

# IRAQ and PEACE IN THE WORLD

Fieldwork: 8-16 October 2003

Publication: October 2003

## FIRST RESULTS

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

## FIRST RESULTS

### EU citizens and their opinion on the rebuilding of Iraq and peace in the world

On the 1<sup>st</sup> October the European Commission has put forward its approach to the reconstruction of Iraq. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> October, the Ministerial Donors Conference was held in Madrid with the participation of the European Union, the United States, the United Arab Emirates, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the United Nations as core members. The Flash Eurobarometer <sup>1</sup> survey was carried out with the aim of discovering what the citizens in the 15 EU member states are

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<sup>1</sup> **Flash Eurobarometer 151, carried out for the European Commission by Taylor Nelson Sofres/EOS Gallup Europe, 8-16 October 2003, 7515 persons interviewed by telephone in the 15 member states.**

For each country surveyed, the statistical margin of error is +/- 4.4 percentage points. As an indication, the margin of error at the EU level is approximately +/- 1.2 points.

In some cases, due to the rounding of figures, displayed sums can show a difference of one point with the sum of the individual cells.

thinking about the reconstruction of Iraq, the Middle East conflict and peace in the world.

The first results of this survey reveal that EU citizens :

- prefer that the United Nations and the provisional government manage the rebuilding of Iraq
- are highly in favour of offering humanitarian aid to Iraq
- want their country to participate in financing the rebuilding of Iraq
- want the US to bear the brunt of financing the rebuilding of Iraq
- want the UN to guarantee security in Iraq
- want the UN to manage the transition to a sovereign government in Iraq
- think that the military intervention in Iraq was not justified
- want more EU involvement in the Middle East Peace process
- still feel the threat of terrorism

## I. Rebuilding Iraq

### EU citizens prefer that the United Nations (UN) and the provisional government manage the rebuilding of Iraq

The US is the least trusted (18%) to manage the rebuilding of Iraq - less than the EU (25%) or a provisional government (44%), according to EU citizens. An average of 58% of those interviewed want the UN to keep this role. People in UK more than elsewhere (72%) want the UN to manage the rebuilding.

*Question : In your opinion, to whom should the management of the rebuilding of the Iraq be entrusted?*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Les Etats-Unis / The United States	<b>18%</b>	24%	24%	23%	20%	15%	10%	13%	22%	11%	6%	18%	17%	11%	22%	20%
L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres / The European Union and its Member States	<b>25%</b>	37%	16%	43%	21%	13%	24%	13%	18%	19%	14%	12%	16%	7%	8%	29%
Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	<b>58%</b>	57%	68%	69%	42%	52%	53%	65%	40%	52%	60%	53%	53%	69%	62%	72%
Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak / The provisional government in Iraq	<b>44%</b>	44%	32%	57%	32%	23%	39%	33%	42%	43%	42%	34%	27%	28%	31%	59%
[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	<b>2%</b>	3%	0%	0%	7%	2%	1%	1%	2%	1%	0%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>2%</b>	2%	3%	1%	1%	6%	2%	1%	1%	3%	1%	4%	5%	2%	4%	1%

## Split opinions for financial involvement in rebuilding Iraq

More than half of the European citizens favour their country's financial participation in rebuilding Iraq (54% yes – 45% no). In Denmark, 76% of those interviewed want to contribute, while 64% of the Portuguese are against their country contributing.

