



## Favorable opinion of America prevails in Iceland...

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## Tekið af vef Borgarskjalasafnsins

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S U M M A R Y O F F I N D I N G S

FAVORABLE OPINION OF AMERICA PREVAILS IN ICELAND ...

In a measurement of over-all feeling toward the United States, just about half the people of Iceland say that they have a "very good" or a "good" opinion of the U.S. A third have a "fair" opinion. Almost none are hostile. America's popularity is only exceeded in any substantial measure by that of Norway. Her popularity is about equal to Denmark's, greater than that of Great Britain or France. It is far higher than that of Soviet Russia, bad opinion of which exceeds good. Opinion-leaders are most friendly to America. Even Communists are more friendly than not.

Nevertheless, American popularity in Iceland appears slightly below her popularity in most other Western European countries. Amount of negative reaction to Russia is less than elsewhere.

HOWEVER, LESS THAN HALF CONVINCED AMERICA DOING ALL SHE SHOULD TO PREVENT WAR ...

Despite the general favorable reaction, only about four out of ten are convinced America is doing all she should to prevent a new world war, while nearly a third believe America is not doing all she should. But only two out of ten say Russia is doing all she should and twice as many say she is not. Younger people are most critical of both nations.

Iceland's attitudes toward both nations on this issue are about "average" for Western Europe.

RUSSIA BLAMED MORE THAN AMERICA FOR PRESENT CONFLICT BUT PREPONDERANCE BLAME BOTH SIDES OR HAVE NO OPINION ...

Although four out of ten of Iceland's adults feel that Russia is more to blame than the United States in the present conflict, and few blame America, the bulk blame both sides or have no opinion. Supporters of the Conservative and Peasant parties are most likely to blame Russia; but opinion-leaders - usually most pro-American - are hardly more favorable than average on this issue.

Despite this, Iceland's reaction is still somewhat "better" on this issue than in most Western European countries.

AND ONLY A THIRD FAVOR SIDING WITH THE WEST ...

Even less support is found when it comes to actually taking sides. Half of the Icelanders favor neutralism - siding with neither side in the East-West conflict. Only a third support a pro-Western policy. Again, supporters of the Conservative and Peasant parties most strongly favor siding with the West (over half of them). Opinion-leaders divide almost evenly between neutralism and siding with the West. There is no open support for siding with the East. Even among Communists only a tenth advocate this action.

Support for pro-Western alignment is lower in Iceland than anywhere in Western Europe but Austria and France - an expected finding in view of Iceland's long history of isolation and resentment of foreign influence.

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ICELANDERS CERTAIN WAR NOT IMMINENT; WERE HIGHLY PLEASED WITH FIRST GENEVA MEETING ...

More than almost any Western European nation, Iceland appears sure that war will not come in the next few years. This feeling permeates all groups in the population. Similarly, Icelanders of all kinds were highly pleased with the outcome of the Geneva Summit Conference, were sure it had lessened the chances of war.

Since this survey was conducted prior to the "failure" of the Foreign Ministers' meeting, it is probable that by now some of the optimism and hope for an Era of Good Will has dissipated, and possibly along with it a measure of neutralism. But this can only be ascertained in a follow-up study.

HALF ICELAND BELIEVES RUSSIA INFLUENCING ICELANDIC POLITICAL GROUPS; BUT A FIFTH THINK UNITED STATES IS ALSO DOING SO ...

Half the people of Iceland definitely believe Russia is "unduly" influencing an Icelandic political party - the Communists. This finding would be more a cause for optimism if it were not that a fifth of the population believe that the United States is exerting undue influence - generally on conservative groups.

This latter belief is not limited to Communists or extreme nationalists. It is found, to some degree, among all groups. Thus, a tenth of the Conservative supporters feel that their party is being unduly influenced by the United States. But this is more than matched by the fifth of the Communist supporters who mention undue Russian influence in their party.

It should be noted that the question did not explore the type of "undue" influence meant. Respondents may well distinguish between tight Russian control and American "engineering of consent."

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I. Comparative Standings of Various Countries in Popular Esteem

UNITED STATES RELATIVELY POPULAR IN ICELAND, BUT SOMEWHAT LESS SO THAN IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ...

A "good" or "very good" opinion of the United States is held by about half the people of Iceland. With the exception of the fellow Scandinavian nations of Norway and (by a small margin) Denmark, the United States leads in popularity. In contrast, the reactions to the U.S.S.R. are basically negative.

