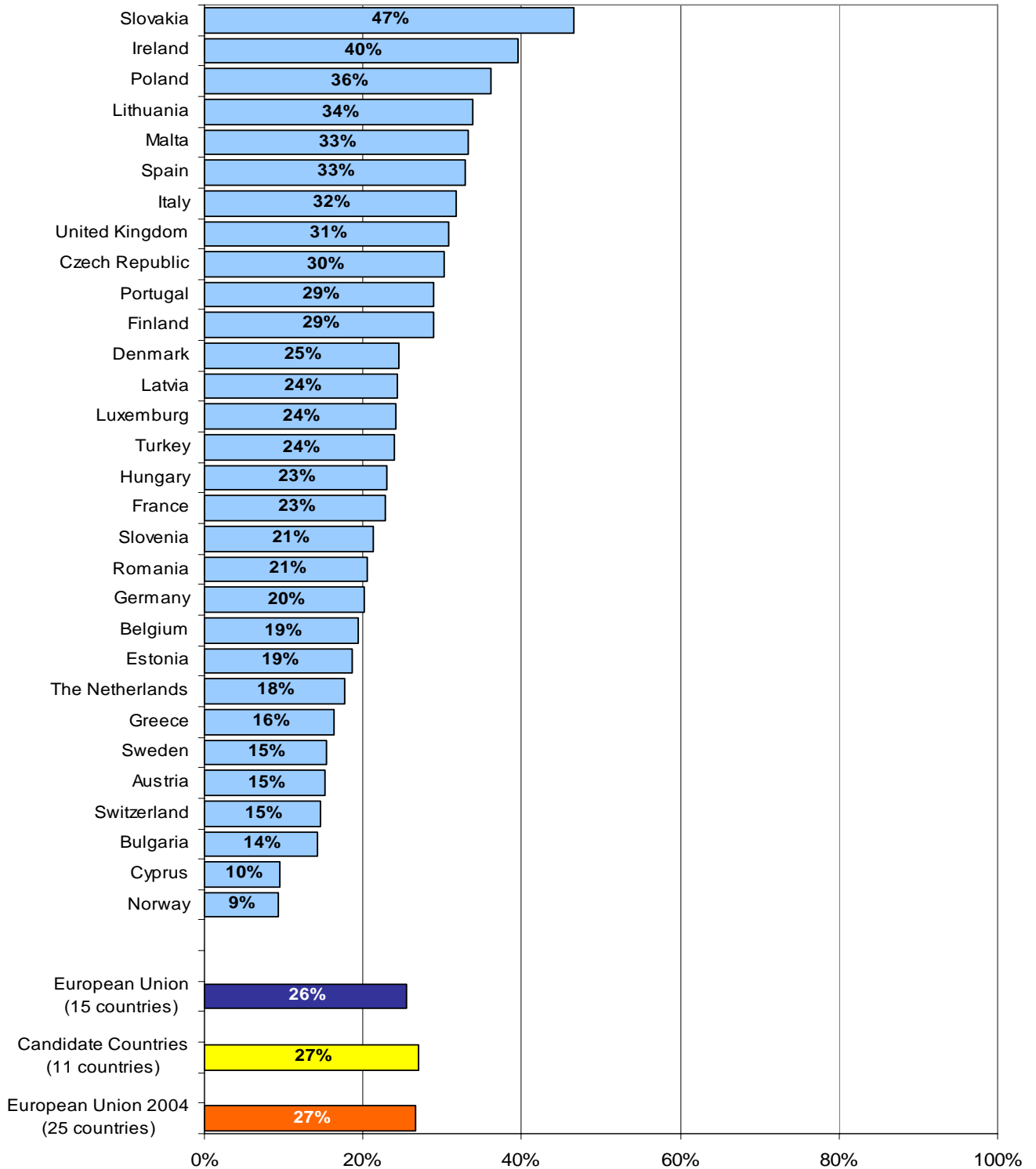


There is nevertheless a clear distinction between the two main groups, the **European Union** and the **Candidate Countries** on this issue. While 30% of respondents in the European Union designate the United Nations, they are only 15% in the Candidate Countries to do so. Taking the average of the **European Union of 25 members in 2004**, which resembles to that of the current EU, we can however note that **Turkey's** result influences the Candidate Countries average. This is clearly the case when observing the results by country.

Only 8% of Turkish respondents believe the United Nations is the actor most capable of fighting international terrorism, followed by **Romania** with 12%.

On the top of the scale, we find results from **Norway** and **Sweden** with respectively 62% and 54% of respondents designating the United Nations as best placed.

