

**EUROPE 2000**

SPECIAL 30th ANNIVERSARY EDITION  
MARCH 1987



COMMISSION  
OF THE EUROPEAN  
COMMUNITIES

# EUROBAROMETER

**PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY**



1957 - 1987



"EUROPE 2000"

SPECIAL 30TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION OF THE EUROBAROMETER

- >>>> FIGHT TERRORISM IN COMMON: THE BRITISH EXPECT MOST !
- >>>> COMMON EUROPEAN DEFENSE: THE BRITISH EXPECT MOST !
- >>>> VOTING FOR THE HEAD OF A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT OTHER THAN OF THEIR OWN NATIONALITY: "POSSIBLE" FOR 70 % OF THE FRENCH !
- >>>> "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE" AN OLDFASHIONED SLOGAN ? FOUR IN FIVE EUROPEANS WANT IT !!!
- >>>> MORE SCEPTICAL ABOUT EUROPE: THE YOUNG
- >>>> "BECOMING MORE EUROPEAN": THE BRITISH AND THE ITALIANS SHARE GOLD MEDAL.
- >>>> NEW "PROBLEM COUNTRIES": GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS.

## NOTICE

EUROBAROMETER public opinion surveys have been conducted on behalf of the Directorate General Information, Communication, Culture of the Commission of the European Communities each spring and autumn since fall of 1973. They have included Greece since autumn 1980, Portugal and Spain since autumn 1985.

The present document reports on a SPECIAL EUROBAROMETER carried out at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. As usual, an identical set of questions was put to representative samples of the population aged fifteen and over in each country. For this survey 11.909 respondents were interviewed in their homes by professional interviewers, between December 3, 1986 and January 31, 1987.

Special national institutes, all members of the "European Omnibus Survey", were responsible for conducting the survey which was part of one of their regular national barometers. For this reason, and different from the usual EUROBAROMETERS, no interviews were conducted in Northern Ireland and, in Greece, the survey was confined to the Greater Athens area. All the institutes, which were selected by tender, belong to the "European Society for Opinion and Marketing Research" and comply with its standards.

The names of the institutes involved in the study, further technical information, and the English and French versions of the questionnaire are listed in the appendix to this document. The general coordination of the survey and the initial statistical analyses of the data collected was assured by Faits & Opinions, Paris.

The figures presented in this document for the entire Community or for the original six countries who signed the Treaties of Rome in 1957 are means weighted according to the respective adult population. "Don't know" and "no answer" are abbreviated D.K. and N.A..

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In accordance with normal practice for this type of survey the Commission disclaims all responsibility for questions, results and commentaries. The present report by the service "Surveys, Research, Analyses" to the Director General for Information, Communication and Culture is an internal working document for the Commission of the European Communities.

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## 1. OF BIRTHDAYS AND ANNIVERSARIES

At least during a period corresponding to the normal life span of a man or woman, there are analogies between a person's birthdays and a political institution's anniversaries. When a person celebrates her or his 75th birthday, one mainly looks back, remembers, strikes balances, sums up. When a person celebrates a thirtieth birthday this is different. Surely, one also does look back, briefly. After all, not every dream one had had at the age of 13 or of 18 has come true : one has become mature and adult. But, at thirty, one looks ahead, before all. One is full of energies, full of ideas, full of projects and plans. And one knows : those projects which will not have become true by the time one is 50 or 60, never will.

In our special EUROBAROMETER survey carried out at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, we have adopted the same approach : we do look back, briefly, in order to sum up and strike a balance. But we look ahead, before all! We seize the occasion of asking the citizens of Europe about their expectations and their projects, about their plans and their desires, about their dreams.

## 2. STRIKING A BALANCE OF THIRTY YEARS

A large majority of the citizens of the European Community consider their country's membership in this community to be "a good thing" : 62 % (67 % of those who indicate an opinion, 72 % in the original six member states. Cf. EUROBAROMETER 26).

The Europeans have greatly assessed their country's membership in the European Community as important or even very important. 74 % say so (80 % of those who reply) and even 80 % (86 % of those who reply) in the six founding member countries.

Striking the balance ends up with a definitely positive result, at the European level (53 % say that their country has benefited; two in three of those who reply). Among the citizens of the original six member states, i.e. those who have actually gone through 30 years of experience, this score is even higher : 65 % (three in four of those who answer the question, cf. Graph 1). Ever since this question has been put in the EUROBAROMETER surveys, the tendency of positive answers has been rising, people in the new member states being slightly more reluctant.



### 3. TEN SCENARIOS FOR JANUARY 2000

After this short but encouraging glance over their shoulders, we invited the respondents to look ahead. We presented them ten scenarios about how we or our children, might live in January of the year 2000 and invited them to tell whether they believe that these scenarios "will have actually come about by then or not" :

In very concrete terms, the subject matters evoked dealt with every day life (money, television, languages spoken, the freedom of movement across European Community internal borders), with common European action to increase security (fighting ecological catastrophes, fighting terrorism, common defense against possible external threats), the rank and status of Europe in intercontinental relations (e.g. vis-à-vis the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R.); and, finally, the possibility of voting in a referendum on a European constitution or in an election for the head of the government of Europe. (For the precise wording of those scenarios, see table 2.)

It should be underlined, first of all, that the number of those who think that none of the scenarios offered would have come true by the beginning of the next century is tiny (one in twenty interviewed) and that almost all scenarios are considered as probably realised, thirteen years from now, by at least one European in two.

Nine out of ten British expect the fight against terrorism in January 2000 to be fought at the European level of Government. And, as we shall see below, they are in favour of a full grown European government, endowed with the necessary powers, in a United States of Europe. More than three in four Danes think alike as to fighting terrorism but are afraid of a loss of national identity with respect to Political Union.

The French National Assembly broke the dynamism of European political unification of the early 1950s, in August 1954, by rejecting the idea of a European Defence Community (among the six members of the European Community for Coal and Steel) and a corresponding European Political Community.

In January 1987, 51 % of the French (59 % of those who reply) expect a European Defence Community to have come about by January 2000.

But more numerous yet are the British on that scenario : 58 % of them think that, by the beginning of the next century, 13 years from now, "our soldiers within the European Community have the same type of arms and equipment and assure together the security of the European Community against threats from outside". This figure of 58 % of those interviewed corresponds to 66 % of those who answered the respective question (only 13 % of those interviewed did not reply, here).



Many very interesting details of the results on our scenario can not be reported here, due to lack of space. Many also deserve additional, more sophisticated analyses, about which we shall report later. One way of summing up the global result of this series of scenarios is to compare the number of affirmative answers to the 10 scenarios presented, by member country.

1) France	6.47
2) Luxembourg	6.44
3) Italia	6.23
4) United Kingdom	6.15
5) Belgique	6.08
6) Ellas	5.89
7) Deutschland	5.85
8) Espana	5.79
9) Nederland	5.42
10) Ireland	5.42
11) Danmark	4.89
12) Portugal	4.23

Among the bigger member countries, it is France, Italy and the United Kingdom who expect Europe to be truly united, by 2000. Of all twelve, France takes the lead.

#### 4. THE CITIZENS OF EUROPE WANT POLITICAL UNION

Asking about the importance of EC-membership and about the benefit of it for their country, we invited our respondents to give us an assessment of what they perceive to be present and past reality. Asking them whether they think that the various scenarios we had drawn up would have come about by January 2000, we invited them to tell us their expectations. In addition, we asked them about their own preferences with respect to the future of European unification. For instance, we asked them about the idea of a "United States of Europe".

In recent years, few were the occasions where one could hear somebody speak or read somebody having written about the "United States of Europe". Those who were interested in furthering European integration took particular care to avoid this formula. It was considered to be unfashionable, archaic, representing a way of looking at things that was anything but up-to-date. At the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, we nevertheless thought it interesting to test these assumptions by presenting this "formula" to the European public of 1986/1987. The result was rather surprising.

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"Are you personally for or against the European Community developing towards becoming a "United States of Europe ?"

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Two in three Europeans are personally "for" or "rather for" the United States of Europe (three in four of those who reply, cf. graph 4). Among the publics of the original six Community member countries, the respective figures are even higher : 70 % are in favour of USE (83 % of those who reply)

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"After what time would you entrust the government of Europe with the responsibility for the economy, foreign affairs and defense :  
immediately, in the next ten years, over 10 up to 20 years, over 20 up to 30 years, after several generations or a longer period, never ?"

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47 % of the citizens of the Europeans Community "would entrust the government of Europe" with the responsibility in these important policy areas (65 % of those who reply) within the next 20 years. 58 % (78 % of those who answer the question) would do so within 30 years, i.e. before the sixtieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. 16 % are against it, at least for the time of their own life span. 26 % chose not to reply.

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"In the case of an election for the head of government of Europe, is it possible that you would vote for a candidate who was not (of your nationality) or would you rule this out ?"

---

66 % of the French say they could vote for a non French candidate, that is 70 % of those who give an answer to this question. An impressive figure in view of this country's position in former years. (Cf. table 4 and graph 6.)

## 5. EUROPE AND THE YOUNG : WHICH FUTURE ?

If we break the answers to our questions down by age group, a somewhat alarming evidence comes to the fore. For the young, "Europe" - though seen as more important and more beneficial for their respective country - is less inspiring and appears to offer a lower potential for protection than for the older age groups. (The oldest group is slightly more reluctant, too.)

Those who were up to 24 years of age in 1957, when the Treaty was signed, are clearly more "European" than the young ! This is all the more disquieting as today's young receive more formal education than their parents did. And as it is a well established finding that the more educated are more "European", we must take even more seriously what the data collected in this survey reveal. (Cf. Table Nr 5.)

**REPORT**

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(Stapled) Press Conference Version , 1st edition, 18 March 1987  
(Stapled) Press Conference Version, 2nd edition (revised), 23 March 1987  
(Paperback) Enlarged final version available by April 1987.



## 1. OF BIRTHDAYS AND ANNIVERSARIES

There is, of course, a big difference between a human person celebrating, say, his or her 75th birthday and a political institution doing the same. Most humans die before the age of 100 years. Political institutions need not but may very well live longer, sometimes much longer. It is the very definition of an institution that it is capable of outliving those who founded it and who, at its beginning, ran it. The European Community has.

But, at least during a period corresponding to the normal life span of a man or woman, there are also similarities and analogies between a person's birthdays and a political institution's anniversaries. When a person celebrates her or his 75th birthday, one mainly looks back, remembers, strikes balances, sums up. When a person celebrates a thirtieth birthday this is different. Sure, one also does look back, briefly. After all, not every dream one had had at the age of 13 or of 18 has come true: One has become mature, adult. But at thirty one looks ahead, before all. One is full of energies, full of ideas, full of projects and plans. And one knows: those projects which will not have become true by when one will be 50 or 60, never will.

In our special EUROBAROMETER survey carried out at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, we have adopted the same approach: we do look back, briefly, in order to sum up and strike a balance. But we look ahead, before all! We seize the occasion of asking the citizens of Europe about their expectations and their projects, about their plans and their desires, about their dreams.

But we also ask them about their resolution to make, themselves, the efforts necessary to transform their collective dreams into a common reality. We ask them about whether they are conscious of the energy needed and the sacrifices that will have to be made.

We ask them about the Europe they imagine to be real in the year 2000 and 30 years ahead from now. But we do not spare them the question of whether they are really willing to pay the price. On the following pages, we report on their replies.

The answers, our interviewers were given, may be summed up in one paragraph: To the Europeans, "Europe" is not a nightmare, but an optimistic dream. They know, they won't get it for nothing. They know the price. And they are willing to pay it. For an overwhelming majority of them, EUROPE IS WORTHWILE!

## 2. STRIKING A BALANCE OF THIRTY YEARS

By a large majority the citizens of the European Community consider their country's membership in this community to be "a good thing". Only 9 % think it to be "a bad thing", and just 5 % in the original six member states evaluate it negatively. Cf. EUROBAROMETER 26).

### 2.1 EC-membership is important

In this SPECIAL EUROBAROMETER "EUROPE 2000", we put a question that explicitly referred to the anniversary and asked for the "importance" of membership:

"Thirty years ago, in 1957, what we call the Common Market was formed, and (our country) has been a member of this "European Community" since (...). Whether you are for or against it, do you think the fact that (our country) is a member of the European Community is something very important, important, of little importance or of no importance?"

The Europeans have clearly assessed that their country's membership in the EC is important or even very important. 74 % say so (80 % of those who reply, cf. table A1, in the appendix) and even 80 % (86 % of those who reply) in the six founding member countries.

### 2.2 EC-Membership is beneficial

But they also attest that their country's membership was beneficial, "taking everything into consideration":

"Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (our country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community (Common Market)?"

Striking the balance ends up with a definitely positive result, at the European level. 53 % say that their country has benefited; two in three of those who reply). Among the citizens of the original six member states, i.e. those who have actually gone through 30 years of experience, this score is even higher (cf. graph 1): 65 % (three in four of those who answer the question). Ever since this question has been put in the EUROBAROMETER surveys, the tendency of positive answers has been rising, people in the new member states being slightly more reluctant (cf. graph 2).

