

IRAQ and PEACE IN THE WORLD

Fieldwork: 8-16 October 2003

Publication: November 2003

FULL REPORT

This survey was requested and coordinated by Directorate General Press and Communication

This document does not represent the point of view of the European Commission.
The interpretations and opinions contained in it are solely those of the authors.

FLASH EUROBAROMETER 151

“IRAQ AND PEACE IN THE WORLD”

Realised by EOS Gallup Europe upon the request of the European Commission
(Directorate-General “Press and Communication”)

Survey organised and managed by Directorate-General “Press and Communication”
(Opinion Polls, Press Reviews, Europe Direct)

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SURVEY: October 2003

ANALYTICAL REPORT: October 2003

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PRESENTATION

The reconstruction in Iraq was the main subject matter of this Flash Eurobarometer survey carried out in October 2003 for the European Commission in the 15 Member States of the European Union.

The underlying objectives of this study are to sound out citizens' opinions on the justification of military intervention in Iraq and, in view of the current reality, measure perceptions on reconstruction in Iraq, in particular, issues related to its management, financing and security before the eventual transition to a sovereign Iraqi government. This research also aims at assessing how citizens perceive the EU as an international player. Finally, we will assess citizens' views on terrorism.

At the Thessaloniki European Council on the 19th and 20th of June 2003, the European Union reiterated its commitment to the development of a prosperous and stable Iraq and concluded that it "*stands ready to participate in the reconstruction of Iraq within the framework of UNSC Resolution 1483.*" The Thessaloniki European Council invited the Commission to submit proposals for a EU contribution to the multilateral effort to assist Iraq's transition that led to the recent publication of the Commission's Communication to the Council and the European Parliament entitled "The Madrid Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq"¹.

The methodology used in this survey, carried out by EOS GALLUP EUROPE, is that of the FLASH surveys of the Directorate General Press and Communication (Unit B/1 "Opinion polls")

A total of 7,515 citizens were interviewed by telephone between the 8th and 16th of October 2003. It should be noted that the fieldwork was completed before the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1511 (2003) was adopted on the 16th of October 2003. This resolution resolved that the United Nations should strengthen its role in Iraq and called on the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq to return governing authority to the Iraqi people "as soon as practicable", and invited the Iraqi Governing Council to provide a timetable, by the 15th of December 2003 for drafting a new constitution and holding democratic elections.²

Our analysis, divided into two main sections looks at the:

- European Union as a whole and each of its 15 Member States;
- Socio-demographic characteristics: where relevant respondent's gender, age, education, occupation and locality type;
- Other category of analysis: respondents' opinion on the justification of the military intervention in Iraq (responses to question 1)

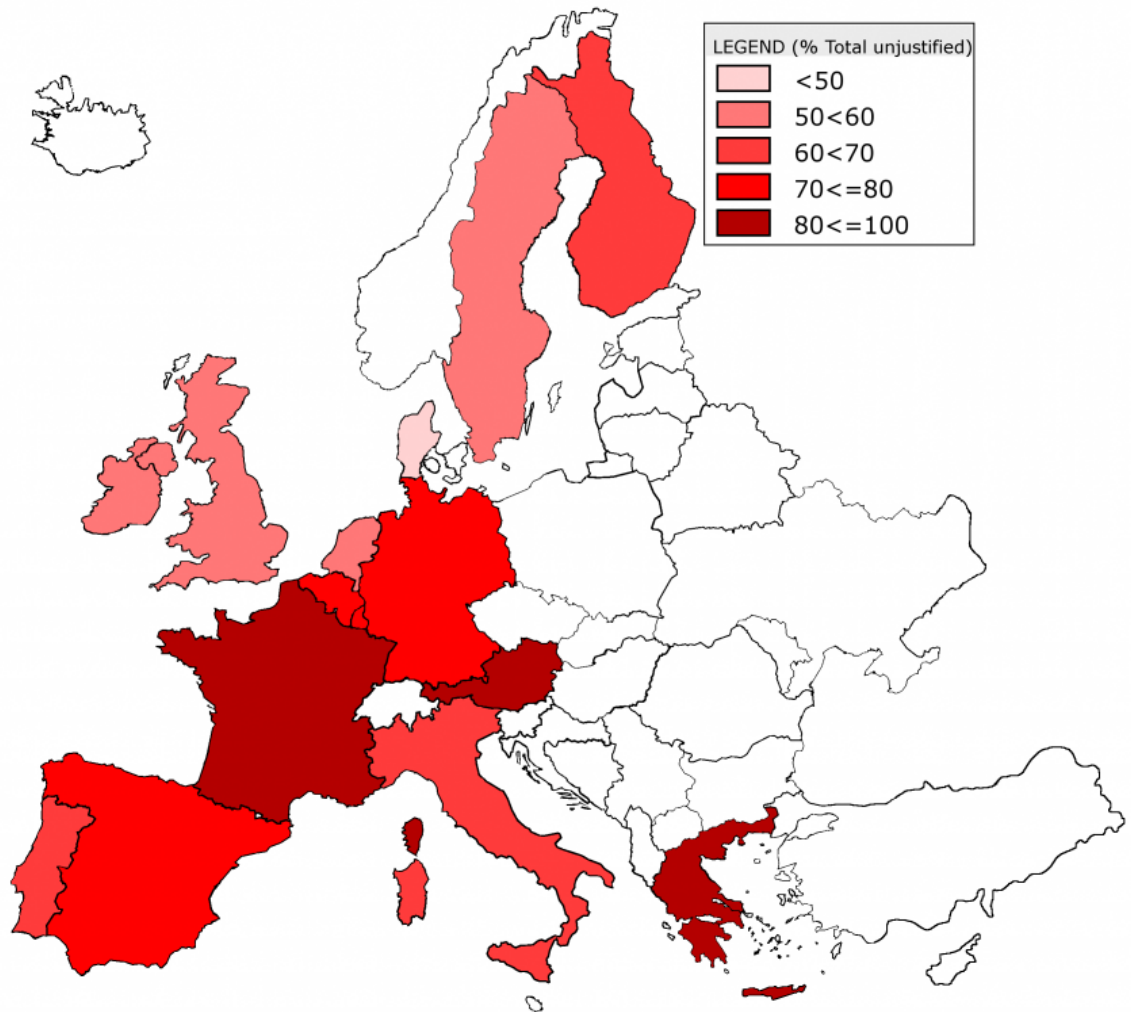
The pages that follow give an in-depth analysis of citizens' responses, which is then followed by a brief summary. A detailed description of the sample and methodological note are included in the annexes.

¹ COM (2003) 575 « The Madrid Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq »

² United Nations Press Release SC/7898

Justification of war in Iraq

Total UNJUSTIFIED



A. AFTERMATH OF IRAQI WAR

1. Was military intervention in Iraq justified?

In the lead-up to the war in Iraq, public opinion around the world seemed opposed to military intervention in Iraq.

As the months pass by since the breakout of war in Baghdad on the 19th of March 2003 and proof of the existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq is still pending, the question of whether or not military intervention in Iraq was justified is ever more pertinent.

In this section we will look at how European Union citizens perceive the military intervention of the United States and their allies and whether or not they believe this was justified.

Source Questionnaire: question 1

- 68% of EU citizens believe that military intervention was not justified -

* **Overall picture:**

The results of our study show that 68% of European Union citizens are of the opinion that the military intervention of the United States and their allies in Iraq was not justified. Of those, 41% take a strong stance, confirming their belief that this was “not justified at all”. Only 29% of respondents believe that this military intervention was justified, of which a mere 7% are totally convinced of this.

* **Breakdown by country:**

In almost all Member States (with the exception of **Denmark**), the vast majority of citizens are against the military intervention of the United States and their allies in Iraq. The strongest opposition seems to be in **Greece** where an overwhelming 96% of respondents believe that military intervention was not justified, of which 82% are of the opinion that this was “not justified at all”. Next in line follows **Austria** where 86% of respondents believe that the military intervention was not justified.

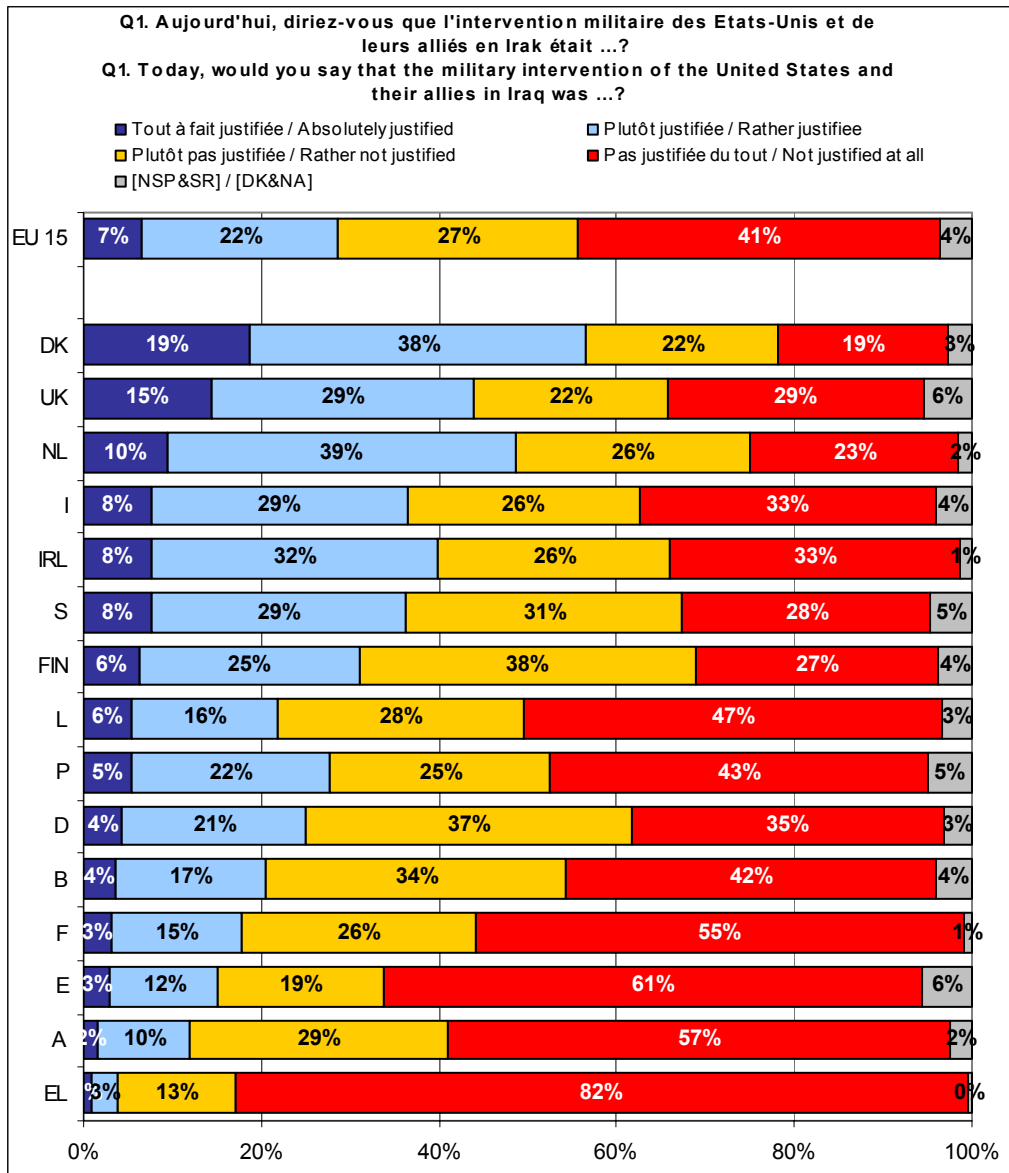
The **United Kingdom** and **Spain** are the only Member States with national troops in Iraq. It is particularly interesting to note that even in these ally countries, the majority of citizens seem to be against the decision taken by their government to support the United States in its decision to intervene by force. In **Spain**, 79% of citizens believe that this action was not justified (of which 61% answered “not justified at all”) and in the **United Kingdom** 51% of citizens are of the same opinion.

Opposition to military intervention was also high in **France** (81%) as well as in the **BeLux** where three in four respondents in both countries confirm that they believe that military intervention in Iraq was not justified.

Q1. Aujourd'hui, diriez-vous que l'intervention militaire des Etats-Unis et de leurs alliés en Irak était tout à fait justifiée, plutôt justifiée, plutôt pas justifiée ou pas justifiée du tout ?

Q1. Today, would you say that the military intervention of the United States and their allies in Iraq was absolutely justified, rather justified, rather not justified or not justified at all?

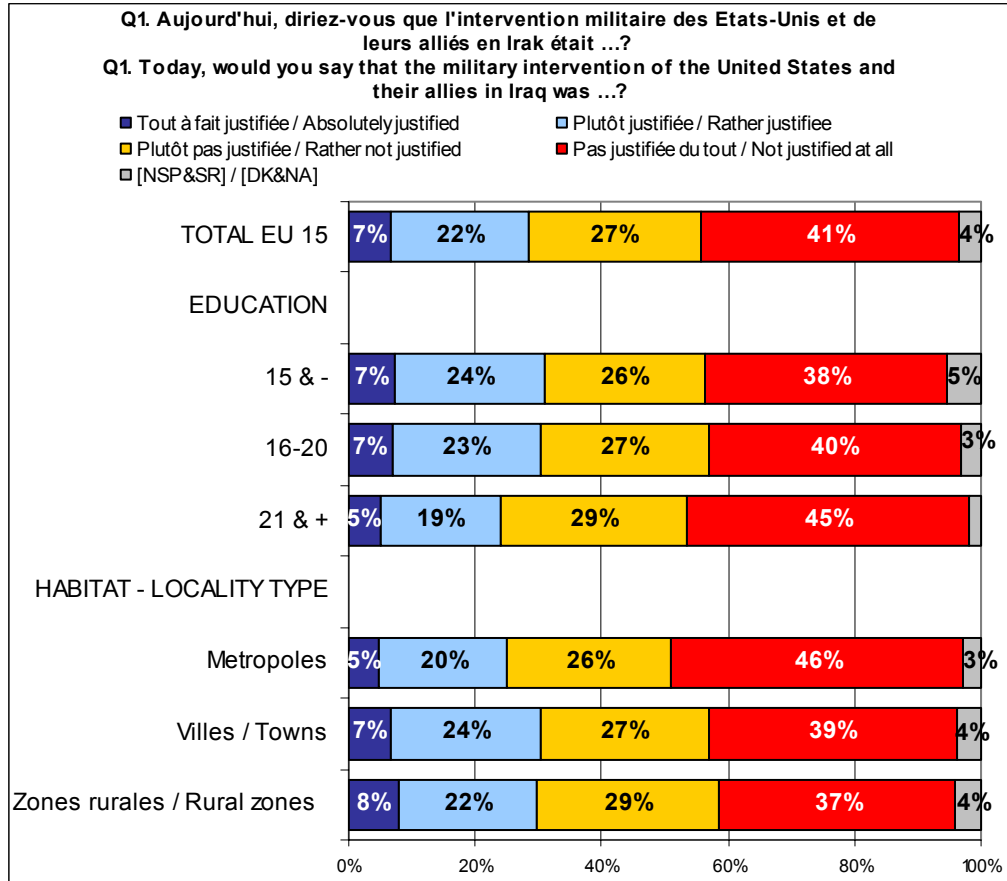
	BASE	Tout à fait justifiée / Absolutely justified	Plutôt justifiée / Rather justified	Plutôt pas justifiée / Rather not justified	Pas justifiée du tout / Not justified at all	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	Justifiée / Justified	Pas justifiée / Not justified
EU 15	7515	7%	22%	27%	41%	4%	29%	68%
BELGIQUE	498	4%	17%	34%	42%	4%	20%	75%
DANMARK	501	19%	38%	22%	19%	3%	57%	41%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	4%	21%	37%	35%	3%	25%	72%
ELLAS	500	1%	3%	13%	82%	0%	4%	96%
ESPANA	503	3%	12%	19%	61%	6%	15%	79%
FRANCE	500	3%	15%	26%	55%	1%	18%	81%
IRELAND	500	8%	32%	26%	33%	1%	40%	59%
ITALIA	501	8%	29%	26%	33%	4%	36%	60%
LUXEMBOURG	503	6%	16%	28%	47%	3%	22%	75%
NEDERLAND	500	10%	39%	26%	23%	2%	49%	50%
OSTERREICH	500	2%	10%	29%	57%	2%	12%	86%
PORTUGAL	500	5%	22%	25%	43%	5%	28%	67%
FINLAND	501	6%	25%	38%	27%	4%	31%	65%
SWEDEN	500	8%	29%	31%	28%	5%	36%	59%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	15%	29%	22%	29%	6%	44%	51%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	9%	22%	25%	42%	2%	30%	67%
Femme / Female	3861	5%	22%	29%	40%	5%	27%	69%
Age								
15 - 24	1114	7%	21%	29%	41%	2%	28%	69%
25 - 39	2145	6%	21%	28%	40%	5%	27%	68%
40 - 54	1941	5%	25%	27%	40%	3%	30%	67%
55 +	2311	8%	21%	26%	41%	4%	29%	68%
Education								
15 & -	1420	7%	24%	26%	38%	5%	31%	64%
16 - 20	3327	7%	23%	27%	40%	3%	30%	66%
21 & +	2641	5%	19%	29%	45%	2%	24%	74%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	9%	23%	26%	39%	3%	33%	64%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	6%	23%	28%	41%	3%	29%	68%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	8%	22%	28%	39%	3%	29%	68%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	6%	21%	27%	42%	4%	27%	69%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	5%	20%	26%	46%	3%	25%	72%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	7%	24%	27%	39%	4%	30%	66%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	8%	22%	29%	37%	4%	30%	66%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	23%	77%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	0%	0%	40%	60%	0%	0%	100%



Public opinion in **Denmark** appears to differ from that in other Member States on this issue. It is the only country where a majority of respondents (57%) believe that military intervention was justified. Earlier this year, the Danish government's decision to support the United States position vis-à-vis Iraq led to demonstrations opposing this stance. However, our results show that there seems to have been a shift in public opinion with the majority of **Danish** citizens now accepting their government's decision to support military intervention in Iraq.

* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

It seems that the more highly educated are more likely to believe that the war in Iraq was not justified (74%) compared to those who completed their studies at an earlier age. Also, those living in metropolitan zones have more of a tendency to be of the opinion that the war was not justified (72%) compared to those living in other locality types.



2. Reconstruction in Iraq

The aim of the Ministerial Donors Conference held in Madrid was to bring together the international community to help the Iraqi people rebuild their nation. Sixty countries as well as about twenty international organisations attended the conference, including as core members the European Union, the United States, the United Arab Emirates, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations. The objective of the conference was to endorse priorities for reconstruction in Iraq over the coming years, provide a forum for donors to make pledges of assistance and to agree on an international framework for assistance³.

In this section we will look at citizens perspectives of the many issues surrounding reconstruction in Iraq, including its management, financing and security.

2.1 Who should manage the rebuilding of Iraq?

Before looking at citizens' views on who should manage the reconstruction in Iraq, it is perhaps useful to briefly remind ourselves of the main events that have occurred in establishing administrative authorities during this transition period.

Ambassador L. Paul Bremer, III was named Presidential Envoy to Iraq on May 6, 2003 and in this capacity is the Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). *"The Coalition Provisional Authority is charged with exercising powers of government temporarily in order to provide for the effective administration of Iraq during the period of transitional administration, to restore conditions of security and stability, to create conditions in which the Iraqi people can freely determine their own political future, including by advancing efforts to restore and establish national and local institutions for representative governance and facilitating economic recovery and sustainable reconstruction and development. The CPA is vested with all executive, legislative and judicial authority necessary to achieve its objectives to be exercised under relevant UN Security Council resolutions"*.⁴

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1483, adopted on 22 May 2003, established the international framework for the administration of Iraq.

The Governing Council, appointed by Coalition Provisional Authority Administrator L. Paul Bremer on the 13th of July 2003, is made up of 25 people representing the country's diverse religious and ethnic groupings in broadly proportionate terms. In fact, the United Nations Security Council described the Council as *"broadly representative"* and praised its formation as *"an important step towards the formation by the people of Iraq of an internationally recognized, representative government..."* in Resolution 1500. While the Council has a broad range of duties, its most important task is to organize a constitutional convention to write a new, permanent Iraqi constitution. The UN Security Council has charged the Governing Council with publishing a timetable for transition to sovereignty no later than 15th of December 2003. The Governing Council will continue in office until the Coalition returns legal sovereignty to a government elected under the new constitution.⁵

The United Nations, through the Office of its Special Representative, was given a significant role in co-ordinating humanitarian and reconstruction assistance and, together with the Coalition Provisional Authority, in restoring representative government in Iraq.

Without going into further details we will now look at who citizens believe should manage the rebuilding of Iraq.

³ Press Communication from the Core Group on Reconstruction in Iraq 2/10/2003

⁴ Coalition Provisional Authority Regulation Number 1, 16 May 2003

⁵ http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/governing_council.html

Q2. A votre avis, à qui devrait-on confier la gestion de la reconstruction de l'Irak ?

Q2. In your opinion, to whom should the management of the rebuilding of Iraq be entrusted?

	BASE	Les Etats-Unis / The United States	L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres / The European Union and its Member States	Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak / The provisional government in Iraq	[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]
EU 15	7515	18%	25%	58%	44%	2%	2%
BELGIQUE	498	24%	37%	57%	44%	3%	2%
DANMARK	501	24%	16%	68%	32%	0%	3%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	23%	43%	69%	57%	0%	1%
ELLAS	500	20%	21%	42%	32%	7%	1%
ESPANA	503	15%	13%	52%	23%	2%	6%
FRANCE	500	10%	24%	53%	39%	1%	2%
IRELAND	500	13%	13%	65%	33%	1%	1%
ITALIA	501	22%	18%	40%	42%	2%	1%
LUXEMBOURG	503	11%	19%	52%	43%	1%	3%
NEDERLAND	500	6%	14%	60%	42%	0%	1%
OSTERREICH	500	18%	12%	53%	34%	2%	4%
PORTUGAL	500	17%	16%	53%	27%	2%	5%
FINLAND	501	11%	7%	69%	28%	1%	2%
SWEDEN	500	22%	8%	62%	31%	2%	4%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	20%	29%	72%	59%	2%	1%
Sexe / Sex							
Homme / Male	3654	17%	22%	64%	41%	2%	1%
Femme / Female	3861	19%	28%	53%	46%	1%	3%
Age							
15 - 24	1114	21%	32%	53%	38%	1%	2%
25 - 39	2145	15%	22%	57%	46%	2%	1%
40 - 54	1941	16%	22%	59%	44%	2%	2%
55 +	2311	21%	27%	61%	44%	2%	3%
Education							
15 & -	1420	24%	28%	49%	45%	3%	3%
16 - 20	3327	18%	30%	59%	43%	1%	2%
21 & +	2641	13%	16%	66%	44%	2%	1%
Profession / Occupation							
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	18%	21%	61%	43%	2%	2%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	15%	21%	64%	46%	1%	1%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	19%	32%	56%	45%	1%	2%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	20%	27%	54%	42%	2%	3%
Habitat / Locality Type							
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	17%	27%	60%	42%	2%	2%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	16%	23%	58%	44%	1%	2%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	22%	27%	57%	45%	2%	2%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq							
Justifiée / Justified	2178	28%	29%	60%	45%	1%	2%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	14%	24%	58%	43%	2%	1%

Source Questionnaire: question 2

- EU citizens prefer the United Nations and the provisional government to manage the rebuilding of Iraq -

* **Overall picture:**

At the European Union level, 58% of citizens would prefer that the management of reconstruction in Iraq would be entrusted to the United Nations. The United Nations was chosen over and above the provisional government in Iraq (44%), the European Union (25%) and the United States (18%).

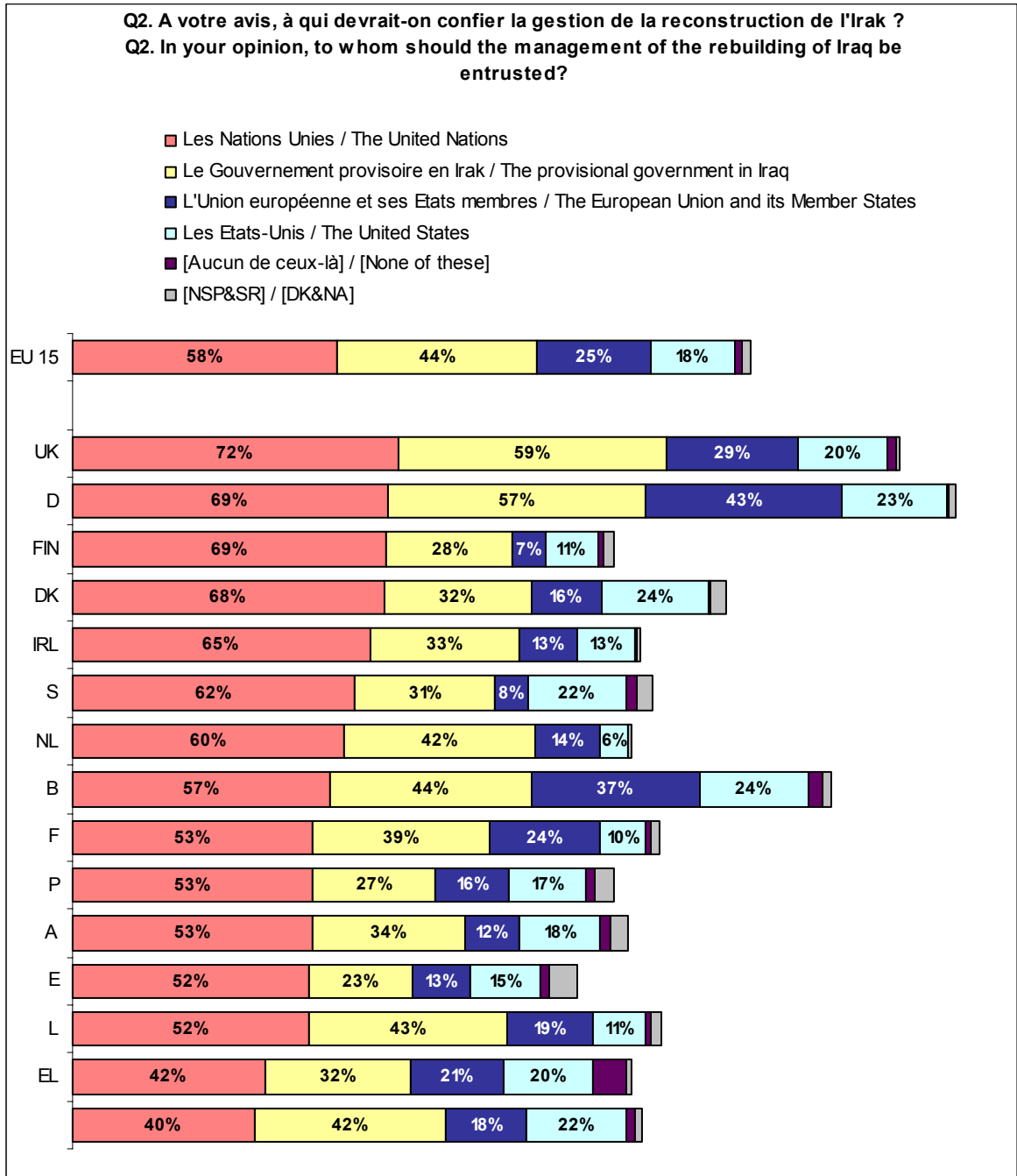
For this question, respondents were given the possibility of giving multiple answers. In looking at the combination of responses given by respondents (i.e. the cross-analysis of this question by itself), it is worth noting that if we take respondents who stated that they would prefer the UN to manage the rebuilding of Iraq, a relative majority (38%) also selected the provisional government in Iraq to participate in the management of reconstruction. Conversely, of those respondents who would entrust Iraq's reconstruction to the provisional government, the relative majority (50%) would also wish for the United Nations participation.

	Q2 Management of rebuilding in Iraq				
Q2 Management of rebuilding in Iraq	Total	United States	EU and its Member States	United Nations	Provisional government in Iraq
United States	18%	100%	28%	14%	17%
EU and its Member States	25%	39%	100%	23%	28%
United Nations	58%	46%	54%	100%	50%
Provisional government in Iraq	44%	41%	48%	38%	100%

Also worth noting is that of those who cited the United Nations for the role of managing the reconstruction in Iraq, only 14% would want the United States to also participate. On the contrary, of those who selected the United States, 46% would wish for the United Nations to partake in the management of the reconstruction. This would lead us to believe that **citizens are calling for collective as opposed to unilateral management of reconstruction in Iraq, with the United Nations superseding as the representative of this collective action.**

*

Breakdown by country:



In most Member States (with the exception of **Italy**), more citizens would opt for the United Nations to be entrusted with the management of rebuilding in Iraq than the other players cited in this question. In fact, more than one in two respondents in thirteen Member States believe that the United Nations should be responsible for the management of rebuilding Iraq. The countries where citizens are most in favour of the United Nations are the **United Kingdom** (72%), **Germany** (69%), **Finland** (69%) and **Denmark** (68%). At the other end of the scale in **Italy**, opinions are more or less equally divided between the United Nations (40%) and the provisional government in Iraq (42%).