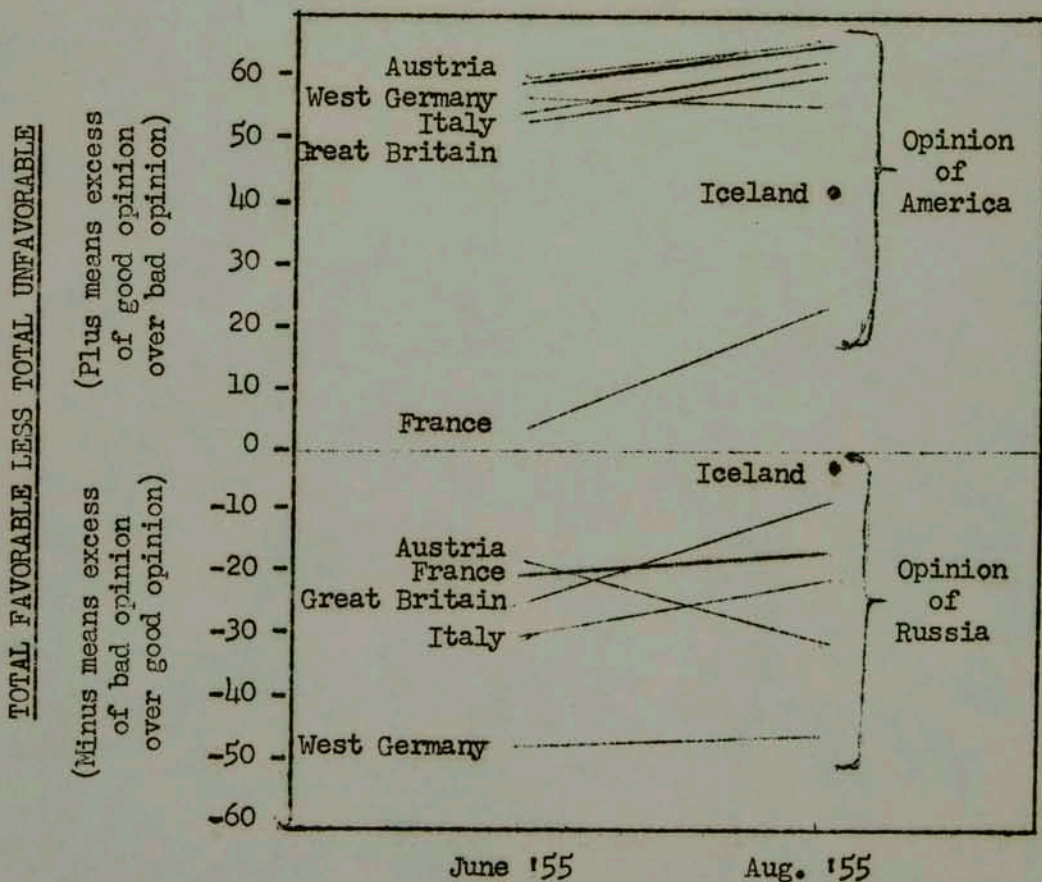
"Now, please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries." (CARD)<sup>1</sup>

	Norway	Denmark	Great Britain	U.S.	U.S.S.R.	France
Very good opinion	40%)	17%)	5%)	13%)	3%)	7%)
Good opinion	40 ) 80%	35 ) 52%	25 ) 30%	34 ) 47%	13 ) 16%	24 ) 31%
Fair opinion	10	33	39	30	29	33
Bad opinion	4 )	2 )	9 )	3 )	15 )	5 )
Very bad opinion	2 )	1 )	1 ) 10	1 ) 4	4 ) 19	1 ) 6
No opinion	10	12	21	19	36	30
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

NET (Good less bad) 80%      49%      20%      43%      -3%      25%

<sup>1</sup>Question taken from first survey; the Cultural-Media study (ICMS - 1003 cases)

Comparison with reactions in other European countries, however, indicates that this popularity appears to be slightly below average. In addition, while Icelanders are negative to the U.S.S.R., that negativity is very close to an even split. In Iceland, there is less net negative reaction to the U.S.S.R. than in all the other European countries tested.



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Data for Preceding Graph

"Please use this card to tell me your feelings about various countries. (SHOW CARD - Very good opinion, good opinion, fair opinion, bad opinion, very bad opinion.) How about ...?"