TABLE No.1

**THE MEMBERSHIP OF ONE'S COUNTRY IN THE COMMUNITY:  
IMPORTANCE AND BENEFIT**

	membership benefiting %	membership not benefiting %
membership important	95	55
membership not important	05	45
Total	100	100

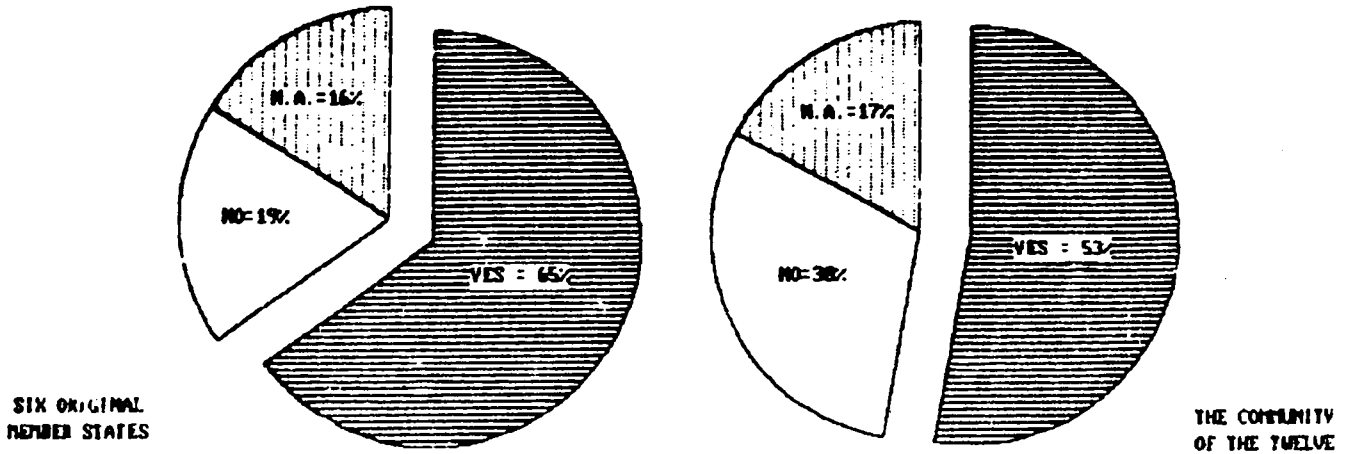
WN/KA 2.252 of 11.920 interviewed = 18.9%

If we want to know whether people who think their country's membership is beneficial think, at the same time, that this membership is something important, we have to compare the answers to these questions (table 1). In the end, it is not very astonishing that 95 % of those who think their country's membership is beneficial, consider this membership as important (or very important). But the majority of those who think that their country's membership is not beneficial, have the sentiment that this membership is nevertheless something of importance. Contrary to what one may often read in some newspaper leader, the citizens of the EC feel that the Community is of first relevance.



GRAPH No.1

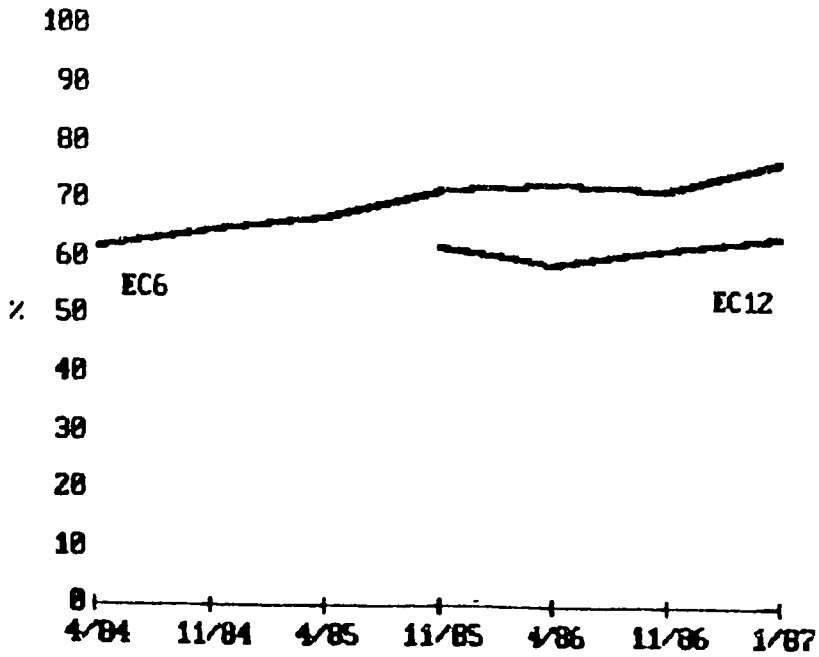
**BENEFIT FROM EC MEMBERSHIP**



GRAPH No.2

**BENEFIT FROM EC MEMBERSHIP**

(1984-1987, percent of those who replied)



### 3. TEN SCENARIOS FOR JANUARY 2000

After this short but encouraging glance over their shoulders, we invited the respondents to look ahead. We presented them ten scenarios about how we or our children might live in January of the year 2000 we and invited them to tell whether they believe that these scenarios "will have actually come about by then or not":

"Now let us try to imagine Europe in the next, 21st, century. For example let us try to pretend that it is now January in the year 2000. Could you tell me if you think the following things will have actually come about by then or not?"

In very concrete terms, the subject matters evoked deal with every day life (money, television, languages spoken, the freedom of movement across EC internal borders), with common European action to increase security (fighting ecological catastrophes, fighting terrorism, common defense against possible external threats), with the rank and status of Europe in intercontinental relations (e.g. vis-à-vis the USA or the USSR) and, finally, we the possibility of voting in a referendum on a European constitution or in an election for the head of the government of Europe. (For the precise wording of those scenarios, see table 2).

It should be underlined, first of all, that the number of those who think that none of the scenarios offered would have come true by the beginning of the next century is tiny (one in twenty interviewed) and that almost all scenarios are considered as probably realised, thirteen years from now, by at least one European in two.

For a general picture of the results it seems useful to count the Europeans who give positive replies to the various scenarios. We thus receive the following classification, (Those who reply only):

- 1. European television ..... 92 %
- 2. Fight ecological catastrophes in common ..... 83
- 3. Fight terrorism in common ..... 83
- 4. Freedom of travel, residence, study, work .... 72
- 5. More languages spoken then today ..... 71
- 6. Referendum on constitution ..... 68
- 7. Election of head of government of Europe ..... 63
- 8. Common European defense ..... 62
- 9. European currency ..... 60
- 10. Europe on equal terms with USA, USSR ..... 56

This classification reveals the well known pattern in mass public surveys: people take a stand more easily on subject matters that they see concerning them directly and personally in their everyday life. Political matters proper are less prominent even though many "every day life" matters depend on political preconditions, like a common European currency (ECU notes, checks) or the freedom of study in any university in the Community (ERASMUS).

TABLE No.2

SCENARIOS "EUROPE 2000"

	YES	NO	DK
You, your children, can watch, as well as all the TV you are getting now in 1987, one or more channels of European television (TELEVISION)	86	7	7
In the face of catastrophes which can always happen, such as major oil slicks, forest fires, major industrial explosions etc., we fight in common at the European Level (CATASTROPHE)	71	15	14
We fight in common against terrorism and for example, it is possible to arrest and bring to trial anybody accused of a serious crime no matter which country of the European Community he or she has fled to (TERRORISM)	71	15	14
You, your children, are using bank notes and cheques in the European currency (CURRENCY)	50	33	17
You, your children are able to travel, study, work, and live in any country of the European Community just as you can now, in 1987, in any part of your country (FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT)	62	24	14
You, your children are able to speak one more language than you do in 1987 (LANGUAGE)	62	26	12
You, your children are called upon to vote on a European constitution proposed by the European Parliament (CONSTITUTION)	53	25	22
You, your children are called upon to vote in an election to choose the head of government of Europe (ELECTIONS)	50	30	20
Our soldiers within the European Community have the same type of arms and equipment and assure together the security of the European Community against threats from outside (DEFENSE)	49	30	21
The head of government, or Prime Minister, of Europe is speaking on equal terms with the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, and others (EGAL USA)	44	35	21

#### 4. THE CITIZENS OF EUROPE WANT POLITICAL UNION

Asking about the importance of EC-membership and about the benefit of it for their country, we invited our respondents to give us an assessment of what they perceive to be present and past reality. Asking them whether they think that the various scenarios would have come about by January 2000, we invited them to tell us their expectations. In addition, we asked them about their own preferences with respect to the future of European unification. For instance, we asked them about the idea of a "United States of Europe". And, in addition, we asked them about their basic attitudes towards "a truly united Europe" (cf. infra, chapter 6).

##### 4.1 United States of Europe

In recent years, few were the occasions where one could hear or read about the "United States of Europe". Those who were interested in furthering European integration took particular care to avoid this formula. It was considered to be unfashionable, archaic, representing a way of looking at things that was anything but up-to-date. At the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, we nevertheless thought it interesting to test these assumptions by presenting this "formula" to the European public of today. The result was rather surprising.

"Are you personally for or against the European Community developing towards becoming a "United States of Europe"?"

Two in three Europeans are personally "for" or "rather for" the United States of Europe (three in four of those who reply, cf. graph 4). Among the publics of the original six Community member countries, the respective figures are even higher: 70 % are in favour of USE (82 % of those who reply).

	EC6		EC12	
	-----	-----	-----	-----
For - very much	26	31	23	28
For - rather	44	52	40	48
Against - rather	10	12	13	16
Against - very much	4	5	7	8
Don't know	15	-	17	-
Total	99	100	100	100

In view of these figures, there is every reason to supplement the slogan the Commission has chosen for the 30th anniversary of the Rome Treaty ("Europe, our future") by "The United States of ".

#### 4.2 For better or for ... butter?

The "United States of Europe" is a formula, a slogan that reminds of another political entity comprising the larger part of an entire continent: the United States of (North) America. It has a number of connotations but it is anything but precise. In order to be sure that we know more of the connotations and implications Europeans attach to this formula, we asked them another question:

"After what time would you entrust the government of Europe with the responsibility for the economy, foreign affairs and defence: immediately, in the next ten years, over 10 up to 20 years, over 20 up to 30 years, after several generations or a longer period, never?"

In this question, our respondents are given the opportunity to say whether and when they want to see the European Community "developing towards becoming a 'United States of Europe'", i.e. a political union which has, at the European government level, some important responsibilities, while many other important competencies remain with the member countries' governments.

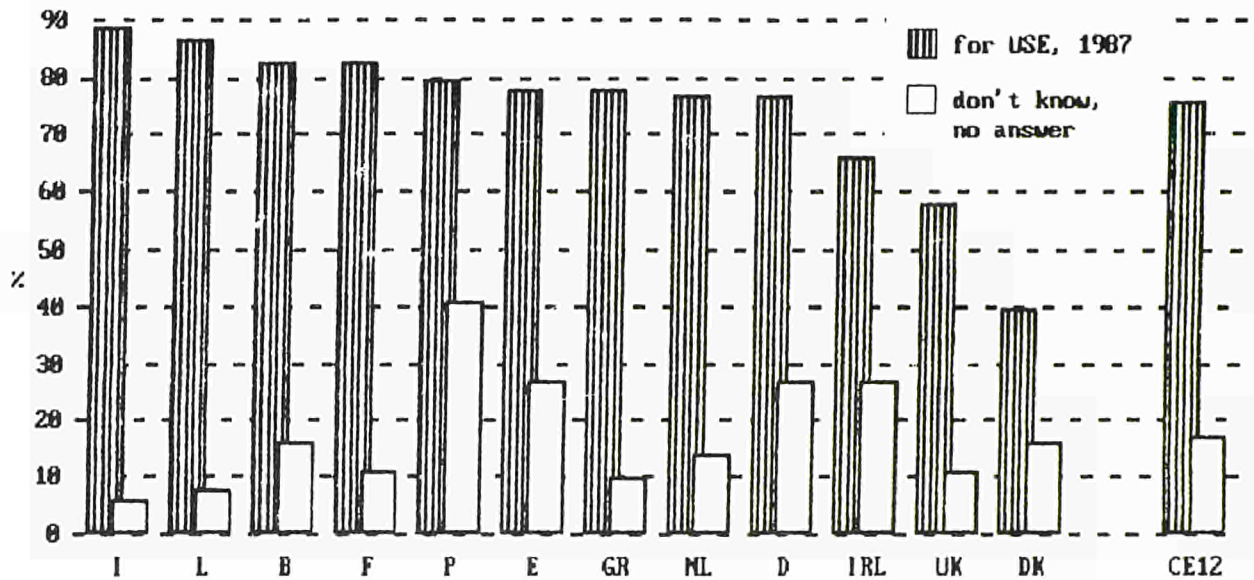
65 % of the citizens of the European Community who reply "would entrust the government of Europe" with the responsibility in these important policy areas (47 % of all interviewed) within the next 20 years. 78 % of those who reply would do so within 30 years, i.e. before the sixtieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. 16 % of all interviewed are against it, at least for the time of their own life span, 26 % chose not to reply. 66 % of those British who replied are in favour of such a European government before 30 years from now.

Two thirds of the Europeans are in favour of the European Community doing more than manage butter mountains or wine lakes: they want it to be responsible for defense, foreign affairs, and the economy in general.

GRAPH No.4

The EC developing towards a  
UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

("for": percent of those who replied; DK/NA: percent of interviewed).