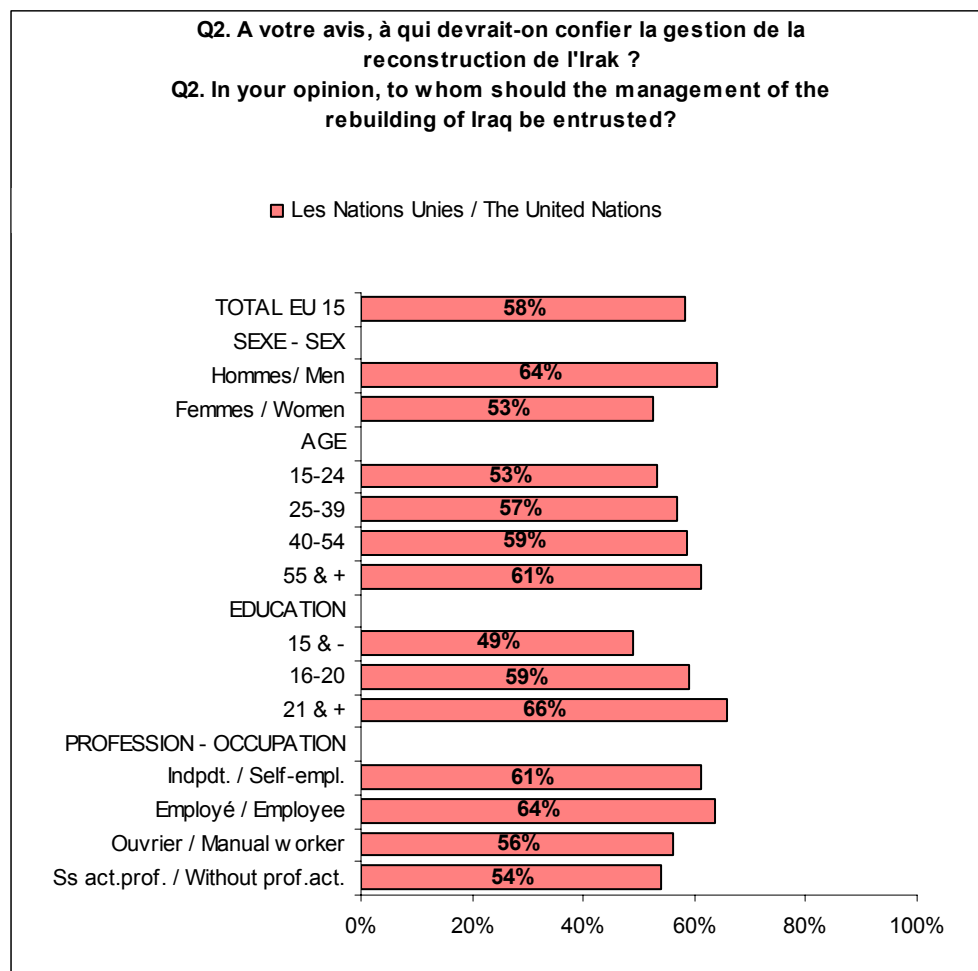
More citizens in the **United Kingdom** (59%) and **Germany** (57%) would favour the provisional government in Iraq than in any other Member State. It is worth noting that more **British** citizens would rather see the provisional government in Iraq manage reconstruction than their allied partner, the United States, chosen by only 20% of respondents. On the contrary, the proportion of **Spanish** respondents who would entrust the management of the rebuilding of Iraq to the provisional government is lower than in any other Member State, at 23%.

The European Union and its Member States would be chosen by more citizens in **Germany** (43%) and **Belgium** (37%) for managing the reconstruction in Iraq than in any other country.

Less than one in four citizens in each Member State would entrust the management of the reconstruction in Iraq to the United States.

* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

The graph below shows that the profile of respondents bears some influence on choosing the United Nations for managing the rebuilding of Iraq. Males (64%) are more likely than females (53%) to entrust the UN with managing the reconstruction programme. Education also appears to bear an influence: the more time the respondent has spent in the education system the more likely they are to choose the UN for this task.



As we might expect respondents who believe that military intervention was justified would rather entrust the United States with the management of rebuilding Iraq.

Q3. Et à votre avis, qui devrait financer la reconstruction de l'Irak ?

Q3. And in your opinion, who should finance the rebuilding of Iraq?

	BASE	Les Etats-Unis / The United States	L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres / The European Union and its Member States	Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak / The provisional government in Iraq	[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]
EU 15	7515	65%	24%	44%	29%	1%	2%
BELGIQUE	498	70%	30%	44%	38%	2%	1%
DANMARK	501	60%	26%	51%	29%	1%	2%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	84%	31%	55%	37%	1%	0%
ELLAS	500	61%	19%	34%	13%	3%	1%
ESPANA	503	60%	11%	31%	12%	1%	7%
FRANCE	500	60%	17%	37%	25%	0%	1%
IRELAND	500	63%	15%	35%	25%	0%	1%
ITALIA	501	50%	20%	40%	23%	1%	2%
LUXEMBOURG	503	65%	17%	33%	22%	1%	1%
NEDERLAND	500	54%	18%	48%	22%	0%	1%
OSTERREICH	500	76%	12%	28%	17%	1%	5%
PORTUGAL	500	61%	19%	25%	16%	0%	5%
FINLAND	501	74%	7%	25%	17%	1%	2%
SWEDEN	500	73%	15%	35%	26%	1%	3%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	61%	39%	58%	48%	1%	1%
Sexe / Sex							
Homme / Male	3654	65%	22%	46%	28%	1%	1%
Femme / Female	3861	65%	25%	42%	30%	1%	3%
Age							
15 - 24	1114	65%	26%	41%	28%	0%	2%
25 - 39	2145	65%	23%	43%	29%	1%	1%
40 - 54	1941	64%	22%	46%	27%	0%	1%
55 +	2311	65%	25%	45%	30%	1%	3%
Education							
15 & -	1420	63%	24%	39%	30%	1%	3%
16 - 20	3327	68%	25%	45%	30%	1%	1%
21 & +	2641	62%	21%	48%	26%	2%	2%
Profession / Occupation							
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	62%	20%	43%	26%	1%	3%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	65%	22%	49%	29%	1%	1%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	68%	24%	39%	31%	0%	1%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	65%	24%	42%	28%	1%	3%
Habitat / Locality Type							
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	66%	23%	46%	28%	1%	2%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	64%	25%	43%	28%	1%	2%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	65%	23%	43%	31%	1%	2%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq							
Justifiée / Justified	2178	59%	32%	52%	40%	1%	2%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	68%	20%	41%	24%	1%	1%

2.2 Who should finance the rebuilding of Iraq?

The funds necessary for covering priority reconstruction needs, calculated by the World Bank and United Nations amount to US\$36bn for the 2004-07 period and US\$9bn for 2004 alone.

The European Commission, represented by Chris Patten, Commissioner for External Relations, promised €200 million for 2003-04 from the EU budget. On behalf of the European Union, a total contribution of €700 million (including donations made by individual countries) was promised until the end of 2004 and an indicative figure of €1.3bn up to the end of 2007 was mentioned. Out of the 700 million euros, approximately a third will be funded from the United Kingdom, a third jointly by Spain and Italy and a third by the EU. A remaining €100 million will be financed by the other Member States or new accession countries⁶.

Source Questionnaire: questions 3 and 6a

- US should bear the brunt of financing the rebuilding of Iraq -

* **Overall picture:**

65% of European Union citizens believe that the United States should finance the rebuilding of Iraq, over and above the United Nations (44%), the provisional government in Iraq (29%) and the EU and its Member States (24%).

The combination of responses for who should finance Iraq (cross-analysis of question 3 by itself) shows that the majority of those who believe that the United Nations should finance the rebuilding of Iraq, are of the opinion that the United States should also pay for the costs incurred as a result of the war, being the case of 54% of respondents.

	Q3 Financing of rebuilding in Iraq				
Q3 Financing of rebuilding in Iraq	Total	United States	EU and its Member States	United Nations	Provisional government in Iraq
United States	65%	100%	77%	54%	58%
EU and its Member States	24%	28%	100%	38%	39%
United Nations	44%	37%	71%	100%	55%
Provisional government in Iraq	29%	26%	48%	36%	100%

It seems that while public opinion does not want the United States to manage reconstruction in Iraq, they believe nevertheless that they should pay for it.

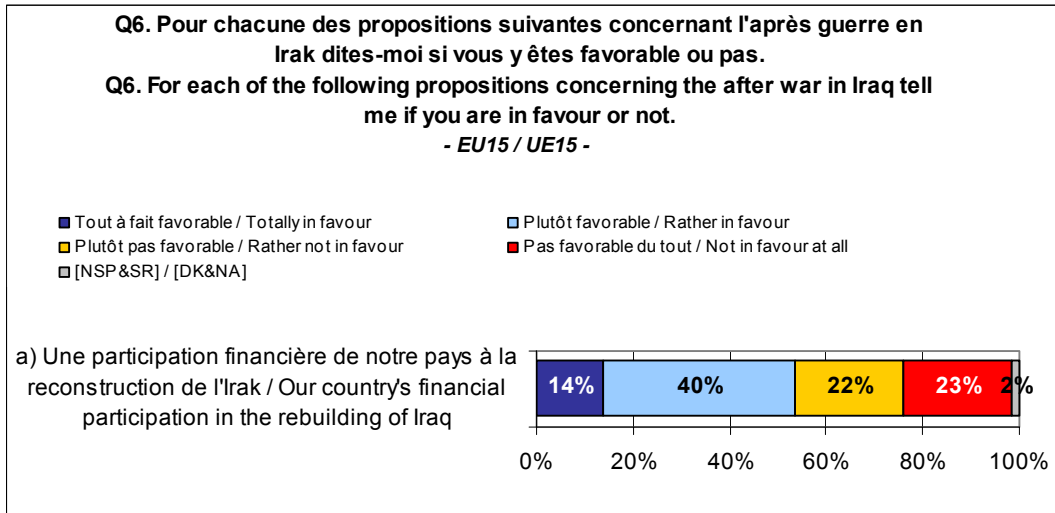
⁶ Agence Europe 24/10/2003

**Q6. Pour chacune des propositions suivantes concernant l'après guerre en Irak dites-moi si vous y êtes favorable ou pas.
a) Une participation financière de notre pays à la reconstruction de l'Irak**

**Q6. For each of the following propositions concerning the after war in Iraq tell me if you are in favour or not.
a) Our country's financial participation in the rebuilding of Iraq**

	BASE	Tout à fait favorable / Totally in favour	Plutôt favorable / Rather in favour	Plutôt pas favorable / Rather not in favour	Pas favorable du tout / Not in favour at all	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	Favorable / In favour	Pas favorable / Not in favour
EU 15	7515	14%	40%	22%	23%	2%	54%	45%
BELGIQUE	498	6%	36%	27%	29%	3%	42%	55%
DANMARK	501	33%	43%	9%	13%	2%	76%	22%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	6%	36%	31%	26%	1%	42%	57%
ELLAS	500	18%	34%	19%	28%	1%	52%	47%
ESPANA	503	15%	41%	19%	22%	4%	55%	41%
FRANCE	500	8%	37%	24%	30%	0%	45%	54%
IRELAND	500	15%	38%	20%	25%	1%	53%	46%
ITALIA	501	18%	47%	19%	16%	0%	65%	35%
LUXEMBOURG	503	16%	42%	22%	18%	1%	59%	41%
NEDERLAND	500	28%	45%	14%	12%	1%	74%	26%
OSTERREICH	500	4%	27%	29%	34%	6%	31%	62%
PORTUGAL	500	7%	24%	22%	42%	5%	31%	64%
FINLAND	501	8%	27%	28%	35%	2%	36%	63%
SWEDEN	500	18%	37%	19%	20%	6%	55%	39%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	23%	46%	16%	13%	1%	69%	29%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	14%	41%	20%	24%	1%	55%	44%
Femme / Female	3861	13%	39%	25%	21%	2%	52%	46%
Age								
15 - 24	1114	16%	42%	23%	18%	1%	58%	41%
25 - 39	2145	15%	37%	23%	23%	1%	52%	46%
40 - 54	1941	14%	38%	25%	23%	1%	51%	47%
55 +	2311	12%	42%	19%	24%	2%	54%	43%
Education								
15 & -	1420	14%	42%	19%	23%	2%	56%	42%
16 - 20	3327	12%	36%	26%	25%	1%	48%	50%
21 & +	2641	17%	45%	19%	17%	1%	62%	37%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	16%	42%	18%	23%	2%	58%	40%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	14%	40%	24%	20%	1%	55%	44%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	13%	33%	22%	32%	1%	46%	53%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	14%	41%	22%	22%	2%	54%	44%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	12%	40%	23%	23%	1%	53%	46%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	16%	40%	22%	20%	1%	56%	43%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	13%	38%	22%	24%	2%	52%	46%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	18%	43%	20%	18%	1%	61%	38%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	12%	39%	23%	24%	1%	51%	47%

Respondents were asked in a separate question if they are in favour or against their country's financial participation in the rebuilding of Iraq. The graph below shows that 54% of citizens are in favour of their country contributing to the reconstruction fund.



The cross-analysis of question 3 and 6a shows that respondents who are in favour of the European Union and its Member States financing the rebuilding of Iraq are also in favour of their country's financial contribution, being the case of 72% of respondents. In the same way, citizens who believe that the United Nations should finance the rebuilding of Iraq are also in favour of their country's participation. This would lead us to believe that **citizens support an inclusive collective effort in the financing of reconstruction in Iraq.**

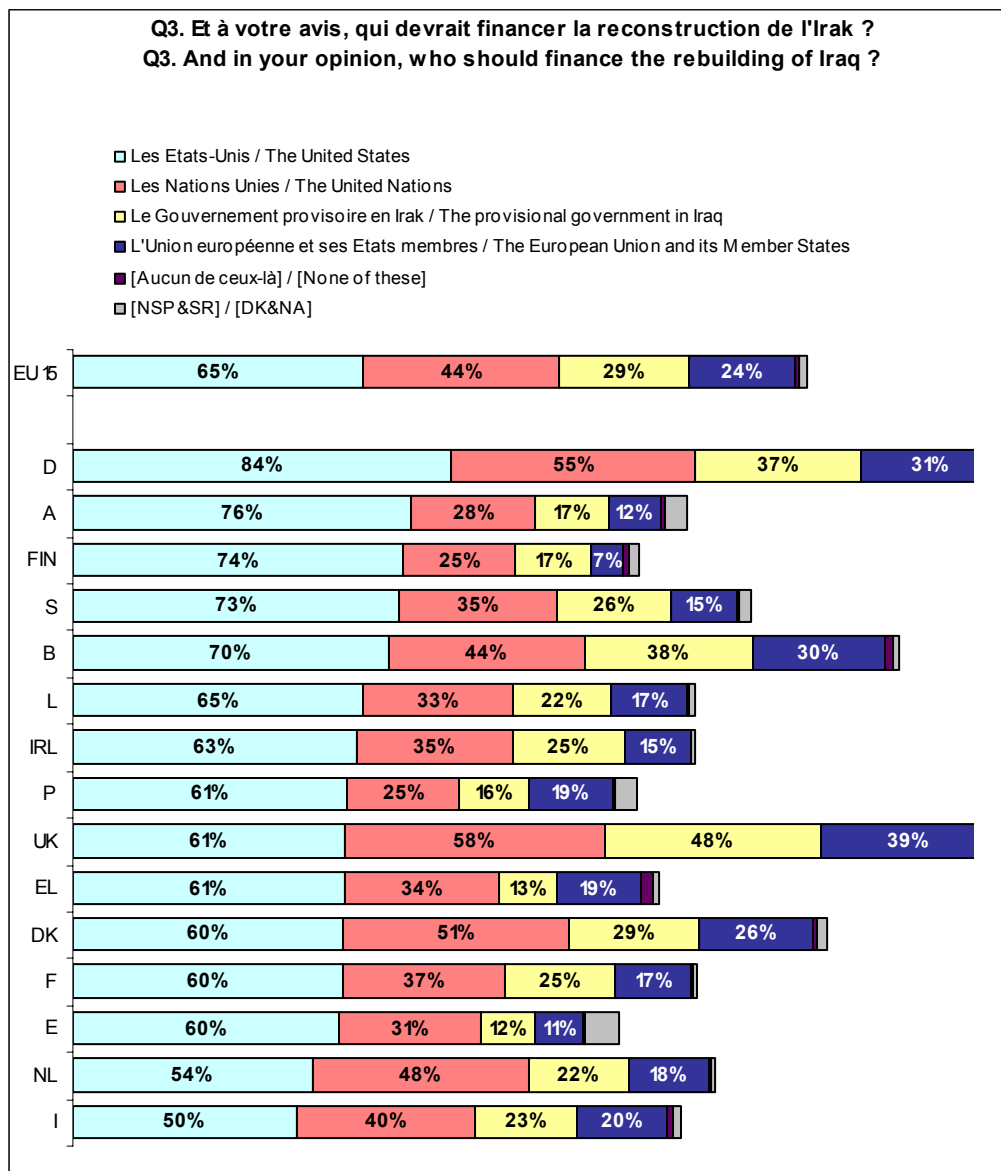
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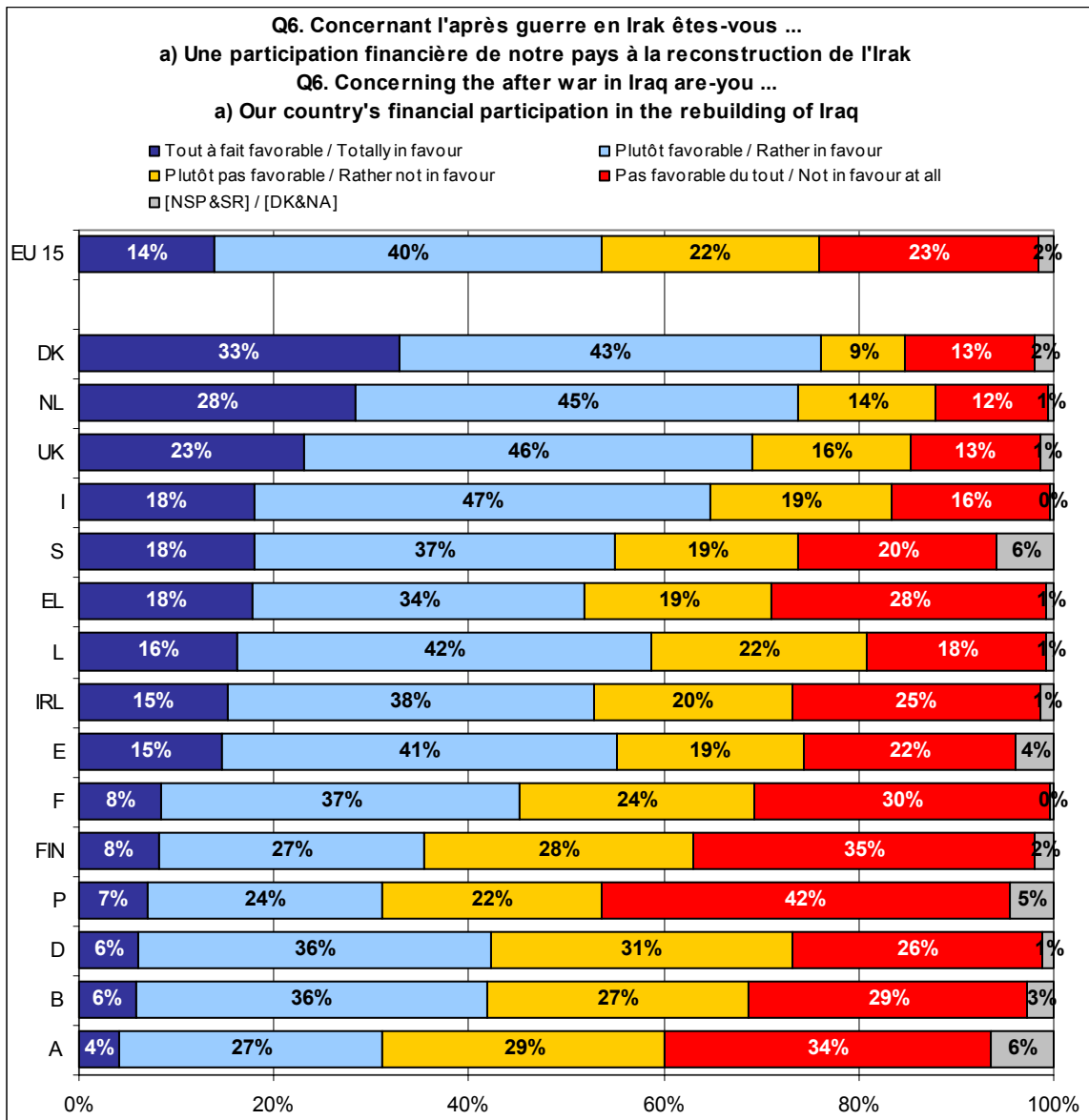
Breakdown by country:

In each Member State, the majority of citizens believe that the United States should fund the rebuilding of Iraq. **German** citizens feel most strongly about this with 84% of respondents stating that the United States should pay for Iraq's reconstruction, while at the other end of this scale, we see that one in two **Italian** respondents are of the same opinion. The results in all other countries are relatively close to the EU average result of 65%.

The majority of citizens in the **United Kingdom** (58%), **Germany** (55%) and **Denmark** (51%) believe that the United Nations should finance the rebuilding of Iraq.

More **British** citizens (48%) are of the opinion that the provisional government in Iraq should finance the rebuilding of its country than in any other Member State.

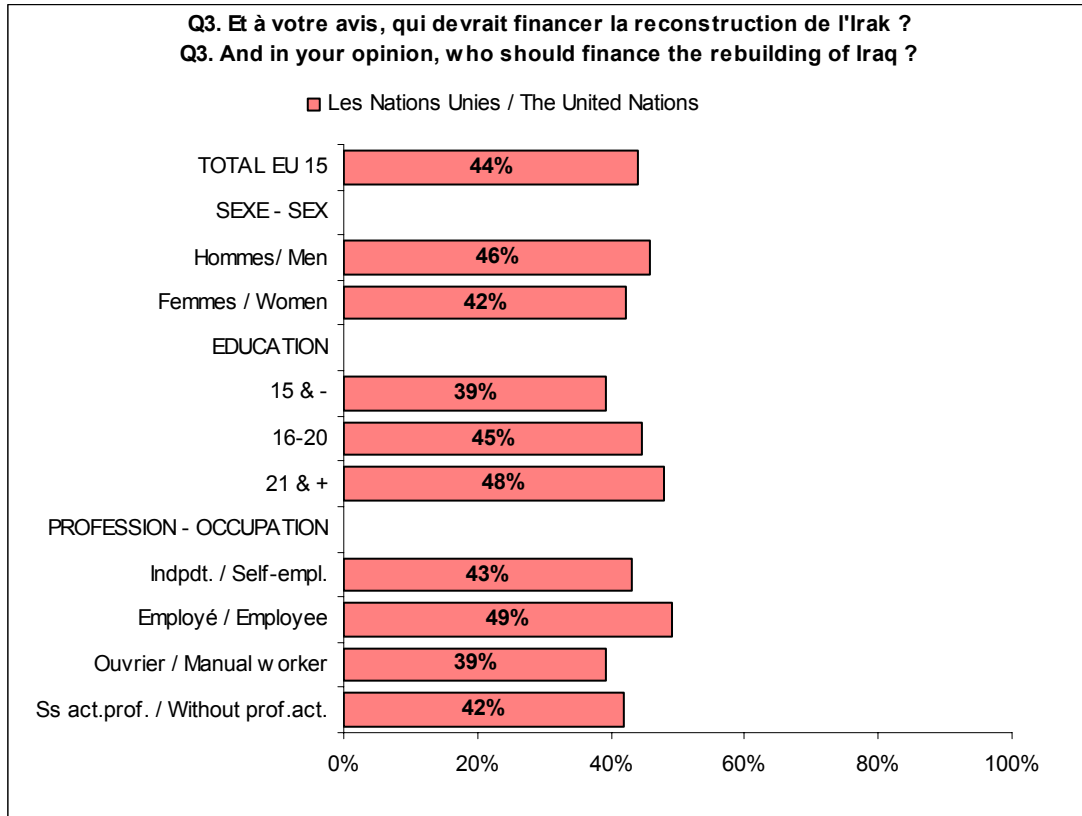




Respondents in **Denmark** (76%) and the **Netherlands** (74%) are most in favour of their country's contribution to the reconstruction fund. The **United Kingdom** (69%) and **Italy** (65%) also show strong support from citizens for their country's financial commitment and as we saw above, the **United Kingdom** and **Italy** are two of the EU's three biggest contributors to the reconstruction fund. In nine Member States, a majority of citizens are in favour of their country's financial contribution to the rebuilding effort.

* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Employees are more likely than those falling under other occupation categories to believe that the United Nations should finance the rebuilding of Iraq. Similarly, the gender of respondents bears some influence here with males being more likely than females to be of this opinion.



As we might expect, those who believe that military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to believe that the provisional government should finance the rebuilding of their country (40%) compared to those who believe that the war was unjustified (24%). On the other hand, those who believe that the war in Iraq was not justified are more likely to believe that the United States should now pay for the costs incurred as a result of their decision, being the case of 68% of respondents (versus 59% of those who believe that military intervention was justified).

Younger respondents "15-24" and/or those who are more highly educated are more likely to be in favour of their country's financial contribution to the reconstruction effort.

Respondents who believe that the military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to be in favour of their country's financial participation (61% of respondents) than those who believe that this was not justified (51% of respondents).

Q4. A votre avis, qui devrait assurer la sécurité en Irak pendant la période de reconstruction du pays ?

Q4. In your opinion, who should guarantee security in Iraq during the period of rebuilding the country?

	BASE	Les Etats-Unis / The US	Les USA et leurs alliés / The US and allies	Force multinat. au nom de l'ONU sous force of UN under US	L'ONU et forces de maintien de la paix / The UN and peace-keeping forces	L'UE et ses Etats membres / The EU and its Member States	Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	Le Gov. provisoire en Irak / The Iraqi provisional government	[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]
EU 15	7515	6%	5%	11%	43%	5%	19%	8%	1%	2%
BELGIQUE	498	12%	4%	9%	37%	5%	20%	10%	2%	3%
DANMARK	501	7%	6%	15%	37%	3%	23%	4%	1%	4%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	6%	7%	13%	46%	5%	16%	7%	1%	1%
ELLAS	500	10%	6%	8%	39%	8%	17%	6%	4%	1%
ESPANA	503	7%	4%	7%	31%	6%	28%	8%	1%	8%
FRANCE	500	5%	2%	7%	54%	5%	14%	11%	1%	1%
IRELAND	500	7%	7%	12%	41%	2%	23%	6%	0%	2%
ITALIA	501	7%	6%	13%	45%	6%	15%	6%	1%	1%
LUXEMBOURG	503	5%	4%	15%	49%	5%	12%	8%	0%	1%
NEDERLAND	500	3%	10%	12%	41%	4%	19%	9%	1%	1%
OSTERREICH	500	7%	3%	10%	47%	2%	17%	8%	1%	6%
PORTUGAL	500	8%	7%	16%	35%	6%	14%	8%	1%	5%
FINLAND	501	3%	5%	8%	52%	2%	21%	6%	1%	3%
SWEDEN	500	8%	4%	13%	42%	2%	23%	4%	1%	4%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	5%	6%	15%	35%	4%	25%	8%	1%	2%
Sexe / Sex										
Homme / Male	3654	6%	5%	13%	42%	5%	21%	6%	1%	1%
Femme / Female	3861	6%	6%	10%	43%	5%	16%	9%	1%	3%
Age										
15 - 24	1114	8%	11%	11%	41%	6%	12%	9%	1%	2%
25 - 39	2145	7%	4%	10%	44%	7%	19%	7%	1%	1%
40 - 54	1941	4%	4%	14%	46%	3%	20%	8%	1%	2%
55 +	2311	7%	5%	10%	40%	5%	21%	7%	1%	4%
Education										
15 & -	1420	7%	5%	12%	41%	7%	17%	7%	1%	4%
16 - 20	3327	8%	7%	12%	40%	4%	18%	8%	1%	1%
21 & +	2641	4%	3%	9%	49%	4%	21%	7%	0%	1%
Profession / Occupation										
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	6%	5%	16%	39%	6%	20%	6%	0%	2%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	5%	6%	10%	48%	3%	20%	6%	1%	1%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	8%	4%	11%	40%	7%	19%	8%	1%	2%
Sans activité prof. / Without prof. activity	3309	6%	6%	11%	41%	5%	18%	9%	1%	4%
Habitat / Locality Type										
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	6%	5%	12%	42%	4%	20%	8%	1%	2%
Centre urbain / Urban Center	2923	6%	5%	11%	43%	6%	19%	7%	1%	2%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	6%	6%	11%	42%	5%	17%	8%	1%	3%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq										
Justifiée / Justified	2178	7%	9%	18%	37%	5%	16%	6%	1%	1%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	6%	4%	9%	45%	5%	20%	8%	1%	2%

2.3 Who should guarantee security during the rebuilding period?

Security has become an increasingly worrying issue in Iraq as evidenced by the attack on the UN headquarters in August, the bombing of the mosque in Najaf, the targeting of international humanitarian organisations and the daily toll of casualties and fatalities. In fact, acts of sabotage against infrastructure, particularly the electricity transmission lines and oil and water pipelines, are undermining efforts to restore the delivery of basic utilities and re-start production.

Hence, the security environment in Iraq needs to be improved to permit effective and rapid reconstruction work to go ahead.⁷

Source Questionnaire: question 4

- EU citizens do not want the United States to guarantee security during the reconstruction period -

* **Overall picture:**

43% of European Union citizens place their trust in the United Nations together with their peacekeeping forces in guaranteeing security during the reconstruction period. Next in line, follows the United Nations alone, being chosen by 19% of citizens. According to public opinion in the EU, the United States should not be entrusted with the task of guaranteeing security - only 6% of citizens selected the US and 5% the US and some of their allies.