**Which organisation or country is the most capable of fighting effectively against international terrorism ? Answer "The United States"**



The United States is designated only in second place as country most capable of fighting against international terrorism. In this case, the **Candidate Country** average (27%) is slightly higher than that of the **European Union** (26%).

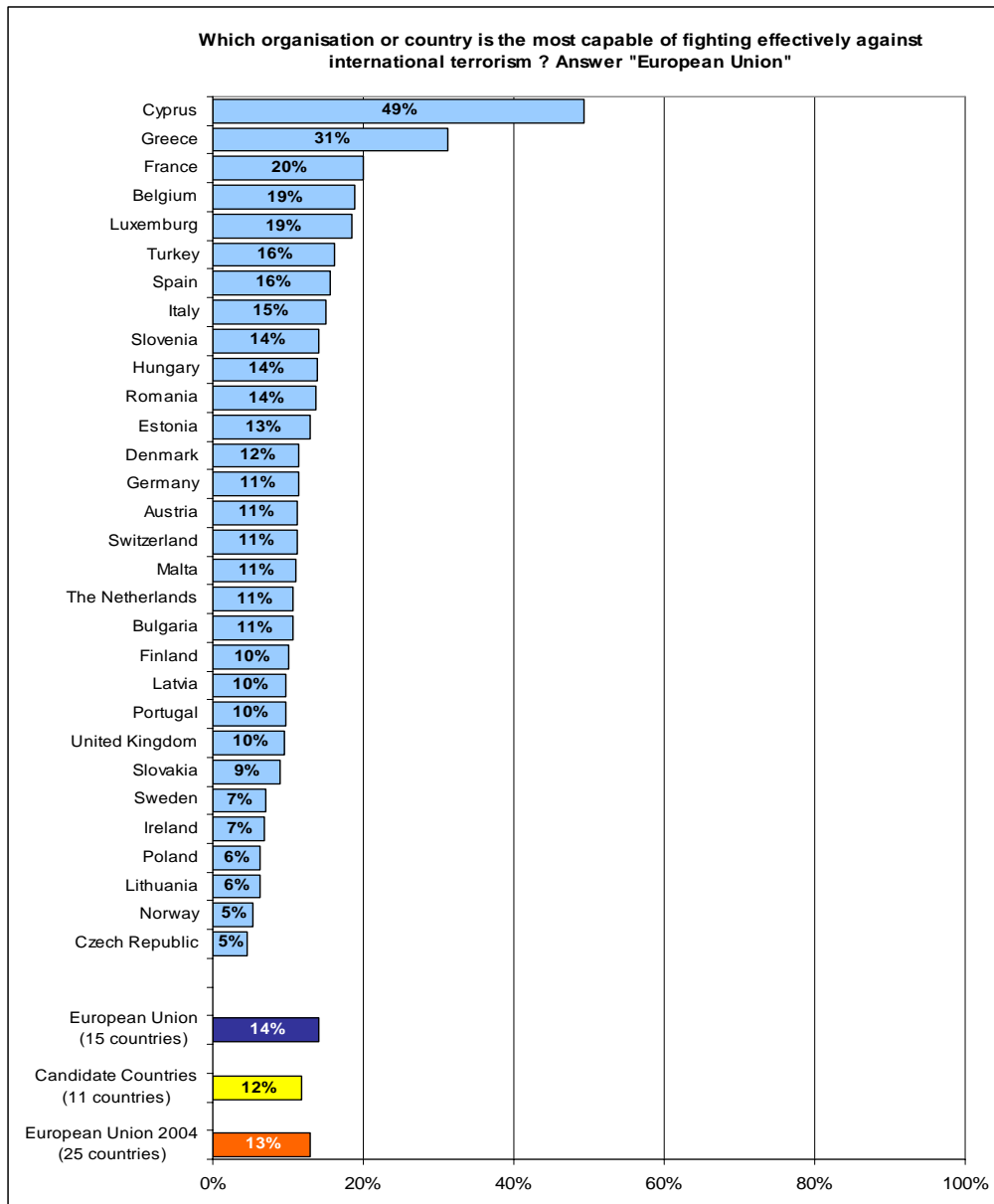
Results by country show that there is no real distinction between the two main groups. Respondents in **Slovakia** (47%) and **Ireland** (40%) are most in favour of the United States while **Norway** (9%) and **Cyprus** (10%) give the lowest rates.

The European Union comes in fourth place with only 14% of respondents of the **Member States** citing it as most capable of fighting international terrorism, while the average in the **Candidate Countries** does not rise above 12%.