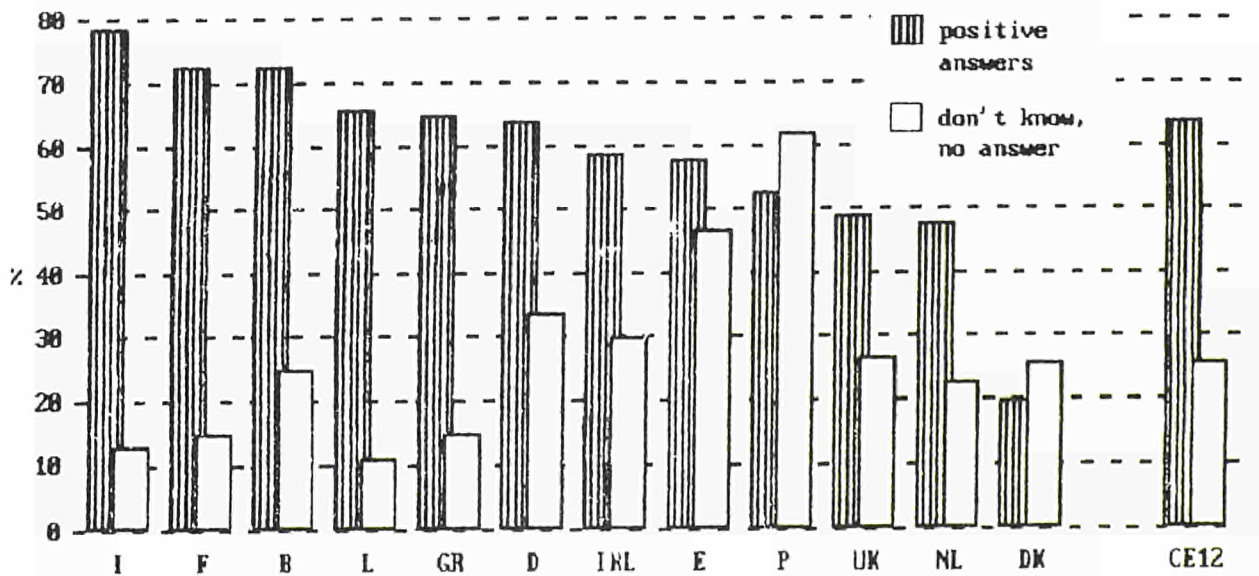


GRAPH.No.5

GOVERNMENT OF EUROPE

Responsible for economy, foreign affairs, defense "in the next 20 years"

(percent of those who replied)



#### 4.3 Voting for a "foreigner"?

One in two Europeans expects, by January of the year 2000, that elections are held to designate the head of government of Europe. If we assume, for the moment, that no other country will join the Twelve of today's Community, before the year 2000, a head of the government of Europe would be of another than their own nationality for the citizens of eleven member states. Would they accept this? Can they imagine voting for somebody from another member country as head of the European government? This seems to be a rather crucial test of the "Europe mindedness" of our respondents:

"In the case of an election for the head of government of Europe, is it possible that you would vote for a candidate who was not (of your nationality) or would you rule this out?"

65 % of the French say they could vote for a non French candidate, that is 70 % of those who give an answer to this question. An impressive figure in view of this country's position in former years.

Looking more closely at table 4 and the corresponding graph 6, we discover an additional number of interesting details. In the light of past EUROBAROMETER evidence, is not surprising that the Luxembourggeois are prepared to vote for a head of the European government coming from an other member country. They believe in European unity and they know they represent only 0.3 percent of the EC population.

Fortunately enough, we dispose of survey data from 1970 when the same question was asked in the 6 EC countries of that time, and in the United Kingdom (see: Les Européens: "oui" à l'Europe. Résultats commentés d'un sondage d'opinion réalisé en janvier-février 1970 dans les six pays de la Communauté européenne et en Grande-Bretagne. Bruxelles: Direction Générale de la Presse et de l'Information de la Commission des Communautés Européennes, Mai 1970).

Statistically not significant is the tiny recess of Luxembourg and Belgium. The already mentioned result for France may very well be due the fact that direct elections of a European head of government has recently made headlines in the French mass media. The advancement of the British is less impressive, here, as compared to the "United States of Europe" question but consistent with the evidence of a gradual but very steady evolution towards more Europe-mindedness among the public of the United Kingdom (cf. also EUROBAROMETER 26 of December 1986).

Quite impressive is the leap forward the Italians made as to possibly voting for a non Italian Prime Minister of the European Community. The most likely explanation for that is the positive attitude towards European integration adopted by the second biggest political party of this country, the PCI.



TABLE No.4

THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT OF EUROPE:  
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Would people vote for a candidate from another member country?

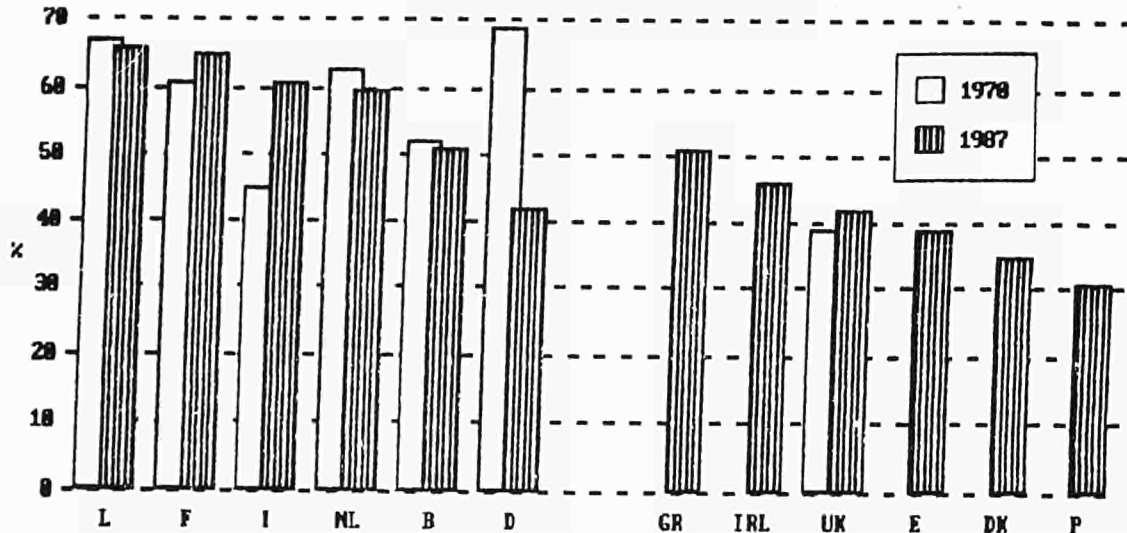
(percent of those who replied; percent of no response)

	it is possible	would rule it out	it depends (spont.)	no answer
Luxembourg	73	14	14	09
France	70	24	6	07
Nederland	68	18	14	12
Italia	64	24	12	05
Belgique	60	19	19	15
Ireland	58	28	15	19
Ellas	54	26	20	05
Portugal	54	33	12	43
Danmark	52	48	0	33
Deutschland	51	13	35	18
Espana	51	36	13	24
United Kingdom	47	40	13	10
-----				
CE12	57	26	16	13

GRAPH No.6

**HEAD OF EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT**  
Vote for a candidate of other country: "possible"

(percent of those who replied, 1978-1987)



Definitely a sensational result is the brutal drop of West Germany's acceptance of a non German head of government for Europe. It is true, the German's - much in favour of European unification ever since the war - reveal deception about the low pace of progress of the integration process (cf. EUROBAROMETER 26 and the results of that survey included as table A1 in the present document). But the Germans show also an increasing dissatisfaction with what they consider an unacceptable Common Agricultural Policy. 92 % of them relate "European Community" to "butter mountain" (Cf. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann und Gerhard Herdegen, "Die öffentliche Meinung", pp. 299-320 in: Werner Weidenfeld und Wolfgang Wessels, eds., Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 1984, Bonn: Europa-Union Verlag, 1985). And 20 percent of them think of agricultural surplus first when they hear "European Community" (result of EUROBAROMETER 26, not yet published). A larger study on "The Europeans and their agriculture" within the framework of the spring 1987 EUROBAROMETER 27 survey will shed more light on this aspect of Germany's "new scepticism" vis-à-vis the European Community.

And yet, even more fascinating is the innocently looking result of Graph 6 for the Netherlands! We detect a slight reduction of the number of Dutch who can imagine to vote for a non-Dutch European head of government, statistically barely significant. But this, precisely, is the surprise here.

Various indicators reveal a remarkable degree of "new scepticism" vis-à-vis the Community in the Netherlands (cf. the various chapters of the present report). It is true, the Dutch know they benefit from their country's membership in the EC. It is true they are deceived about the low speed of European unification. It is true they seem to have lost the respective optimism about a European constitution or about more significant, i.e. government creating, European elections. But they would like them very much! If the political reality of present day's European Community were more democratic, the Dutch would probably regain their old integrationist vigour.

This is only a hypothesis. But the public opinion of the two "new scepticist member countries"m Germany and The Netherlands definitely deserve more detailed study and analysis.

## 5. EUROPE AND THE YOUNG: WHICH FUTURE?

If we break the answers to our questions down by age group, a somewhat alarming evidence comes to the fore. For the young, "Europe" - though seen as more important and more beneficial for their respective country - is less inspiring and appears to offer a lower potential for protection than it is for the older age groups. (The oldest group is slightly more reluctant, too).

Those who were up to 24 years of age in 1957, when the Treaty was signed, are clearly more "European" than the young! This is all the more disquieting as today's young receive more formal education than their parents did. And as it is a well established finding that the more educated are more "European", we must take even more seriously what the data collected in this survey reveal. (Table 5).

The respondents of 15 up to 24 years of age, though by an absolute majority in favour of a European government "before 30 years" from now and for a "United States of Europe", reveal more modest percentages than their elders, in these matters. They are more often undecided about European unity being contradictory or complimentary to national identity. Fewer of them see it as complimentary although the percentage of the young who definitely see European unity as a threat to national identity corresponds to the (low) average of the other age groups (Table 5).

Fewer of the young give affirmative answers to our scenario questions (table 5, bottom line) and, as table 6 shows, do they more often reply "don't know". There negative answers are consistently more numerous than those of older respondents. Is this a life cycle effect, i.e. that they will change when arriving at the "adult" phase of their lives, or a phenomenon among the youth of our days which they will carry on through their lives? This can not be found out by a single survey. More detailed studies appear to be needed, in this area, even though a clear majority of the young is favourable to Europe.

In any case, the young of the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the Rome Treaty are less European than the young of 1970 (cf. Ronald Inglehart, "The Silent Revolution in Europe: Intergenerational change in post-industrial societies", American Political Science Review, vol 65, 1971, pp. 991-1017). The young of today appear to take for granted what their parents established with considerable difficulties after decades of strife among the countries that today celebrate the anniversary of the foundation of a Community within which war among member states has become unthinkable.

TABLE No.5

EUROPE FOR THE YOUNG:  
MORE IMPORTANT, MORE BENEFICIAL, BUT LESS INSPIRING, LESS PROTECTING

	15-24	25-39	40-54	55 +	STILL AT SCHOOL
EC-Membership					
important	79	78	75	66	85
not important	14	17	18	21	10
don't know	7	6	7	13	5
EC-Membership					
beneficial	59	56	54	46	62
not beneficial	23	31	32	34	22
don't know	18	14	14	20	16
European Government					
before 30 years	56	59	61	54	62
later, never	18	18	16	13	15
no answer	26	23	23	33	23
United States of Europe					
for	62	65	68	60	62
against	23	20	18	18	20
don't know	15	14	14	21	13
European unity and national identity					
contradictory	12	12	13	16	13
undecided	43	41	35	32	40
complementary	38	41	44	39	42
don't know	7	6	8	13	5
"Europe 2000" all 10 scenarios					
average "yes"	57	61	62	59	58

**"EUROPE 2000"**

**EURO-BAROMETER : SPECIAL EDITION**

**EURO-BAROMETRE : EDITION SPECIALE**

**APPENDIX**

**ANNEXE**



INSTITUTS CHARGES DU SONDAGE ET SPECIALISTES RESPONSABLES  
INSTITUTES WHICH CARRIED OUT THE SURVEY AND EXPERTS IN CHARGE

BELGIQUE/BELGIE	DINARSO N.V. 78 Boulevard Lambertlaan B-1030 - BRUXELLES	Patrick JANSSENS	Tél. 02/215.19.30.
DANMARK	GALLUP MARKEDSANALYSE A.S. Gammel Vartovvej 6, DK-2900 HELLERUP, COPENHAGEN	Asger SCHULTZ Rolf RANDRUP	Tél. 01/29.88.00
DEUTSCHLAND	EMNID-INSTITUT GmbH Bodelschwinghstrasse 23-25a D-4800 BIELEFELD 1	Walter TACKE Klaus-Peter SCHOEPPNER	Tél. 0521/260.010
ELLAS	ICAP HELLAS S.A. 64 Queen Sophia Avenue GR-115 2E ATHENS	Anthony LYKIARDOPOULOS Tilemachos DIB	Tél. 01/7225.651
ESPAÑA	INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACION GALLUP Calle Ayala, 6, 6º DCHA E-28001 MADRID	Jorge J. MIQUEL CALATAYUD Jaime MIQUEL ADRADA Luis PANBLANCO	Tél. 1/-10.43.45
FRANCE	INSTITUT DE SONDAGES LAVIALLE 6-8 Rue du 4 Septembre F-92130 ISSY-LES-MOULINEAUX	Albert LAVIALLE Florence FABRE	Tél. 1/45.54.97.11
IRELAND	IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS Ltd 19-20 Upper Pembroke Street IRL-DUBLIN 2	Charles COYLE	Tél. 1/76.11.95
ITALIA	ISTITUTO PER LE RICERCHE STATISTICHE E L'ANALISI DELL'OPINIONE PUBBLICA (DOXA) Galleria San Carlo, 6 (Conso Europa) I-20122 MILANO	Ennio SALAMON Alfonso del RE	Tél. 02/796.871
LUXEMBOURG	INSTITUT LUXEMBOURGEOIS DE RECHERCHES SOCIALES (ILRES) 6, rue du Marché-aux-Herbes GD- 172E LUXEMBOURG	Louis NEVIS Edmée NEVIS	Tél. 0352/47.50.21.
NEDERLAND	NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR DE PUBLIEKE OPINIE (MIPD) B.V. Westerdokhuis, Barentzplein 7 NL-1013 AMSTERDAM	Arnold WEIJTLANDT Martin JONKER	Tél. 020/24.86.44
PORTUGAL	NORMA - Sociedade de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento de Empresas, S.A.R.L. Rua Marquês de Fronteira, 76 P-1000 LISBOA	J.A. VIDAL de OLIVEIRA	Tél. 65.81.81
UNITED KINGDOM	SOCIAL SURVEYS (GALLUP POLL) 202 Finchley Road, UK - LONDON NW3 6BL	Norman WEBB Robert WYBROM	Tél. 01/794.04.51

Coordination internationale / International co-ordination:  
Hélène RIFFAULT  
"Faits et Opinions"  
25, rue Cambon F-75001 Paris  
Tél.: 1/4296.41.65



**POPULATION, NOMBRE D'INTERVIEWS ET DATES DES INTERVIEW**

**POPULATION, SIZE OF SAMPLES AND DATES OF FIELDWORK**

	Population 15 and over		Nombre d'interviews Number of interviews Echantillons/ Samples		Dates EUROPE 2000
	Milliers/ Thousands	% CE/EC 12	EUROPE 2000		
B	7.924	3.12	1.002		08/01-23/01/87
DK	4.133	1.62	1.003		24/01-01/02/87
D	51.466	20.26	1.057		29/01-09/02/87
GR	7.715	3.04	605		16/01-27/01/87
F	42.851	16.87	1.000		14/01-26/01/87
IRL	2.455	.97	1.399		15/01-25/01/87
I	44.438	17.49	1.030		09/12-08/01/87
L	300	.12	743		20/12-05/02/87
NL	11.400	4.49	1.044		19/01-20/01/87
UK	45.207	17.79	1.046		09/01-13/01/87
E	28.854	11.36	1.014		19/01-31/01/87
P	314	1.88	980		03/12-20/12/86
CE/EC 12	25.057	100.00	11.920		

Dans le rapport, tous les résultats concernant la Communauté européenne dans son ensemble résultent d'une pondération, chaque pays étant affecté d'un poids correspondant au pourcentage que sa population représente dans l'ensemble Communauté.