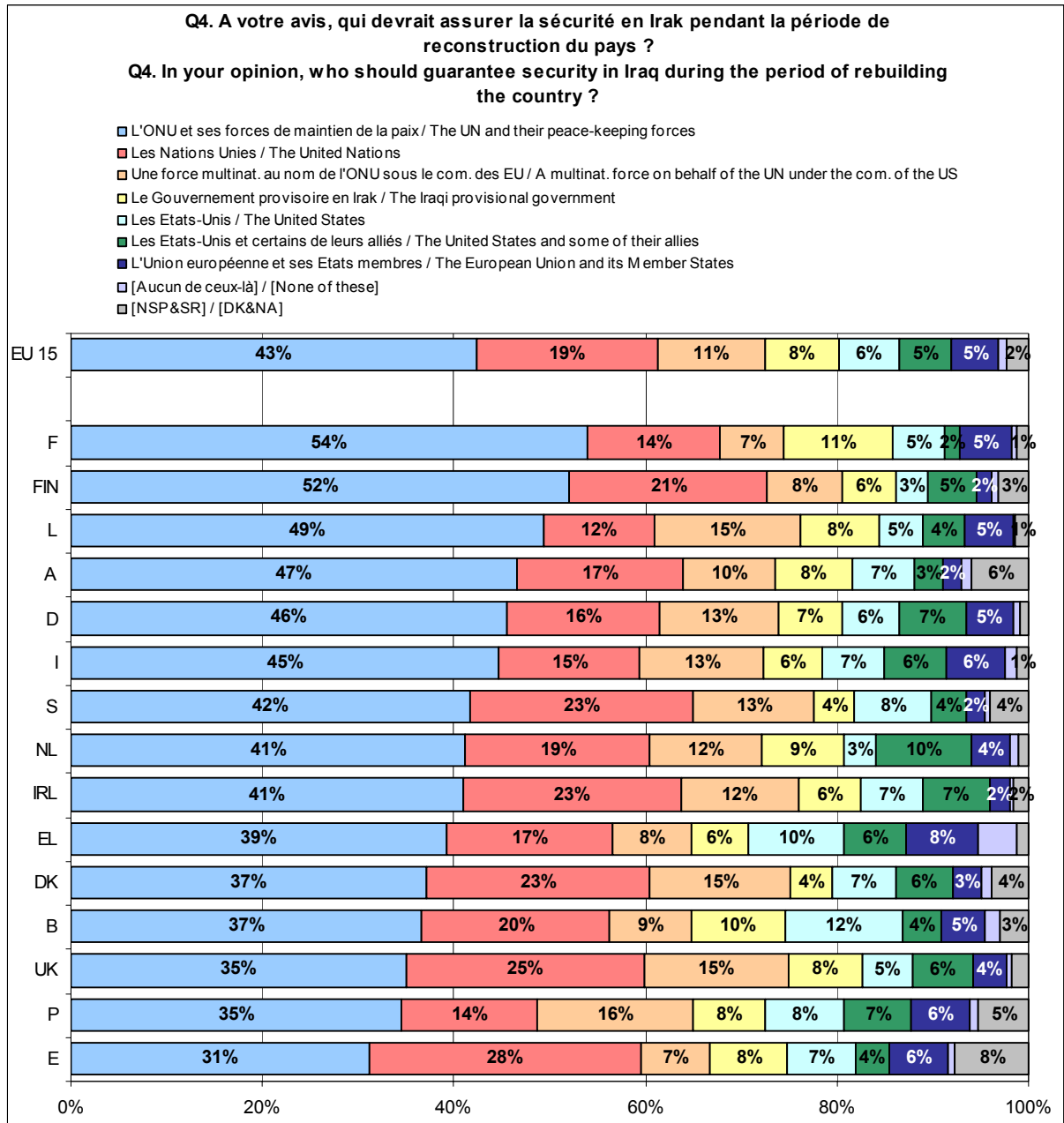
⁷ COM (2003) 575 « The Madrid Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq »

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Breakdown by country:

At the Member State level, in all countries the relative majority of citizens would choose the United Nations and their peacekeeping forces as the guarantor of security. The results range from 54% in **France** and 52% in **Finland** to 31% in **Spain**.

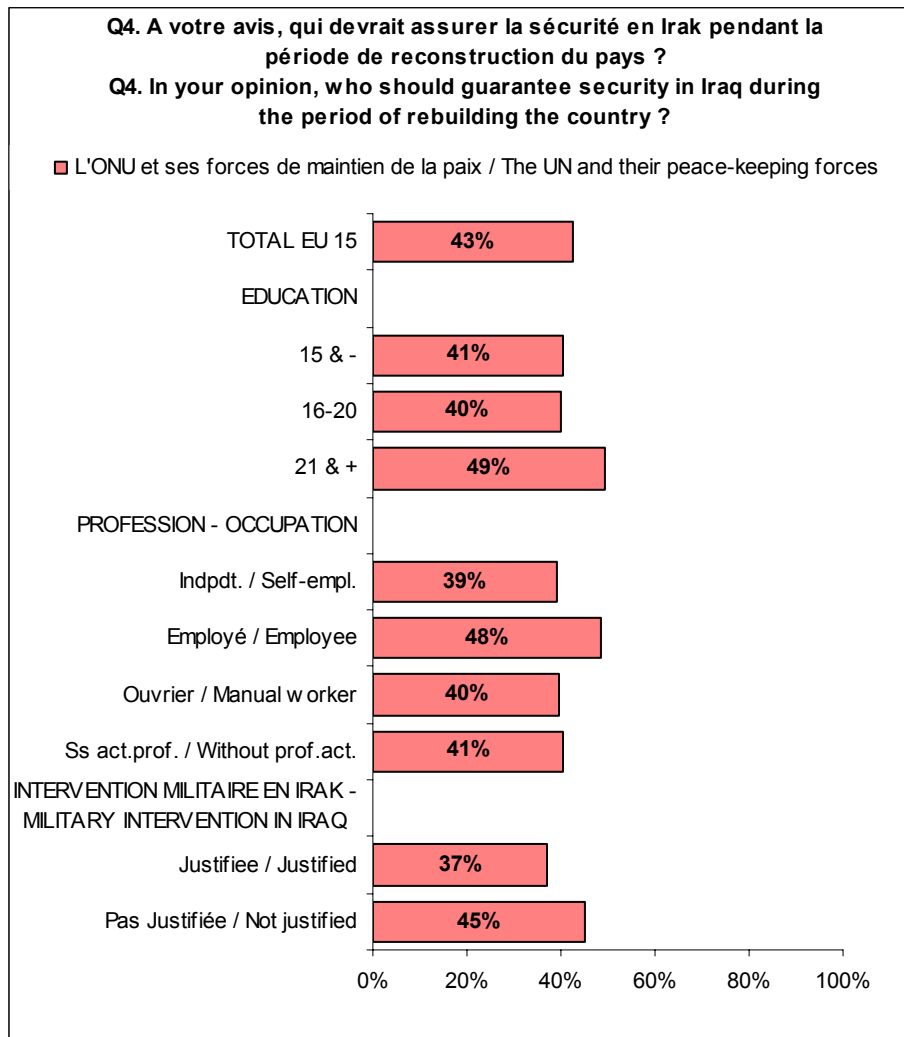
In **Spain** opinions are split between the United Nations and their peacekeeping forces (31%) and the United Nations alone (28%). As the only two ally countries with forces in Iraq it is worth noting that only 4% of **Spanish** respondents and 6% of **British** respondents believe that “the United States and some of their allies” should guarantee security.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

The more highly educated respondents and/or employees are more likely to wish to entrust the UN and their peacekeeping forces with the task of guaranteeing security during the transition period.

Those who believe that the military intervention in Iraq was not justified are more likely to place their trust in the UN and its peacekeeping forces for guaranteeing security during the reconstruction period.



**Q6. Pour chacune des propositions suivantes concernant l'après guerre en Irak dites-moi si vous y êtes favorable ou pas.
b) Le renforcement de l'aide humanitaire de [NOTRE PAYS] à l'égard de l'Irak**

**Q6. For each of the following propositions concerning the after war in Iraq tell me if you are in favour or not.
b) The reinforcement of humanitarian aid from [OUR COUNTRY] towards Iraq**

	BASE	Tout à fait favorable / Totally in favour	Plutôt favorable / Rather in favour	Plutôt pas favorable / Rather not in favour	Pas favorable du tout / Not in favour at all	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	Favorable / In favour	Pas favorable / Not in favour
EU 15	7515	32%	50%	9%	8%	1%	82%	17%
BELGIQUE	498	24%	51%	12%	12%	2%	75%	24%
DANMARK	501	47%	41%	5%	5%	2%	88%	10%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	13%	60%	15%	11%	0%	73%	27%
ELLAS	500	60%	33%	3%	4%	0%	93%	7%
ESPANA	503	29%	48%	11%	9%	3%	78%	20%
FRANCE	500	28%	58%	5%	8%	1%	86%	14%
IRELAND	500	44%	47%	3%	5%	1%	91%	8%
ITALIA	501	40%	49%	4%	7%	0%	89%	10%
LUXEMBOURG	503	42%	50%	4%	3%	1%	91%	7%
NEDERLAND	500	44%	37%	13%	6%	1%	80%	19%
OSTERREICH	500	26%	53%	13%	5%	3%	79%	18%
PORTUGAL	500	27%	45%	10%	15%	4%	72%	25%
FINLAND	501	22%	45%	16%	15%	2%	68%	30%
SWEDEN	500	38%	46%	6%	7%	4%	84%	13%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	47%	40%	7%	4%	1%	87%	12%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	32%	49%	8%	10%	1%	81%	18%
Femme / Female	3861	31%	51%	10%	7%	1%	82%	17%
Age								
15 - 24	1114	31%	49%	11%	8%	1%	80%	20%
25 - 39	2145	33%	48%	9%	9%	1%	81%	18%
40 - 54	1941	34%	48%	8%	9%	1%	82%	17%
55 +	2311	29%	54%	9%	6%	2%	83%	15%
Education								
15 & -	1420	32%	50%	8%	9%	2%	81%	17%
16 - 20	3327	29%	50%	11%	9%	1%	80%	19%
21 & +	2641	36%	51%	8%	5%	1%	87%	12%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	36%	44%	10%	9%	1%	79%	19%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	32%	53%	8%	7%	1%	85%	14%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	29%	45%	12%	13%	1%	74%	25%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	32%	51%	9%	7%	1%	83%	16%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	30%	53%	10%	7%	1%	82%	17%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	33%	50%	8%	8%	1%	83%	16%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	32%	48%	10%	8%	2%	79%	18%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	34%	48%	9%	9%	0%	82%	18%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	31%	52%	9%	8%	1%	82%	17%

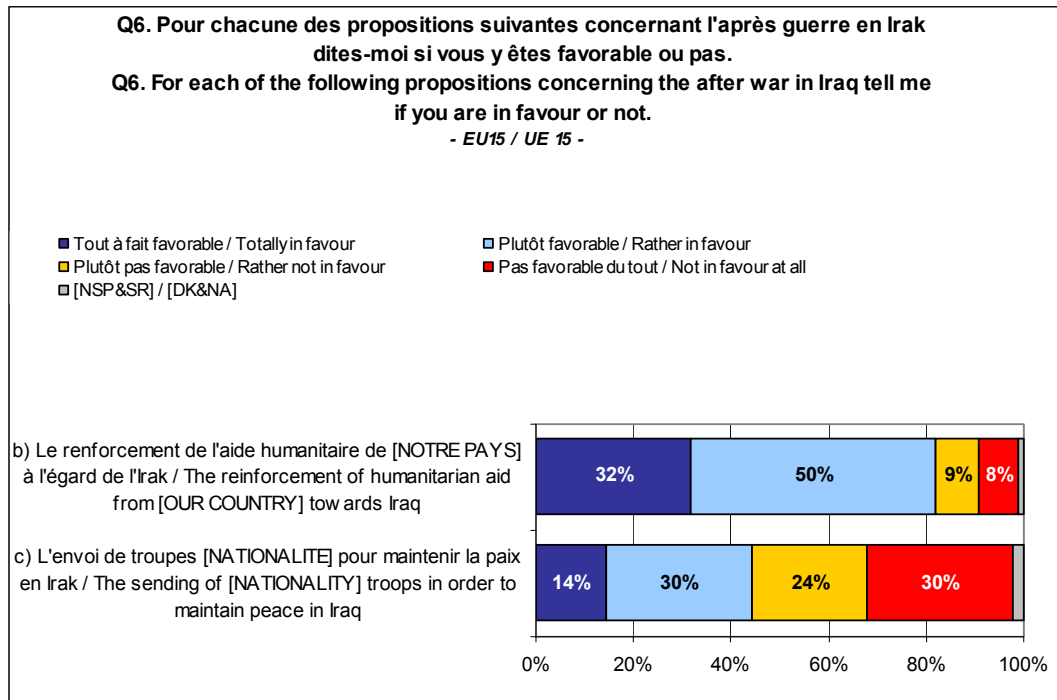
2.4 Participation of “our” country

In this section, we will look at citizens' views on their country's participation in terms of humanitarian aid and the sending of national troops to maintain peace in Iraq.

Source Questionnaire: questions 6b and 6c

- European citizens prefer to offer humanitarian aid rather than sending their own troops to Iraq on a peacekeeping mission -

* **Overall picture:**



82% of EU citizens are in favour of their country's reinforcement of humanitarian aid in Iraq.

When asked about their view on the sending of national peacekeeping troops to Iraq, European citizens appear somewhat divided with 44% of respondents confirming that they are in favour of this and 54% indicating that they are against.

Q6. Pour chacune des propositions suivantes concernant l'après guerre en Irak dites-moi si vous y êtes favorable ou pas.
c) L'envoi de troupes [NATIONALITE] pour maintenir la paix en Irak

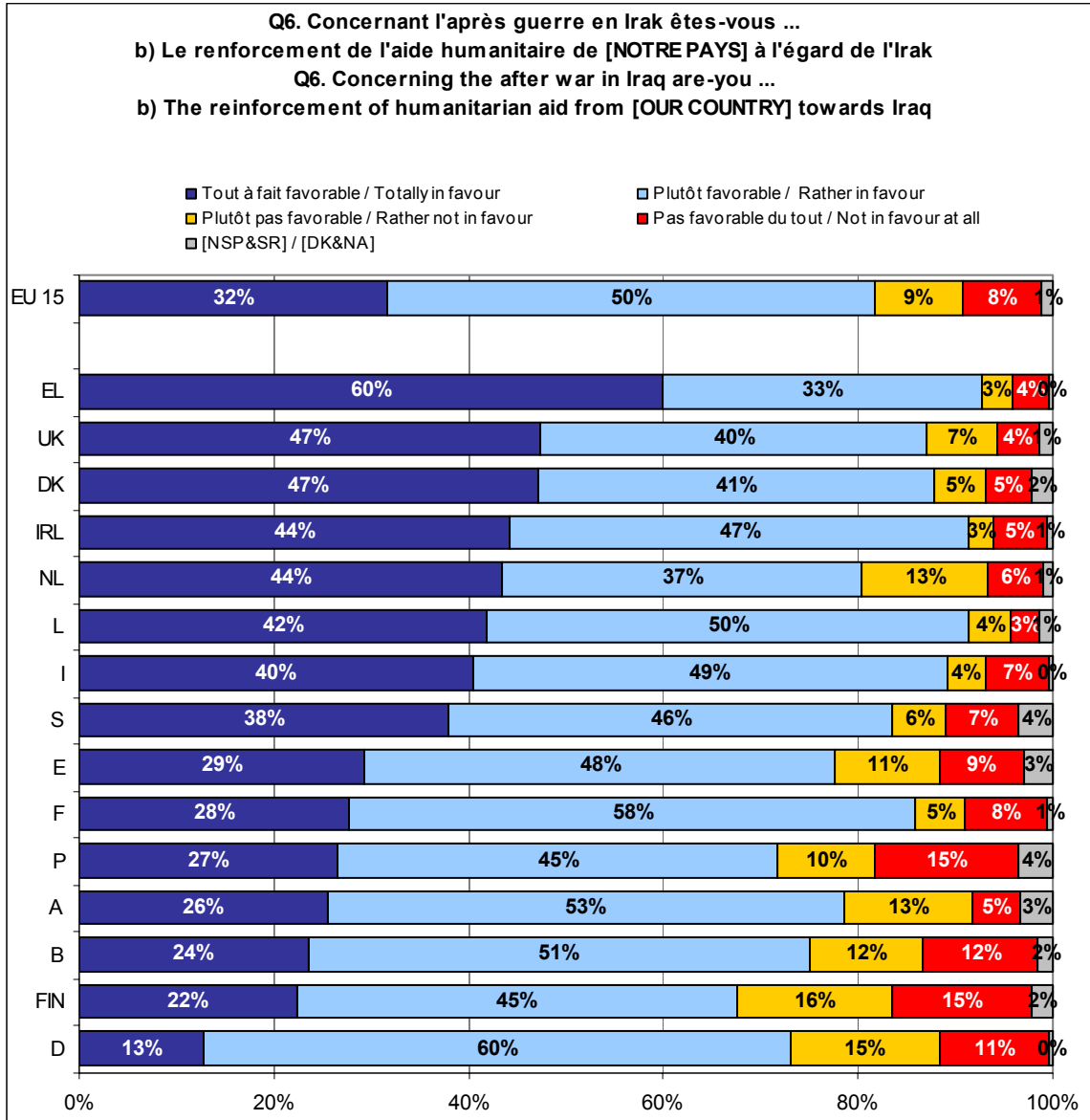
Q6. For each of the following propositions concerning the after war in Iraq tell me if you are in favour or not.
c) The sending of [NATIONALITY] troops in order to maintain peace in Iraq

	BASE	Tout à fait favorable / Totally in favour	Plutôt favorable / Rather in favour	Plutôt pas favorable / Rather not in favour	Pas favorable du tout / Not in favour at all	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	Favorable / In favour	Pas favorable / Not in favour
EU 15	7515	14%	30%	24%	30%	2%	44%	54%
BELGIQUE	498	10%	32%	25%	31%	3%	42%	56%
DANMARK	501	39%	38%	6%	15%	2%	77%	21%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	6%	22%	33%	38%	1%	28%	71%
ELLAS	500	11%	18%	16%	53%	1%	29%	70%
ESPANA	503	13%	28%	22%	33%	4%	41%	55%
FRANCE	500	9%	27%	24%	39%	2%	35%	63%
IRELAND	500	19%	43%	14%	21%	2%	63%	35%
ITALIA	501	22%	39%	20%	19%	0%	60%	40%
LUXEMBOURG	503	13%	27%	23%	35%	2%	41%	58%
NEDERLAND	500	29%	39%	17%	14%	1%	69%	31%
OSTERREICH	500	5%	22%	26%	43%	4%	27%	69%
PORTUGAL	500	13%	23%	21%	38%	5%	36%	60%
FINLAND	501	18%	28%	24%	27%	2%	46%	51%
SWEDEN	500	25%	34%	14%	22%	6%	58%	36%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	20%	37%	22%	18%	3%	57%	40%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	17%	30%	21%	30%	2%	47%	51%
Femme / Female	3861	12%	30%	26%	30%	2%	42%	56%
Age								
15 - 24	1114	18%	34%	21%	26%	1%	52%	47%
25 - 39	2145	14%	34%	25%	26%	2%	48%	51%
40 - 54	1941	14%	32%	23%	29%	2%	46%	52%
55 +	2311	13%	24%	24%	37%	3%	36%	61%
Education								
15 & -	1420	17%	32%	20%	29%	2%	49%	49%
16 - 20	3327	12%	28%	27%	30%	2%	41%	57%
21 & +	2641	15%	31%	21%	31%	2%	46%	52%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	20%	33%	17%	28%	2%	53%	45%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	13%	31%	24%	30%	2%	44%	54%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	16%	28%	23%	31%	2%	45%	54%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	14%	28%	25%	30%	2%	42%	56%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	11%	28%	26%	33%	2%	39%	59%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	17%	32%	23%	27%	1%	49%	50%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	15%	29%	22%	31%	4%	44%	53%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	24%	36%	21%	18%	1%	60%	39%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	11%	27%	25%	36%	2%	38%	61%

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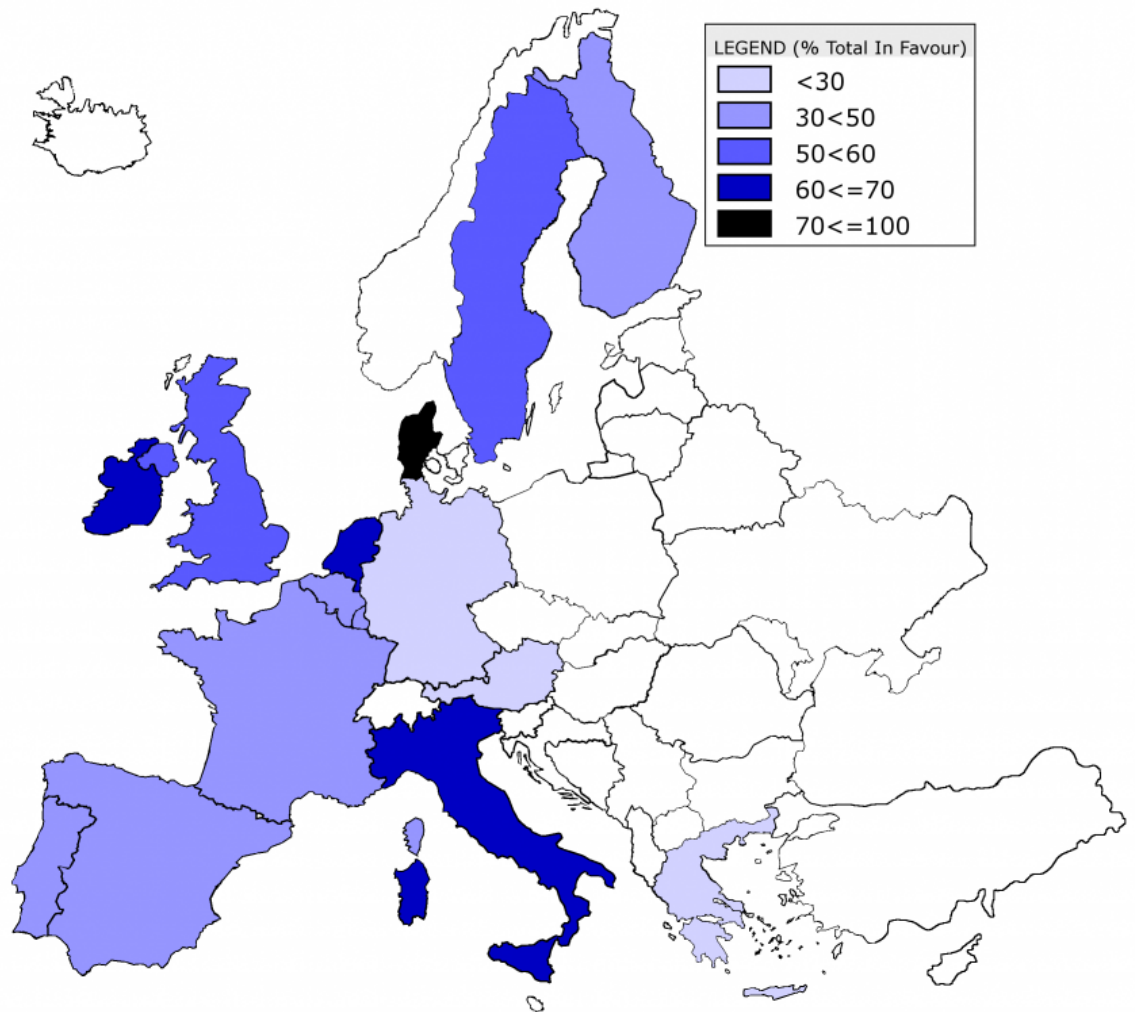
Breakdown by country:

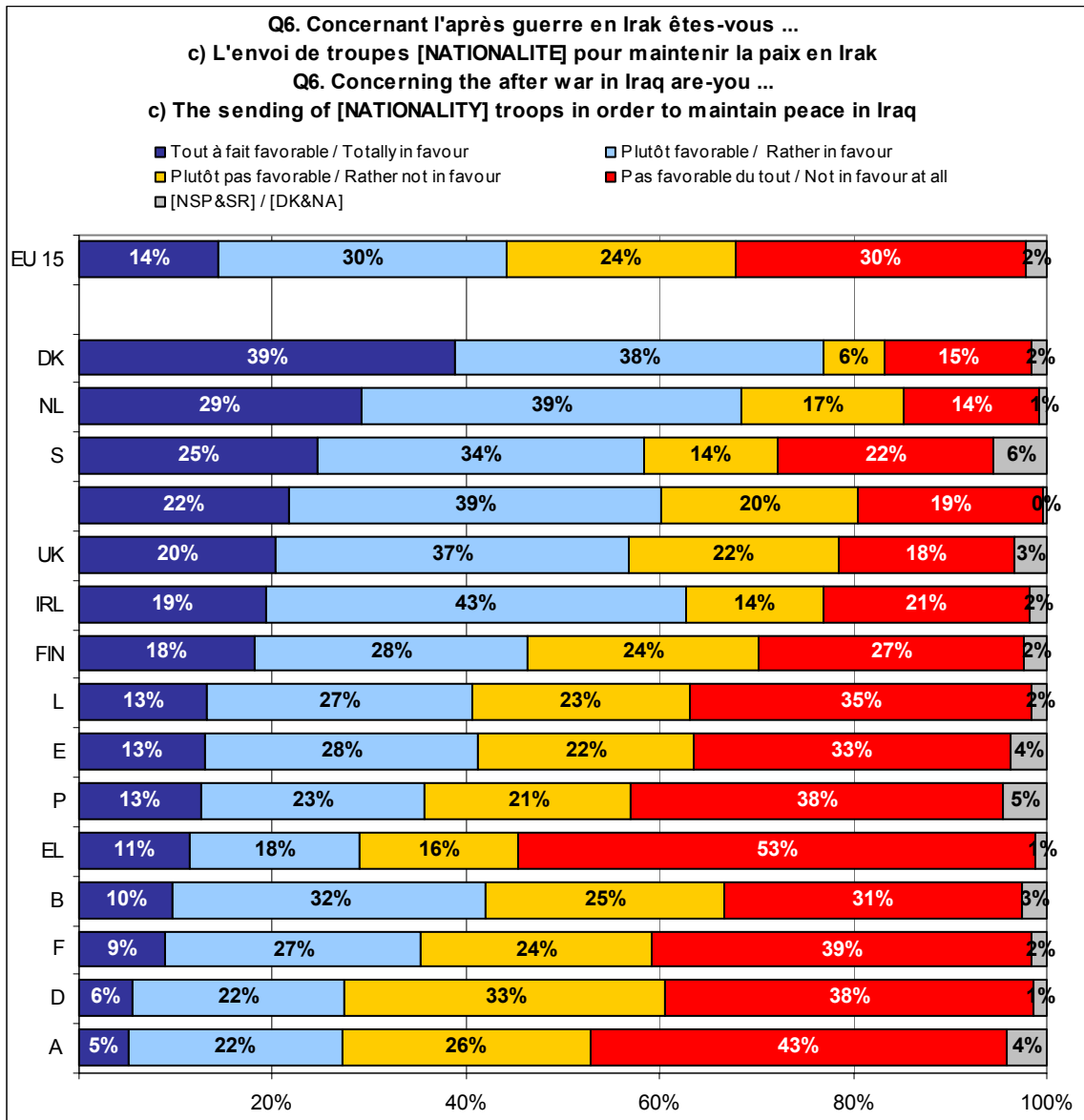
In each Member State at least seven in ten respondents are in favour of their country reinforcing humanitarian aid towards Iraq. The Member States with the highest proportion of respondents in favour of the reinforcement of humanitarian aid towards Iraq are **Greece** (93%), followed by **Ireland** and **Luxembourg** (both 91%). **Portugal** (72%) and **Germany** (73%) rank lowest.



Sending of troops for peace keeping in Iraq

Total IN FAVOUR

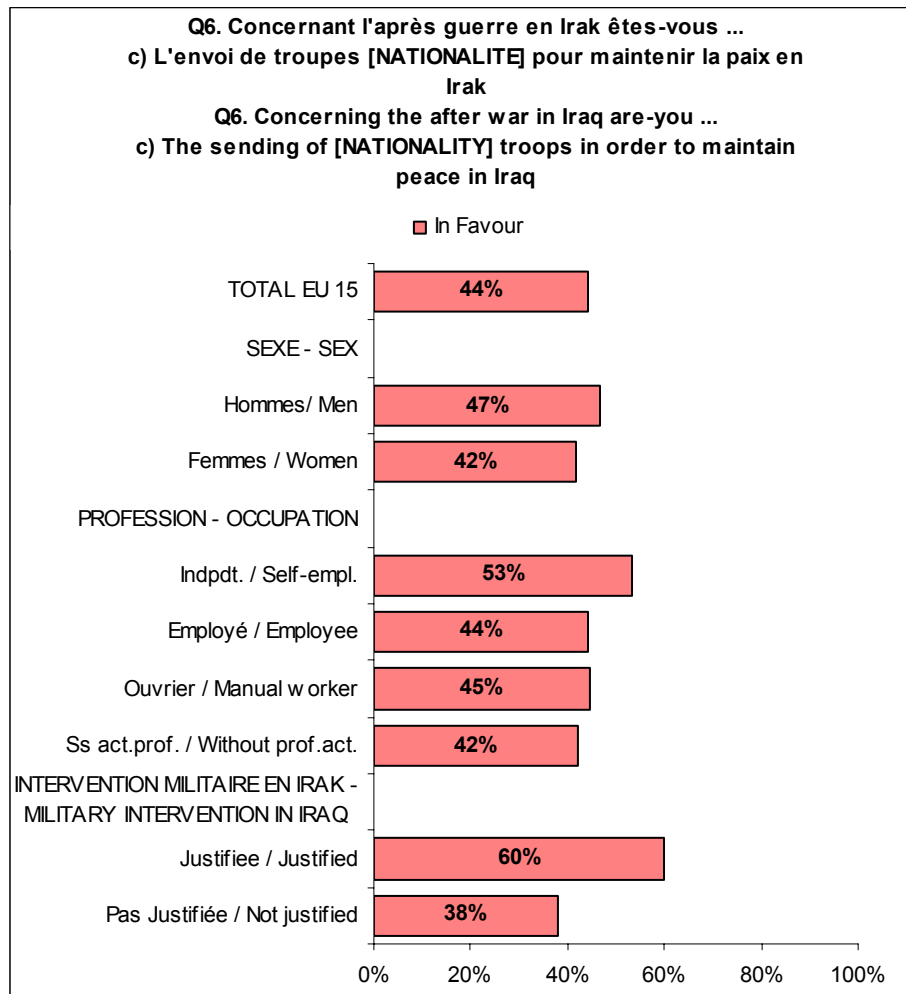




77% of **Danish** citizens are willing to send national peacekeeping troops to Iraq. In light of this, it is worth recalling that **Denmark** is the country that ranked highest for the proportion of its citizens who believe that the war was justified (57%). Ranking second is the **Netherlands**, where 69% of citizens are in favour of sending national troops to maintain peace in Iraq. A particularly interesting result is that **Ireland**, a neutral country, ranks third for the proportion of its citizens willing to support the sending of national troops to Iraq.