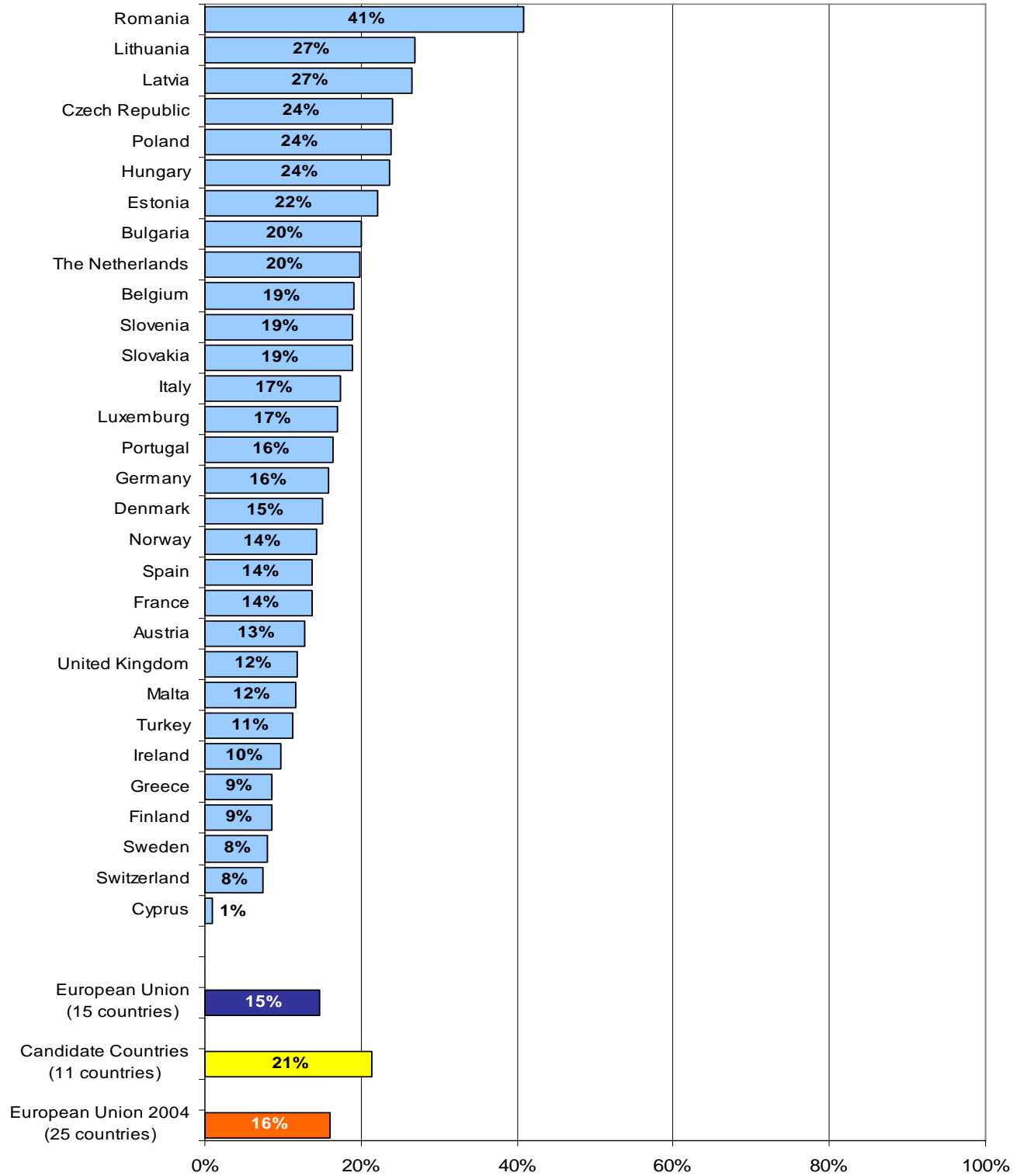
Results country by country show that **Cyprus** (49%) and **Greece** (31%) are the only two countries where an important number of respondents designate the European Union in the fight against terrorism.

The lowest rates are found in the **Czech Republic** and **Norway** with 5% in both countries.

These results confirm the general public's view that the European Union should be more active in matters relating to foreign policy. This proves that the European Union, in the opinion of the general public, has yet to impose itself on the international scene as a major actor.