In the report, all results concerning the European Community as a whole are based upon a weighting procedure, each individual country being given a weight corresponding to the percentage of its population in the total population of the Community.

Toutes les données relatives aux Euro-Baromètres sont déposées aux "Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences", (1 Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). Elles sont tenues à la disposition des organismes membres du European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), du Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) et des chercheurs justifiant d'un intérêt de recherche.

All Euro-Barometre data are stored at the Belgian Archives for the Social Sciences (1, Place Montesquieu, B-1348 Louvain-la-Neuve). They are at the disposal of all institutes members of the European Consortium for Political Research (Essex), of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and all those interested in social science research.

Pour tous renseignements sur les études d'opinion publique faites à l'initiative de la Commission des Communautés européennes, écrire à Karlheinz REIF, "Sondages, recherches, analyses", 200, rue de la Loi, B-1049 Bruxelles.

For all information regarding opinion surveys carried out for the Commission of the European Communities, please write to Karlheinz REIF, "Surveys, Research, Analyses", 200 rue de la Loi, B-1049 Brussels.

"L'EURO-DYNAMOMETRE"

	B	DK	D	F	IRL	I	L	NL	UK	GR	E	P	CE 12
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>A quelle vitesse progresse actuellement l'Europe?</u>													
Lentement (codes 1 à 3)	48	49	60	45	38	45	68	59	49	32	36	34	48
Moyennement (code 4)	23	20	19	27	23	26	18	23	27	20	21	23	24
Rapidement (codes 5 à 7)	17	10	12	20	18	22	9	13	15	27	16	21	16
Sans réponse	12	21	9	8	21	7	5	5	9	21	27	22	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Score moyen (1)	3.40	3.09	3.01	3.48	3.59	3.52	3.01	3.23	3.34	3.85	3.56	3.70	3.37
<u>A quelle vitesse l'Europe devrait-elle progresser?</u>													
Lentement (codes 1 à 3)	9	24	11	5	9	4	9	12	12	5	5	6	9
Moyennement (code 4)	14	16	8	10	11	5	11	14	11	5	9	6	9
Rapidement (codes 5 à 7)	65	35	70	74	57	85	74	67	65	68	59	65	69
Sans réponse	12	25	11	11	23	6	6	7	12	22	27	23	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Score moyen (1)	5.33	4.16	5.40	5.51	5.23	6.06	5.44	5.12	5.19	5.87	5.74	5.77	5.53
Différence entre les scores moyens	1.93	1.07	2.39	2.03	1.64	2.54	2.43	1.89	1.85	2.02	2.18	2.07	2.16

(1) Calculé selon les pourcentages de réponses correspondant à chacun des sept codes de l'échelle, non-réponses exclues.

TABLE NO. A1

Question 21 : Il y a trente ans, en 1957, a été créé ce que l'on appelle "Le Marché Commun" et (votre pays) fait partie depuis.... de cette "Communauté européenne".

Que vous soyez personnellement pour ou contre, est-ce que le fait que (votre pays) fasse partie de la Communauté européenne vous paraît quelque chose de très important, d'important, de peu important ou de pas important du tout ?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
. Très important.....	32	24	24	24	24	37	29	41	29	21	14	20	29
. Important.....	39	33	51	42	44	46	37	46	52	57	43	40	45
. Peu important.....	15	21	14	11	10	8	14	6	10	8	7	21	12
. Pas important du tout.....	5	12	4	15	5	3	9	2	3	5	6	13	6
. ? .....	9	10	7	8	17	6	11	5	6	9	30	6	8
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A2

Question 22 : Tout bien considéré, estimez-vous que (votre pays) a bénéficié ou non de son appartenance à la Communauté européenne ?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
. Oui.. ..	66	52	59	58	15	61	58	73	77	67	41	39	53
. Non.....	15	27	23	29	62	23	28	14	11	12	24	48	30
. ? .....	19	21	18	13	23	16	14	13	12	21	35	13	17
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A3

Question : Maintenant essayons d'imaginer l'Europe des années 2000. Par exemple, supposons que nous sommes au mois de janvier de l'année 2000.  
Veuillez me dire si vous pensez que les choses suivantes seront devenues une réalité ou non ?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPAÑA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
24. Vous, vos enfants, utilisez couramment des billets et des chèques en monnaie européenne :													
. Oui.....	57	30	53	53	53	56	52	47	58	39	40	45	50
. Non.....	28	54	28	26	20	33	28	38	32	46	16	46	33
. ? .....	15	16	19	21	27	11	20	15	10	15	44	9	17
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
25. Vous, vos enfants, pouvez-vous regarder, en plus des chaînes de télévision que vous recevez aujourd'hui en 1986, une ou plusieurs chaînes de télévision européenne ?													
. Oui.....	78	93	83	83	82	90	83	89	88	86	63	90	86
. Non.....	11	1	9	9	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	6	7
. ? .....	11	6	8	8	14	5	11	4	4	8	30	4	7
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
26. Vous, vos enfants, parlez une langue de plus que celle(s) que vous parlez en 1986 :													
. Oui.....	57	54	66	75	67	61	65	53	51	62	54	63	62
. Non.....	30	32	18	16	15	31	20	37	40	27	11	32	26
. ? .....	13	14	16	9	18	8	15	10	9	11	35	5	12
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
27. En face des catastrophes qui peuvent toujours se produire, par exemple marées noires, incendies de forêts, explosions industrielles etc... nous luttons ensemble au niveau européen :													
. Oui.....	69	59	72	65	65	79	50	79	71	70	51	68	71
. Non.....	17	24	13	22	14	12	21	13	20	17	10	18	15
. ? .....	14	17	15	13	21	9	29	8	9	13	39	14	14
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE NO. A4

TABLE NO. A5

TABLE NO. A6

TABLE NO. A7

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
--	---------	---------	------------------	-------	--------	--------	---------	--------	-----------------	----------------	---------------	-------------------	--------

28. Nous luttons en commun contre le terrorisme et par exemple, on peut arrêter et juger toute personne présumée coupable d'un délit grave quel que soit le pays de la Communauté européenne où elle s'est réfugiée :

. Oui.....	69	64	67	68	65	75	56	72	79	64	50	83	71
. Non.....	17	19	16	20	12	16	20	19	14	21	10	10	15
. ? .....	14	17	17	12	23	9	24	9	7	15	40	7	14
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A8

29. Vous, vos enfants, vous déplacez, étudiez, travaillez, vivez dans n'importe quel pays de la Communauté européenne comme vous pouvez le faire aujourd'hui, en 1986 (dans votre pays) :

. Oui.....	52	60	67	66	61	58	69	59	68	53	43	69	62
. Non.....	32	26	17	21	16	32	14	29	24	32	14	23	24
. ? .....	16	14	16	13	23	10	17	12	8	15	43	8	14
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A9

30. Nos soldats utilisent des équipements et des matériels militaires communs, et assurent ensemble la sécurité de la Communauté européenne contre les menaces extérieures :

. Oui.....	51	32	48	41	46	51	37	50	58	42	38	58	49
. Non.....	28	41	26	35	23	35	33	34	24	39	16	29	30
. ? .....	21	27	26	24	31	14	30	16	18	19	46	13	21
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A10

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
31. Vous, vos enfants, êtes appelés à voter sur une constitution européenne proposée par le Parlement européen :													
. Oui.....	64	41	47	48	46	62	48	64	58	46	28	52	53
. Non.....	18	30	29	28	19	21	22	22	25	34	20	32	25
. ? .....	18	29	24	24	35	17	30	14	17	20	52	16	22
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
32. Le chef du gouvernement de l'Europe parle d'égal à égal avec les dirigeants des Etats-Unis, de l'Union Soviétique etc...													
. Oui.....	48	20	38	43	40	52	37	54	51	38	28	42	44
. Non.....	33	59	36	37	28	33	30	33	34	45	23	42	35
. ? .....	19	21	26	20	32	15	33	13	15	17	49	16	21
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
33. Vous, vos enfants, êtes appelés à voter pour l'élection du chef de gouvernement européen :													
. Oui.....	63	36	44	47	45	64	45	56	61	42	29	45	50
. Non.....	19	36	32	31	21	23	27	29	27	42	20	42	30
. ? .....	18	28	24	22	34	13	28	15	12	16	51	13	20
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A11

TABLE No. A12

TABLE No. A13

Question 38 : Vous, personnellement, êtes-vous pour ou contre l'évolution de la Communauté européenne vers la formation des "Etats-Unis d'Europe" ?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
. Très pour.....	27	9	20	31	24	24	22	38	40	18	16	14	23
. Plutôt pour.....	43	25	36	39	33	50	26	46	40	48	31	38	40
. Plutôt contre.....	11	20	10	10	10	12	13	8	9	12	6	21	13
. Très contre.....	3	30	7	10	6	3	12	2	3	8	6	16	7
. ? .....	16	16	27	10	27	11	27	6	8	14	41	11	17
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A14

- A 8 -

Question 37 : Dans quel délai confierez-vous au gouvernement de l'Europe la responsabilité des domaines de l'économie, des affaires étrangères et de la défense ?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
. Tout de suite.....	17	1	5	9	8	12	8	16	13	4	1	6	9
. Dans les 10 ans qui viennent.....	18	4	19	29	15	29	19	34	22	12	10	13	21
. D'ici 10 à 20 ans.....	20	10	18	17	8	21	14	19	24	21	9	17	17
. D'ici 20 à 30 ans.....	11	11	13	10	5	10	7	9	15	16	7	12	11
. Dans plusieurs générations.....	5	16	7	7	6	7	7	5	9	11	5	8	7
. Jamais.....	4	32	4	13	11	6	15	4	6	13	6	17	9
. ? .....	25	26	34	15	47	15	30	13	11	23	62	27	26
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A15



Question 34 : Dans le cas de l'élection d'un chef de gouvernement de l'Europe, est-il possible ou exclu que vous votiez pour un candidat qui ne serait pas (de votre nationalité)?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E. 12
. Possible.....	51	35	42	51	39	65	46	61	66	60	31	42	50
. Exclu.....	18	32	11	25	27	22	23	23	12	16	19	36	23
. Cela dépend (SPONTANE).....	16	0	29	19	10	6	12	11	13	12	7	12	14
. ? .....	15	33	18	5	24	7	19	5	9	12	43	10	13
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A16

Question 35 : Y a-t-il une personnalité politique dont le nom vous vient à l'esprit comme candidat pour qui vous pourriez envisager de voter dans le cas de l'élection d'un chef de gouvernement de l'Europe ? Qui ?

Question 36 : (SI LE REpondant A CITE UN NOM DE SON PAYS? RELANCER) :

Pourriez-vous indiquer le nom d'une personnalité qui ne serait pas (de votre pays) pour qui vous pourriez envisager de voter ? Qui ?

	BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E. 12
N'ont cité personne .....	68	87	88	71	75	70	63	64	79	73	79	82	76
Ont cité un national puis un étranger .....	12	2	3	8	6	15	8	11	4	7	7	3	7
N'ont cité qu'un national .....	14	9	9	7	11	12	19	19	11	16	10	12	13
N'ont cité qu'un étranger .....	6	2	-	14	8	3	10	6	6	4	4	3	4
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A17

Question 23 : On parle beaucoup de ce que les pays de la Communauté ont en commun et de ce qui les distingue.

Certains disent (A) : Si un jour les pays d'Europe étaient vraiment unis, ce serait la fin de nos identités nationales, historiques, culturelles, et nos intérêts économiques nationaux seraient sacrifiés.

D'autres disent (B) : La seule façon de défendre nos identités nationales, historiques, culturelles et nos intérêts économiques nationaux face aux défis des grandes puissances mondiales, c'est que les pays d'Europe soient vraiment unis.

Est-ce que vous vous sentez plus proche de la première ou de la deuxième de ces opinions ? Veuillez l'indiquer en choisissant une case sur cette échelle. Montrer liste.

A    1    2    3    4    5    6    7    B

		BELGIUM	DANMARK	DEUTSCH- LAND	ELLAS	ESPAÑA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA	LUXEM- BOURG	NEDER- LAND	PORTU- GAL	UNITED KINGDOM	C.E.12
A	1	4	19	4	13	4	5	13	5	6	7	2	13	7
	2	6	15	9	9	5	4	7	4	6	7	3	11	7
	3	7	9	12	5	5	4	8	3	5	7	3	11	7
	4	20	9	22	12	10	13	10	9	11	27	11	15	15
	5	17	8	22	11	8	17	10	12	16	18	11	17	15
	6	21	11	16	18	16	23	11	25	17	16	18	16	19
B	7	19	10	15	18	21	32	16	35	28	17	14	11	21
	?	6	19	0	14	31	2	25	7	11	1	38	6	9
		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE No. A18

QUESTIONNAIRE FRANCAIS

QUESTIONNAIRE ANGLAIS

21. Il y a trente ans, en 1957, a été créé ce que l'on appelle "Le Marché Commun" et (votre pays) fait partie depuis ... de cette "Communauté européenne".