Close to seven in ten citizens in **Germany**, **Greece** and **Austria** are opposed to sending national peacekeeping troops to Iraq.

* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**



Males (47%) are more likely than females (42%) to indicate that they are in favour of sending national peacekeeping troops to Iraq.

Those who believe that military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to honour this conviction by their willingness to support sending national troops to Iraq in an effort to maintain peace, being the case of 60% of respondents compared to 38% believing that military intervention was not justified.

Q5. Et à votre avis, qui devrait encadrer la transition vers un gouvernement souverain en Irak ?

Q5. And in your opinion, who should manage the transition to a sovereign government in Iraq?

	BASE	Les Etats-Unis / The United States	L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres / The European Union and its Member States	Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak / The provisional government in Iraq	[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]
EU 15	7515	14%	23%	60%	44%	1%	3%
BELGIQUE	498	20%	35%	63%	47%	2%	4%
DANMARK	501	12%	11%	64%	38%	0%	5%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	19%	41%	70%	59%	1%	0%
ELLAS	500	13%	17%	48%	32%	7%	1%
ESPANA	503	7%	9%	49%	33%	1%	9%
FRANCE	500	8%	24%	55%	36%	0%	2%
IRELAND	500	9%	11%	64%	33%	0%	3%
ITALIA	501	17%	15%	45%	30%	3%	3%
LUXEMBOURG	503	12%	21%	59%	30%	1%	3%
NEDERLAND	500	7%	13%	61%	42%	1%	1%
OSTERREICH	500	11%	12%	58%	29%	1%	8%
PORTUGAL	500	12%	16%	54%	30%	1%	8%
FINLAND	501	4%	4%	72%	27%	1%	5%
SWEDEN	500	8%	8%	65%	32%	2%	7%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	19%	26%	72%	62%	1%	1%
Sexe / Sex							
Homme / Male	3654	12%	19%	64%	42%	1%	1%
Femme / Female	3861	16%	27%	56%	46%	1%	4%
Age							
15 - 24	1114	17%	30%	52%	44%	0%	3%
25 - 39	2145	11%	22%	60%	44%	1%	2%
40 - 54	1941	11%	19%	63%	43%	1%	3%
55 +	2311	17%	24%	62%	44%	2%	4%
Education							
15 & -	1420	18%	27%	50%	41%	2%	5%
16 - 20	3327	15%	27%	61%	46%	1%	2%
21 & +	2641	9%	14%	68%	43%	1%	2%
Profession / Occupation							
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	17%	19%	62%	39%	1%	2%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	10%	20%	65%	47%	1%	1%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	15%	27%	58%	41%	3%	3%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	16%	25%	57%	43%	1%	4%
Habitat / Locality Type							
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	13%	22%	63%	46%	1%	2%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	12%	22%	59%	41%	2%	3%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	17%	26%	57%	44%	1%	4%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq							
Justifiée / Justified	2178	25%	25%	57%	44%	1%	2%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	10%	22%	62%	44%	1%	2%

3. Transition to a sovereign Iraqi Government

United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1483, refers to the future establishment of an internationally recognised, representative government by the people of Iraq, which will assume the responsibilities of the Coalition Provisional Authority.

In this section we will analyse citizens views on who should manage the transition to the establishment of a sovereign democratic Iraqi Government.

Source Questionnaire: questions 5 and 7c

- European citizens want the United Nations to manage the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government -

* **Overall picture:**

EU citizens do not want the United States to manage the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government. Six in ten European Union citizens want the United Nations to take responsibility for the establishment of a democratic government in Baghdad. 44% prefer the provisional government, 23% the European Union, while only 14% want the US to manage this transition.

	Q5 Management of transition to a sovereign government in Iraq				
Q5 Management of transition to a sovereign government in Iraq	Total	United States	EU and its Member States	United Nations	Provisional government in Iraq
United States	14%	100%	24%	11%	14%
EU and its Member States	23%	40%	100%	21%	25%
United Nations	60%	47%	53%	100%	50%
Provisional government in Iraq	44%	44%	46%	37%	100%

For this question, respondents were given the possibility of giving multiple answers. In looking at the combination of responses given by respondents, or in other word the cross-analysis of question 5 by itself, it is worth noting that if we take respondents who stated that they would prefer the UN to manage the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government, a relative majority (37%) also selected the provisional government in Iraq to manage the transition to a democratic government. Conversely, of those respondents who would entrust Iraq's provisional government with its transition to a sovereign state, a relative majority (50%) would also wish for the United Nations participation in its management.

Also worth noting is that of those who cited the United Nations for the role of managing the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government, only 11% would want the United States to also participate. On the contrary, of those who selected the United States, 47% would wish for the United Nations to partake in the management of reconstruction and 44% the provisional government in Iraq. This would lead us to believe that citizens are calling for collective as opposed to unilateral management of the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government, with the United Nations superseding as the representative of this collective action. This conclusion is identical to that revealed in the previous question dealing with the management of the reconstruction in Iraq (subsection 2.1).

Q7. Dites-moi si vous êtes tout à fait d'accord, plutôt d'accord, plutôt pas d'accord ou pas d'accord du tout avec chacune des propositions suivantes concernant le rôle de l'Union européenne au Moyen Orient ?

c) L'Union européenne doit soutenir le rétablissement le plus vite possible d'un gouvernement irakien en Irak

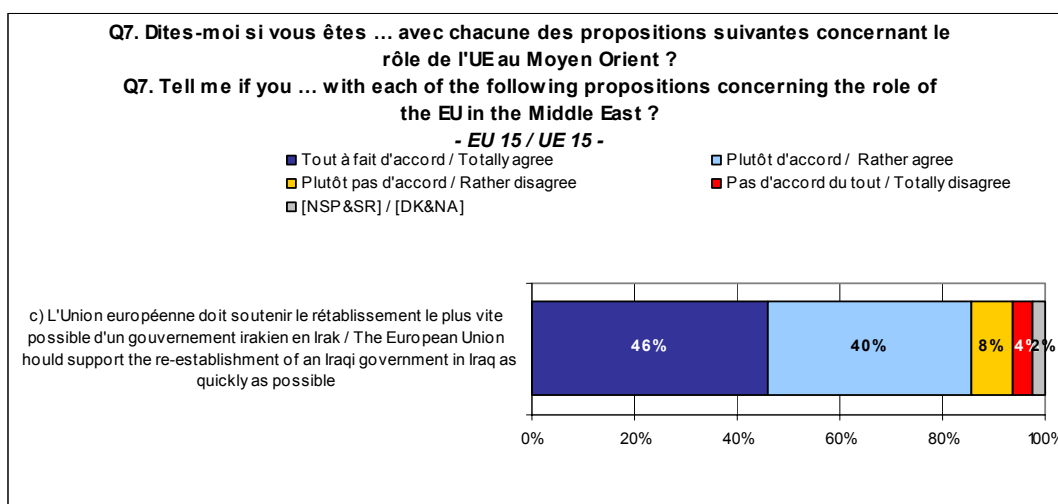
Q7. Tell me if you totally agree, rather agree, rather disagree or totally disagree with each of the following propositions concerning the role of the European Union in the Middle East?

c) The European Union should support the re-establishment of an Iraqi government in Iraq as quickly as possible

	BASE	Tout à fait d'accord / Totally agree	Plutôt d'accord / Rather agree	Plutôt pas d'accord / Rather disagree	Pas d'accord du tout / Totally disagree	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	d'accord / agree	pas d'accord / disagree
EU 15	7515	46%	40%	8%	4%	2%	86%	12%
BELGIQUE	498	41%	39%	11%	6%	3%	80%	17%
DANMARK	501	56%	28%	6%	6%	5%	83%	12%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	39%	46%	10%	5%	1%	85%	14%
ELLAS	500	54%	31%	8%	4%	2%	86%	12%
ESPANA	503	42%	42%	5%	4%	7%	84%	9%
FRANCE	500	43%	42%	9%	5%	1%	85%	14%
IRELAND	500	60%	29%	6%	4%	1%	89%	10%
ITALIA	501	42%	44%	10%	2%	3%	86%	11%
LUXEMBOURG	503	57%	34%	5%	2%	1%	92%	7%
NEDERLAND	500	56%	37%	4%	3%	1%	93%	6%
OSTERREICH	500	39%	42%	11%	3%	5%	82%	14%
PORTUGAL	500	53%	36%	4%	3%	5%	88%	7%
FINLAND	501	61%	28%	5%	3%	3%	89%	8%
SWEDEN	500	44%	33%	8%	9%	6%	77%	17%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	58%	31%	7%	4%	1%	88%	11%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	53%	35%	6%	4%	2%	88%	10%
Femme / Female	3861	39%	45%	10%	4%	3%	84%	13%
Age								
15 - 24	1114	39%	42%	13%	4%	1%	82%	17%
25 - 39	2145	45%	41%	8%	3%	2%	86%	12%
40 - 54	1941	49%	37%	8%	4%	2%	86%	12%
55 +	2311	47%	40%	5%	4%	4%	87%	9%
Education								
15 & -	1420	43%	41%	7%	5%	5%	84%	11%
16 - 20	3327	43%	42%	10%	4%	1%	85%	14%
21 & +	2641	53%	35%	6%	3%	2%	89%	9%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	53%	33%	7%	5%	3%	86%	12%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	51%	39%	6%	3%	1%	90%	9%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	43%	39%	9%	7%	1%	82%	16%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	42%	42%	9%	3%	3%	84%	12%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	44%	43%	8%	4%	2%	87%	11%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	45%	40%	9%	4%	2%	85%	12%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	48%	37%	8%	4%	3%	85%	12%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	47%	41%	6%	5%	1%	88%	11%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	46%	40%	8%	4%	2%	86%	12%

	Q2 Management of rebuilding in Iraq				
Q5 Transition to a sovereign Iraqi government	Total	United States	EU and its Member States	United Nations	Provisional government in Iraq
United States	14%	45%	23%	12%	16%
EU and its Member States	23%	34%	58%	23%	28%
United Nations	60%	52%	57%	80%	60%
Provisional government in Iraq	44%	51%	54%	44%	69%

In the cross-analysis of question 5 with our previous question on the management of reconstruction in Iraq (question 2), the table above shows that respondents believe that the player managing the rebuilding of Iraq should continue in its role through to the transition to a sovereign democratic government in Iraq. For example, 80% of those who believe that the United Nations should be charged with managing the rebuilding in Iraq also believe that the United Nations should oversee the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government. However, there is one exception to this. 52% of those who believe that the United States should manage the rebuilding of Iraq would rather trust the United Nations or the provisional government in Iraq than the US in managing the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government.



When asked if they believe that the EU should support the re-establishment of an Iraqi government in Iraq as quickly as possible, 86% of respondents agreed, of which 46% totally agree. We will come back to this point further on.

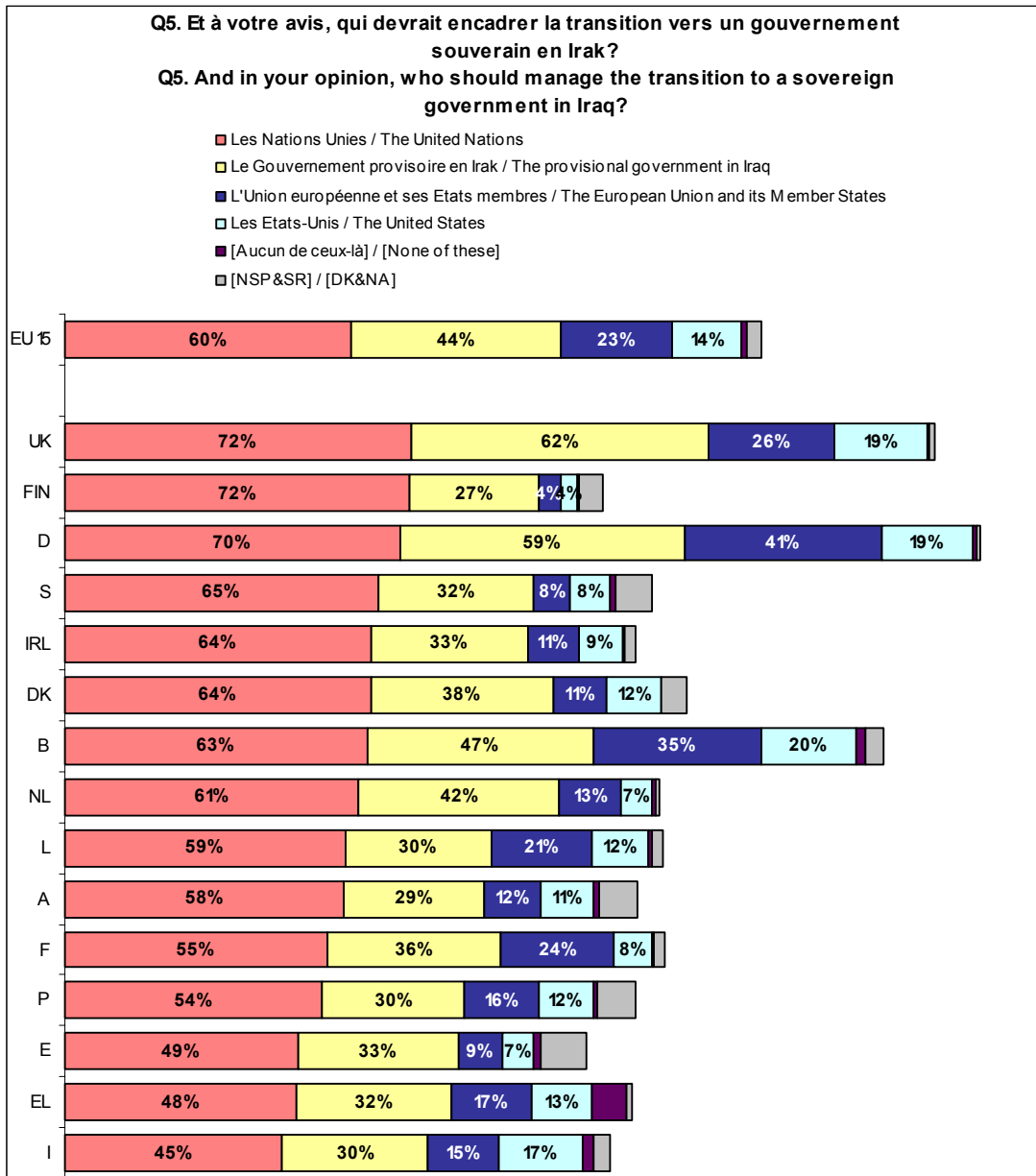
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Breakdown by country:

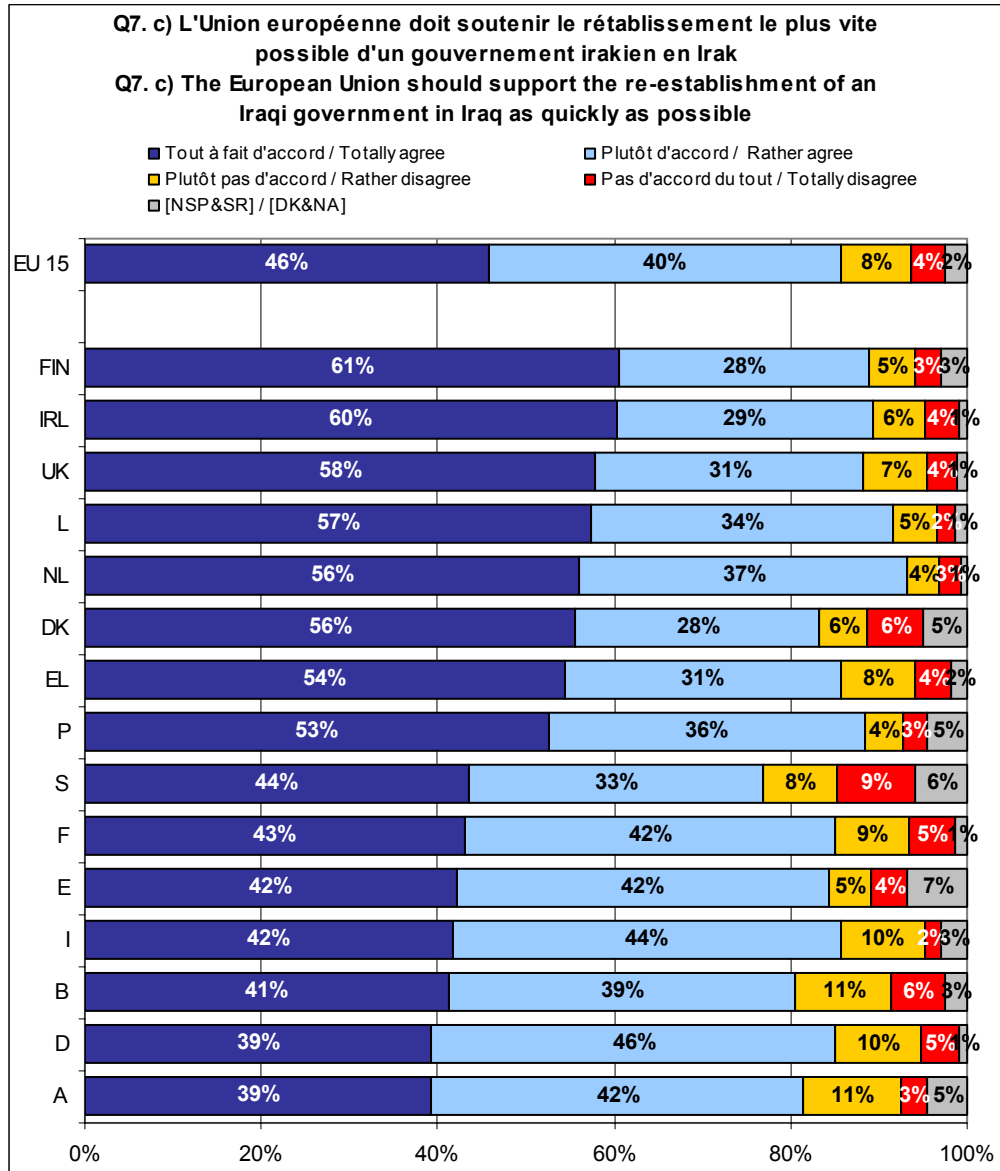
In twelve of the fifteen Member States, more than one in two citizens believe that the United Nations should manage the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government. Moreover, in each Member State, the United Nations is the preferred choice of the relative majority of citizens.

Seven in ten citizens in the **United Kingdom** (72%), **Finland** (72%) and **Germany** (70%) would rather entrust the United Nations with the management of the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government. These countries showed equally high support for the United Nations in the question on management of reconstruction in Iraq (question 2). In fact in most countries, the levels of support given to the United Nations are equally high for both the management of reconstruction and the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government.

Close to six in ten citizens in the **United Kingdom** (62%) and **Germany** (59%) would choose the provisional government for the management of the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government.



In each Member State the vast majority of citizens agree that the European Union should support the re-establishment of an Iraqi government in Iraq as quickly as possible. The agreement rates range from 93% in the **Netherlands** and 92% in **Luxembourg** to 77% in **Sweden**.



* ***Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:***

Looking at the socio-demographic profile of respondents who would prefer the United Nations to oversee the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government, it seems that males (64%) are more likely than females (56%) to place their trust here. Similarly, the more highly educated are more likely to choose the United Nations for this role and/or those who believe that military intervention in Iraq was not justified.

Of those who believe that military intervention was justified, 25% think that the US should manage the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government, compared to those who esteem that military intervention was not justified, 10%.

Q8. Aujourd'hui, diriez-vous que la guerre en Irak a renforcé ou a affaibli le rôle de l'Union européenne sur la scène internationale ou que cela n'a rien changé ?

Q8. Today, would you say that the war in Iraq has reinforced or has weakened the role of the European Union on the international scene or that nothing has changed ?

	BASE	Cela a renforcé le rôle de l'UE / This has reinforced the role of the EU	Cela a affaibli le rôle de l'UE / This has weakened the role of the EU	Cela n'a rien changé / Nothing has changed	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]
EU 15	7515	12%	42%	42%	5%
BELGIQUE	498	16%	42%	39%	4%
DANMARK	501	7%	34%	51%	8%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	15%	41%	43%	2%
ELLAS	500	16%	49%	32%	3%
ESPANA	503	5%	54%	32%	9%
FRANCE	500	15%	32%	51%	2%
IRELAND	500	7%	45%	45%	3%
ITALIA	501	13%	46%	35%	6%
LUXEMBOURG	503	14%	42%	41%	3%
NEDERLAND	500	14%	38%	44%	5%
OSTERREICH	500	12%	37%	42%	9%
PORTUGAL	500	14%	38%	41%	8%
FINLAND	501	11%	29%	52%	8%
SWEDEN	500	9%	24%	49%	18%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	7%	44%	44%	5%
Sexe / Sex					
Homme / Male	3654	11%	45%	42%	2%
Femme / Female	3861	13%	38%	42%	7%
Age					
15 - 24	1114	14%	40%	43%	3%
25 - 39	2145	12%	46%	38%	4%
40 - 54	1941	12%	42%	41%	5%
55 +	2311	10%	39%	45%	6%
Education					
15 & -	1420	10%	42%	40%	7%
16 - 20	3327	13%	39%	44%	4%
21 & +	2641	11%	45%	39%	4%
Profession / Occupation					
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	11%	44%	40%	4%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	12%	43%	42%	4%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	11%	39%	45%	5%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	11%	42%	42%	5%
Habitat / Locality Type					
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	11%	42%	44%	3%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	12%	40%	42%	5%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	11%	43%	40%	6%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq					
Justifiée / Justified	2178	14%	36%	46%	4%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	10%	45%	41%	4%

B. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. The EU as an international player

1.1 Impact of the Iraqi war on the role of the EU

In the lead up to military intervention in Iraq, the European Union witnessed strong divisions across its Member States. Now that the war is over, what is the feeling of public opinion regarding the impact of this crisis on the role of the European Union on the international scene?

Source Questionnaire: question 8

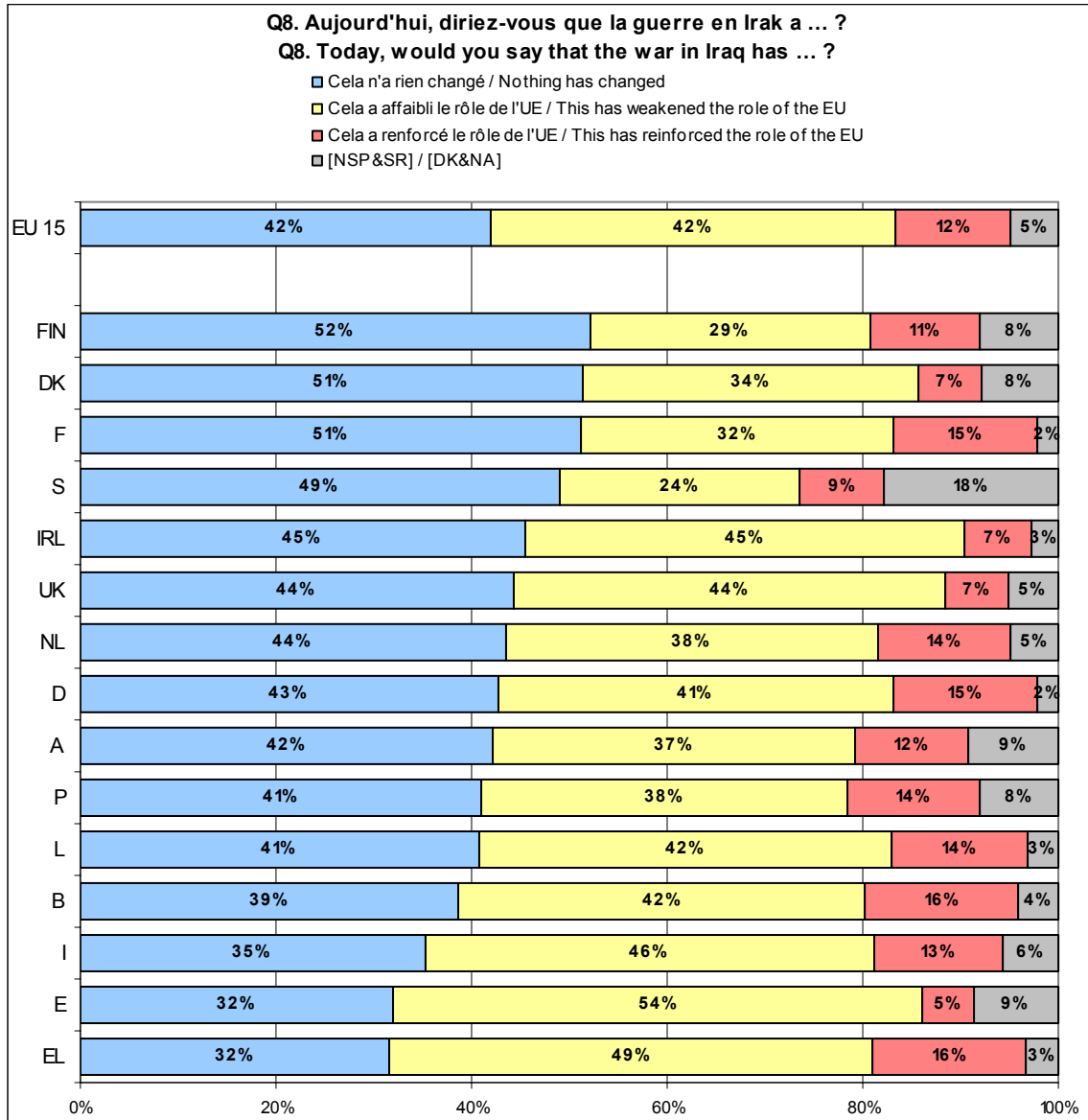
- Opinions split on the impact of the Iraqi war on the role of the EU as an international player -

*** Overall picture:**

European Union citizens are equally divided on whether or not the war in Iraq has weakened the role of the EU on the international scene (42%), or that nothing has changed (42%). Only 12% believe that this has reinforced the European Union's role.

*

Breakdown by country:



54% of **Spanish** citizens believe that the war in Iraq has weakened the role of the European Union on the international scene. Perhaps the presence of their country in Iraq without the backing of their fellow Member States has heightened citizens' awareness of the fragmented position that emerged across the Union. In fact in **Spain** (54%), **Greece** (49%), **Italy** (46%) and **Belgium** (42%) more citizens are of the opinion that the war in Iraq has weakened the role of the European Union. However, in **Ireland**, the **United Kingdom** and **Luxembourg** opinions are equally split between those who believe that the role of the EU has weakened as a result of the war in Iraq and those who are of the opinion that there has been no impact one way or the other.

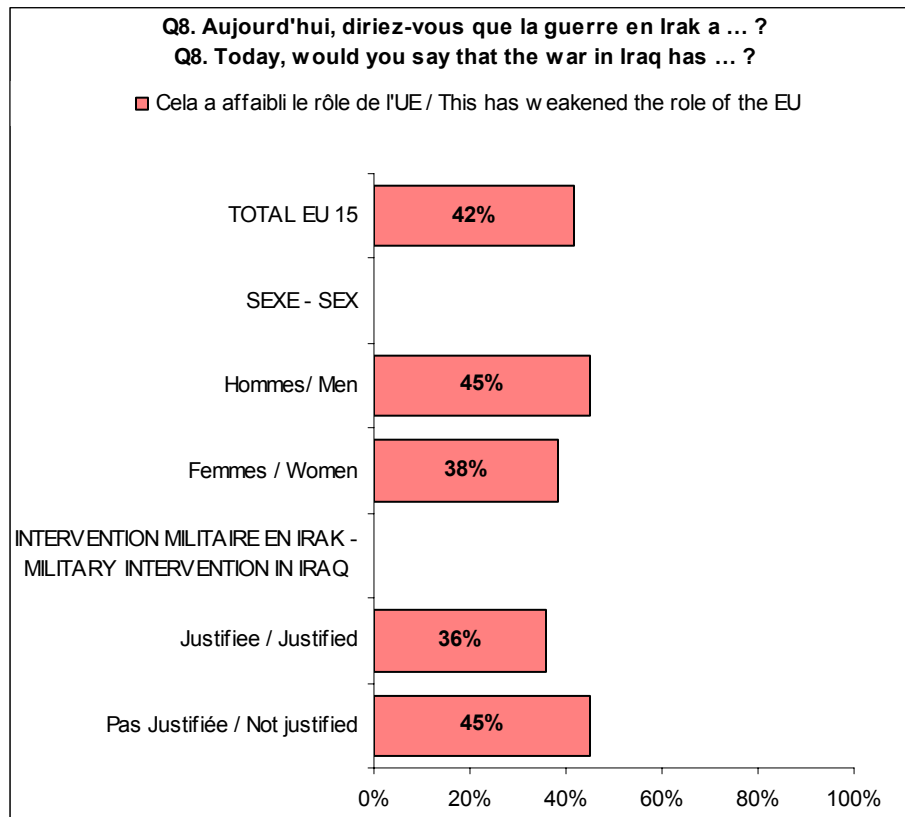
Close to one in two respondents in the **Nordic** countries and **France** believe that the situation in Iraq has not had an effect on the role of the European Union on the international scene.

It seems that in spite of differing positions at the Member State level regarding the situation in Iraq, in many countries the relative majority of citizens believe that the effect on the role of the EU on the international scene emerges unharmed.

* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Males (45%) are more likely than females (38%) to believe that the war in Iraq has had a negative impact on the European Union's role on the international scene.

Similarly, those who believe that the war was not justified (45%) are more likely to believe that the effect was damaging for the role of the EU as an international player than those who believe that the war was justified (36%).