**Which organisation or country is the most capable of fighting effectively against international terrorism ? Answer "NATO"**



The result for NATO shows that the **Candidate Countries** place their hope in this Organisation since the average of respondents reaches 21%, which is the second highest rate for this group. The **Member States** (15%), on the other hand, do not believe NATO can act decisively in order to stop terrorism.

When observing the graph, there is a clear opposition between countries of the European Union and the Candidate Countries.

The country, which places its most hopes in NATO, is **Romania** with 41% of respondents. This country also massively appreciates actions undertaken by NATO on the international scene (83%) as seen in the graph earlier. Once again, we can mention that Romania has recently been invited to join NATO in May 2004, a factor, which has probably influenced public opinion for this question.

At national level few countries estimate that their governments foreign policy is capable of effectively fighting against international terrorism since the average of the **European Union** remains at 4% while that of the **Candidate Countries** reaches only 9%.

When asked their opinion on Russia's capacities, Europeans seem to be united that Russia is incapable of fighting international terrorism. The **overall average in Europe** indicates that only 2% of respondents believe in any Russian capacity.

**Which organisation or country is the most capable of fighting effectively against international terrorism?**

	The United Nations	The United States	NATO	The European Union	Our Country	Russia
EU-15*	30%	26%	15%	14%	4%	2%
CC-13**	15%	27%	21%	12%	9%	2%
EU 2004	28%	27%	16%	13%	4%	2%