21. Thirty years ago, in 1957, what we call the Common Market was formed, and (your country) has been a member of this "European Community" since (.....).

Que vous soyez personnellement pour ou contre, est-ce que le fait que (votre pays) fasse partie de la Communauté européenne vous paraît quelque chose de très important, d'important, de peu important ou de pas important du tout ?

Whether you are for or against it, do you think the fact that (your country) is a member of the European Community is something very important, important, of little importance or of no importance ?

- 1 Très important
2 Important
3 Peu important
4 Pas important du tout
0 ?

- 1. Very important
2. Important
3. Of little importance
4. Of no importance
0. ?

22. Tout bien considéré, estimez-vous que (votre pays) a bénéficié ou non de son appartenance à la Communauté européenne ?

22. Taking everything into consideration, would you say that (your country) has on balance benefited or not from being a member of the European Community ? (Common Market) ?

- 1 Oui
2 Non
0 ?

- 1. Benefited
2. Not benefited
0. ?

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23. On parle beaucoup de ce que les pays de la Communauté ont en commun et de ce qui les distingue. (PRÉSENTER LA CARTE DES OPINIONS ET L'ÉCHELLE EN SEPT POINTS).

23. There is a lot of talk about what the countries in the European Community have in common and what distinguishes them from one another. (SHOW THE CARD OF OPINIONS AND THE SEVEN POINTS).

Certains disent (A) : Si un jour les pays d'Europe étaient vraiment unis, ce serait la fin de nos identités nationales, historiques, culturelles, et nos intérêts économiques nationaux seraient sacrifiés.

Some say (A) : If one day the countries of Europe were really united, this would mark the end of our national, historic, cultural identity and our own national economic interests would be sacrificed.

D'autres disent (B) : La seule façon de défendre nos identités nationales, historiques, culturelles et nos intérêts économiques nationaux face aux défis des grandes puissances mondiales, c'est que les pays d'Europe soient vraiment unis.

Others say (B) : The only way of protecting our national, historic, cultural identities and our national economic interests against a challenge put up by the World Powers is for the countries of Europe to become truly united.

Est-ce que vous vous sentez plus proche de la première ou de la deuxième de ces opinions ? Veuillez l'indiquer en choisissant une case sur cette échelle.

Do you feel nearer to the first or the second of these opinions ? Please indicate where you stand by choosing one of the boxes on this scale.

Texte A [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] Texte B
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 = Sans réponse

Text A [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] Text B
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 0 = Don't know

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24/ Maintenant, essayons d'imaginer l'Europe des années 2000. Par  
33. exemple, supposons que nous sommes au mois de janvier de  
l'année 2000. Veuillez me dire si vous pensez que les choses  
suivantes seront devenues une réalité ou non ?

Oui Non ?

24. Vous, vos enfants, utilisez couramment des billets  
et des chèques en monnaie européenne. 1 2 0

25. Vous, vos enfants, pouvez regarder, en plus  
des chaînes de télévision que vous recevez  
aujourd'hui en 1986, une ou plusieurs chaînes  
de télévision européenne. 1 2 0

26. Vous, vos enfants, parlez une langue de plus que  
celle(s) que vous parlez en 1986. 1 2 0

27. En face des catastrophes qui peuvent toujours  
se produire, par exemple marées noires, incen-  
dies de forêts, explosions industrielles, etc.  
nous luttons ensemble au niveau européen. 1 2 0

28. Nous luttons en commun contre le terrorisme et par  
exemple, on peut arrêter et juger toute personne  
présumée coupable d'un délit grave quel que soit  
le pays de la Communauté européenne où elle s'est  
réfugiée. 1 2 0

29. Vous, vos enfants, vous déplacez, étudiez,  
travaillez, vivez dans n'importe quel pays de  
la Communauté européenne comme vous pouvez le  
faire aujourd'hui, en 1986 (dans votre pays). 1 2 0

30. Nos soldats utilisent des équipements et des  
matériels militaires communs, et assurent ensemble  
la sécurité de la Communauté européenne contre les  
menaces extérieures. 1 2 0

31. Vous, vos enfants, êtes appelés à voter sur une  
constitution européenne proposée par le Parlement  
européen. 1 2 0

32. Le chef de gouvernement de l'Europe parle d'égal  
à égal avec les dirigeants des Etats-Unis, de  
l'Union soviétique, etc. 1 2 0

33. Vous, vos enfants, êtes appelés à voter pour  
l'élection du chef de gouvernement européen. 1 2 0

34. Dans le cas de l'élection d'un chef de gouvernement de  
l'Europe, est-il possible ou exclu que vous votiez pour un  
candidat qui ne serait pas (de votre nationalité) ?

- 1 Possible
- 2 Exclu
- 3 Cela dépend (SPONTANÉ)
- 0 ?

35. Y a-t-il une personnalité politique dont le nom vous vient à  
l'esprit comme un candidat pour qui vous pourriez envisager  
de voter dans le cas de l'élection d'un chef de gouvernement  
de l'Europe ? Qui ?

\_\_\_\_\_

36. (SI LE RÉPONDANT A CITE UN NOM DE SON PAYS, PLENER) :  
Pourriez-vous indiquer le nom d'une personnalité qui ne  
serait pas (de votre pays) pour qui vous pourriez envisager  
de voter ? Qui ?

\_\_\_\_\_

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24/ Now let us try to imagine Europe in the next, 21st, century.  
33. For example let us try to pretend that it is now January in  
the year 2000. Could you tell me if you think the following  
things will have actually come about by then or not ?

Yes No DK

24. You, your children, are using bank notes  
and cheques in the European currency. 1 2 0

25. You, your children, can watch, as well as  
all the T.V. you are getting now in 1986,  
one or more channels of European television. 1 2 0

26. You, your children are able to speak one  
more language than you do in 1986. 1 2 0

27. In the face of catastrophes which can always  
happen, such as major oil slicks, forest  
fires, major industrial explosions etc., we  
fight in common at the European level. 1 2 0

28. We fight in common against terrorism and for  
example, it is possible to arrest and bring  
to trial anybody accused of a serious crime  
no matter which country of the European  
Community he or she has fled to. 1 2 0

29. You, your children are able to travel, study,  
work, and live in any country of the European  
Community just as you can now, in 1986, in any  
part of (your country). 1 2 0

30. Our soldiers within the European Community have  
the same type of arms and equipment and assure  
together the security of the European Community  
against threats from outside. 1 2 0

31. You, your children are called upon to vote on a  
European constitution proposed by the European  
Parliament. 1 2 0

32. The head of government, or Prime Minister, of  
Europe is speaking on equal terms with the  
leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union,  
and others. 1 2 0

33. You, your children are called upon to vote  
in an election to choose the head of govern-  
ment of Europe. 1 2 0

34. In case of an election for the head of government of Europe,  
is it possible that you vote for a candidate who was not (your  
nationality) or would you rule this out ?

- 1. It is possible
- 2. Would rule it out
- 3. It depends (Spontaneous)
- 0. ?

35. Is there a political personality whose name comes to mind as  
someone you could think of voting for if there were an  
election for the head of government of Europe ? If so, who ?

\_\_\_\_\_

36. (IF THE RESPONDENT HAS GIVEN THE NAME OF A (national)  
POLITICIAN ASK AGAIN) Could you tell me the name of someone  
who is not (of your country) whom you could imagine voting  
for ? If so, who ?

\_\_\_\_\_

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37. Dans quel délai confieriez-vous au gouvernement de l'Europe la responsabilité des domaines de l'économie, des affaires étrangères et de la défense ?

- 1 Tout de suite
- 2 Dans les 10 ans qui viennent
- 3 D'ici 10 à 20 ans
- 4 D'ici 20 ou 30 ans
- 5 Dans plusieurs générations
- 6 Jamais
- 0 ?

38. Vous, personnellement, êtes-vous pour ou contre l'évolution de la Communauté européenne vers la formation des "Etats Unis d'Europe" ?

- 1 Très pour
- 2 Plutôt pour
- 3 Plutôt contre
- 4 Très contre
- 0 ?

39. A propos de politique, les gens parlent de "droite" et de "gauche". Vous-même, voudriez-vous situer votre position sur cette échelle ? (MONTRER LA CARTE). (NE RIEN SUGGERER. LA PERSONNE DOIT SE SITUER DANS UNE CASE. SI ELLE HESITE, INSISTER).

Gauche	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Droite
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	

? = blank

TREND EURO 26 - Q. 350

PASSER AUX CARACTERISTIQUES SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIQUES

VOIR LETTRE ET APPENDIX A

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37. After what period of time would you entrust the government of Europe with the responsibility for the economy, foreign affairs and defense ?

- 1. Immediately
- 2. In the next ten years
- 3. Between 10-20 years
- 4. 20-30 years
- 5. After several generations or a longer period
- 6. Never
- 0. ?

38. Are you personally for or against the European Community developing towards becoming a "United States of Europe" ?

- 1. For - very much
- 2. For - rather
- 3. Against - rather
- 4. Against - very much
- 0. ?

39. In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale ? (SHOW CARD). (DO NOT PROMPT. THE 10 BOXES OF THE CARD ARE NUMBERED. RING CHOICE. IF CONTACT HESITATES, ASK HIM TO TRY AGAIN).

Left	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Right
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	

? = blank

TREND EURO 26 - Q. 350

GO TO DEMOGRAPHICS  
SEE LETTER AND APPENDIX A



TABLE No.6

EUROPE IN JANUARY 2000 :

The young are more sceptical

		15	25	40	55
		24	39	54	
We fight in common against terrorism and for example, it is possible to arrest and bring to trial anybody accused of a serious crime no matter which country of the European Community he or she has fled to	Yes.....	68	71	73	72
	No.....	22	18	14	10
	Don't know...	10	11	13	18
In the face of catastrophes which can always happen, such as major oil slicks, forest fires, major industrial explosions etc., we fight in common at the European level	Yes.....	67	74	74	70
	No.....	19	16	14	11
	Don't know...	14	10	12	19
You, your children are able to travel, study, work, and live in any country of the European Community just as you can now, in 1987, in any part of your country	Yes.....	59	62	64	62
	No.....	29	28	22	18
	Don't know...	12	10	14	20a
Our soldiers within the European Community have the same type of arms and equipment and assure together the security of the European Community against threats from outside	Yes.....	45	47	51	53
	No.....	38	37	28	20
	Don't know...	17	16	21	27
You, your children are called upon to vote on a European constitution proposed by the European Parliament	Yes.....	46	54	59	53
	No.....	35	28	21	19
	Don't know...	19	18	20	28
The head of government, or Prime Minister, of Europe is speaking on equal terms with the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, and others	Yes.....	39	42	46	48
	No.....	42	41	34	26
	Don't know...	19	17	20	26

6. EUROPEAN UNITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In order to measure the basic attitudes of our respondents towards the idea of European unification we asked them to define their position on a scale relating two "extreme" opinions:

"There is a lot of talk about what the countries in the European Community have in common and what distinguishes them from one another. (SHOW CARD)

some say (A): If one day the countries of Europe were really united, this would mark the end of our national, historic, cultural identity and our own national economic interests would be sacrificed.

Others say (B): The only way of protecting our national, historic, cultural identities and our national economic interests against a challenge put up by the Great World Powers is for the countries of Europe to become truly united.

Do you feel nearer to the first or the second of these opinions? Please indicate where you stand by choosing one of the boxes on this scale.

TEXT A    

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

    TEXT B

1      2      3      4      5      6      7

As the analysis of all interviewed shows (cf. graph 7, top profile) the Europeans are clearly more oriented towards opinion B. 55 % chose cases 5, 6 and 7 of the scale. 15 % place themselves in the middle case no. 4, i.e. do not choose their camp or consider the question as badly put. We may add to them those 9 % who did not want to answer this question. 21 %, that is one in five Europeans believes that European unity implies the sacrifice of national identity and economic interests.

Three in five of those who reply, feel that national identities and economic interests can only be protected against the challenge put up by the Great World Powers if Europe becomes truly united.

There are quite marked differences between the publics of the various member countries. While Denmark, as one would have expected from past opinion research, shows a profile that leans towards the position hostile to European unity, Ireland, Greece and the United Kingdom - all newcomers since 1957, as well - reveal either a balanced or an almost even distribution of opinions.

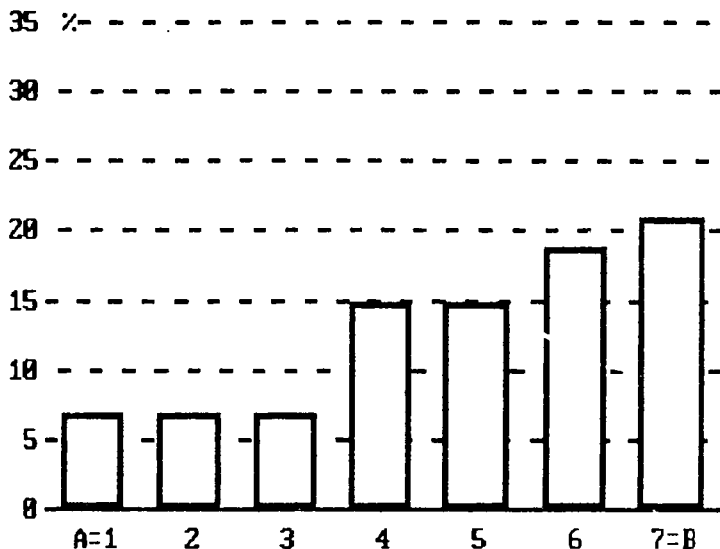
Although many Portuguese, as with most other questions, do not reply, those who do present a pro European position. Most markedly oriented towards the pro unification pole are Italy, France, Luxembourg and - with more non responses, however - Spain. Quite a few Belgians hesitatingly choose the middle position. They may reflect the problems they face defining their own national identity during an ongoing period of linguistic community tensions.