Q7. Dites-moi si vous êtes tout à fait d'accord, plutôt d'accord, plutôt pas d'accord ou pas d'accord du tout avec chacune des propositions suivantes concernant le rôle de l'Union européenne au Moyen Orient ?

a) L'Union européenne doit jouer un rôle efficace dans le règlement du processus de paix au Moyen Orient

Q7. Tell me if you totally agree, rather agree, rather disagree or totally disagree with each of the following propositions concerning the role of the European Union in the Middle East?

a) The European Union should play an effective role in the resolving of the peace process in the Middle East

	BASE	Tout à fait d'accord / Totally agree	Plutôt d'accord / Rather agree	Plutôt pas d'accord / Rather disagree	Pas d'accord du tout / Totally disagree	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	d'accord / agree	pas d'accord / disagree
EU 15	7515	36%	45%	11%	6%	3%	81%	16%
BELGIQUE	498	36%	40%	14%	8%	3%	76%	22%
DANMARK	501	40%	38%	9%	9%	4%	78%	18%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	22%	55%	15%	7%	1%	77%	22%
ELLAS	500	56%	34%	6%	3%	1%	90%	9%
ESPANA	503	38%	43%	7%	4%	8%	81%	11%
FRANCE	500	39%	45%	8%	6%	1%	85%	14%
IRELAND	500	46%	41%	7%	4%	2%	87%	10%
ITALIA	501	47%	42%	7%	2%	1%	89%	9%
LUXEMBOURG	503	45%	38%	12%	5%	1%	83%	16%
NEDERLAND	500	37%	43%	11%	9%	1%	80%	20%
OSTERREICH	500	36%	43%	12%	5%	5%	79%	16%
PORTUGAL	500	44%	43%	4%	4%	6%	86%	8%
FINLAND	501	29%	37%	19%	10%	5%	66%	29%
SWEDEN	500	36%	32%	13%	11%	7%	68%	25%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	34%	43%	13%	8%	2%	77%	21%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	43%	40%	9%	6%	1%	83%	16%
Femme / Female	3861	30%	50%	12%	5%	4%	79%	17%
Age								
15 - 24	1114	33%	45%	14%	6%	1%	78%	20%
25 - 39	2145	36%	48%	10%	5%	1%	84%	15%
40 - 54	1941	39%	41%	11%	7%	3%	79%	18%
55 +	2311	36%	45%	9%	6%	4%	81%	15%
Education								
15 & -	1420	38%	45%	8%	6%	4%	82%	14%
16 - 20	3327	33%	46%	13%	6%	2%	79%	19%
21 & +	2641	40%	44%	10%	5%	2%	84%	15%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	41%	43%	10%	5%	2%	84%	15%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	38%	43%	12%	6%	2%	80%	18%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	32%	46%	11%	9%	2%	78%	19%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	35%	47%	10%	5%	3%	82%	15%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	34%	47%	10%	6%	2%	81%	16%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	37%	43%	12%	6%	3%	80%	17%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	37%	45%	10%	6%	3%	82%	16%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	39%	43%	11%	5%	1%	83%	16%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	36%	46%	10%	6%	2%	81%	17%

1.2 Role of the EU in the Middle East peace process

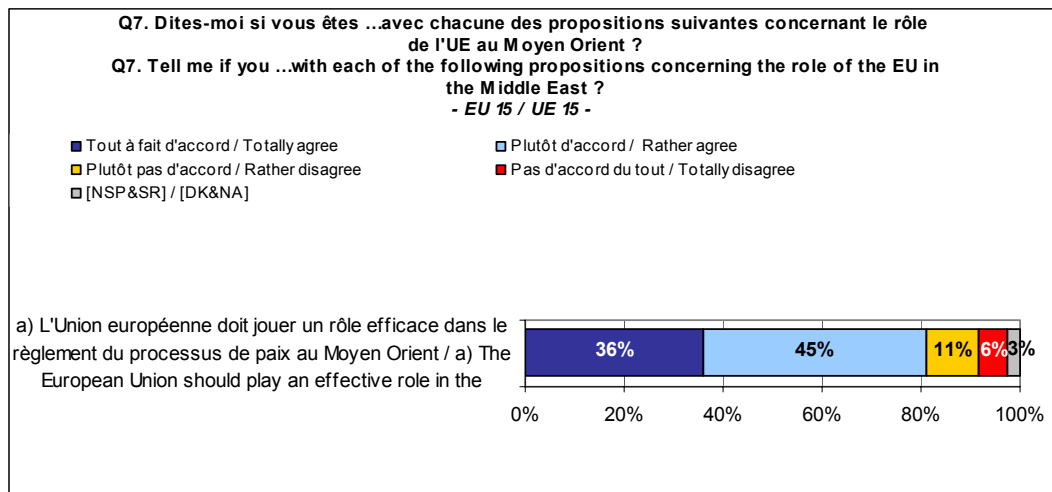
The EU plays a pivotal role as a major political and economic actor in the Israeli-Arab peace process. Participation in political talks with all parties is aimed at promoting the EU's position in negotiations for the final settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict. In the next section, we will look at what citizens think of the European Union's participation in the Middle East peace process.

Source Questionnaire: question 7a

- Strong support from citizens for EU's participation in the Middle East peace process -

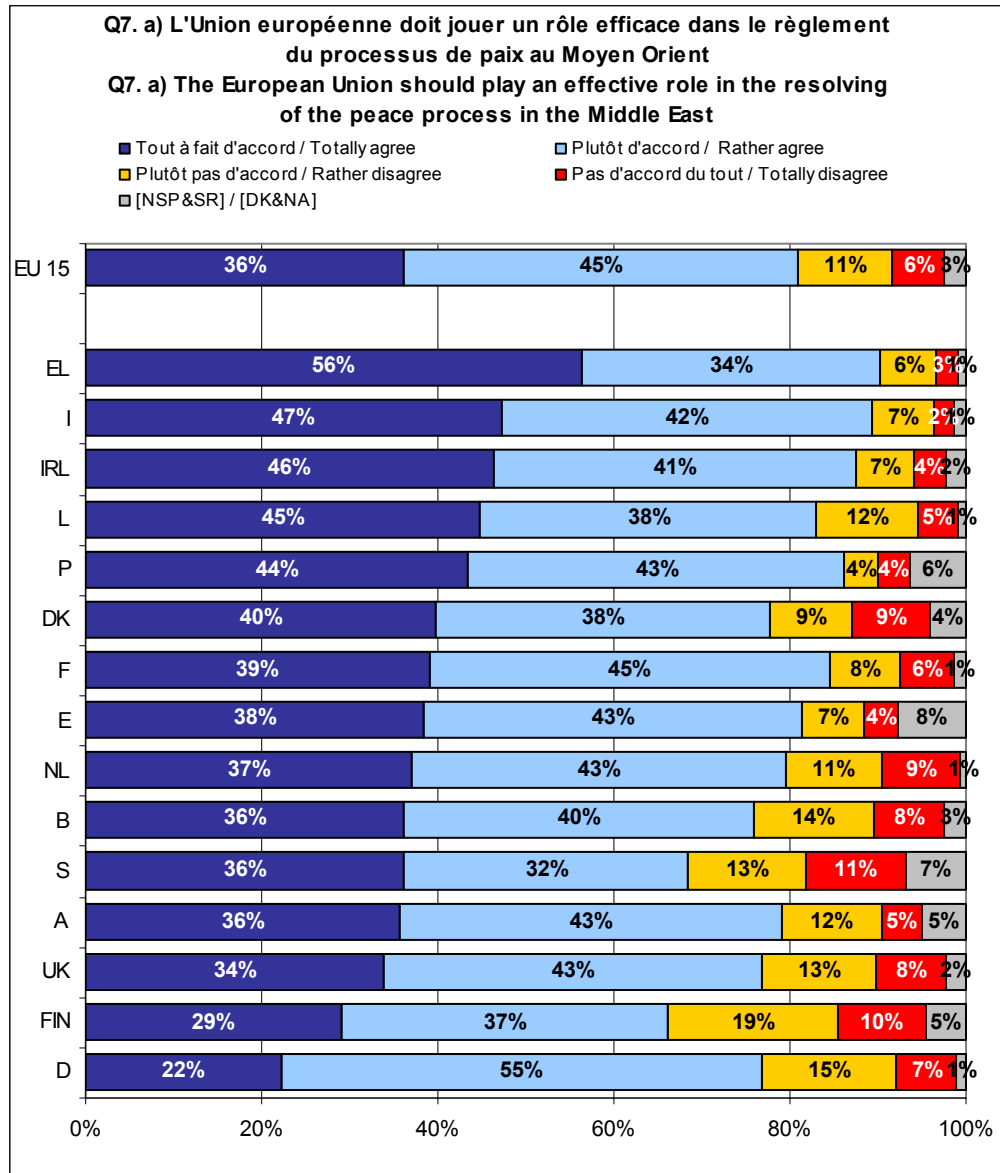
* **Overall picture:**

81% of citizens believe that the European Union should play an effective role in resolving the peace process, of which 36% "totally agree". Only 16% of citizens disagree with the EU playing an effective role here.



* **Breakdown by country:**

In each Member State, the vast majority of citizens support the European Union in its effort to play an effective role in resolving the Middle East conflict. The overall levels of support (i.e. those responding “totally agree” or “rather agree”) are highest in **Greece** (90%) and **Italy** (89%). The overall levels of support, while still high in **Finland** and **Sweden**, rank lowest in the EU, at 66% and 68% respectively.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

No socio-demographic discrepancies can be identified on this issue. All subcategories agree almost unanimously with the fact that the EU should reinforce its role in resolving the peace process in the Middle East.

Q7. Dites-moi si vous êtes tout à fait d'accord, plutôt d'accord, plutôt pas d'accord ou pas d'accord du tout avec chacune des propositions suivantes concernant le rôle de l'Union européenne au Moyen Orient ?

b) L'Union européenne doit encourager les relations politiques et culturelles entre l'Europe et les pays arabes

Q7. Tell me if you totally agree, rather agree, rather disagree or totally disagree with each of the following propositions concerning the role of the European Union in the Middle East?

b) The European Union should encourage political and cultural relations between Europe and Arab countries

	BASE	Tout à fait d'accord / Totally agree	Plutôt d'accord / Rather agree	Plutôt pas d'accord / Rather disagree	Pas d'accord du tout / Totally disagree	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	d'accord / agree	pas d'accord / disagree
EU 15	7515	43%	43%	7%	5%	2%	86%	12%
BELGIQUE	498	39%	41%	11%	6%	3%	81%	17%
DANMARK	501	39%	34%	10%	9%	9%	73%	18%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	34%	51%	9%	6%	1%	85%	15%
ELLAS	500	60%	31%	6%	2%	1%	91%	8%
ESPANA	503	42%	45%	4%	3%	7%	86%	7%
FRANCE	500	43%	44%	7%	6%	1%	87%	13%
IRELAND	500	58%	34%	4%	2%	2%	92%	6%
ITALIA	501	49%	41%	6%	2%	2%	90%	8%
LUXEMBOURG	503	44%	39%	12%	3%	2%	82%	15%
NEDERLAND	500	45%	41%	9%	5%	0%	85%	14%
OSTERREICH	500	38%	44%	9%	4%	6%	82%	12%
PORTUGAL	500	49%	37%	5%	2%	7%	86%	7%
FINLAND	501	51%	38%	5%	4%	2%	89%	9%
SWEDEN	500	43%	35%	7%	7%	7%	79%	14%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	48%	38%	7%	5%	2%	86%	12%
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Education								
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16 - 20	3327	40%	45%	8%	6%	1%	85%	14%
21 & +	2641	55%	37%	5%	2%	1%	92%	7%
Profession / Occupation								
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	52%	35%	6%	6%	2%	87%	12%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	47%	43%	6%	3%	1%	90%	9%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	42%	40%	8%	9%	2%	81%	17%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	40%	45%	8%	4%	3%	85%	12%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	44%	45%	6%	4%	2%	89%	9%
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Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	42%	43%	7%	5%	3%	85%	12%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	41%	42%	9%	6%	2%	83%	15%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	45%	43%	7%	4%	2%	88%	10%

1.3 Exchanges between European and Arabic countries

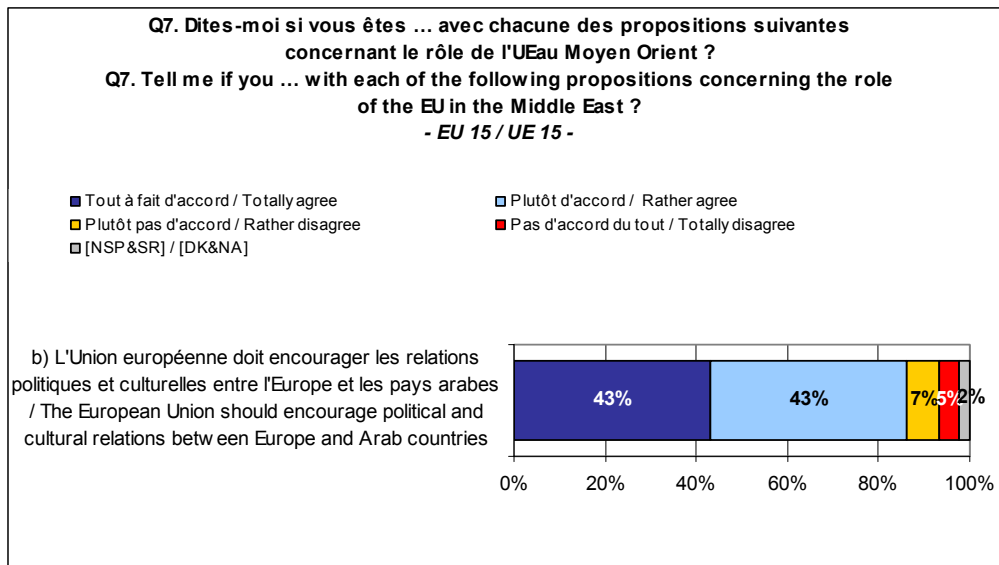
Efforts are being made at the European Union level to encourage exchanges between European and Arabic countries. The Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, a wide framework of political, economic and social relations between the 15 Member States of the European Union and 12 Partners of the Southern Mediterranean (Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Malta, Morocco, Palestinian Authority, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey), launched in Barcelona in 1995 is an example of this. From 1995 to 2002, over € 5.7 billion has been committed for co-operation programmes, projects and other supporting activities. The regional programmes aim at promoting closer integration between the EU and its Mediterranean Partners. Regional programmes cover a wide range of issues relating to all three chapters of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, namely the political and security chapter, the economic and financial chapter, and the social, cultural and human chapter.

In this section we will look at how citizens perceive political and cultural exchanges between European and Arabic countries.

Source Questionnaire: question 7b

- 86% of EU citizens believe in the importance of political and cultural exchange with Arab countries -

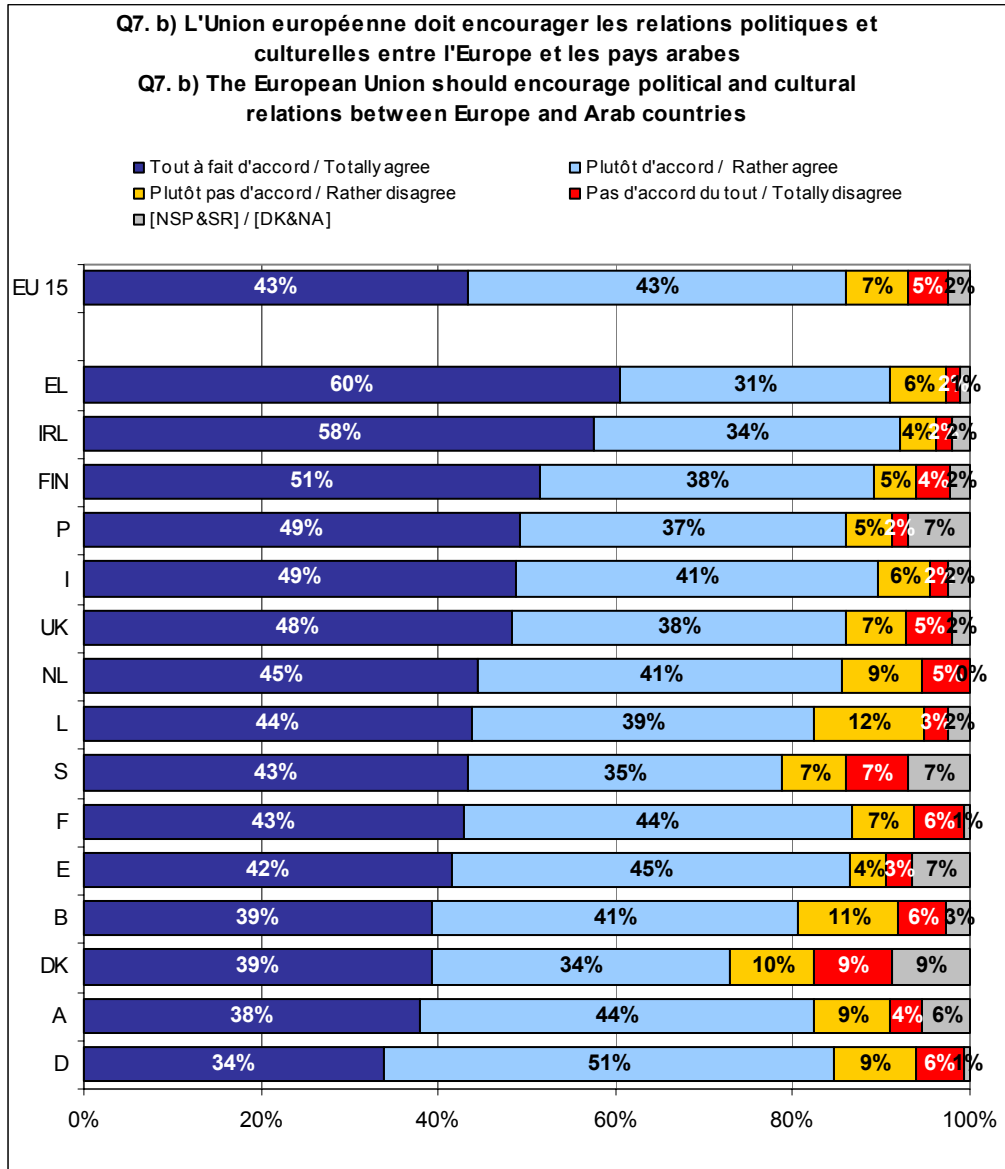
* **Overall picture:**



86% of citizens believe that the European Union should encourage political and cultural relations between Europe and Arab countries. The strength of agreement is equally split between those who “totally agree” (43%) and those who “rather agree” (43%).

* **Breakdown by country:**

In thirteen Member States, at least eight in ten respondents agree that political and cultural exchanges between European and Arabic countries should be encouraged. At the lower end of the agreement scale, although still very high are **Denmark** (73%) and **Sweden** (79%).



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

The more highly educated respondents (those who have been educated until at least the age of 21) are highly likely to believe that the European Union should engage in political and cultural exchange with Arabic countries, corresponding to an agreement rate of 92%.

Q11. Lorsque vous pensez à la politique étrangère de l'Union européenne, diriez-vous qu'elle est trop proche de celle des Etats-Unis, trop éloignée ou qu'elle est ni trop proche, ni trop éloignée ?

Q11. When thinking about the European Union's foreign policy, would you say that it is too close to that of the United States, too far away or neither too close nor too far away?

	BASE	Trop proche de la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis / Too close to the United State's foreign policy	Trop éloignée de la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis / Too far away from the United State's foreign policy	Ni trop proche, ni trop éloignée / Neither too close nor too far away	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]
EU 15	7515	25%	11%	59%	6%
BELGIQUE	498	17%	14%	63%	6%
DANMARK	501	23%	4%	65%	9%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	25%	11%	61%	4%
ELLAS	500	32%	14%	49%	4%
ESPANA	503	35%	9%	47%	10%
FRANCE	500	17%	7%	73%	3%
IRELAND	500	20%	8%	64%	8%
ITALIA	501	31%	11%	54%	4%
LUXEMBOURG	503	21%	12%	65%	3%
NEDERLAND	500	36%	14%	44%	5%
OSTERREICH	500	25%	10%	53%	12%
PORTUGAL	500	16%	18%	55%	11%
FINLAND	501	15%	7%	70%	7%
SWEDEN	500	20%	8%	58%	14%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	20%	14%	59%	7%
Sexe / Sex					
Homme / Male	3654	29%	11%	57%	3%
Femme / Female	3861	21%	10%	60%	8%
Age					
15 - 24	1114	27%	11%	59%	3%
25 - 39	2145	26%	10%	61%	3%
40 - 54	1941	25%	12%	57%	7%
55 +	2311	23%	11%	58%	8%
Education					
15 & -	1420	23%	12%	56%	9%
16 - 20	3327	26%	12%	58%	4%
21 & +	2641	25%	7%	64%	4%
Profession / Occupation					
Indépendant / Self-employed	692	24%	12%	61%	3%
Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	28%	8%	61%	4%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	25%	16%	54%	5%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	23%	11%	59%	7%
Habitat / Locality Type					
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	25%	10%	60%	5%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	27%	12%	56%	5%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	22%	10%	60%	7%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq					
Justifiée / Justified	2178	18%	14%	63%	5%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	29%	9%	57%	5%

1.4 EU's foreign policy

The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) the second pillar of the Union, is enshrined in the Treaty on European Union, Title V, Article 11 that came into force in 1993. The Treaty of Amsterdam and successive European Council summits have gradually strengthened its decision-making procedures and instruments.

The European Union implements the CFSP in collaboration with various international actors. In addition to NATO, the main bodies concerned are the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in European (OSCE) and the United Nations.

In the next section we will look at citizens perceptions of the European Union's foreign policy in relation to that of the United States.

Source Questionnaire: question 11

- 59% of citizens believe that the European Union's foreign policy is suitably adapted to that of the United States -

*** Overall picture:**

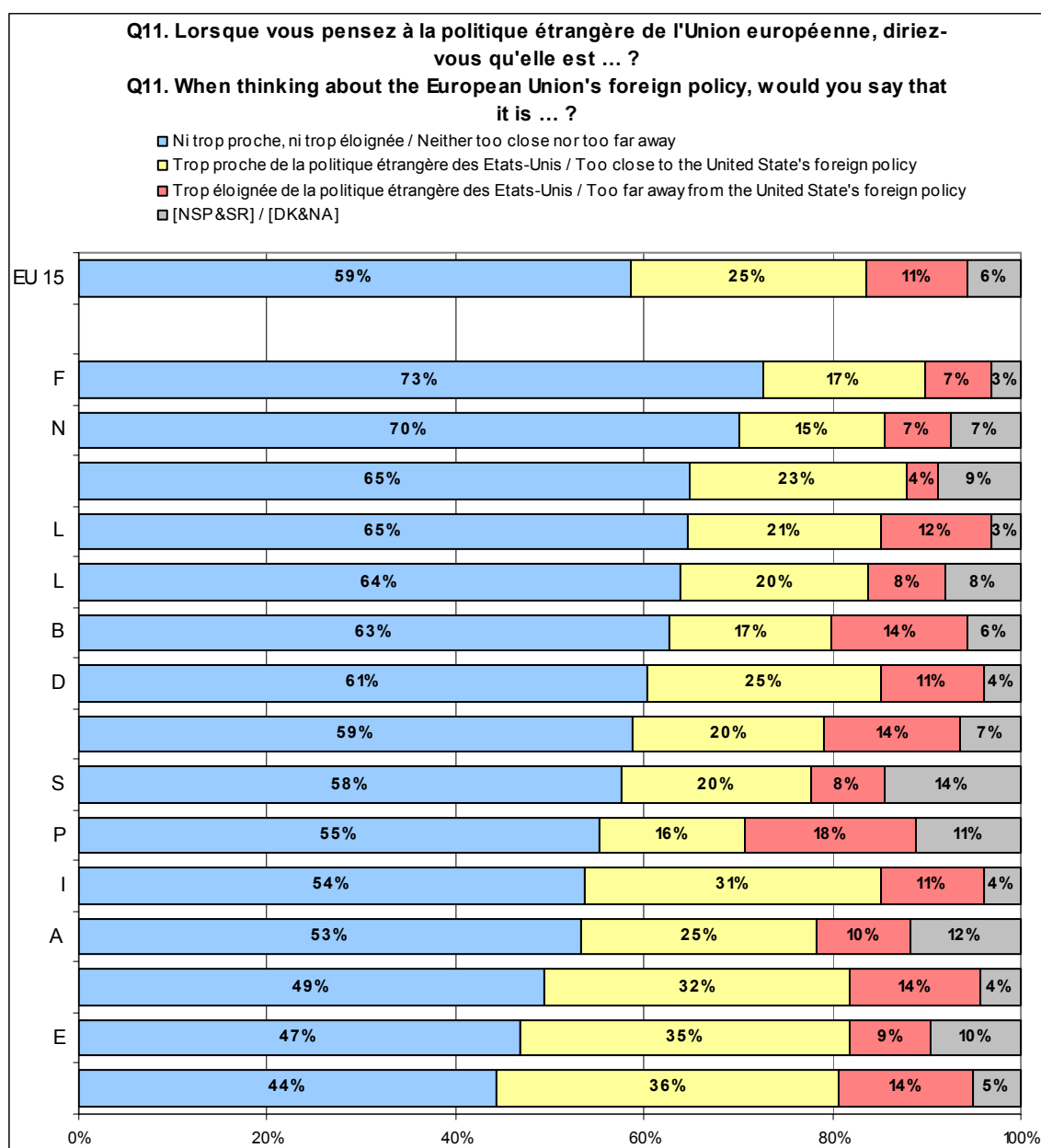
Close to six in ten citizens are of the opinion that the European Union's foreign policy is suitably adapted to that of the United States. One in four citizens believe that it is too close to that of the United States and one in ten citizens believe that it is not close enough.

* **Breakdown by country:**

Looking first at the responses of those who believe that the European Union's foreign policy is neither too close nor too far away from the United States, it seems that public opinion varies across Member States. However, in each Member State, a relative majority of citizens are of the opinion that the European Union's foreign policy is suitably adapted to that of the US. **France** (73%) and **Finland** (70%) top the ranks for the proportion of citizens who are satisfied with the European Union's foreign policy vis-à-vis that of the United States.

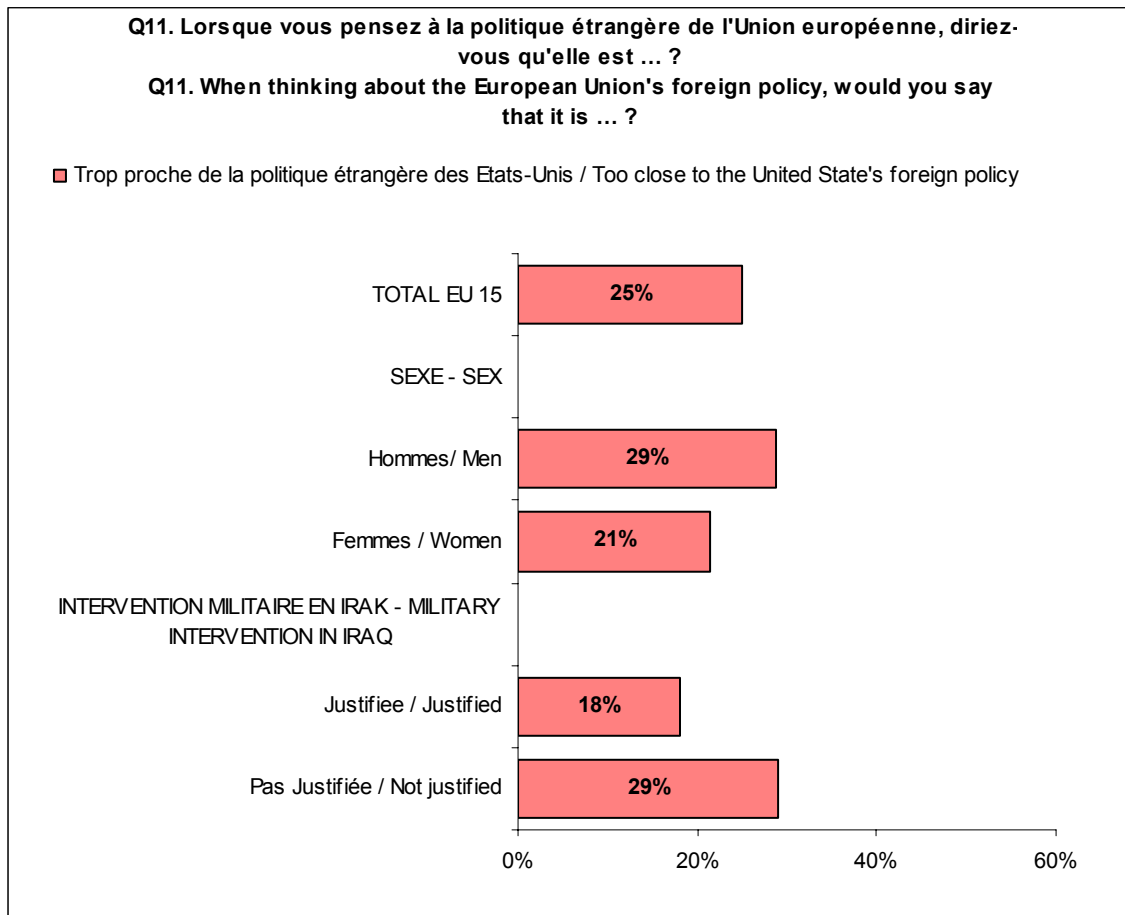
In the **Netherlands** (36%) and **Spain** (35%), most citizens are critical of the European Union's foreign policy for being too close to that of the United States.

More citizens in **Portugal** than in any other Member State would like to see the European Union's foreign policy resemble that of the United States, being the case of 18% of respondents.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Looking at the profile of responses believing that the European Union's foreign policy is too close to that of the United States, it seems that gender bears an influence with 29% of males being of this opinion, compared to 21% of females. As we might expect, respondents believing that military intervention in Iraq was not justified (29%) are more likely to believe that the EU's foreign policy is too close than those who believe that it was justified (18%).



Q9. Comment évalueriez-vous la menace terroriste dans [NOTRE PAYS] aujourd'hui ? Diriez-vous qu'elle est très forte, assez forte, assez faible ou très faible ?

Q9. How would you evaluate the threat of terrorism in [OUR COUNTRY] today ? Would you say that it is very strong, quite strong, quite weak or very weak ?