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

	<b>PAYS-COUNTRY</b>																
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>EL</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>IRL</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>L</b>	<b>NL</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>P</b>	<b>FIN</b>	<b>S</b>	<b>UK</b>	
Tout à fait favorable / Totally in favour	<b>14%</b>	6%	33%	6%	18%	15%	8%	15%	18%	16%	28%	4%	7%	8%	18%	23%	
Plutôt favorable / Rather in favour	<b>40%</b>	36%	43%	36%	34%	41%	37%	38%	47%	42%	45%	27%	24%	27%	37%	46%	
Plutôt pas favorable / Rather not in favour	<b>22%</b>	27%	9%	31%	19%	19%	24%	20%	19%	22%	14%	29%	22%	28%	19%	16%	
Pas favorable du tout / Not in favour at all	<b>23%</b>	29%	13%	26%	28%	22%	30%	25%	16%	18%	12%	34%	42%	35%	20%	13%	
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>2%</b>	3%	2%	1%	1%	4%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	6%	5%	2%	6%	1%	
<b>Favorable / In favour</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>69%</b>	
<b>Pas favorable / Not in favour</b>	<b>45%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>47%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>39%</b>	<b>29%</b>	

## US should pay for the rebuilding of Iraq

The majority of EU citizens want the US to pay for the rebuilding of Iraq (65%) compared to the UN (44%), the provisional government (29%) or the EU (24%). Germany is the country with the highest percentage (84%) of interviewees who want the US to take responsibility for financing the rebuilding.

*Question : And in your opinion, who should finance the rebuilding of Iraq ?*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Les .Etats-Unis/ The United States	<b>65%</b>	70%	60%	84%	61%	60%	60%	63%	50%	65%	54%	76%	61%	74%	73%	61%
L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres / The European Union and its Member States	<b>24%</b>	30%	26%	31%	19%	11%	17%	15%	20%	17%	18%	12%	19%	7%	15%	39%
Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	<b>44%</b>	44%	51%	55%	34%	31%	37%	35%	40%	33%	48%	28%	25%	25%	35%	58%
Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak / The provisional government in Iraq	<b>29%</b>	38%	29%	37%	13%	12%	25%	25%	23%	22%	22%	17%	16%	17%	26%	48%
[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	<b>1%</b>	2%	1%	1%	3%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>2%</b>	1%	2%	0%	1%	7%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	5%	5%	2%	3%	1%

## Europe prefers to offer humanitarian aid.

If humanitarian aid is needed, the people in Iraq can rely on the EU citizens, as 82 % approve a reinforcement of humanitarian aid while only 17% are against. Approval is led by the Greeks with 93% who wish to send humanitarian aid from their country to Iraq.

*Question : For each of the following propositions concerning the after war Iraq tell me if you are in favour or not. The reinforcement of humanitarian aid from [our country] towards Iraq*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Tout à fait favorable / Totally in favour	<b>32%</b>	24%	47%	13%	60%	29%	28%	44%	40%	42%	44%	26%	27%	22%	38%	47%
Plutôt favorable / Rather in favour	<b>50%</b>	51%	41%	60%	33%	48%	58%	47%	49%	50%	37%	53%	45%	45%	46%	40%
Plutôt pas favorable / Rather not in favour	<b>9%</b>	12%	5%	15%	3%	11%	5%	3%	4%	4%	13%	13%	10%	16%	6%	7%
Pas favorable du tout / Not in favour at all	<b>8%</b>	12%	5%	11%	4%	9%	8%	5%	7%	3%	6%	5%	15%	15%	7%	4%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>1%</b>	2%	2%	0%	0%	3%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	3%	4%	2%	4%	1%
<b>Favorable / In favour</b>	<b>82%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>93%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>91%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>87%</b>
<b>Pas favorable / Not in favour</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>24%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>12%</b>

## Split opinions on sending own troops on a peacekeeping mission to Iraq

54% of EU citizens are not in favour of sending their own troops compared with 44%, who are in favour. European countries have no common opinion on this topic. A strong difference of opinion is observed between Germany and Denmark, where 71% of Germans do not want their troops to go to Iraq, while 77% of Danes say they are in favour of sending national troops.