\* 15 Member States of the European Union

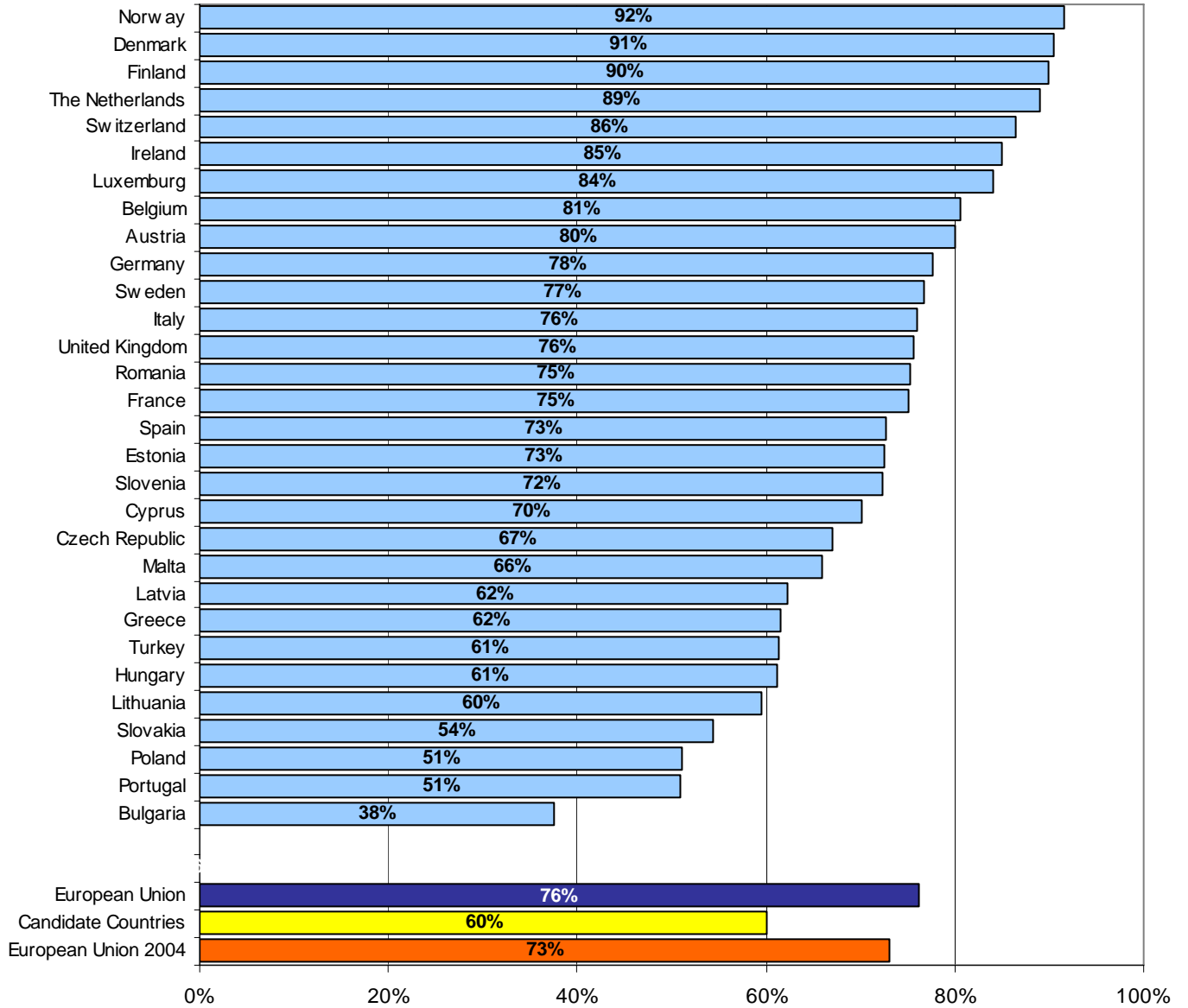
\*\* 13 Candidate Countries

When observing the social and demographic categories of the European Union several discrepancies can be noticed:

- For the populations aged 15 to 24, the United States is the most capable of fighting effectively against international terrorism while all other age categories designate the United Nations.
- The same can be said for the categories of level of education where the less educated believe (with a slight majority) that the United States is more capable than the United Nations in dealing with international terrorism, while the highly educated clearly choose the United Nations first.
- Catholics also tend to choose the United States in first place before the United Nations, while Muslims strongly respond in favour of the United Nations.
- The most interesting cleavage can be noted among the categories of political orientation. Leftist populations clearly designate the United Nations before the USA while rightist populations clearly choose the opposite, meaning the United States before the United Nations.

**Today, would you say that you are very optimistic, rather optimistic, rather pessimistic or very pessimistic concerning... your own future ?**

**Answer : Very optimistic / Rather optimistic**



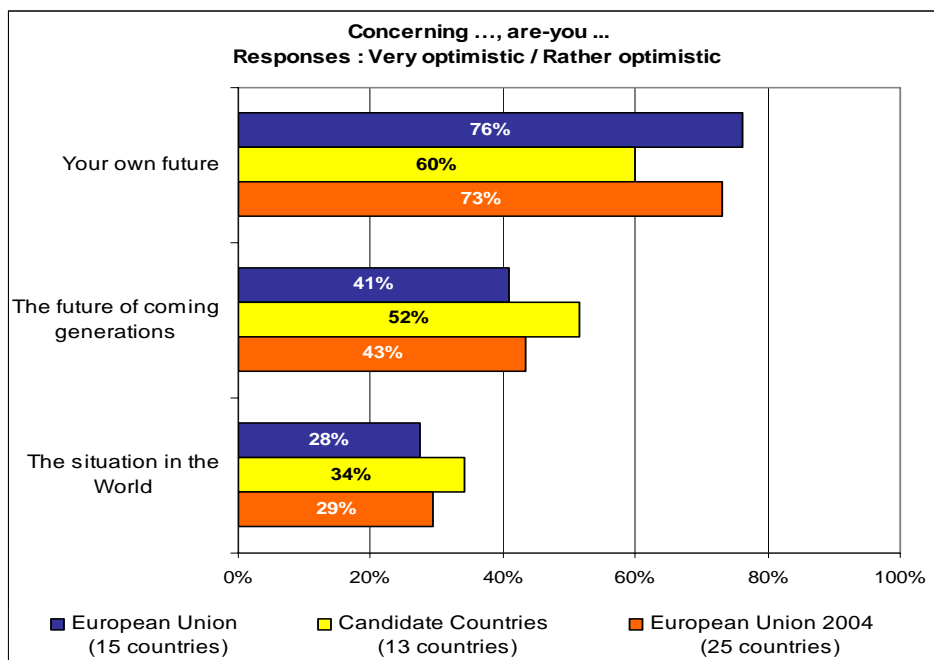


## 5. General perceptions

In this final section, we will examine the general perception of the European population concerning their own future, the future of coming generations and the situation in the World.

### 5.1 Optimism for own future, less so for coming generations

Respondents were asked to comment on their general feeling by indicating how they felt about their own future, the future of coming generations and the situation in the World.



#### - Own future

Concerning their own future, a majority of respondents declared themselves as being optimistic. There is however a clear difference between the two main groups of countries when observing the graph. The average of the **European Union** is 76% while that of the **Candidate Countries** reaches 60%.

We can notice that Member States of the European Union as well as the two EFTA Members all have very high levels of optimism for their own future.

Most Nordic countries, meaning **Norway** (92%), **Denmark** (91%) and **Finland** (90%) have the highest rates, a result which perhaps reflects the high living standards and quality of life in these countries.

The only two Member States, which do not follow this overwhelming feeling of optimism, are **Greece** and **Portugal** with respectively 62% and 51% of optimistic responses concerning respondent's own future.