GRAPH No. 7

## EUROPEAN UNITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY: contradictory or complementary?

(percent of interviewed, EC12 and by country)

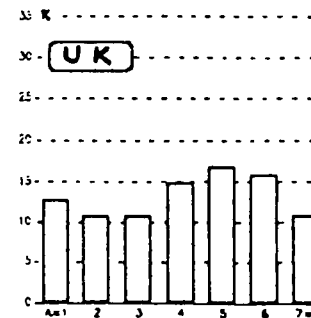
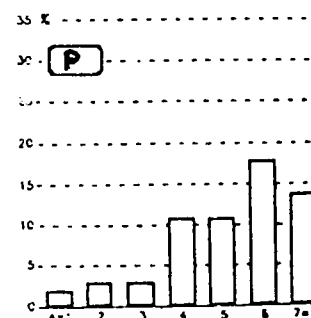
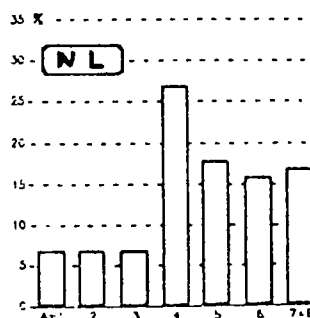
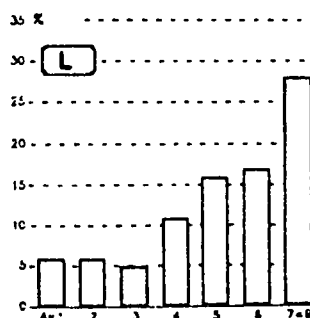
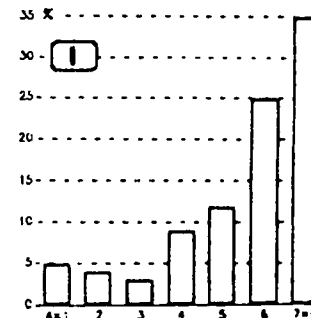
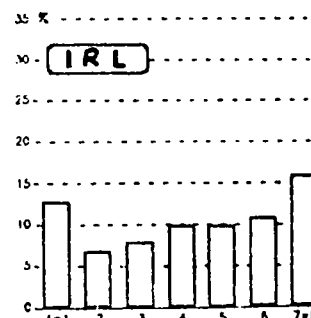
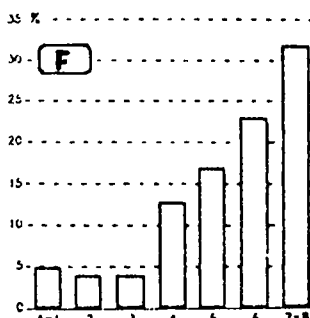
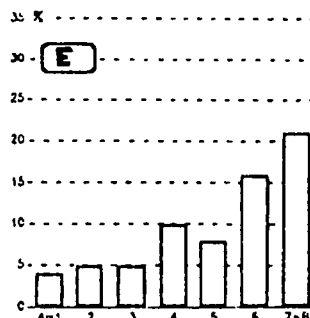
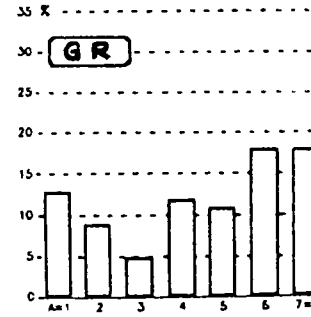
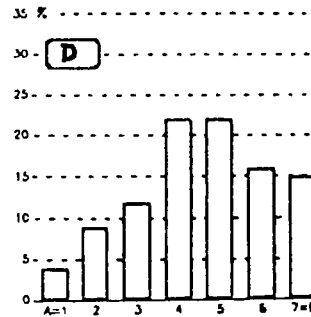
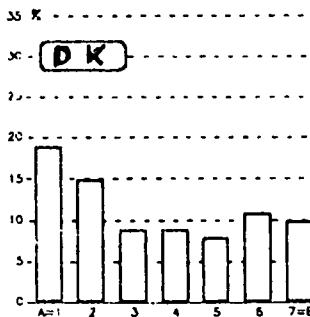
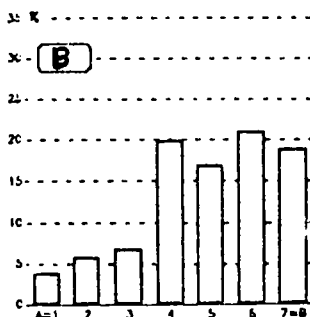
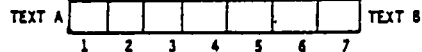


There is a lot of talk about what the countries in the European Community have in common and what distinguishes them from one another.

Some say (A): If one day the countries of Europe were really united, this would mark the end of our national, historic, cultural identity and our own national economic interests would be sacrificed.

Others say (B): The only way of protecting our national, historic, cultural identities and our national economic interests against a challenge put up by the Great World Powers is for the countries of Europe to become truly united.

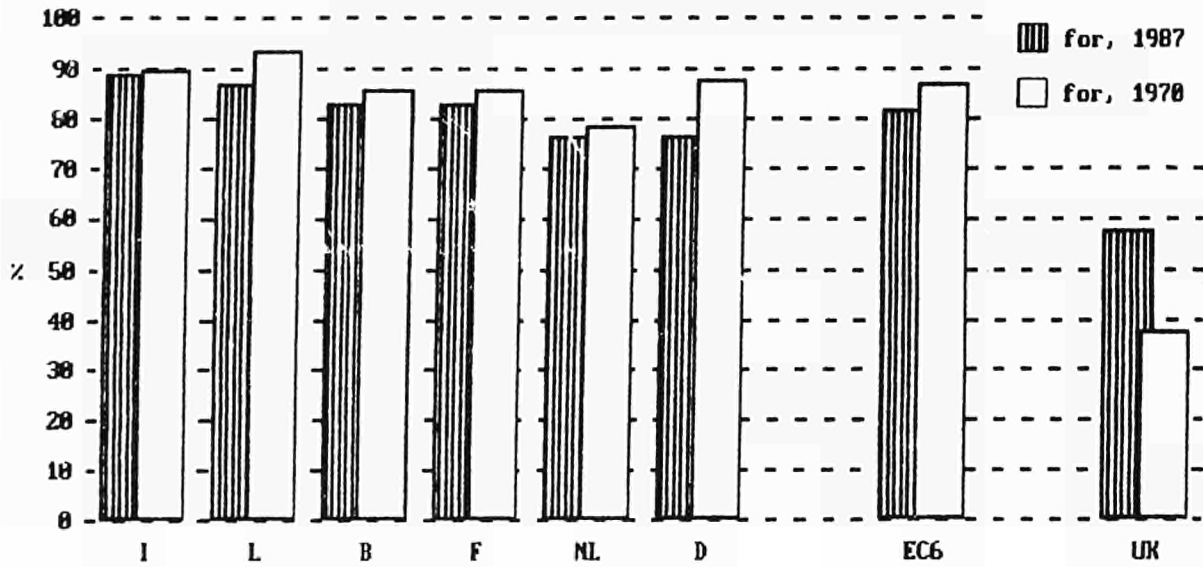
Do you feel nearer to the first or the second of these opinions? Please indicate where you stand by choosing one of the boxes on this scale.



GRAPH No.8

"For" the EC developing towards a  
UNITED STATES OF EUROPE

(percent of those who replied, 1978 and 1987)..



But most surprising, here, is the hesitation of many Dutch and Germans. At least part of the reason why the Dutch and the Germans are - more than in the past - sceptical and hesitant vis-à-vis the Community and its evolution towards political union may be found in the fact they are deceived about the slow pace of European unification during the past 30 years. In the EUROBAROMETER 26 survey the assessment of "Europe's present speed" and the "speed" wanted by the respondents were measured and compared to each other. As we see from table A1, the Dutch and the Germans perceive very little tempo but express, by over than two thirds majority, their desire for Europe moving faster. ( See page 29 for the Community wide results of this "Eurodynamometer. Cf. also our discussion of national profiles in section 4.3 above).

Reviewing the answers to the different question of our survey in order to describe the differences between the national publics, we find a number of insights confirmed that have been found in many EUROBAROMETER surveys before.

The Luxembourgeois, for instance, are strongly in favour of more European unity. And the Danes are clearly sceptical, many of them even hostile to the idea. All new members are still somewhat less enthusiastic than "The Old Six". But Spain and Portugal show more "European orientation" than Greece and - particularly in the more recent years - Ireland. For quite some time, the Italians have been true partisans of European integration.

More surprising, however, are the British and the French on one side, and the Dutch and the Germans on the other.

The British disclose an impressive, steady evolution towards clearly "pro European" positions (cf. EUROBAROMETER 26). They have not yet reached the average of the countries that signed the Treaties in Rome, 30 years ago. But they have totally reversed the basic trend in their public opinion towards the Community.

If we compare their answers to the "United States of Europe" question of 17 years ago to their present day replies, a dramatic change comes to the fore. (Cf. Graph No. 8, see also: Les Européens: "Oui" à l'Europe, Bruxelles, Commission des Communautés européennes, Direction Générale de la presse et de l'information, Mai 1970).

While, in 1970, 30 % of the British were in favour of a "United States of Europe", but 48 % against, today 52 % (that is 58 % of those who reply) are in favour and only 37 % remain hostile to this idea (i.e. 42 % of those who reply).

\* \*  
\*

The Treaties of Rome of March 25, 1957 have added the European Economic Community (and Euratom) to the European Community for Coal and Steel founded in 1951.

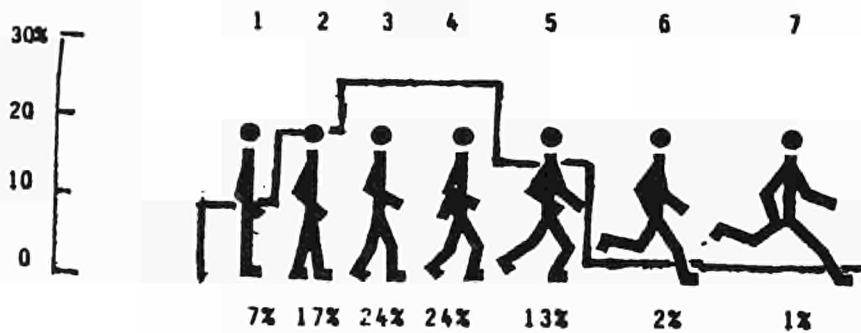
Since 1957, remarkable progress has been made in the construction of a united Europe and six new members have joined those Six who originally had launched this challenging enterprise. The amount of change that has come about, since 1957, is perhaps significantly expressed in the fact that, outside of strictly juridical language, the term "The European Communities" is very often no longer used. People call it "The European Community". Or simply "the Community". There are, hence, good reasons not just to commemorate but to really celebrate, on March 25, 1987, the 30th anniversary of the signatures of Rome.

THE "EURO-DYNAMOMETER"

"In your opinion, how is the European Community, the European unification advancing nowadays? Please look at these people. Number 1 is standing still, No 7 is running as fast as possible. Choose the one which best corresponds with your opinion of the European Community and European unification".

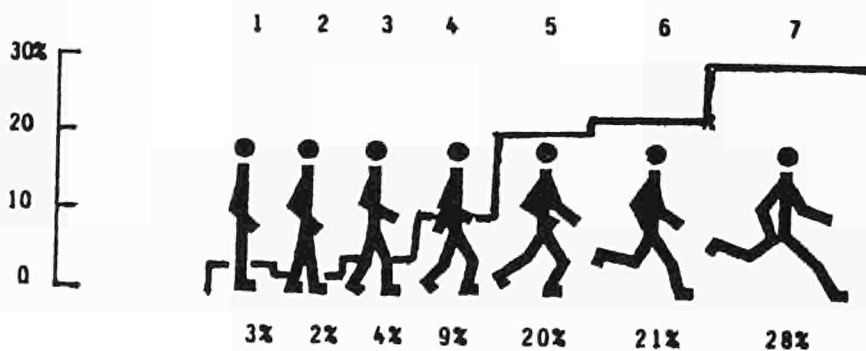
"And which corresponds best to what you would like?"

Europe's current progress



12% (1)

Europe's desired progress



13% (1)

(1) Community as a whole





Equally underlining the general tendency of taking a stand more easily on (real or assumed) "non-political" matters, is the hierarchy found in NOT responding to the various items of our scenario:

1. Television .....	7 %
2. Languages .....	12
3. Terrorism .....	14
4. Ecol. catastrophe	14
5. Free movement ...	14
6. Currency .....	17
7. Election.....	20
8. Defense .....	21
9. Equality US/SU ..	21
10. Constitution ....	22

People feel that European television will come about with almost 100 % certainty, and that they or their children will be able to speak one more language than they do today. Therefore, they very rarely refuse to take a stand. Inspecting the positive responses as well as the refusals underlines a regular finding in past EUROBAROMETERS: "new" policy problems are more easily seen as to be best dealt with on a European level as compared to "classical" policy matters. Currency, external relations, defence or questions of international power or status are "classical". Such things are abstract and distant to the "man in the street", like a constitution. (By the way: the Britons to whom the idea of a European Constitution might be expected to be strange - since their own is not laid down in a single seizable text - do readily respond to this question. They reveal the second lowest refusal rate to this item among the 12 national samples! Cf. Table A11.)

If we look at NEGATIVE RESPONSES, i.e. if we count the number of people who feel that the respective scenarios for January 2000 are NOT realistic, we discover only one new facet in our global inspection: there are relatively many, who do not yet believe in ECU-banknotes and checks (see also graph 3).