*Question : For each of the following propositions concerning the after war Iraq tell me if you are in favour or not. The sending of [nationality] troops in order to maintain peace in Iraq.*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Tout à fait favorable / Totally in favour	14%	10%	39%	6%	11%	13%	9%	19%	22%	13%	29%	5%	13%	18%	25%	20%
Plutôt favorable / Rather in favour	30%	32%	38%	22%	18%	28%	27%	43%	39%	27%	39%	22%	23%	28%	34%	37%
Plutôt pas favorable / Rather not in favour	24%	25%	6%	33%	16%	22%	24%	14%	20%	23%	17%	26%	21%	24%	14%	22%
Pas favorable du tout / Not in favour at all	30%	31%	15%	38%	53%	33%	39%	21%	19%	35%	14%	43%	38%	27%	22%	18%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	2%	3%	2%	1%	1%	4%	2%	2%	0%	2%	1%	4%	5%	2%	6%	3%
<b>Favorable / In favour</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>57%</b>
<b>Pas favorable / Not in favour</b>	<b>54%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>40%</b>

## EU citizens want the UN to guarantee security in Iraq

EU citizens would prefer that the UN peacekeeping forces (43%) or the UN in general (19%), guarantee Iraq's security. Only 11% are in favour of UN multinational forces - under US command. Even more interviewees would choose a provisional government (8%) guaranteeing security rather than the US alone (6%) or the US, together with their allies (5%). France shows the highest approval (54%) for UN peacekeeping forces and, together with the Netherlands, Finns (3%) show little support for the US's role in guaranteeing Iraq's security.

*Question : In your opinion, who should guarantee security in Iraq during the period of rebuilding the country?*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Les Etats-Unis / The United States	<b>6%</b>	12%	7%	6%	10%	7%	5%	7%	7%	5%	3%	7%	8%	3%	8%	5%
Les Etats-Unis et certains de leurs alliés / The United States and some of their allies	<b>5%</b>	4%	6%	7%	6%	4%	2%	7%	6%	4%	10%	3%	7%	5%	4%	6%
Une force multinationale agissant au nom de l'ONU sous le commandement des Etats-Unis / A multinational force acting on behalf of the United Nations under the command of the US	<b>11%</b>	9%	15%	13%	8%	7%	7%	12%	13%	15%	12%	10%	16%	8%	13%	15%
L'ONU et ses forces de maintien de la paix / The UN and their peace-keeping forces	<b>43%</b>	37%	37%	46%	39%	31%	54%	41%	45%	49%	41%	47%	35%	52%	42%	35%
L'Union européenne et ses Etats membres / The European Union and its Member States	<b>5%</b>	5%	3%	5%	8%	6%	5%	2%	6%	5%	4%	2%	6%	2%	2%	4%
Les Nations Unies / The United Nations	<b>19%</b>	20%	23%	16%	17%	28%	14%	23%	15%	12%	19%	17%	14%	21%	23%	25%
Le Gouvernement provisoire en Irak / The Iraqi provisional government	<b>8%</b>	10%	4%	7%	6%	8%	11%	6%	6%	8%	9%	8%	8%	6%	4%	8%
[Aucun de ceux-là] / [None of these]	<b>1%</b>	2%	1%	1%	4%	1%	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>2%</b>	3%	4%	1%	1%	8%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	6%	5%	3%	4%	2%

## II. The Middle East conflict and peace in the world

### Military intervention was not justified, say the majority of EU citizens

Two thirds of EU citizens think military intervention was not justified (68%), while only 29% think it was justified.

Only in Denmark did the majority think it was justified (57%). The highest percentage of EU citizens who think it was not justified can be found in Greece (96%). Even in Spain (79%) and the UK (51%) - allies of the US - the majority states that military intervention was not justified.