The graph clearly shows that respondents in the Candidate Countries are less optimistic in this matter. Nevertheless, a clear majority of respondents remains optimistic even though levels are lower than in the European Union.

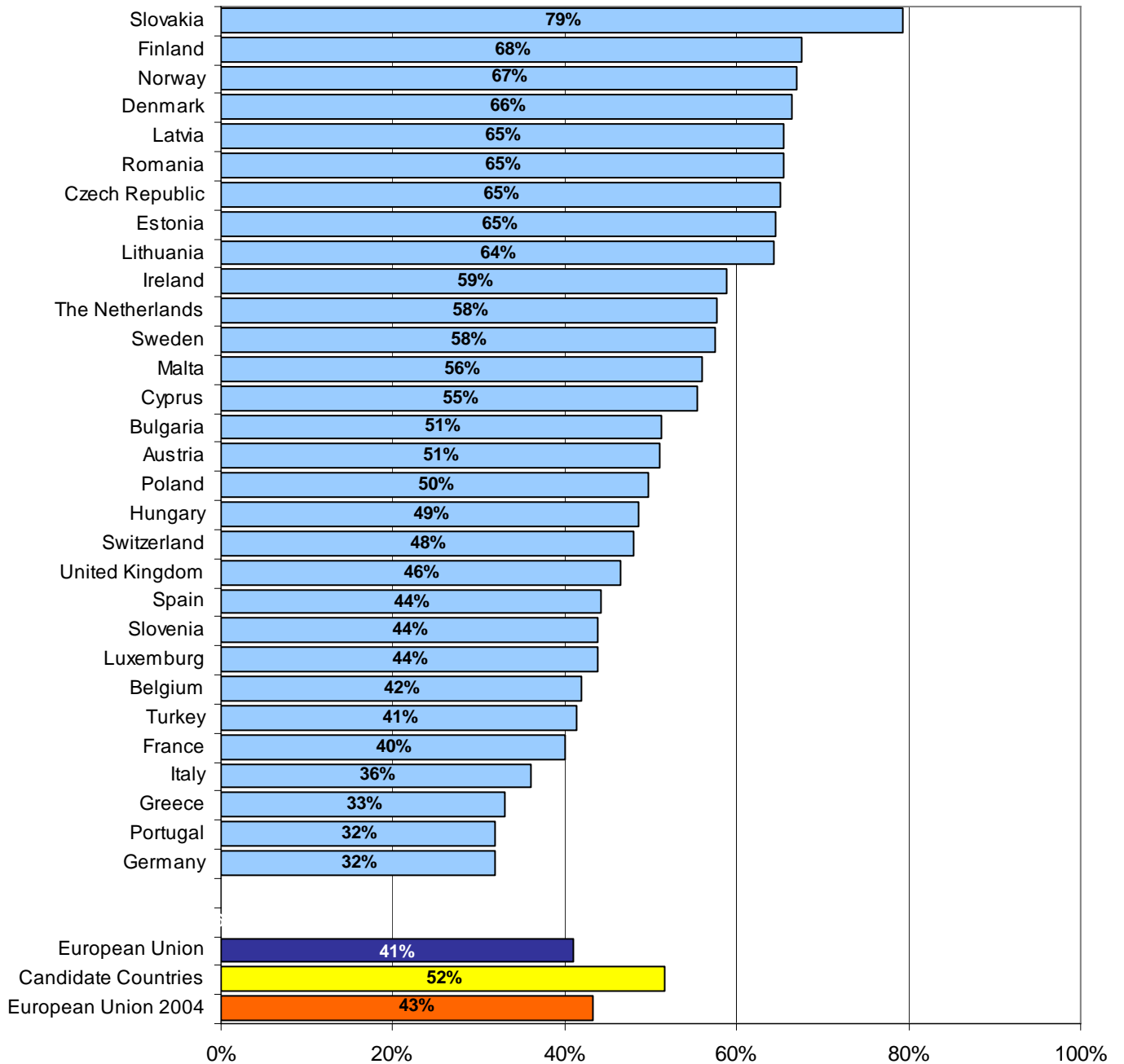
The only country in Europe not to share such an opinion is **Bulgaria** with a very low level of optimism reaching only 38% of respondents.

Another surprising result is that of **Romania**, it being the Candidate Country with the highest level of optimism for the future, namely 75% of respondents.

In general, we can say that Europeans across the continent seem optimistic for their future. This aspect is supported by the fact that the average of the **European Union of 25 Members in 2004** reaches 73%, a rate quite identical to that of the actual European Union.