	BASE	Très forte / Very strong	Assez forte / Quite strong	Assez faible / Quite weak	Très faible / Very weak	[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	Forte / Strong	Faible / Weak
EU 15	7515	14%	40%	34%	9%	2%	55%	43%
BELGIQUE	498	6%	28%	49%	14%	4%	34%	62%
DANMARK	501	1%	13%	46%	37%	2%	14%	83%
DEUTSCHLAND	501	15%	37%	41%	5%	2%	52%	46%
ELLAS	500	10%	31%	36%	21%	2%	41%	58%
ESPANA	503	22%	54%	17%	3%	4%	76%	20%
FRANCE	500	11%	40%	40%	9%	1%	50%	49%
IRELAND	500	5%	25%	46%	23%	1%	30%	69%
ITALIA	501	17%	45%	30%	7%	1%	62%	37%
LUXEMBOURG	503	3%	15%	49%	30%	2%	18%	79%
NEDERLAND	500	7%	28%	49%	16%	1%	35%	65%
OSTERREICH	500	2%	8%	52%	36%	2%	10%	88%
PORTUGAL	500	12%	24%	36%	22%	6%	36%	58%
FINLAND	501	0%	6%	52%	41%	1%	6%	94%
SWEDEN	500	3%	18%	47%	27%	5%	21%	74%
UNITED KINGDOM	507	19%	57%	16%	4%	4%	76%	20%
Sexe / Sex								
Homme / Male	3654	13%	36%	37%	13%	2%	49%	50%
Femme / Female	3861	16%	44%	30%	7%	3%	60%	37%
Age								
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40 - 54	1941	12%	41%	36%	9%	3%	53%	45%
55 +	2311	18%	44%	30%	6%	3%	62%	36%
Education								
15 & -	1420	19%	42%	29%	7%	3%	61%	36%
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21 & +	2641	12%	34%	39%	13%	2%	46%	52%
Profession / Occupation								
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Employé / Employee (non-manual)	2466	11%	38%	38%	11%	2%	49%	49%
Ouvrier / Manual worker	1001	15%	39%	34%	9%	3%	54%	44%
Sans activité professionnelle / Without a prof. activity	3309	15%	42%	31%	8%	3%	58%	39%
Habitat / Locality Type								
Zone Metrop. / Metrop. Zone	1972	14%	43%	32%	9%	2%	56%	42%
Autre ville Centre urbain / Other Town urban Center	2923	13%	39%	36%	9%	2%	52%	46%
Zone rurale / Rural Zone	2620	17%	39%	32%	10%	3%	56%	41%
Intervention en Irak / Intervention in Iraq								
Justifiée / Justified	2178	17%	46%	28%	8%	1%	63%	36%
Pas justifiée / Not justified	5117	13%	38%	36%	10%	2%	51%	47%

2. Peace in the world

2.1 Threat of terrorism

In a speech at the United Nations on the “Overview of the Terrorist Threat to International Peace and Security”⁸, Professor Paul Wilkinson began by stating that “*in the events of 11th of September we have crossed a terrible watershed for terrorism, which has been largely seen as a form of low-intensity conflict, very often of primary concern to the governments of a particular country, as a relatively routine problem of security and law and order*”. He went on to say “*we are now dealing with sub-State groups influencing death on such a scale that we cannot describe it in any other way than by the description of “mass terrorism”. More people died in one day on 11th of September than died in 35 years of sub-State terrorism in Western Europe*”.

The sheer scale of the terrorist attacks on the United States of America on 11 September 2001 caused the international community to focus on the issue of terrorism with renewed intensity.

In this section, we will analyse how European Union citizens perceive the threat of terrorism in their country.

Source Questionnaire: question 9

- *Marked differences across Member States in the extent to which the threat of terrorism is felt -*

*** Overall picture:**

55% of European Union citizens feel that the threat of terrorism in their country is strong, a result which demonstrates the trans-national nature of this phenomenon. A minority of 43% feel that this threat is weak.

⁸ 25 October 2001, Symposium on Terrorism and Disarmament, United Nations, New York

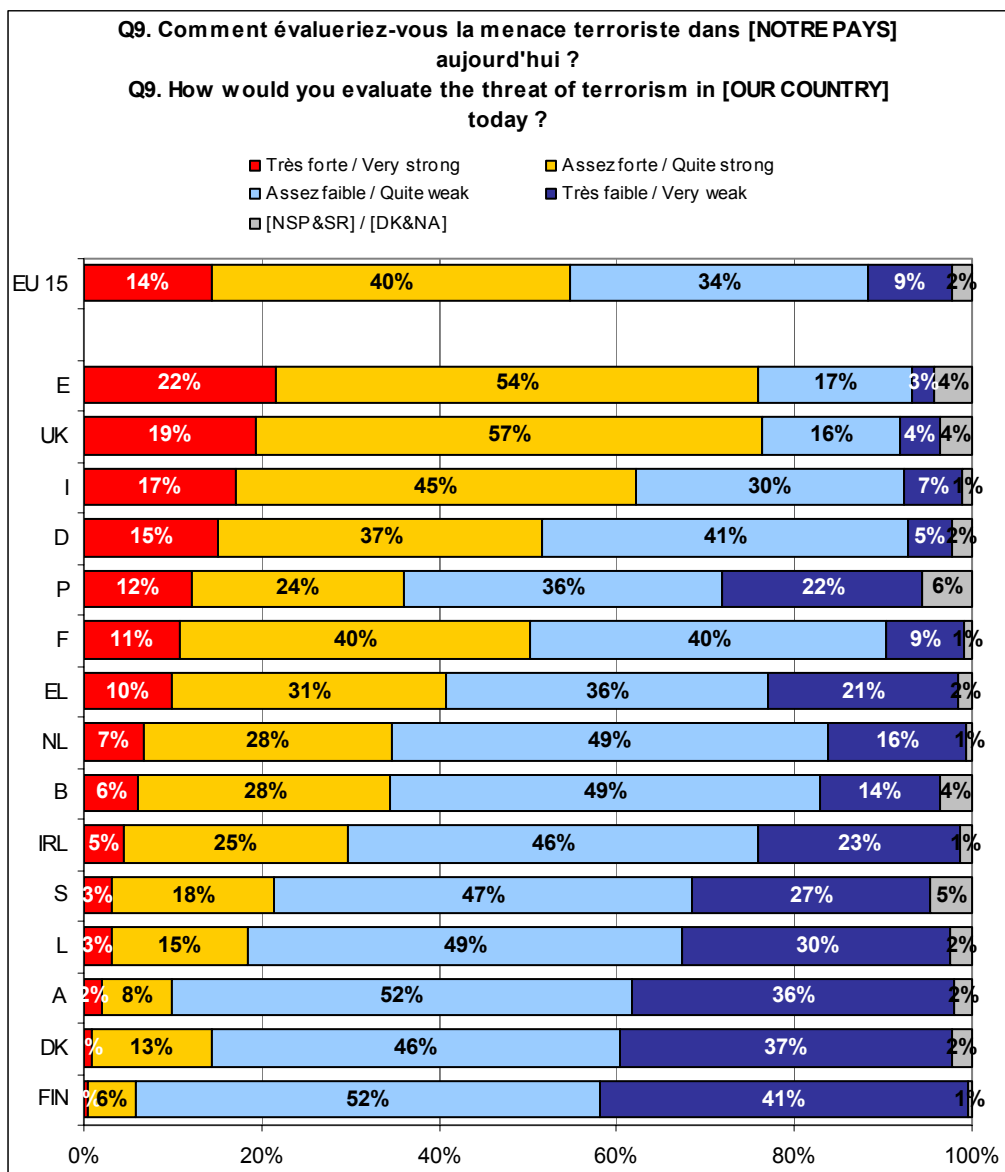
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Breakdown by country:

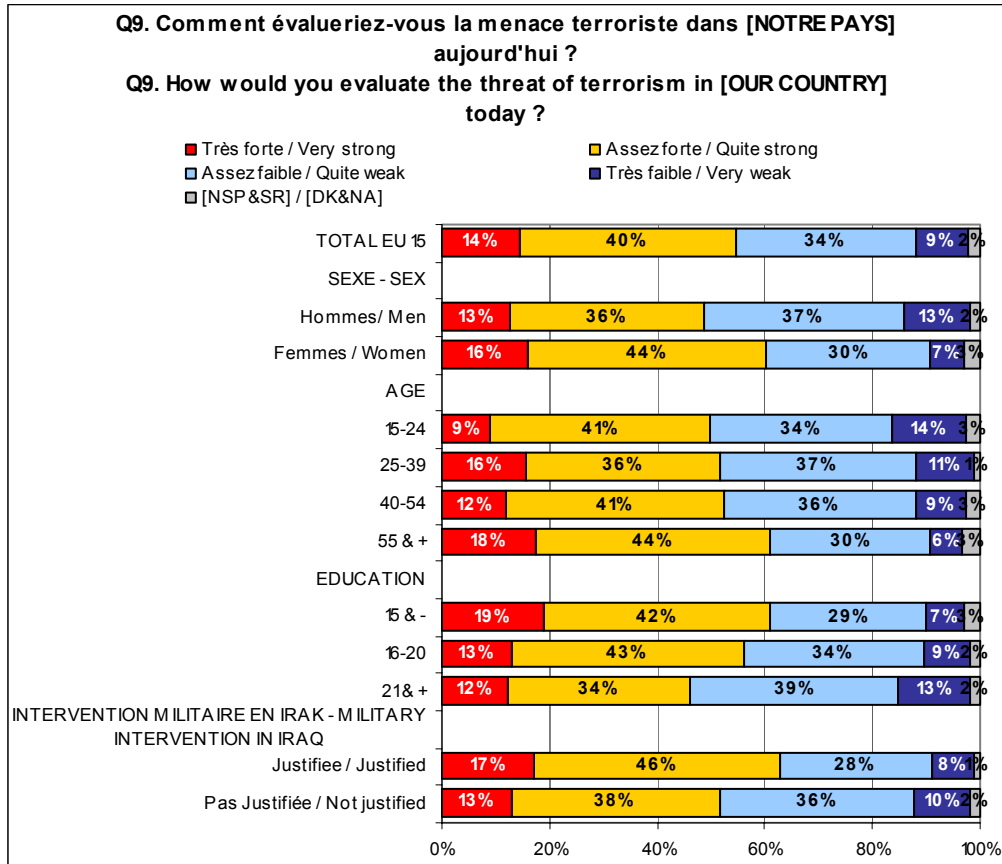
The average result at the EU level masks marked differences across Member States in the extent to which citizens perceive this threat to be strong. The **United Kingdom** and **Spain**, feel most threatened by terrorism, with 76% of respondents in each confirming their belief that the threat is strong. This high level of fear could be due in part to the fact that both countries are allies in Iraq. Or, perhaps some of this fear could be explained by ETA terrorism in the case of Spain, or republican and royalist terrorism in Northern Ireland.

The only other Member States where a majority of respondents perceive this threat to be strong are **Italy** (62%) and **Germany** (52%).

Citizens in **Finland** (94%), **Austria** (88%) and **Denmark** (83%) feel most sheltered from the threat of terrorism with particularly high proportions perceiving the threat to be weak.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**



The socio-demographic profile of respondents has a strong influence on the extent to which terrorism in one's country is perceived as a threat. Females are considerably more susceptible to this fear than males (the overall "strong" result for males is 49% compared to 60% of females). Similarly, older respondents, falling under the "55 and over" category are more fearful of terrorism in their country than younger respondents. Also, respondents who believe that military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to feel threatened by terrorism on their national territory.

Q10. Pour chacun des pays suivants, dites-moi si, selon vous, il représente ou non une menace pour la paix dans le monde?

Q10. For each of the following countries, tell me if in your opinion, it presents or not a threat to peace in the world?

- Réponses: oui / Answers: yes -

	EU 15	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Israël / Israel	59%	63%	64%	65%	61%	56%	55%	62%	48%	66%	74%	69%	55%	60%	52%	60%
L'Iran/ Iran	53%	54%	55%	57%	26%	41%	55%	54%	58%	62%	64%	49%	56%	48%	44%	54%
La Corée du Nord/ North Korea	53%	49%	63%	65%	30%	37%	49%	66%	42%	65%	70%	69%	59%	57%	49%	59%
Les Etats Unis/ United States	53%	59%	52%	45%	88%	61%	52%	60%	43%	55%	64%	63%	53%	63%	54%	55%
L'Irak / Iraq	52%	54%	50%	57%	27%	42%	50%	54%	55%	56%	61%	45%	59%	53%	41%	54%
L'Afghanistan / Afghanistan	50%	48%	47%	54%	23%	36%	50%	55%	58%	54%	61%	40%	54%	44%	36%	49%
Pakistan/ Pakistan	48%	46%	46%	52%	23%	38%	53%	50%	49%	57%	58%	53%	48%	39%	41%	44%
La Syrie/ Syria	37%	37%	35%	35%	17%	25%	44%	37%	41%	44%	51%	36%	40%	25%	29%	41%
La Libye/ Libya	36%	37%	33%	39%	13%	24%	42%	40%	27%	42%	52%	33%	42%	34%	29%	43%
L'Arabie Saoudite/ Saudi Arabia	36%	40%	38%	31%	25%	32%	44%	38%	37%	41%	43%	33%	45%	29%	23%	34%
La Chine/ China	30%	29%	36%	26%	28%	27%	24%	37%	27%	36%	43%	32%	39%	31%	27%	40%
L'Inde/ India	22%	23%	24%	22%	14%	13%	20%	27%	18%	28%	34%	26%	26%	23%	22%	28%
La Russie/ Russia	21%	21%	23%	19%	23%	19%	20%	31%	16%	27%	25%	24%	30%	29%	19%	27%
La Somalie/ Somalia	16%	11%	13%	17%	7%	6%	15%	17%	19%	20%	20%	15%	24%	10%	11%	20%
L'UE/ EU	8%	8%	9%	4%	14%	9%	6%	12%	5%	6%	7%	3%	13%	6%	11%	18%

2.2 Countries posing a threat to world peace

In this question citizens were asked to give their opinion on whether or not they felt that each of a series of countries presents a threat to world peace.

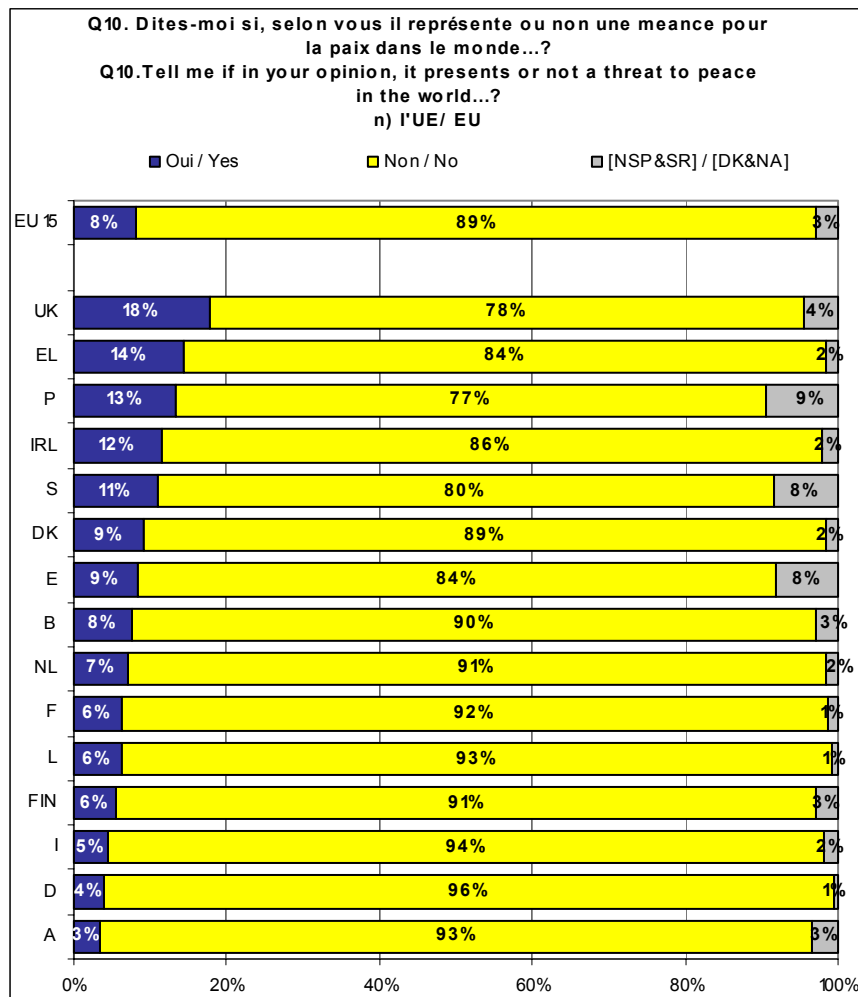
Source Questionnaire: question 10

- The European Union does not present a threat to world peace -

* **Overall picture:**

In the opinion of its citizens, the EU poses little, if any threat to peace in the world.

The vast majority of respondents in all Member States do not perceive the European Union as a threat to world peace. Respondents who do not perceive the EU as a threat to world peace range from 96% in **Germany** to 77% in **Portugal**.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

With massive results such as these, discrepancies at the socio-demographic level are negligible.

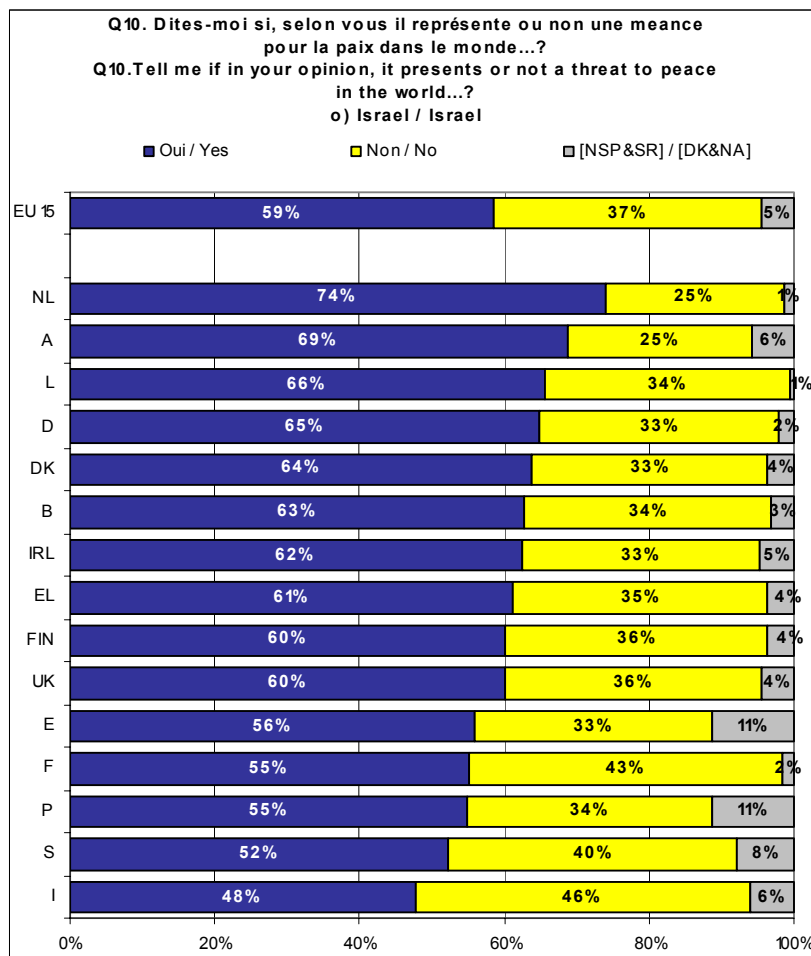
In the next section, we will look at the breakdown of results by country and socio-demographic category. The order in which the countries appear is according to their ranking order for “yes” responses at the EU level. It should also be noted that for the interview, the order of the countries was selected randomly on each occasion.

ISRAEL

* **Breakdown by country:**

In all Member States (with the exception of Italy) the majority of citizens believe that Israel presents a threat to peace in the world with “yes” results as high as 74% in the **Netherlands** and 69% in **Austria**.

Italy is the only country where opinions are divided with 48% of respondents confirming that they perceive Israel as a threat to peace in the world and 46% of the opposite opinion.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

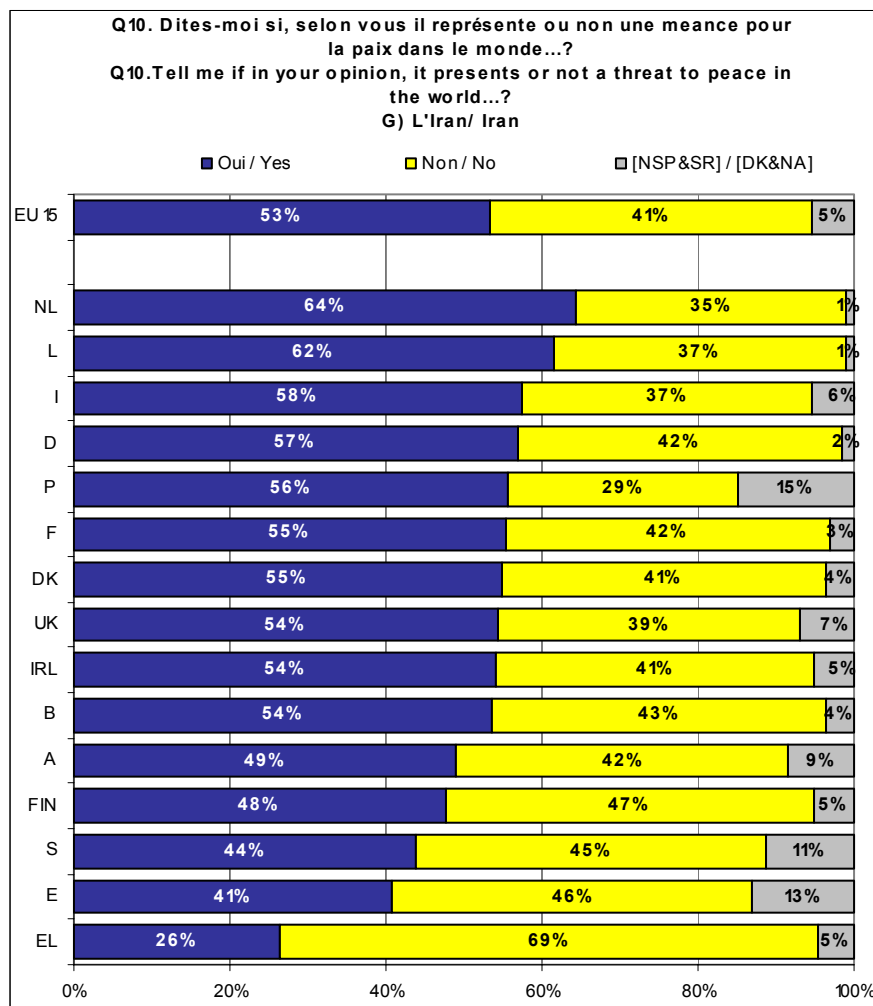
The one socio-demographic characteristic that stands out is education – the more highly educated respondents (66%) are more likely to perceive Israel as a threat to world peace than those who ceased their studies at an earlier age (“16-20”: 59% and “15 and younger”: 50%).

IRAN

* **Breakdown by country:**

In ten Member States, a majority of citizens believe that Iran presents a threat to world peace, with the highest “yes” results in the **Netherlands** (64%) and **Luxembourg** (62%). Opinions on this are split in **Finland** and **Sweden**. At the other end of the “yes” scale, only 26% of **Greek** respondents perceive Iran to be a threat to world peace.

Moreover, Iran ranks highest for the proportion of citizens perceiving it to be a threat to world peace in two countries, that is **France**, where it is positioned along with Israel and **Italy** where it is positioned along with Afghanistan.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

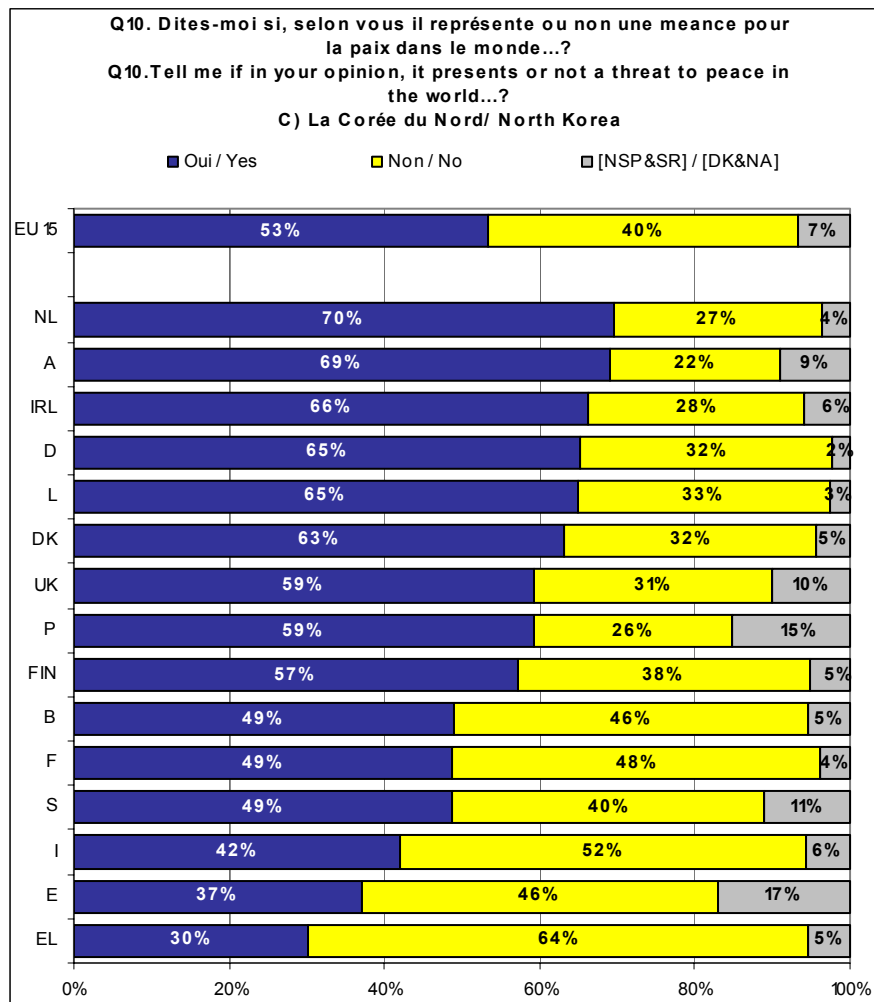
Those who completed their studies between the age of 16 and 20 (59%) are more likely to perceive Iran as a threat to world peace than those who completed their studies by the age of 15 or those who continued their studies until the age of 21 or over (49% for both).

NORTH KOREA

* **Breakdown by country:**

In nine Member States, a majority of respondents believe that North Korea presents a threat to world peace. We see the same two countries emerging at the top of the “yes” scale as for the question on Israel - **Netherlands** (70%) and **Austria** (69%) with seven in ten respondents perceiving North Korea as a threat to world peace. In **Belgium, France** and **Sweden**, 49% of respondents perceive North Korea to be a threat. At the other end of the scale (as was the case for Israel) is **Greece** with 30% of respondents confirming that they believe that North Korea presents a threat to world peace.

It is worth noting that, North Korea tops the ranks in three countries for the proportion of citizens perceiving it to present the greatest threat to world peace, namely **Portugal** (positioned along with Iraq) and **Ireland**. Also, in **Germany** it ranks highest along with Israel.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

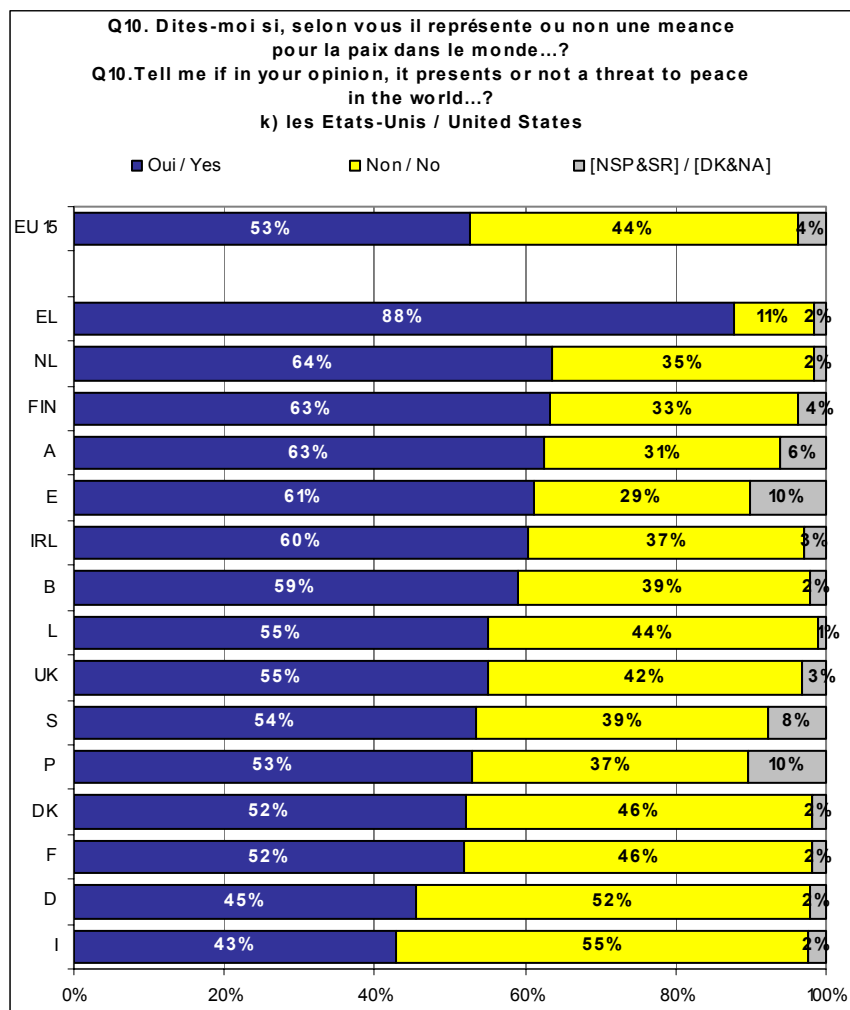
Gender bears a strong influence here with 62% of males compared to 45% of females confirming their belief that North Korea presents a threat to world peace. The more highly educated respondents (60%) and/or the self-employed (62%) are more likely to perceive North Korea as a threat to world peace.