*Question : 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?*

	PAYS-COUNTRY																
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK	
Tout à fait justifiée / Absolutely justified	7%	4%	19%	4%	1%	3%	3%	8%	8%	6%	10%	2%	5%	6%	8%	15%	
Plutôt justifiée / Rather justifiee	22%	17%	38%	21%	3%	12%	15%	32%	29%	16%	39%	10%	22%	25%	29%	29%	
Plutôt pas justifiée / Rather not justified	27%	34%	22%	37%	13%	19%	26%	26%	26%	28%	26%	29%	25%	38%	31%	22%	
Pas justifiée du tout / Not justified at all	41%	42%	19%	35%	82%	61%	55%	33%	33%	47%	23%	57%	43%	27%	28%	29%	
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	4%	4%	3%	3%	0%	6%	1%	1%	4%	3%	2%	2%	5%	4%	5%	6%	
<b>Justifiée / Justified</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>4%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>28%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>44%</b>	
<b>Pas justifiée / Not justified</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>96%</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>75%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>51%</b>	

## EU citizens want more involvement in the Middle East peace process

Most of the EU citizens (81%) think that the EU should play an important role in resolving the Middle East conflict. Only 16% disagree. The highest support for the EU to play a leading role comes from Greece (90%) and Italy (89%).

*Question : Tell me if you totally agree, rather agree, rather disagree with each of the following propositions concerning the role of the European Union in the Middle East. The European Union should play an effective role in the resolving of the peace process in the Middle East.*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Tout à fait d'accord / Totally agree	<b>36%</b>	36%	40%	22%	56%	38%	39%	46%	47%	45%	37%	36%	44%	29%	36%	34%
Plutôt d'accord / Rather agree	<b>45%</b>	40%	38%	55%	34%	43%	45%	41%	42%	38%	43%	43%	43%	37%	32%	43%
Plutôt pas d'accord / Rather disagree	<b>11%</b>	14%	9%	15%	6%	7%	8%	7%	7%	12%	11%	12%	4%	19%	13%	13%
Pas d'accord du tout / Totally disagree	<b>6%</b>	8%	9%	7%	3%	4%	6%	4%	2%	5%	9%	5%	4%	10%	11%	8%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>3%</b>	3%	4%	1%	1%	8%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	5%	6%	5%	7%	2%
<b>D'accord / Agree</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>78%</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>87%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>68%</b>	<b>77%</b>
<b>Pas d'accord / Disagree</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>29%</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>21%</b>

## EU citizens still feel the threat of terrorism

The European majority still feels threatened by terrorism (55%) but there are significant national differences. People in Spain (76%) and UK (76%) are most frequently afraid. Among the Finns and the Austrians, on the other hand, only a few (6%, and 10%, respectively) seem concerned.

*Question : 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?*

	PAYS-COUNTRY															
	TOTAL	B	DK	D	EL	E	F	IRL	I	L	NL	A	P	FIN	S	UK
Très forte / Very strong	<b>14%</b>	6%	1%	15%	10%	22%	11%	5%	17%	3%	7%	2%	12%	0%	3%	19%
Assez forte / Quite strong	<b>40%</b>	28%	13%	37%	31%	54%	40%	25%	45%	15%	28%	8%	24%	6%	18%	57%
Assez faible / Quite weak	<b>34%</b>	49%	46%	41%	36%	17%	40%	46%	30%	49%	49%	52%	36%	52%	47%	16%
Très faible / Very weak	<b>9%</b>	14%	37%	5%	21%	3%	9%	23%	7%	30%	16%	36%	22%	41%	27%	4%
[NSP&SR] / [DK&NA]	<b>2%</b>	4%	2%	2%	2%	4%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	6%	1%	5%	4%
<b>Forte / Strong</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>34%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>18%</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>6%</b>	<b>21%</b>	<b>76%</b>
<b>Faible / Weak</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>49%</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>88%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>94%</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>20%</b>

## Conduction of this survey

This telephone survey FLASH EUROBAROMETER 151 on Globalisation and Iraq 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

## Representativity 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 has been 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.

In the following page we have presented, side by side, the number of interviews:

- (1) actually conducted in each country
- (2) derived from the weighting in proportion of the population of each country participating in the construction of the current European Union (15 countries).

	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%