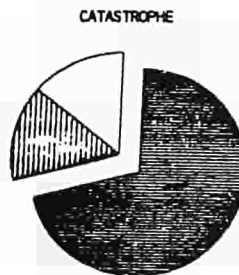
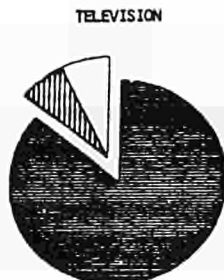
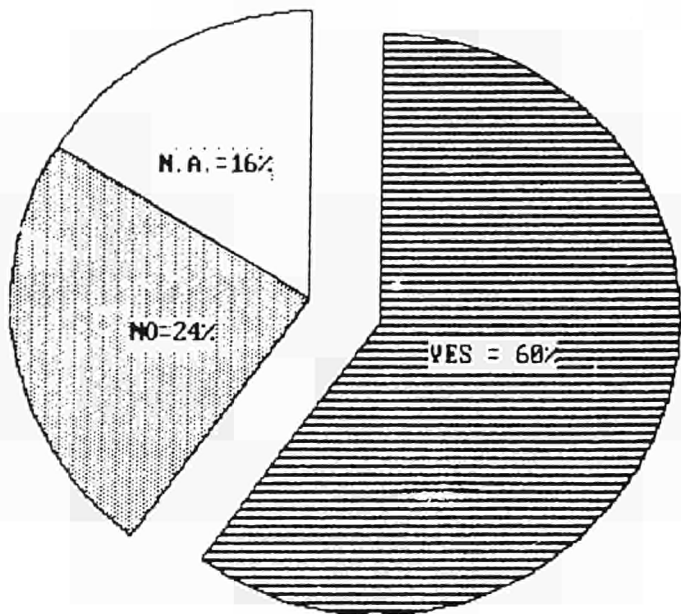
1. Television .....	7 %
2. Terrorism .....	15
3. Ecol. catastrophe	15
4. Free movement ...	24
5. Constitution ....	25
6. Languages .....	26
7. Elections .....	30
8. Defense .....	30
9. CURRENCY .....	33
10. Equality SU/SU ..	35

Although money (or the lack of it) is an everyday life phenomenon, currency is, at the same time, something highly political and symbolic of what people in the old days adored to call "sovereignty". The Giscard-Schmidt innovation of 1979, the écu/ECU, encounters considerable resistance in several member countries of the Community, as soon as its further development into a real common currency is evoked. If only 3 member countries reveal an anti-common-currency majority (Denmark, The Netherlands[!], and Great Britain), another 3 show impressive hostile minorities (Italy, France and Luxembourg; cf. table A4). One should not forget, here, that resolute rejection in survey interviews often has proved to represent more deeply rooted sentiments than positive answers or refusals to take a stand.

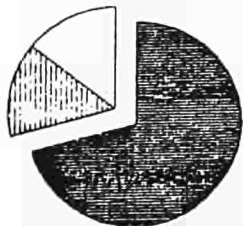
GRAPH No.3

SCENARIO "EUROPE 2000"

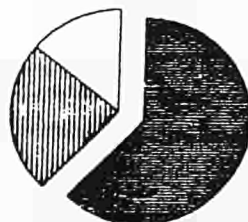
MEAN VALUES



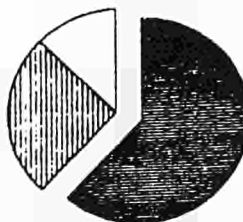
TERRORISM



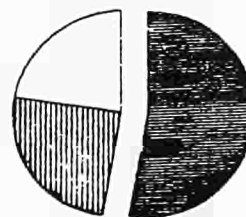
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT



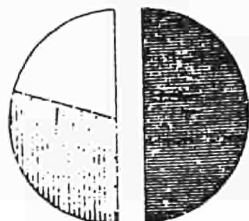
LANGUAGES



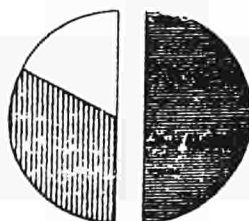
CONSTITUTION



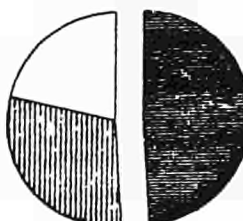
ELECTION HEAD OF EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT



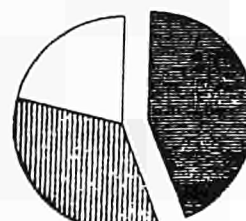
CURRENCY



DEFENSE



EQUALITY USA/USSR





### 3.1 Television and the intercontinental status of Europe

There are two items in our series of scenarios, that strike at first glance for the consistency with which they appear at precise places in the various classifications discussed so far: television always comes first, the idea of the head of a European government "speaking on equal terms with the leaders of the United States (of America), the Soviet Union, and others" always comes last.

The drastical restructuring of our mass media landscape via directly beaming satellite being politically decided, the European public proves impressively well informed about the fact that EUROPEAN TELEVISION is only a few moments ahead, i.e. will be something as "natural" as having water when turning the knob, by January 2000. Not evoked in our question are topics like what sort of European legislation serves best to organise technical as well as moral, political and economic aspects of this new reality. Neither are issues of "who produces what or buys where?", important though as they may be.

Equally impressive is the realism European citizens reveal when treating the question of Europe's status in intercontinental relations. Though bigger than the United States of (North) America and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in terms of population and with respect to international trade, the European Community still depends, if it comes to power, on the well rooted alliance with the U.S.A. And yet, there are more Europeans who believe that this will have changed into a more equitable pattern by 2000, than there are who don't! In any case, few are the countries where this scenario does not rank lowest, in terms of affirmative response. Italian ardour pushes the item in front of "more languages", "common defense" and "common currency". The Greeks don't trust their fellow Europeans if it comes to defending them (against the Turks, one may safely assume) to a degree that they rather believe in the head of government of Europe speaking on equal terms with the leaders of the great world powers. As to the French, even though a majority of them is in favour of what their Parliament rejected in 1954, i.e. a "Communauté européenne de défense", a European Defense Community, (three in five of those who reply!) they are more numerous to believe in European global equity than in European common defense ...(cf. table 3). Ici frappe la "force de dissuasion"?

In other words, things are obvious to everybody to such a degree, with respect to "television" as well as "global status of Europe" that, when analysing these items in our scenario, we learn about the Europeans' capability to realistically assess what is going on around themselves.

TABLE No.3

**SCENARIOS "EUROPE 2000"**

(percent "yes", by country)

BELGIQUE	DANMARK	DEUTSCHLAND	ELLAS
television 78	television 93	television 83	television 83
catastrphe 69	terrorism 64	catastrphe 72	languages 75
terrorism 69	free mvmt 60	terrorism 67	terrorism 68
constitutn 64	catastrphe 59	free mvmt 67	free mvmt 66
elections 63	languages 54	languages 66	catastrphe 65
currency 57	constitutn 41	currency 53	currency 53
languages 57	elections 36	defence 48	constitutn 48
free mvmt 52	defense 32	constitutn 47	elections 47
defence 51	currency 30	elections 44	equ US/SU 43
equ US/SU 48	equ US/SU 20	equ US/SU 38	defence 41
ESPANA	FRANCE	IRELAND	ITALIA
television 82	television 90	television 83	television 89
languages 67	catastrphe 79	free mvmt 69	catastrphe 79
catastrphe 65	terrorism 75	languages 65	terrorism 72
terrorism 65	elections 64	terrorism 56	constitutn 64
free mvmt 61	constitutn 62	currency 52	free mvmt 59
currency 53	languages 61	catastrphe 50	elections 56
defence 46	free mvmt 58	constitutn 48	equ US/SU 54
constitutn 46	currency 56	elections 45	languages 53
elections 45	equ US/SU 52	defence 37	defence 50
equ US/SU 40	defence 51	equ US/SU 37	currency 42
LUXEMBOURG	NEDERLAND	PORTUGAL	UNITD KINGDOM
television 88	television 86	television 63	television 90
terrorism 79	catastrphe 70	languages 54	terrorism 83
catastrphe 71	terrorism 64	catastrphe 51	free mvmt 69
free mvmt 68	languages 62	terrorism 50	catastrphe 68
elections 61	free mvmt 53	free mvmt 43	languages 63
currency 58	constitutn 46	currency 40	defence 58
defence 58	elections 42	defence 38	constitutn 52
constitutn 58	defence 42	elections 29	elections 45
languages 51	currency 39	constitutn 28	currency 45
equ US/SU 51	equ US/SU 38	equ US/SU 28	equ US/SU 42

### 3.2 Terrorism and ecological catastrophes

More than four in five of those who indicate their opinion (almost three in four of all interviewed) expect us "to fight in common at the European level" against ecological catastrophes such as pollution of oceans and sea shores, forest fires or industrial explosions and against terrorism, by January 2000.

All major member countries of the European Community were seriously struck by terrorism during the year 1986, and the catastrophe of Tchernobyl as well as the "dying of the Rhine" through the Sandoz industrial poisoning scandal in Basel demonstrated again during the months that preceded our survey that these plagues of our times do not respect the borders of nation states and cannot be kept out by passport controls or stopped at customs barriers. There is no cure of such diseases on the basis of individual national government action. And the citizens of Europe are aware of it. The Danes and the British - well known for their hesitance vis-à-vis European unification in many respects - reveal impressive majorities of two in three and even four in five, here.

Fight terrorism  
in common, within  
the European Community  
(% of those who reply)

UK	90
E	85
L	85
P	83
F	82
D	81
B	80
I	79
GR	77
DK	77
IRL	77
NL	75

Fight ecological  
catastrophes in common  
at the European level  
(% of those who reply)

F	87
I	86
D	85
P	84
E	82
B	80
NL	80
UK	79
L	78
GR	75
DK	71
IRL	70

Nine in ten British who reply to this question expect the fight against terrorism in January 2000 to be fought at the European level of Government. And, as we shall see below (cf. chapter 4), they are in favour of a full grown European government, endowed with the necessary powers, in a United States of Europe. More than three in four Danes think alike as to fighting terrorism but are afraid of a loss of national identity in a Political Union.

As past EUROBAROMETER surveys have regularly shown, public opinion in the European Community member countries is more apt to transfer shares of national sovereignty to the European level with respect to "new" policy areas such as fighting terrorism, ensuring environmental protection or giving aid to Third World countries (cf. e.g. EUROBAROMETER 21).

### 3.3 European currency, freedom of movement and languages spoken

By 1992 the European Community is supposed to have put into practice what is called the single internal market. In other words, the "Common Market" established 30 years ago is to be given its true meaning. Sooner or later, this would also mean that people use one common European currency in their daily life. In any case they are supposed to have complete freedom "to travel, study, work and live in any country of the European Community just as they can now, in 1987, in any part of their country". And they might be able to communicate with each other, in spite of different mother tongues, just as the Swiss are for quite some time already.

If some have expressed doubts whether the Community will be able to reach its single internal market goal by 1992, at least one in two Europeans expects it to have come about by January 2000, in any case (60 % of those who reply at the "currency item, 72 % at "free movement", and 70 % at "languages").

CURRENCY (% who reply)	FREE MOVEMENT (% who reply)	LANGUAGES (% who reply)
E 69	IRL 83	P 83
B 67	D 80	GR 82
GR 67	GB 80	E 82
D 65	E 79	D 79
IRL 65	UK 75	IRL 76
L 64	P 75	NL 70
F 63	L 74	B 67
P 61	DK 70	F 66
I 55	I 67	UK 66
UK 49	F 64	DK 63
NL 46	B 62	I 59
DK 36	NL 62	L 56
-----	-----	-----
EC12 60	EC12 72	EC12 70

Defense and currency are policy areas that represent most intensely the tradition of national sovereignty. It is quite consistent with what we know about doubts and hesitance towards the very idea of European unification still being rather widespread in Denmark and the UK that there is no majority expecting "everyday ECU" in these countries by the end of this century. More surprising here is the intensity of Dutch scepticism. In view of the Deutsche Bundesbank's resistance against more of the ECU, we should underline that two out of three West Germans expect this resistance to be overcome, by 2000.

"Indépendance nationale" having been a recurrent topic of French political rhetoric for quite some time, it is not surprising that resistance, in that country, to a European currency, is still strong (33 % do not expect it by 2000). But yet: France ranks third among the twelve with respect to affirmative answers to the currency scenario, closely behind Belgium and Luxembourg who have been practicing monetary union for decades (rank order of all interviewed (cf. table A4).

### 3.4 A European constitution and elections that install a European government

People are not as interested in politics, in their everyday life, as normative democratic theory assumes. This was one of the most important discoveries public opinion polls have made evident ever since they were first conducted, a few decades ago.

And EC politics seldom figures prominently in the mass media of member countries. Domestic politics dominates the political arena everywhere. And yet: an absolute majority of European citizens believes that there will be or have been a referendum "on a European constitution proposed by the European Parliament", by January 2000. Even in Britain, 52 % of those interviewed think so (62 % of those who reply). And so do four in seven Danes who answer this question (cf. table 3).

In theory, parliamentary political systems choose their head of government via the formation of a majority within their parliament. In practice, however, many parliamentary democracies design their head of government via elections of their members of Parliament. It is, therefore, established practice of public opinion research, to measure support of political leaders by referring to supposed-to-be direct elections of a head of government. We did something similar in our January 2000 scenario (question 33, cf. table A13). And the results show that one in two Europeans expects elections that designate the head of government of Europe to have come about, by then.

Among those who reply to this question, even if we register 50:50 divisions in Denmark and in The Netherlands, in none of the EC member states is there a majority who does not believe such elections having come about 13 years from now (cf. table A13).

### 3.5 The European Defense Community revived.

The French National Assembly broke the dynamism of European political unification of the early 1950s, in August 1954, by rejecting the idea of a European Defence Community (among the six members of the European Community for Coal and Steel) and of the corresponding European Political Community.