UNITED STATES

* **Breakdown by country:**

In most Member States the majority of citizens view the United States as a threat to world peace. This fact remains true in its allied countries in Iraq, **Spain** (61%) and the **United Kingdom** (55%). The country where most respondents are of this opinion is **Greece** where 88% confirmed that they believe that the United States is a threat to world peace. Only in **Germany** and **Italy** are the majority of the opposite opinion with respectively 52% and 55% of respondents confirming that they do not perceive the United States as a threat to world peace.

Finally, the United States is perceived to be the greatest threat to world peace in four Member States namely, **Greece, Spain, Finland** and **Sweden**.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

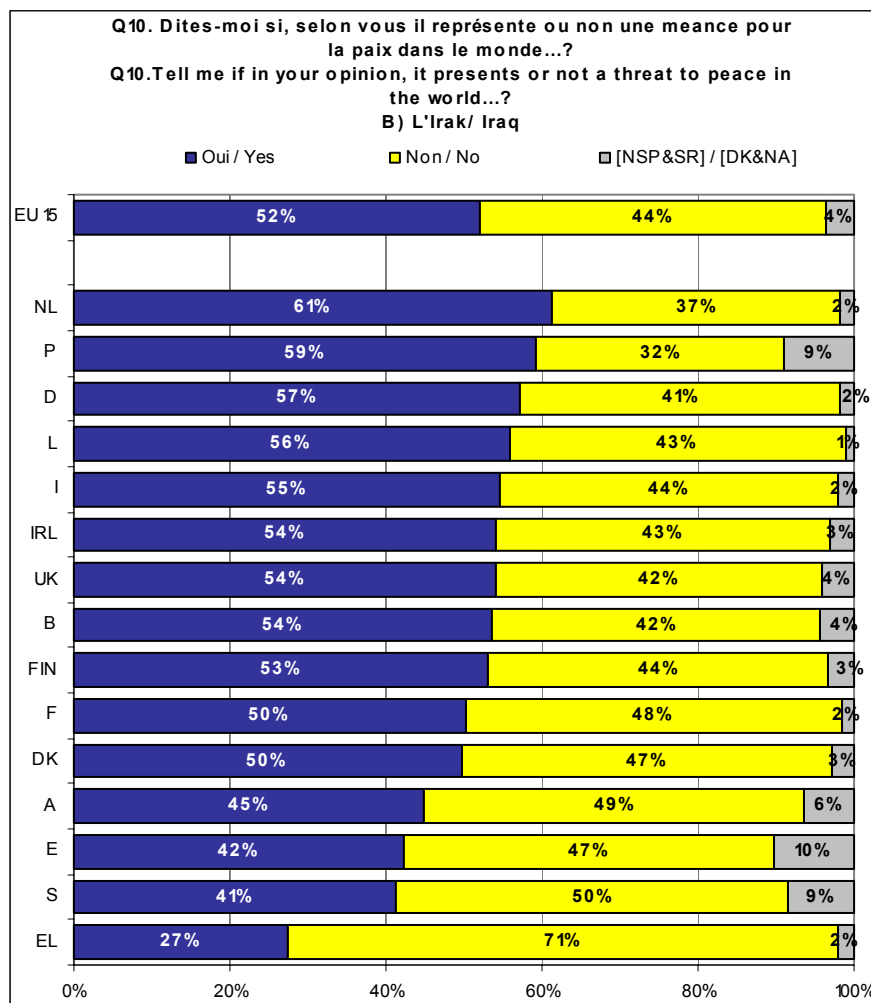
Here younger citizens falling under the “15-24” age category, stand out for their tendency to perceive the United States as a threat to world peace, being the case of 68% of respondents. Also, the more highly educated (62%) are more likely to view the US as a threat in this regard compared to those who finished their full-time education at an earlier age (“16-20”: 54% and “15 and younger”: 40%).

IRAQ

* **Breakdown by country:**

In eleven Member States at least one in two respondents believe that Iraq presents a threat to world peace. **Netherlands** once again ranks highest with 61% of respondents confirming that they perceive Iraq to be a threat to world peace. It is worth recalling the results in our initial question (subsection 1) where we saw that Denmark is the only country where a majority of respondents believe that military intervention was justified, yet in this question **Denmark** ranks joint tenth along with **France** for the proportion of citizens believing that Iraq presents a threat to world peace. Once again **Greece** with a “yes” result of 27% is where the lowest proportion of respondents perceive Iraq to present a threat to world peace.

Moreover, Iraq is the country perceived to be the greatest threat to world peace in one country only, that is **Portugal** where, as stated above, it ranks highest with North Korea.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

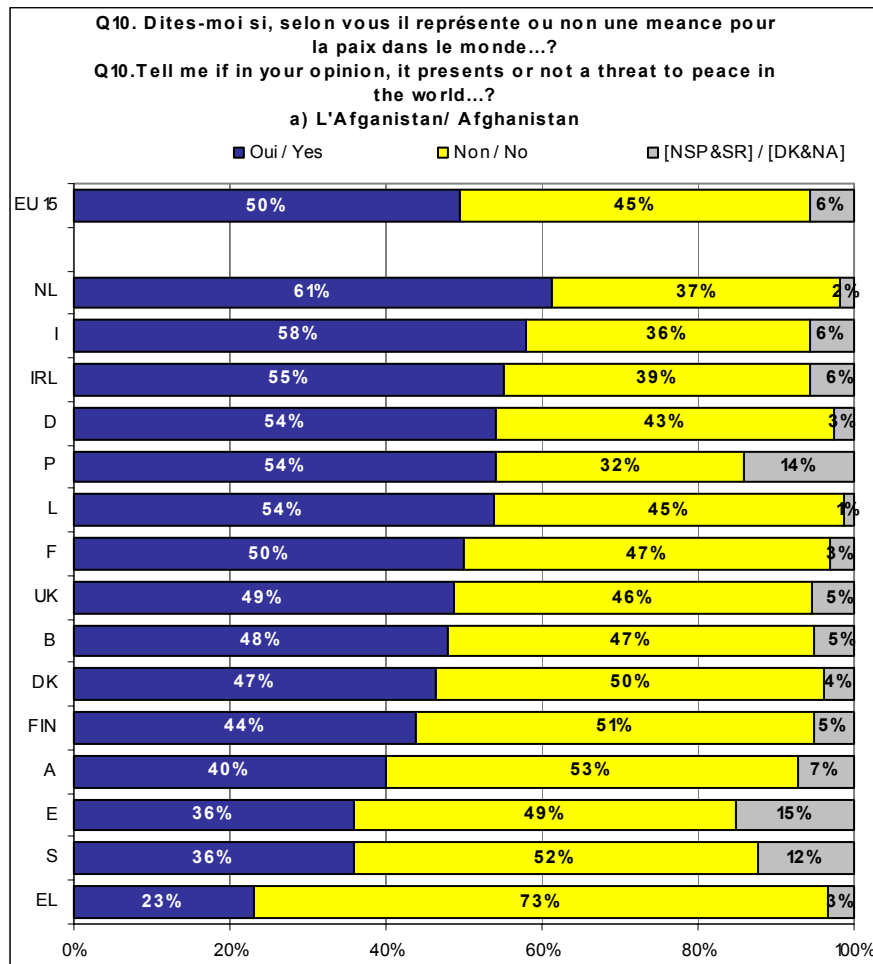
The socio-demographic profile of respondents appears to bear an influence on respondents' perception of whether or not Iraq presents a threat to peace in the world. In particular, gender bears a significant influence with 59% of females confirming that they believe that Iraq presents a threat to world peace compared to 45% of males.

As we might expect, those who believe that military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to believe that Iraq presents a threat to world peace (64%) than those who believe that military intervention was not justified (48%).

AFGHANISTAN

* **Breakdown by country:**

In seven Member States at least one in two respondents perceive Afghanistan as a threat to peace in the world. **Netherlands** and **Italy** rank highest with respectively 61% and 58% of respondents confirming their view that Afghanistan presents a threat to world peace. In **Greece** 23% of citizens perceive Afghanistan to be a threat to peace in the world.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Gender once again bears its influence here with 53% of females compared to 46% of males perceiving Afghanistan to be a threat to world peace.

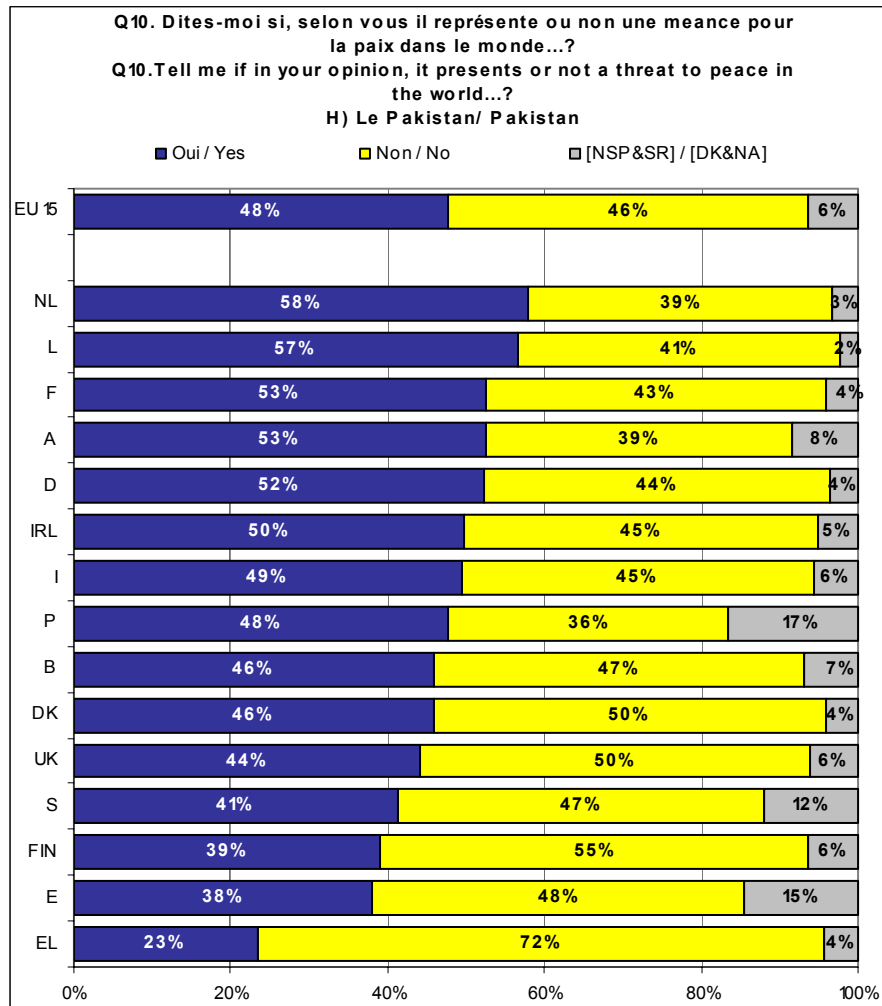
Those who believe that military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to believe that Afghanistan presents a threat to world peace (58%) compared to those who believe that military intervention was not justified (47%).

PAKISTAN

*

Breakdown by country:

In six Member States at least one in two respondents perceive Pakistan as a threat to peace in the world. There are more citizens in the **Netherlands** (58%) and **Luxembourg** (57%) who perceive Pakistan to be a threat to world peace than in any other Member State. As before, **Greece**, with 23% of its citizens perceiving Pakistan to be a threat to world peace ranks lowest.



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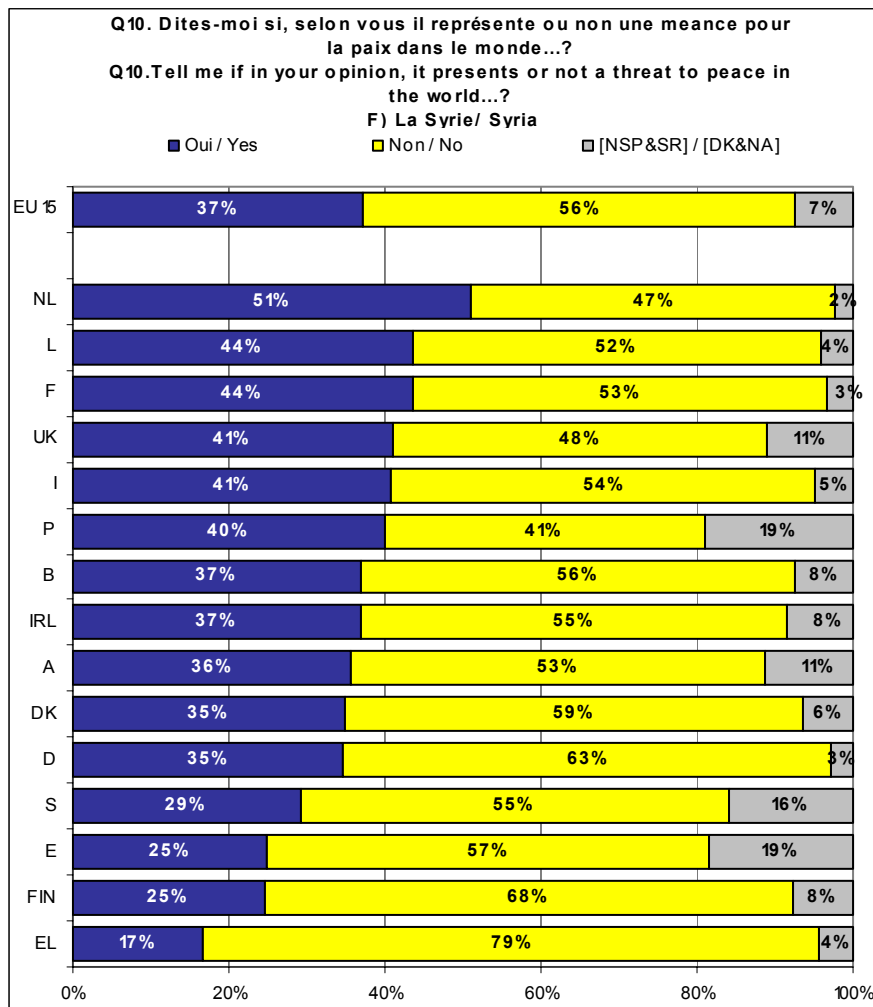
Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:

Those who believe that military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to believe that Pakistan presents a threat to world peace (52%) compared to those who believe that military intervention was not justified (46%).

SYRIA

* **Breakdown by country:**

Netherlands is the only country where a majority of citizens perceive Syria as a threat to world peace, and here this corresponds to the views of 51% of respondents. In all other Member States, a relative majority of citizens are of the opposite opinion and do not view Syria as a country threatening world peace.



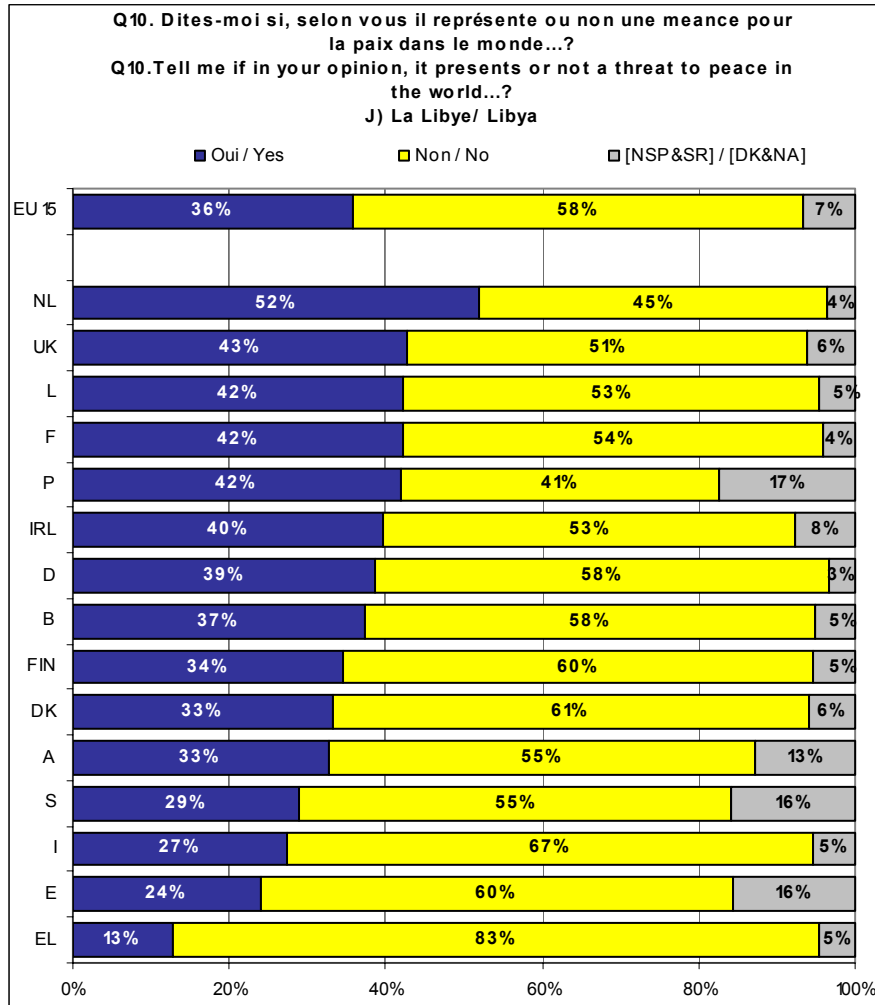
* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Views on whether or not the war in Iraq was justified bear a stronger influence than any of the socio-demographic subcategories. Here we see that those who believe military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to believe that Syria presents a threat to peace in the world (42%) than those who believe that the war was not justified (35%).

LIBYA

* **Breakdown by country:**

As was the case for Syria, **Netherlands** is the only country where a majority of citizens perceive Libya as a threat to world peace, being the case of 52% of respondents. In all other Member States (with the exception of **Portugal** where opinions are split), a relative majority of citizens are of the opposite opinion and do not view Libya as a threat to world peace.



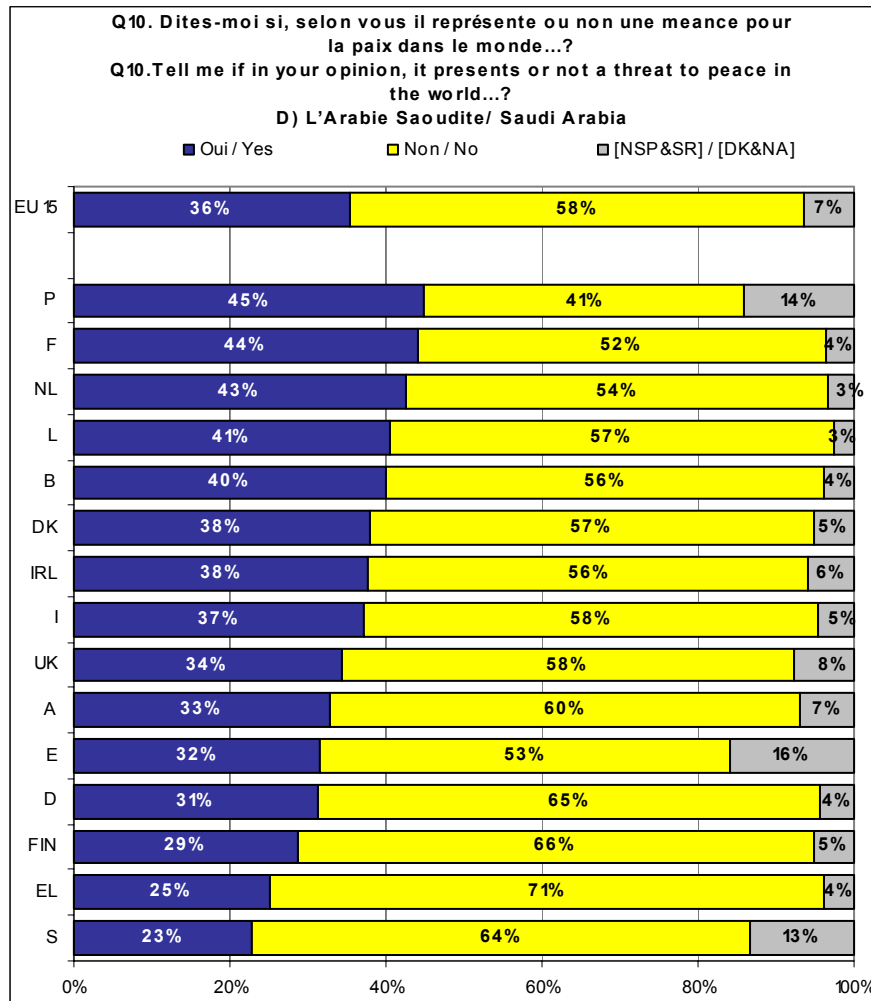
* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

As for Syria, views on whether or not the war in Iraq was justified bear a stronger influence than any of the socio-demographic subcategories. Respondents who believe military intervention in Iraq was justified are more likely to believe that Libya presents a threat to peace in the world (42%) than those who believe that the war was not justified (34%).

SAUDI ARABIA

* **Breakdown by country:**

In each Member State, only a minority of respondents perceive Saudi Arabia as a threat to world peace. **Portugal** is the only country where a relative majority of respondents perceive Saudi Arabia as a threat to world peace. **Sweden** ranks lowest on the “yes” scale with only 23% of respondents of the opinion that Saudi Arabia presents a threat to peace in the world.



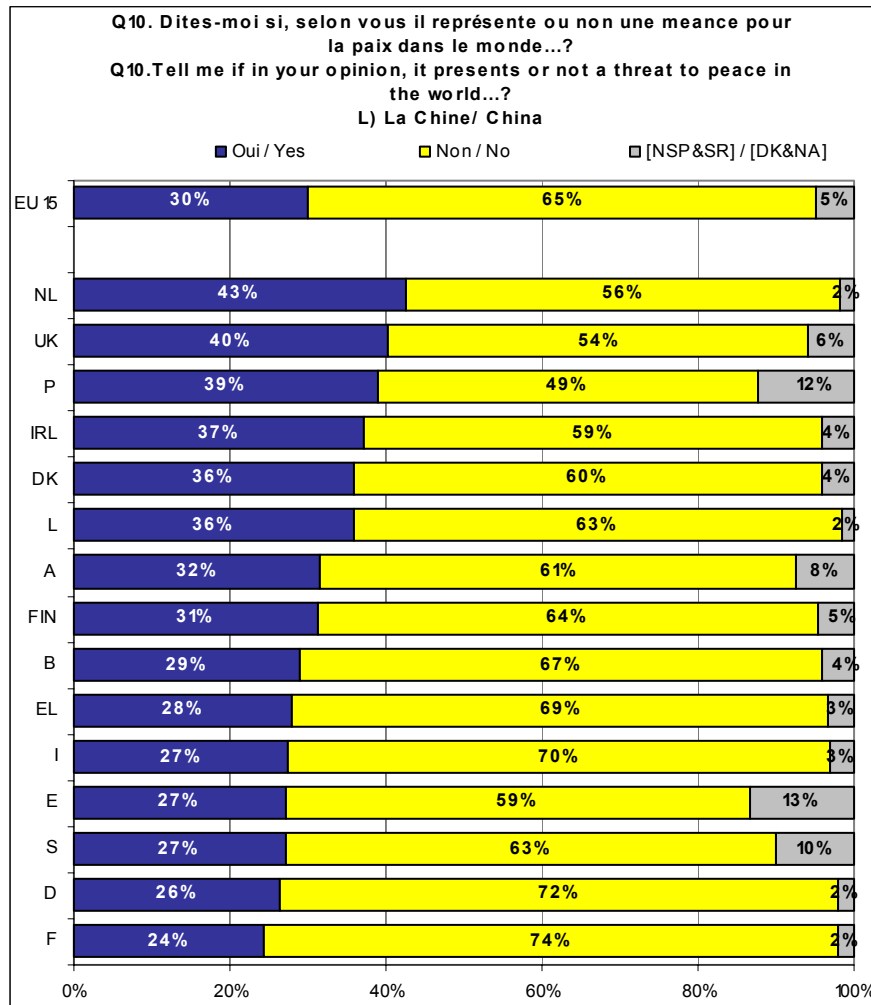
* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Gender bears its influence here with 39% of females compared to 32% of males perceiving Saudi Arabia to be a threat to world peace.

CHINA

* **Breakdown by country:**

In each Member State a majority of respondents believe that China does not present a threat to world peace. Results on the “yes” scale range from 43% in the **Netherlands** and 40% in the **United Kingdom** to 26% in **Germany** and 24% in **France**.



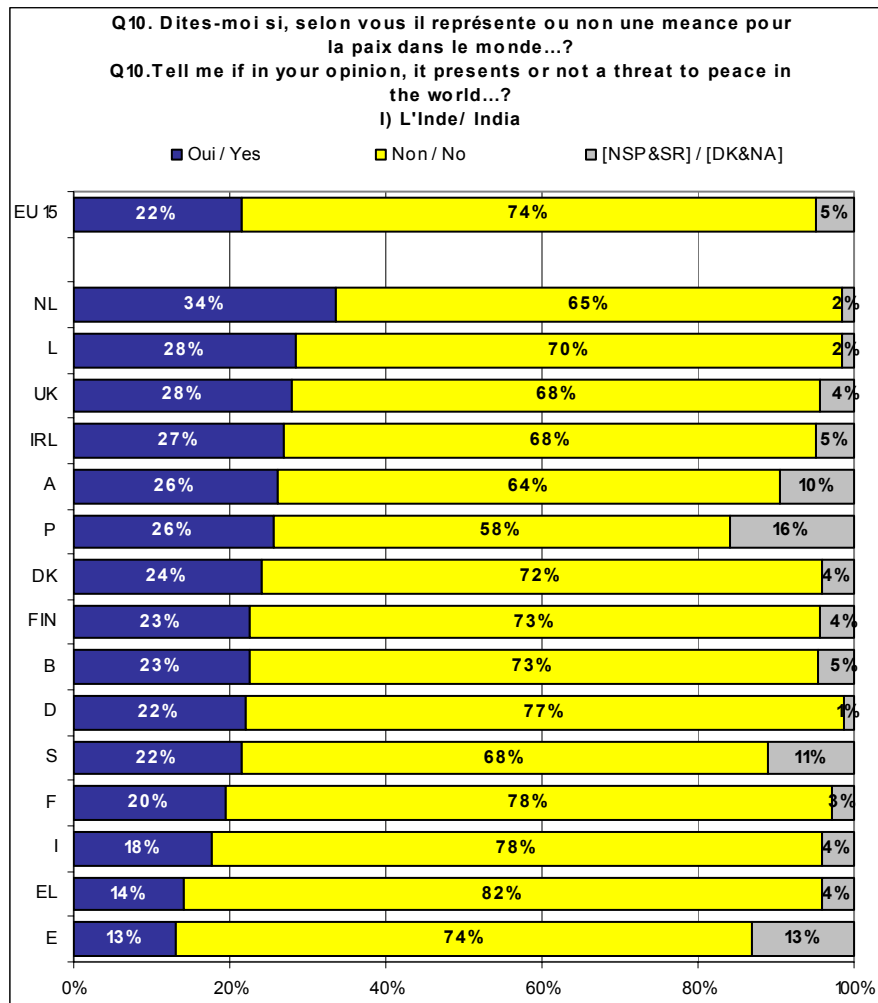
* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

The socio-demographic sub-categories do not seem to bear any strong influence in this case.

INDIA

* **Breakdown by country:**

In most Member States, less than one in three citizens are of the opinion that India presents a threat to world peace. In fact, the highest “yes” result, occurring in the **Netherlands**, amounts to 34%. **Spain** (13%) and **Greece** (14%) rank lowest on the “yes” scale.



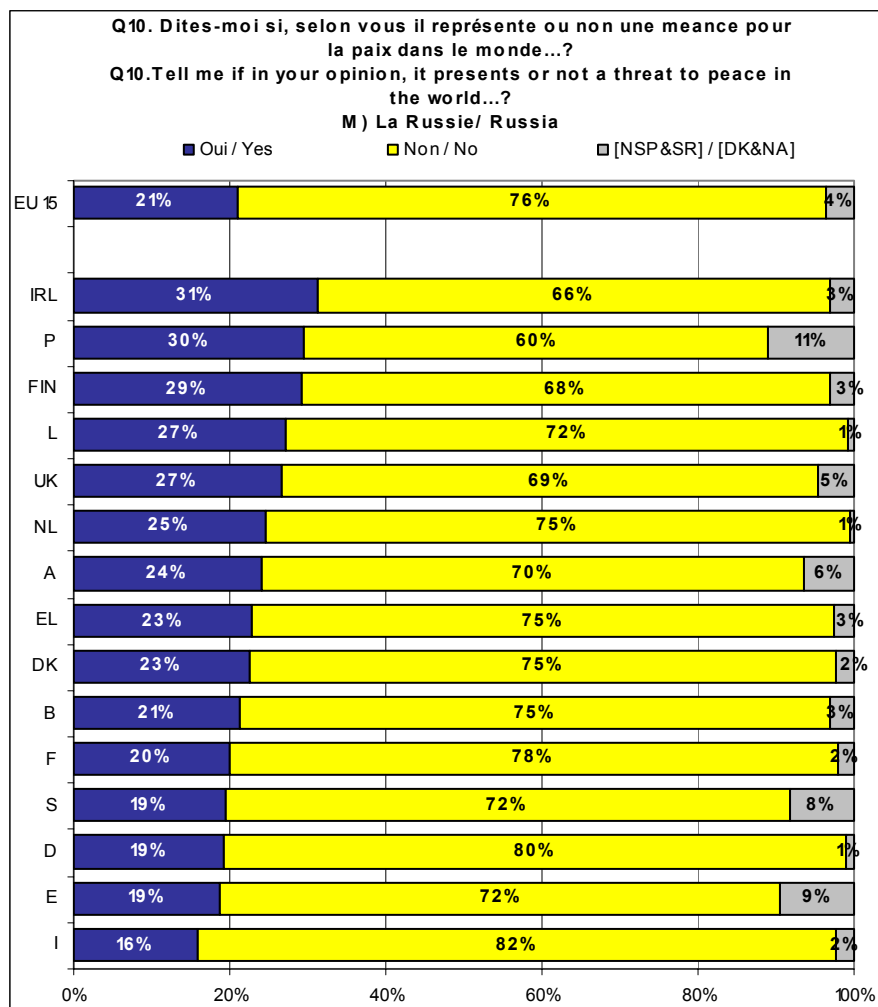
* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Genders bears an influence here with 25% of males compared to 18% of females of the opinion that India presents a threat to world peace.