**Today, would you say that you are very optimistic, rather optimistic, rather pessimistic or very pessimistic concerning... the future of coming generations ?**

**Answer : Very optimistic / Rather optimistic**



### - Future of coming generations

When analysing results concerning the future of coming generations, it becomes obvious that Europeans are less optimistic. The average of the **European Union** is surprisingly low compared to the previous average, since they are only a minority of respondents to be optimistic of their children's future with a rate of 41%.

The **Candidate Countries** on the other hand, have a slight majority of respondents showing optimism for the future of coming generations. In this group, the average is 52%.

Results country by country reveal certain surprises:

- The European countries the least optimistic for the future of coming generations are all Members of the European Union, namely **Germany** (31%), **Portugal** (31%), **Greece** (32%), **Italy** (36%) and **France** (40%).
- While the Nordic countries remain optimistic (**Finland, Norway, Denmark**), the majority of Europe's wealthiest countries show low rates of optimism.
- The most optimistic country is by far **Slovakia** with 79% of respondents. The **Baltic States** as well as **Romania** and the **Czech Republic** also show high levels of optimism.

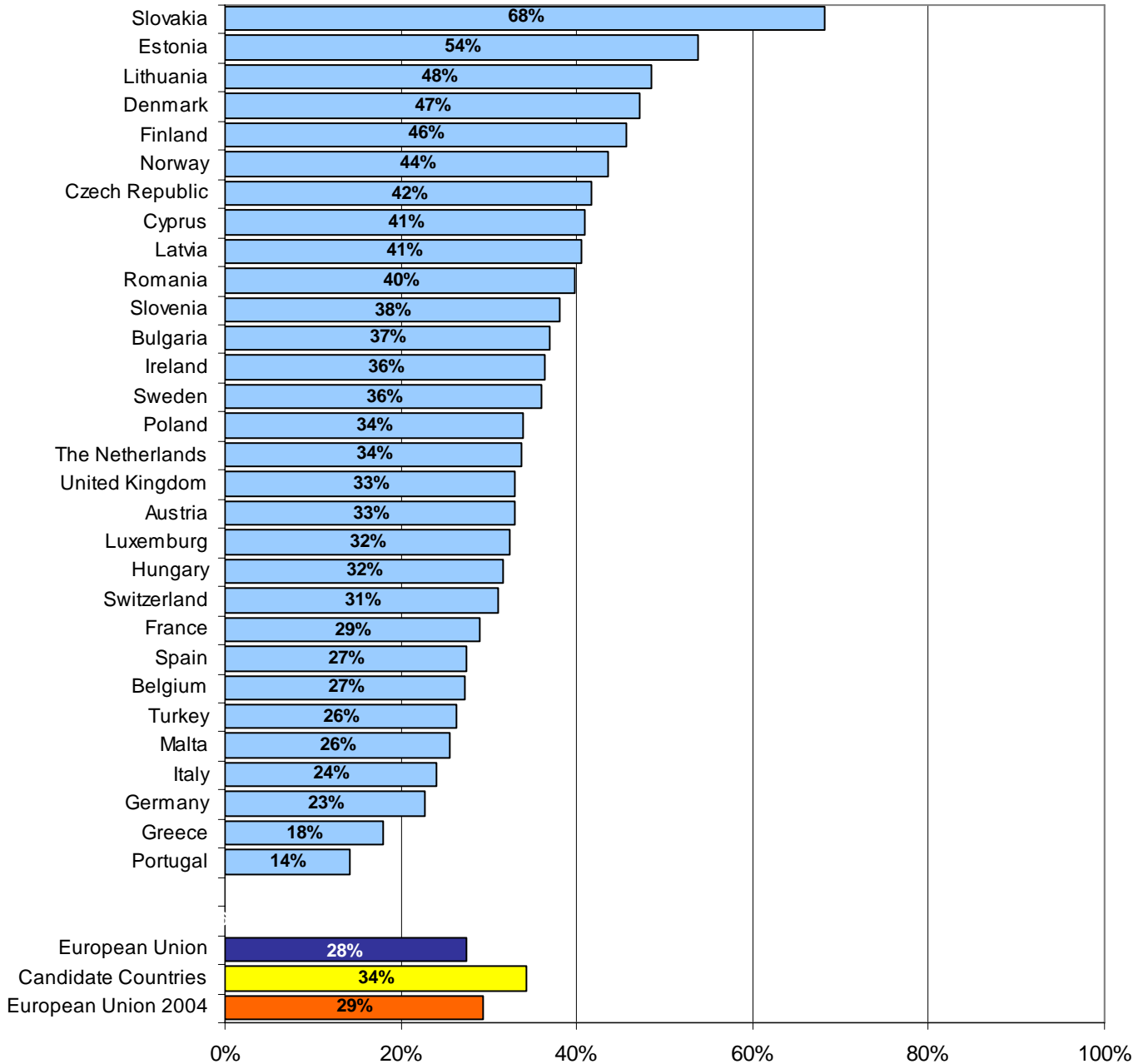
Looking at social and demographic variables several remarks can be made:

- Results concerning respondent's own future show disparities among men (78% optimistic) and women (74% optimistic). Age categories show that the younger populations are much more optimistic than the older populations. 85% of people aged 15 to 24 and 83% of people aged 25 to 39 are optimistic for their own future while people aged 55 and older are only 68% to feel optimistic.
- The level of education is also a factor of discrepancies among people. While 67% of the less educated are optimistic, up to 81% of the highly educated feel the same way.

Concerning the future of coming generations, the same categories of population show discrepancies:

- There are large differences in the age categories: while 47% of the population aged 15 to 24 and 49% of the population aged 25 to 39 are optimistic about the future of coming generations, they are only 32% to believe this among the population aged 55 and older.
- Disparities are also present when observing the levels of education. While only 30% of the less educated population seems optimistic, the highly educated populations are 53% to feel optimistic.

**Today, would you say that you are very optimistic, rather optimistic, rather pessimistic or very pessimistic concerning... the situation in the World?**  
**Answer : Very optimistic / Rather optimistic**



## 5.2. Pessimism regarding the situation in the World

The last general perspective to be analysed is the way Europeans feel about the situation in the World. In this case, results show a gloomy vision of the World with a majority of Europeans expressing pessimism, especially in the **European Union** where 70% of people interviewed confirm their pessimism with regard to the global situation. The **Candidate Countries** results reveal a lesser pessimism towards the situation in the World although the average reaches a high rate of 59% in this group.

Results by country confirm this general moroseness, with **Portugal** (82%), **Greece** (82%), **Italy** (75%) and **Germany** (74%) showing the highest rates of pessimism.

Two Candidate Countries on the other hand, have a majority of respondents feeling optimistic, namely **Slovakia** (68%) and **Estonia** (54%).

In terms of social and demographic variables of the European Union, we can observe three major discrepancies concerning the opinions on the situation in the World:

- First of all we can conclude that women are more pessimistic than men: while 66% of men feel pessimistic, they are 73% among women to feel the same way.
- Clear differences also appear among the age categories with older populations expressing far more pessimism than the younger populations. 77% of people aged 55 and older feel pessimistic, while only 63% of persons aged 25 to 39 express the same feeling of pessimism.
- Lastly, the level of education is also a source of difference: the less educated are far more pessimistic than the highly educated. 76% of the less educated express pessimism while only 64% of the highly educated feels this way.

There are no significant discrepancies according to habitat, religion or political orientation.

## CONCLUSION

The principle of a US-led war on Iraq is clearly rejected by Europeans as this extensive survey conducted by EOS Gallup Europe shows.

Four out of five Europeans, both in the Member States of the European Union and the 13 Candidate Countries, oppose any participation in a US-led military intervention without the authorization of the United Nations Security Council, and strongly reject a unilateral US military offensive without U.N. approval. This position confirms the will of Europeans to solve the Iraqi crisis through the organ of the international community and end this crisis without the use of force if possible.

While 57% of citizens of the EU would accept a military participation of their country if the Security Council decided on such an intervention as a last resort to solving this crisis, only 42% of those in the Candidate Countries would agree to this.

Overall results of this survey also indicate that the actor most appreciated by Europeans for its actions on the global scene is the United Nations. This preference is confirmed by the fact that Europeans also turn to this organisation to solve the problem of international terrorism, an issue, which continues to worry Europeans in their home countries.

Concerning this issue, results show that the threat of terrorism and the Al-Quaeda network remain high in Europe 16 months after the dreadful events of September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001.

As for the general perception of Europeans, the results of this survey indicate that the European population shows a real concern for the present international crisis. While a majority of Europeans perceive their own future quite optimistically, they also indicate certain doubts for the future of coming generations. As for the situation in the World, results confirm a true pessimism among Europeans with regard to the global situation. In other words, terrorism and the Iraqi crisis are real international issues requiring an international response. Dealt otherwise, and this pessimism could further increase among the European population.