In January 1987, 51 % of the French (59 % of those who reply) expect a European Defence Community to have come about, by January 2000.

But more numerous yet are the British on that scenario: 58 % of them think that, by the beginning of the next century, i.e. 13 years from now, "our soldiers within the European Community have the same type of arms and equipment and assure together the security of the European Community against threats from outside". This figure of 58 % of those interviewed corresponds to 66 % of those who answered the respective question (only 13 % of those interviewed did not reply, here).

Four decades after Churchill's famous Zürich speech and after the British (and the Scandinavians) preventing the Council of Europe from developing into some kind of United States of Europe, the winds seem to have changed.

We must not forget, that it was not asked, here, whether people are in favour of an EDC. They were simply invited to predict the course of events according to their own assessment. They do see it come about, irrespective of whether they personally like the idea or not. But we did ask them, as well whether they would be in favour of "the government of Europe" being entrusted with the responsibility for defense. The results to this question will be reported in the following chapter.

### 3.6 Europe 2000: France takes the lead.

Many very interesting details of the results on our scenario can not be reported here, due to lack of space. Many also deserve additional, more sophisticated analysis, about which we shall report later. One way of summing up the global result is to compare the number of affirmative answers to the 10 scenarios, by member country. If we do so, the following rank order appears:

1. France	6.47
2. Luxembourg	6.44
3. Italia	6.23
4. United Kingdom	6.15
5. Belgie	6.08
6. Ellas	5.89
7. Deutschland	5.85
8. Espana	5.79
9. Nederland	5.42
9. Ireland	5.42
11. Danmark	4.89
12. Portugal	4.23

Among the bigger member countries, it is France, Italy and the United Kingdom who expect Europe to be truly united, by 2000. Of all twelve, France takes the lead.

## 6. EUROPEAN UNITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In order to measure the basic attitudes of our respondents towards the idea of European unification we asked them to define their position on a scale relating two "extreme" opinions (see text on graph nr 7).

As the analysis of all interviewed shows (cf. graph 7, top profile) the Europeans are clearly more oriented towards opinion B. 55 % chose case 5.6. and 7 of the scale. 15 % place themselves in the middle case nr 4, i.e. do not choose their camp. We may add to them those 9 % who did not want to answer this question. 21 %, that is one in five Europeans believe that European unity implies the sacrifice of national identity and economic interests.

Reviewing the answers to the different questions of our survey in order to describe the differences between the national publics, we find a number of insights confirmed that have been found in many EUROBAROMETER surveys before.

The Luxembourgeois, for instance, are strongly in favour of more European unity. And the Danes are clearly sceptical, many of them even hostile to the idea. All new members are still somewhat less enthusiastic than "The Old Six". But Spain and Portugal show more "European orientation" than Greece and - particularly in the more recent years - Ireland. For quite some time, the Italians have been true partisans of European integration.

More surprising, however, are the British and the French on one side, and the Dutch and the Germans on the other.

The British disclose an impressive, steady evolution towards clearly "pro European" positions. They have not yet reached the average of the countries that signed the Treaties in Rome, 30 years ago. But they have totally reversed the basic trend in their public opinion towards the Community. If we compare their answers to the "United States of Europe" question of 17 years ago to their present day replies, a dramatic change comes to the fore (cf. graph nr 8, see also : Les Européens : "oui" à l'Europe, Bruxelles, Commission des Communautés Européennes, Direction Générale de la Presse et de l'Information, May 1970).

While, in 1970, 30 % of the British were in favour of a "United States of Europe", but 48 % against, today 52 % (that is 58 % of those who reply) are in favour and only 37 % remain hostile to this idea (i.e. 42 % of those who reply).

At least part of the reason why the Dutch and the Germans are - more than in the past - sceptical and hesitating vis-à-vis the Community and plans for its development towards a European Union may be found in the fact that the German and Dutch publics are deeply deceived about the slow pace of progress. In the EUROBAROMETER 26 survey the assessment of Europe's actual "speed" and the speed "wanted" by the respondents were measured and compared to each other. The Dutch and the Germans see very little advancement but present high scores with respect to "speed of progress wanted".

"EUROPE 2000"

SPECIAL 30TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION OF THE EUROBAROMETER

Public opinion survey at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome (25 March 1987) carried out with 11.920 persons interviewed on behalf of the Commission of the European Communities. / Sondage exclusif réalisé pour la Commission des Communautés européennes à l'occasion du 30e anniversaire du Traité de Rome (25 mars 1987) auprès de 11.920 personnes.

>>>> FIGHT TERRORISM IN COMMON: THE BRITISH EXPECT MOST !

>>>> COMMON EUROPEAN DEFENSE: THE BRITISH EXPECT MOST !

>>>> VOTING FOR THE HEAD OF A EUROPEAN GOVERNMENT OTHER THAN OF THEIR OWN NATIONALITY: "POSSIBLE" FOR 70 % OF THE FRENCH !

>>>> "UNITED STATES OF EUROPE" AN OLDFASHIONED SLOGAN ? FOUR IN FIVE EUROPEANS WANT IT !!!

>>>> MORE SCEPTICAL ABOUT EUROPE: THE YOUNG

>>>> "BECOMING MORE EUROPEAN": THE BRITISH AND THE ITALIANS SHARE GOLD MEDAL.

>>>> NEW "PROBLEM COUNTRIES": GERMANY AND THE NETHERLANDS.



## 1. OF BIRTHDAYS AND ANNIVERSARIES

At least during a period corresponding to the normal life span of a man or woman, there are analogies between a person's birthdays and a political institution's anniversaries. When a person celebrates her or his 75th birthday, one mainly looks back, remembers, strikes balances, sums up. When a person celebrates a thirtieth birthday this is different. Surely, one also does look back, briefly. After all, not every dream one had had at the age of 13 or of 18 has come true : one has become mature and adult. But, at thirty, one looks ahead, before all. One is full of energies, full of ideas, full of projects and plans. And one knows : those projects which will not have become true by the time one is 50 or 60, never will.

In our special EUROBAROMETER survey carried out at the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaties of Rome, we have adopted the same approach : we do look back, briefly, in order to sum up and strike a balance. But we look ahead, before all! We seize the occasion of asking the citizens of Europe about their expectations and their projects, about their plans and their desires, about their dreams.

## 2. STRIKING A BALANCE OF THIRTY YEARS

A large majority of the citizens of the European Community consider their country's membership in this community to be "a good thing" : 62 % (67 % of those who indicate an opinion, 72 % in the original six member states. Cf. EUROBAROMETER 26).

The Europeans have greatly assessed their country's membership in the European Community as important or even very important. 74 % say so (80 % of those who reply) and even 80 % (86 % of those who reply) in the six founding member countries.

Striking the balance ends up with a definitely positive result, at the European level (53 % say that their country has benefited; two in three of those who reply). Among the citizens of the original six member states, i.e. those who have actually gone through 30 years of experience, this score is even higher : 65 % (three in four of those who answer the question, cf. Graph 1). Ever since this question has been put in the EUROBAROMETER surveys, the tendency of positive answers has been rising, people in the new member states being slightly more reluctant.

### 3. TEN SCENARIOS FOR JANUARY 2000

After this short but encouraging glance over their shoulders, we invited the respondents to look ahead. We presented them ten scenarios about how we or our children, might live in January of the year 2000 and invited them to tell whether they believe that these scenarios "will have actually come about by then or not" :

In very concrete terms, the subject matters evoked dealt with every day life (money, television, languages spoken, the freedom of movement across European Community internal borders), with common European action to increase security (fighting ecological catastrophes, fighting terrorism, common defense against possible external threats), the rank and status of Europe in intercontinental relations (e.g. vis-à-vis the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R.); and, finally, the possibility of voting in a referendum on a European constitution or in an election for the head of the government of Europe. (For the precise wording of those scenarios, see table 2.)

It should be underlined, first of all, that the number of those who think that none of the scenarios offered would have come true by the beginning of the next century is tiny (one in twenty interviewed) and that almost all scenarios are considered as probably realised, thirteen years from now, by at least one European in two.

Nine out of ten British expect the fight against terrorism in January 2000 to be fought at the European level of Government. And, as we shall see below, they are in favour of a full grown European government, endowed with the necessary powers, in a United States of Europe. More than three in four Danes think alike as to fighting terrorism but are afraid of a loss of national identity with respect to Political Union.

The French National Assembly broke the dynamism of European political unification of the early 1950s, in August 1954, by rejecting the idea of a European Defence Community (among the six members of the European Community for Coal and Steel) and a corresponding European Political Community.

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Many very interesting details of the results on our scenario can not be reported here, due to lack of space. Many also deserve additional, more sophisticated analyses, about which we shall report later. One way of summing up the global result of this series of scenarios is to compare the number of affirmative answers to the 10 scenarios presented, by member country.

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8) Espana	5.79
9) Nederland	5.42
10) Ireland	5.42
11) Danmark	4.89
12) Portugal	4.23

Among the bigger member countries, it is France, Italy and the United Kingdom who expect Europe to be truly united, by 2000. Of all twelve, France takes the lead.

#### 4. THE CITIZENS OF EUROPE WANT POLITICAL UNION

Asking about the importance of EC-membership and about the benefit of it for their country, we invited our respondents to give us an assessment of what they perceive to be present and past reality. Asking them whether they think that the various scenarios we had drawn up would have come about by January 2000, we invited them to tell us their expectations. In addition, we asked them about their own preferences with respect to the future of European unification. For instance, we asked them about the idea of a "United States of Europe".

In recent years, few were the occasions where one could hear somebody speak or read somebody having written about the "United States of Europe". Those who were interested in furthering European integration took particular care to avoid this formula. It was considered to be unfashionable, archaic, representing a way of looking at things that was anything but up-to-date. At the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, we nevertheless thought it interesting to test these assumptions by presenting this "formula" to the European public of 1986/1987. The result was rather surprising.

"Are you personally for or against the European Community developing towards becoming a "United States of Europe ?"

Two in three Europeans are personally "for" or "rather for" the United States of Europe (three in four of those who reply, cf. graph 4). Among the publics of the original six Community member countries, the respective figures are even higher : 70 % are in favour of USE (83 % of those who reply).

"After what time would you entrust the government of Europe with the responsibility for the economy, foreign affairs and defense :  
immediately, in the next ten years, over 10 up to 20 years, over 20 up to 30 years, after several generations or a longer period, never ?"

47 % of the citizens of the Europeans Community "would entrust the government of Europe" with the responsibility in these important policy areas (65 % of those who reply) within the next 20 years. 58 % (78 % of those who answer the question) would do so within 30 years, i.e. at the sixtieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. 16 % are against it, at least for the time of their own life span. 26 % chose not to reply.

"In the case of an election for the head of government of Europe, is it possible that you would vote for a candidate who was not (of your nationality) or would you rule this out ?"

66 % of the French say they could vote for a non French candidate, that is 70 % of those who give an answer to this question. An impressive figure in view of this country's position in former years. (Cf. table 4 and graph 6.)

##### 5. EUROPE AND THE YOUNG : WHICH FUTURE ?

If we break the answers to our questions down by age group, a somewhat alarming evidence comes to the fore. For the young, "Europe" - though seen as more important and more beneficial for their respective country - is less inspiring and appears to offer a lower potential for protection than for the older age groups. (The oldest group is slightly more reluctant, too.)

Those who were up to 24 years of age in 1957, when the Treaty was signed, are clearly more "European" than the young ! This is all the more disquieting as today's young receive more formal education than their parents did. And as it is a well established finding that the more educated are more "European", we must take even more seriously what the data collected in this survey reveal. (Cf. Table Nr 5.)

## 6. EUROPEAN UNITY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In order to measure the basic attitudes of our respondents towards the idea of European unification we asked them to define their position on a scale relating two "extreme" opinions (see text on graph nr 7).

As the analysis of all interviewed shows (cf. graph 7, top profile) the Europeans are clearly more oriented towards opinion B. 55 % chose case 5.6. and 7 of the scale. 15 % place themselves in the middle case nr 4, i.e. do not choose their camp. We may add to them those 9 % who did not want to answer this question. 21 %, that is one in five Europeans believe that European unity implies the sacrifice of national identity and economic interests.

Reviewing the answers to the different question of our survey in order to describe the differences between the national publics, we find a number of insights confirmed that have been found in many EUROBAROMETER survey before.

The Luxembourgois, for instance, are strongly in favour of more European unity. And the Danes are clearly sceptical, many of them even hostile to the idea. All new members are still somewhat less enthusiastic than "The Old Six". But Spain and Portugal show more "European orientation" than Greece and - particularly in the more recent years - Ireland. For quite some time, the Italians have been true partisans of European integration.

More surprising, however, are the British and the French on one side, and the Dutch and the Germans on the other.

The British discloses an impressive, steady evolution towards clearly "pro European" positions. They have not yet reached the average of the countries that signed the Treaties in Rome, 30 years ago. But they have totally reversed the basic trend in their public opinion towards the Community. If we compare their answers to the "United States of Europe" question of 17 years ago to their present day replies, a dramatic change comes to the fore (cf. graph nr 8, see also : Les Européens : "oui" à l'Europe, Bruxelles, Commission des Communautés Européennes, Direction Générale de la Presse et de l'Information, May 1970).

While, in 1970, 30 % of the British were in favour of a "united States of Europe", but 48 % against, today 52 % (that is 58 % of those who reply) are in favour and only 37 % remain hostile to this idea (i.e. 42 % of those who reply).

At least part of the reason why the Dutch and the Germans are - more than in the past - sceptical and hesitating vis-à-vis the Community and plans for its development towards a European Union may be found in the fact that the German and Dutch publics are deeply deceived about the slow pace of progress. In the EUROBAROMETER 26 survey the assesment of Europe's actual "speed" and the speed "wanted" by the respondents were measured and compared to each other. The Dutch and the Germans see very little advancement but present high scores with respect to "speed of progress wanted".





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