RUSSIA

* Breakdown by country:

Close to or less than three in ten respondents in each Member State perceive Russia as a threat to world peace. The highest “yes” results are recorded in **Ireland** (31%) and **Portugal** (30%). **Italy** ranks at the other end of the “yes” scale, with 16% of respondents of the opinion that Russia presents a threat to world peace.



* Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:

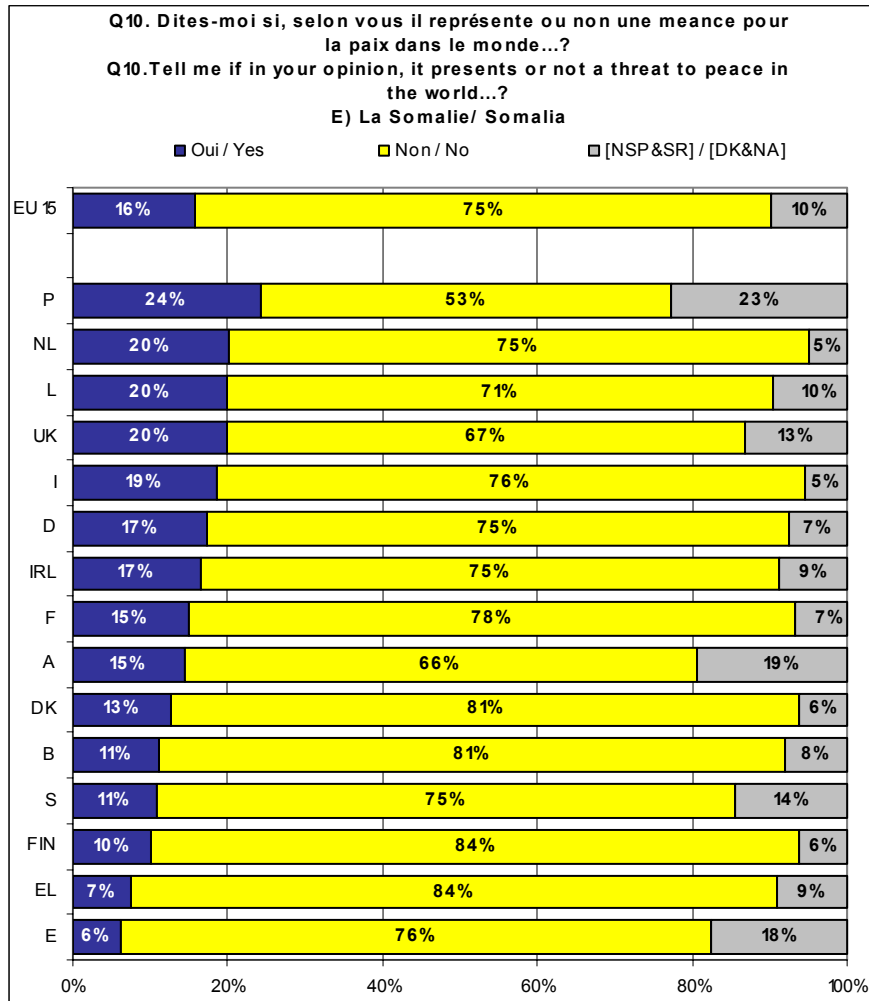
Genders bears an influence here with 25% of females compared to 16% of males of the opinion that Russia presents a threat to world peace.

Also, younger respondents falling under the “15-24” age category are more likely to be of the opinion that Russia presents a threat to world peace (30%) compared to 22% in the “25-39” group, 18% in the “40-54” group and 17% in the “55+” age category.

SOMALIA

* **Breakdown by country:**

Less than on in four respondents in each and every Member State perceive Somalia as a threat to world peace, with the highest “yes” result occurring in **Portugal**, 24%.



* **Breakdown by socio-demographic and other category:**

Age is the only socio-demographic variable that bears some influence. Older respondents falling under the “55+” age category are more likely to be of the opinion that Somalia presents a threat to world peace (21%) compared to 12% in the “15-24” age group, 14% in the “25-39” and “40-54” categories.

CONCLUSION

The main findings of our research can be summarised as follows:

EU citizens believe that the military intervention in Iraq was not justified

68% of European citizens are of the opinion that the military intervention of the United States and their allies was not justified. In all Member States, (with the exception of Denmark), the vast majority of citizens are against this intervention by force. Even in the allied countries of Spain and the United Kingdom, the majority seem to be opposed.

EU citizens want the United Nations and the provisional government to manage reconstruction in Iraq right through to the establishment of a sovereign Iraqi government

Citizens are calling for collective as opposed to unilateral management of reconstruction in Iraq, with the United Nations superseding as the representative of this collective action. Close to six in ten citizens would prefer that the management of reconstruction in Iraq as well as the transition to a sovereign Iraqi government be entrusted to the United Nations. The provisional government in Iraq follows next with 44% of citizens choosing this authority for its management during reconstruction through to the establishment of a democratic government. The similarity of results for these distinct questions shows that citizens want continuity from the reconstruction period through to the establishment of a sovereign Iraqi government.

EU citizens want the United Nations to guarantee security in Iraq

43% of European Union citizens place their trust in the United Nations together with their peacekeeping forces in guaranteeing security during the reconstruction period. According to EU citizens, the United States should not be entrusted with the task of guaranteeing security.

EU citizens want their country to participate in financing the rebuilding of Iraq

65% of EU citizens believe that the United States should finance the reconstruction of Iraq. That said the majority are in favour of their country's financial participation in the rebuilding of Iraq.

EU citizens are in favour of offering humanitarian aid to Iraq

82% of EU citizens are in favour of their country's reinforcement of humanitarian aid in Iraq. Opinions appear to be divided on the sending of national peacekeeping troops to Iraq with 44% confirming that they are in favour and 54% against.

EU citizens call for more EU involvement in the Middle East Peace Process

81% of citizens believe that the European Union should play an effective role in resolving the Middle East peace process. Still on relations with the Middle East, 86% of EU citizens believe in the importance of political and cultural exchange with Arab countries.

Marked differences across Member States in the extent to which the threat of terrorism is felt

55% of EU citizens feel that the threat of terrorism in their country is strong. However, this average results masks marked differences across Member States. The United Kingdom and Spain are most fearful of terrorism with 76% of respondents in each believing the threat in their country to be strong.

Technical Note

Détails du sondage

Ce sondage téléphonique FLASH EUROBAROMETRE 151 sur l'Irak et la Paix dans le Monde a été réalisé pour la Commission européenne, Direction Générale Presse et Communication.

Il s'agit d'un FLASH EUROBAROMETRE GRAND PUBLIC, organisé et géré par la Direction Générale PRESS, Unité B/1.

Les interviews ont été réalisées du 08/10/2003 au 16/10/2003 par les 15 Instituts EOS GALLUP EUROPE dont la liste suit :

Belgique	B	TNS DIMARSO - BRUXELLES
Danemark	DK	TNS GALLUP - KOBENHAVN
Allemagne	D	TNS EMNID - BIELEFELD
Grèce	EL	TNS ICAP - ATHENS
Espagne	E	TNS DEMOSCOPIA - MADRID
France	F	TNS SOFRES - MONTROUGE
Irlande	IRL	IRISH MKTG SURVEYS - DUBLIN
Italie	I	DOXA - MILANO
Luxembourg	L	TNS ILReS - LUXEMBOURG
Pays-Bas	NL	TNS NIPO - AMSTERDAM
Autriche	A	ÖSTERREICHISCHES GALLUP-VIENNA
Portugal	P	TNS EUROTESTE - LISBOA
Finlande	FIN	TNS SUOMEN GALLUP - ESPOO
Suède	S	TNS SVENSKA GALLUP - STOCKHOLM
Royaume Uni	UK	ICM - LONDON

Représentativité des résultats

Chaque échantillon national est représentatif de la population âgée de 15 ans et plus.

Tailles des échantillons

Les tailles d'échantillon sont d'environ 500 répondants par pays.

Une pondération a été appliquée aux résultats nationaux pour calculer un total marginal où chaque pays contribue au résultat de l'Union Européenne en proportion du nombre de ses habitants.

Le tableau ci-dessous détaille pour chacun des 15 membres actuels de l'UE :

(1) le nombre d'interviews effectivement réalisées dans chaque pays

(2) ainsi que le nombre d'interviews pondérées sur base de la population de chaque Etat Membre

Survey details

This telephone survey FLASH EUROBAROMETER 151 on Iraq and Peace in the World has been conducted for the European Commission, Directorate-General Press and Communication.

It is a GENERAL PUBLIC FLASH EUROBAROMETER SURVEY, organized and managed by the PRESS Directorate-General, Unit B/1.

The interviews have been conducted between the 08/10/2003 and the 16/10/2003 by these 15 EOS GALLUP EUROPE Institutes :

(Interviews : 10/10/2003 – 15/10/2003)	Belgium
(Interviews : 09/10/2003 – 13/10/2003)	Denmark
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 13/10/2003)	Germany
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 14/10/2003)	Greece
(Interviews : 09/10/2003 – 16/10/2003)	Spain
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 10/10/2003)	France
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 13/10/2003)	Ireland
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 12/10/2003)	Italy
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 14/10/2003)	Luxembourg
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 13/10/2003)	Netherlands
(Interviews : 09/10/2003 – 14/10/2003)	Austria
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 15/10/2003)	Portugal
(Interviews : 09/10/2003 – 13/10/2003)	Finland
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 14/10/2003)	Sweden
(Interviews : 08/10/2003 – 13/10/2003)	United Kingdom

Representativeness of the results

Each national sample is representative of the population of 15 years and above.

Sizes of the sample

The sample sizes amount to approximately 500 respondents in each country.

A weighting factor was applied to the national results in order to compute a marginal total where each country contributes to the European Union result in proportion of its population.

The table below presents, for each of the 15 current members of the EU:

(1) the number of interviews actually carried out in each country

(2) as well as the population-weighted total number of interviews for each Member State.

	TOTAL INTERVIEWS			
	(1)	(1)	(2)	(2)
	Réalisées Conducted	% du total % on total	Pondérées Weighted	% du total (Pondéré) % on Total (Weighted)
Total UE	7515	100.0%	7515	100.0%
Belgique	498	6,6%	202	2,7%
Danmark	501	6,7%	105	1,4%
Deutschland	501	6,7%	1659	22,1%
Ellas	500	6,7%	215	2,9%
Espana	503	6,7%	803	10,7%
France	500	6,7%	1156	15,4%
Ireland	500	6,7%	71	1,0%
Italia	501	6,7%	1186	15,8%
Luxembourg	503	6,7%	9	0,1%
Nederland	500	6,7%	312	4,1%
Österreich	500	6,7%	163	2,2%
Portugal	500	6,7%	200	2,7%
Finland	501	6,7%	101	1,3%
Sweden	500	6,7%	173	2,3%
United Kingdom	507	6,7%	1160	15,4%

Questionnaires

1. Le questionnaire établi pour ce sondage est reproduit à la fin de ce volume de résultats, en Français et en Anglais (Voir ci-après).
2. Les traductions ont été réalisées dans chaque langue d'interview par les Instituts nationaux cités ci-dessus.
3. Un exemplaire de chaque questionnaire national est joint à ces volumes de Tableaux de résultats.

Questionnaires

1. The questionnaire prepared for this survey is reproduced at the end of this results volume, in French and in English (see hereafter).
2. The Institutes listed above translated the questionnaire in their respective national language(s).
3. One copy of each national questionnaire is annexed to these Data Tables results Volumes.

Tableaux des résultats

* VOLUME A : PAYS PAR PAYS

Le VOLUME A présente les résultats de l'Union Européenne pays par pays.

* VOLUME B : DEMOGRAPHIQUES DES RÉPONDANTS

Le VOLUME B présente les résultats de l'Union Européenne ventilés selon quelques caractéristiques socio-démographiques des répondants :

Sexe (Homme, Femme)
Age (15-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55 +)
Education (15&-, 16-20, 21&+)
Profession
Habitat

* VOLUME(S) C : CHAQUE PAYS

Le(s) VOLUME(S) C présente(nt) la même analyse que celle du VOLUME B, mais pour chaque pays individuellement.

Valeurs statistiques des résultats

Les résultats d'un sondage ne sont jamais valables que dans les limites d'une **marge statistique** d'échantillonnage. Cette marge est plus ou moins grande, et dépend de trois choses :

1. La taille de l'échantillon (ou de la partie d'échantillon que l'on analyse) : plus le nombre de répondants est grand, plus la marge statistique est petite ;
2. Le résultat lui-même : plus le résultat est proche de 50%, plus la marge statistique est grande ;
3. Le degré de certitude que l'on exige : plus on est sévère, plus la marge statistique est grande.

A titre d'exemple, prenons un cas imaginaire :

1. 500 personnes ont répondu à une question ;
2. Le résultat analysé est de 50 % environ ;

Tables of results

* VOLUME A : COUNTRY BY COUNTRY

The VOLUME A presents the European Union results country by country.

* VOLUME B : RESPONDENTS' DEMOGRAPHICS

The VOLUME B presents the results of European Union with the following personal characteristics of respondents as breakdowns :

Sex (Men, Women)
Age (15-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55 +)
Education (15&-, 16-20, 21&+)
Occupation
Locality type

* VOLUME(S) C : EACH COUNTRY

The VOLUME(S) C present(s) the same analysis as in VOLUME B, but for each individual country.

Statistical significance of the results

The results in a survey are valid only between the limits of a **statistical margin** caused by the sampling process. This margin varies with three factors :

1. The sample size (or the size of the analysed part in the sample) : the greater the number of respondents is, the smaller the statistical margin will be;
2. The result in itself : the closer the result approaches 50%, the wider the statistical margin will be ;
3. The desired degree of confidence : the more "strict" we are, the wider the statistical margin will be.

As an example, examine this illustrative case :

1. One question has been answered by 500 people ;
2. The analysed result is around 50%;

3. On choisit un degré de certitude de 95 % (c'est le niveau le plus utilisé par les statisticiens, et c'est celui adopté pour la table ci-après) ;

Dans ce cas illustratif la marge statistique est de : (+/- 4.4%) autour des 50% observés. Et en conclusion : le résultat pour la population totale se situe entre 45.6% et 54.4%.

Nous reproduisons ci-après les marges statistiques calculées pour différents échantillons et différents résultats observés, au degré de certitude de 95%.

**MARGES STATISTIQUES
D'ECHANTILLONAGE
(AU NIVEAU DE CONFIANCE DE 95 %)**

Différentes tailles d'échantillon sont en lignes ;
Différents résultats observés sont en colonnes :

3. We choose a significance level of 95 % (it is the level most often used by the statisticians, and it is the one chosen for the Table hereafter);

In this illustrative case the statistical margin is : (+/- 4.4%) around the observed 50%. And as a conclusion : the result for the whole population lies between 45.6% and 54.4 %.

Hereafter, the statistical margins computed for various observed results are shown, on various sample sizes, at the 95% significance level.

**STATISTICAL MARGINS DUE TO THE
SAMPLING PROCESS
(AT THE 95 % LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE)**

Various sample sizes are in rows ;
Various observed results are in columns :

	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	
	95%	90%	85%	80%	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	
N=50	6.0	8.3	9.9	11.1	12.0	12.7	13.2	13.6	13.8	13.9	N=500
N=500	1.9	2.6	3.1	3.5	3.8	4.0	4.2	4.3	4.4	4.4	N=1000
N=1000	1.4	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.7	2.8	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.1	N=1000
N=1500	1.1	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	N=1500
N=2000	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.2	N=2000
N=3000	0.8	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.8	N=3000
N=4000	0.7	0.9	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	N=4000
N=5000	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	N=5000
N=6000	0.6	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3	N=6000
N=7000	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	N=7000
N=7500	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	N=7500
N=8000	0.5	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	N=8000
N=9000	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	N=9000
N=10000	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.0	N=10000
N=11000	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	N=11000
N=12000	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9	N=12000
N=13000	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	N=13000
N=14000	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	N=14000
N=15000	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8	N=15000
	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	
	95%	90%	85%	80%	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	

Questionnaire

Socio Demographiques

- D1. Sexe [1] Homme
[2] Femme
- D2. Age Exact: [][] Ans
[00] [REFUS/SANS REPONSE]
- D3. Age de fin d'études : [AGE EXACT EN 2 CHIFFRES]
[][] ans
[00] [REFUS/ SR]
[01] [JAMAIS ETE A L'ECOLE PLEIN TEMPS]
[99] [ENCORE A L'ECOLE PLEIN TEMPS]
- D4. Sur le plan professionnel, peut-on dire qu'actuellement vous êtes indépendant, employé, ouvrier ou êtes-vous sans activité professionnelle ?
[LIRE ITEMS A GAUCHE - ENSUITE FAIRE PRECISER (« c'est-à-dire ») - UNE SEULE REPONSE]
- Indépendant
→ c'est-à-dire : - exploitant agricole, forestier, pêcheur..... 11
- commerçant, artisan 12
- de profession libérale (avocat, médecin, comptable, architecte,...) 13
- chef d'entreprise 14
- autre (PRECISER)..... 15
- Employé
→ c'est-à-dire : - de profession libérale (médecin, avocat, comptable, architecte,...)21
- cadre supérieur/dirigeant d'entreprise22
- cadre moyen23
- fonctionnaire24
- employé de bureau25
- autre employé (vendeur, infirmier, etc...)26
- autre (PRECISER).....27

Socio Demographics

- D1. Sex [1] Male
[2] Female
- D2. Exact Age: [][] Years old
[00] [REFUSAL/NO ANSWER]
- D3. Age when finished full time education : [EXACT AGE IN 2 DIGITS]
[][] years old
[00] [REFUSAL/ NO ANSWER]
[01] [NEVER BEEN IN FULL TIME EDUCATION]
[99] [STILL IN FULL TIME EDUCATION]
- D4. As far as your current occupation is concerned, would you say you are self-employed, an employee, a manual worker or would you say that you are without a professional activity ?
[READ OUT LEFT ITEMS - THEN ASK TO SPECIFY ("that is to say") - ONLY ONE ANSWER]
- Self-employed
→ i.e. : - farmer, forester, fisherman 11
- owner of a shop, craftsman 12
- professional (lawyer, medical practitioner, accountant, architect,...)13
- manager of a company 14
- other (SPECIFY)..... 15
- Employee
→ i.e. : - professional (employed doctor, lawyer, accountant, architect).....21
- general management, director or top management22
- middle management,23
- civil servant24
- office clerk25
- other employee (salesman, nurse, etc...).....26
- other (SPECIFY).....27



- Ouvrier	
→ c'est-à-dire :	
- agent de maîtrise (chef d'équipe).....	31
- ouvrier qualifié	32
- ouvrier non qualifié	33
- autre (PRECISER).....	34

- Sans activité professionnelle	
→ c'est-à-dire :	
- vous occupant de votre ménage	41
- étudiant (à temps plein)	42
- retraité.....	43
- à la recherche d'un emploi	44
- autre (PRECISER).....	45
- (Refus)	99

D5. Région = "European Administrative Regional Unit" (N.U.T.S. 1)
[2 CHIFFRES]

D6. Type de localité?

- zone métropolitaine	1
- autre ville/centre urbain	2
- zone rurale.....	3

- Manual worker	
→ i.e. :	
- supervisor / foreman (team manager, etc ...).....	31
- manual worker	32
- unskilled manual worker.....	33
- other (SPECIFY)	34

- Without a professional activity	
→ i.e. :	
- looking after the home	41
- student (full time)	42
- retired	43
- seeking a job	44
- other (SPECIFY).....	45
- (Refusal)	99

D5. Region = "European Administrative Regional Unit" (N.U.T.S. 1)
[2 DIGITS]

D6. Type of Locality?

- metropolitan zone	1
- other town/urban centre	2
- rural zone	3



Q1.

Aujourd'hui, diriez-vous que l'intervention militaire des Etats-Unis et de leurs alliés en Irak était tout à fait justifiée, plutôt justifiée, plutôt pas justifiée ou pas justifiée du tout ?

[LIRE – UNE SEULE REPONSE POSSIBLE]

- Tout à fait justifiée 1
- Plutôt justifiée..... 2
- Plutôt pas justifiée..... 3
- Pas justifiée du tout 4
- [NSP/SR]..... 5

Q2. A votre avis, à qui devrait-on confier la gestion de la reconstruction de l'Irak ?

[LIRE – ROTATION - PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES]

- a) Les Etats-Unis 1
- b) L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres..... 1
- c) Les Nations Unies 1
- d) Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak..... 1
- e) [Aucun de ceux-là] 1
- f) [NSP/SR]..... 1

Q1.

Today, would you say that the military intervention of the United States and their allies in Iraq was absolutely justified, rather justified, rather not justified or not justified at all?

[READ OUT – ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE]

- Absolutely justified..... 1
- Rather justified 2
- Rather not justified 3
- Not justified at all 4
- [DK/NA] 5

Q2. In your opinion, to whom should the management of the rebuilding of Iraq be entrusted?

[READ OUT – ROTATE - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE]

- a) The United States..... 1
- b) The European Union and its Member States 1
- c) The United Nations..... 1
- d) The provisional government in Iraq 1
- e) [None of these] 1
- f) [DK/NA]..... 1



- Q3. Et à votre avis, qui devrait financer la reconstruction de l'Irak ?
[LIRE – ROTATION - PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES]
- a) Les Etats-Unis 1
 - b) L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres 1
 - c) Les Nations Unies 1
 - d) Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak 1
 - e) [Aucun de ceux-là] 1
 - f) [NSP/SR] 1
- Q4. A votre avis, qui devrait assurer la sécurité en Irak pendant la période de reconstruction du pays ?
[LIRE – ROTATION - UNE SEULE REPONSE POSSIBLE]
- Les Etats-Unis 1
 - Les Etats-Unis et certains de leurs alliés 2
 - Une force multinationale agissant au nom de l'ONU sous le commandement des Etats-Unis 3
 - L'ONU et ses forces de maintien de la paix 4
 - L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres 5
 - Les Nations Unies 6
 - Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak 7
 - [Aucun de ceux-là] 8
 - [NSP/SR] 9
- Q5. Et à votre avis, qui devrait encadrer la transition vers un gouvernement souverain en Irak ?
[LIRE – ROTATION - PLUSIEURS REPONSES POSSIBLES]
- a) Les Etats-Unis 1
 - b) L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres 1
 - c) Les Nations Unies 1
 - d) Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak 1
 - e) [Aucun de ceux-là] 1
 - f) [NSP/SR] 1

- Q3. And in your opinion, who should finance the rebuilding of Iraq ?
[READ OUT – ROTATE - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE]
- a) The United States 1
 - b) The European Union and its Member States 1
 - c) The United Nations 1
 - d) The provisional government in Iraq 1
 - e) [None of these] 1
 - f) [DK/NA] 1
- Q4. In your opinion, who should guarantee security in Iraq during the period of rebuilding the country ?
[READ OUT – ROTATE - ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE]
- The United States 1
 - The United States and some of their allies 2
 - A multinational force acting on behalf of the United Nations under the command of the United States 3
 - The UN and their peace-keeping forces 4
 - The European Union and its Member States 5
 - The United Nations 6
 - The Iraqi provisional government 7
 - [None of these] 8
 - [DK/NA] 9
- Q5. And in your opinion, who should manage the transition to a sovereign government in Iraq ?
[READ OUT – ROTATE - MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE]
- a) The United States 1
 - b) The European Union and its Member States 1
 - c) The United Nations 1
 - d) The provisional government in Iraq 1
 - e) [None of these] 1
 - f) [DK/NA] 1



Q6. Pour chacune des propositions suivantes concernant l'après guerre en Irak dites-moi si vous y êtes favorable ou pas.
[LIRE – UNE REponse PAR LIGNE]

- Tout à fait favorable 1
- Plutôt favorable 2
- Plutôt pas favorable 3
- Pas favorable du tout 4
- [NSP/SR]..... 5

- a) Une participation financière de notre pays à la reconstruction de l'Irak
- b) Le renforcement de l'aide humanitaire de [NOTRE PAYS] à l'égard de l'Irak
- c) L'envoi de troupes [NATIONALITE] pour maintenir la paix en Irak

Q7. Dites-moi si vous êtes tout à fait d'accord, plutôt d'accord, plutôt pas d'accord ou pas d'accord du tout avec chacune des propositions suivantes concernant le rôle de l'Union européenne au Moyen Orient ?

- Tout à fait d'accord..... 1
- Plutôt d'accord 2
- Plutôt pas d'accord..... 3
- Pas d'accord du tout 4
- [NSP/SR]..... 5

[LIRE – ROTATION - UNE REponse PAR LIGNE]

- a) L'Union européenne doit jouer un rôle efficace dans le règlement du processus de paix au Moyen Orient
- b) L'Union européenne doit encourager les relations politiques et culturelles entre l'Europe et les pays arabes
- c) L'Union européenne doit soutenir le rétablissement le plus vite possible d'un gouvernement irakien en Irak

Q6. For each of the following propositions concerning the after war in Iraq tell me if you are in favour or not.
[READ OUT – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

- Totally in favour 1
- Rather in favour..... 2
- Rather not in favour..... 3
- Not in favour at all 4
- [DK/NA]..... 5

- a) Our country's financial participation in the rebuilding of Iraq
- b) The reinforcement of humanitarian aid from [OUR COUNTRY] towards Iraq
- c) The sending of [NATIONALITY] troops in order to maintain peace in Iraq

Q7. Tell me if you totally agree, rather agree, rather disagree or totally disagree with each of the following propositions concerning the role of the European Union in the Middle East ?

- Totally agree..... 1
- Rather agree 2
- Rather disagree 3
- Totally disagree 4
- [DK/NA]..... 5

[READ OUT – ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

- a) The European Union should play an effective role in the resolving of the peace process in the Middle East
- b) The European Union should encourage political and cultural relations between Europe and Arab countries
- c) The European Union should support the re-establishment of an Iraqi government in Iraq as quickly as possible



Q8. Aujourd'hui, diriez-vous que la guerre en Irak a renforcé ou a affaibli le rôle de l'Union européenne sur la scène internationale ou que cela n'a rien changé ?

[LIRE – UNE SEULE REPONSE POSSIBLE]

- Cela a renforcé le rôle de l'UE..... 1
- Cela a affaibli le rôle de l'UE..... 2
- Cela n'a rien changé..... 3
- [NSP/SR]..... 4

Q9. Comment évalueriez-vous la menace terroriste dans [NOTRE PAYS] aujourd'hui ? Diriez-vous qu'elle est très forte, assez forte, assez faible ou très faible ?

[LIRE – UNE SEULE REPONSE POSSIBLE]

- Très forte..... 1
- Assez forte..... 2
- Assez faible..... 3
- Très faible..... 4
- [NSP/SR]..... 5

Q8. Today, would you say that the war in Iraq has reinforced or has weakened the role of the European Union on the international scene or that nothing has changed ?

[READ OUT – ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE]

- This has reinforced the role of the EU 1
- This has weakened the role of the EU 2
- Nothing has changed 3
- [DK/NA] 4

Q9. How would you evaluate the threat of terrorism in [OUR COUNTRY] today ? Would you say that it is very strong, quite strong, quite weak or very weak ?

[READ OUT – ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE]

- Very strong..... 1
- Quite strong..... 2
- Quite weak..... 3
- Very weak..... 4
- [DK/NA]..... 5



Q10. Pour chacun des pays suivants, dites-moi si, selon vous, il représente ou non une menace pour la paix dans le monde?

- Oui, tout à fait..... 1
- Oui, plutôt..... 2
- Non, plutôt pas..... 3
- Non, pas du tout..... 4
- [NSP/SR]..... 5

[LIRE – ROTATION - UNE REponse PAR LIGNE]

- a) L'Afghanistan
- b) L'Irak
- c) La Corée du Nord
- d) L'Arabie Saoudite
- e) La Somalie
- f) La Syrie
- g) L'Iran
- h) Le Pakistan
- i) L'Inde
- j) La Libye
- k) Les Etats-Unis
- l) La Chine
- m) La Russie
- n) L'Union européenne
- o) Israël

Q10. For each of the following countries, tell me if in your opinion, it presents or not a threat to peace in the world?

- Yes, absolutely..... 1
- Yes, rather..... 2
- No, rather not..... 3
- No, absolutely not..... 4
- [NSP/SR]..... 5

[READ OUT – ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

- a) Afghanistan
- b) Iraq
- c) North Korea
- d) Saudi Arabia
- e) Somalia
- f) Syria
- g) Iran
- h) Pakistan
- i) India
- j) Libya
- k) United States
- l) China
- m) Russia
- n) European Union
- o) Israel



Q11. Lorsque vous pensez à la politique étrangère de l'Union européenne, diriez-vous qu'elle est trop proche de celle des Etats-Unis, trop éloignée ou qu'elle est ni trop proche, ni trop éloignée ?
[LIRE – UNE SEULE REPONSE POSSIBLE]

- Trop proche de la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis 1
- Trop éloignée de la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis 2
- Ni trop proche, ni trop éloignée 3
- [NSP/SR] 4

Q11. When thinking about the European Union's foreign policy, would you say that it is too close to that of the United States, too far away or neither too close nor too far away?
[READ OUT – ONE ANSWER POSSIBLE]

- Too close to the United State's foreign policy 1
- Too far away from the United State's foreign policy 2
- Neither too close nor too far away 3
- [DK/NA] 4