OPINION ABOUT UNITED STATES

	In Great Britain				In West Germany				In Austria	
	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Jun '55	Aug '55
	832	805	800	800	836	820	857	865	792	752
Very good opinion	10%	4%	19%	24%	10%	9%	15%	12%	23%	21%
Good opinion	39	18	39	38	51	52	48	47	44	47
Fair opinion	28	47	28	28	25	26	18	21	18	17
Bad opinion	7	12	4	3	3	2	5	3	5	2
Very bad opinion	2	3	2	1	1	*	1	1	2	1
No opinion	14	16	8	6	10	11	13	16	8	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	In Italy				In France				In Iceland
	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Aug '55
	808	814	826	802	851	900	800	800	1003
Very good opinion	26%	26%	31%	33%	3%	4%	3%	6%	13%
Good opinion	33	35	35	34	17	26	17	29	34
Fair opinion	16	17	13	15	34	31	36	36	30
Bad opinion	7	4	7	4	14	11	12	10	3
Very bad opinion	3	4	4	2	6	4	4	3	1
No opinion	15	14	10	12	26	24	28	16	19
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

OPINION ABOUT SOVIET RUSSIA

	In Great Britain				In West Germany				In Austria	
	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Jun '55	Aug '55
	832	805	800	800	836	820	857	865	792	752
Very good opinion	1%	5%	3%	2%	*%	*%	1%	1%	4%	2%
Good opinion	5	26	7	12	5	6	6	7	14	10
Fair opinion	24	38	32	44	13	17	24	18	34	25
Bad opinion	21	6	22	16	28	34	31	29	21	22
Very bad opinion	23	3	14	7	40	29	24	25	16	23
No opinion	26	22	22	19	14	14	14	20	11	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	In Italy				In France				In Iceland
	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Aug '55
	808	814	826	802	851	900	800	800	1003
Very good opinion	6%	7%	6%	7%	3%	3%	2%	4%	3%
Good opinion	12	7	10	12	6	10	9	10	13
Fair opinion	12	11	17	19	14	17	24	31	29
Bad opinion	21	23	24	21	26	24	21	23	15
Very bad opinion	27	29	24	20	15	14	10	9	4
No opinion	22	23	19	21	36	32	34	23	36
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

\* Less than one-half of one per cent.

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U.S. POPULARITY HIGHEST AMONG OPINION-LEADER GROUPS, BUT EVEN ICELANDIC COMMUNISTS SHOW FAVORABLE REACTION ...

Opinion-leader groups - the well-educated and well-to-do - are somewhat more favorable to the United States than their opposites. Adherents of Right and Center parties - Conservatives and Peasants - are also above average. In contrast, the U.S.S.R. is rated negatively or nearly so by most Icelanders. An exception, somewhat naturally, is the group of Communist Party adherents (about a tenth of the sample), more than half of whom are favorably disposed toward Russia.

But even among Icelandic Communists, the United States, as a nation, gets more favorable than unfavorable reactions.

"Now, please use this card to show me your feelings about various countries." (SHOW CARD)

	ABOUT UNITED STATES			ABOUT U.S.S.R.			Number of Cases
	Very good and good	Bad and very bad	NET (Good less bad)	Very good and good	Bad and very bad	NET (Good less bad)	
<u>Total</u>	47%	4%	43%	16%	19%	-3%	1003
<u>SEX</u>							
Men	51	5	46	22	16	6	506
Women	44	3	41	10	23	-13	497
<u>AGE</u>							
21-29	48	5	43	17	20	-3	249
30-44	52	3	49	18	19	-1	342
45 and over	43	4	39	14	18	-4	412
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>							
Reykjavik	52	3	49	17	16	1	409
Other cities	42	4	38	15	20	-5	236
Rural	45	4	41	16	22	-6	358
<u>OCCUPATION</u>							
Independent	50	4	46	14	22	-8	191
Employees	59	2	57	16	22	-6	216
Laborers	42	5	37	17	17	0	596
<u>EDUCATION</u>							
Higher	53	1	52	18	16	2	276
Lower	45	5	40	15	20	-5	727
<u>INCOME</u>							
Low	43	3	40	13	21	-8	303
Middle	50	5	45	20	17	3	502
High	60	3	57	13	23	-10	111
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>							
Labor	49	-	49	20	17	3	90
Peasant	58	2	56	17	24	-7	147
Communist	28	15	13	58	1	57	67
Conservative	61	1	60	11	28	-17	297
Independence	20	11	9	11	30	-19	46
Not known	38	5	33	12	13	-1	356
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>							
Union member	49	5	44	20	17	3	411
Non-member	47	3	44	13	21	-8	592

II. Beliefs About Peaceful Intentions and Blame for Cold War

ICELANDERS NOT CONVINCED EITHER U.S. OR U.S.S.R. DOING ALL THEY SHOULD TO PREVENT WAR, BUT RESULTS ARE MUCH MORE FAVORABLE TO AMERICA THAN TO RUSSIA ...

Icelanders are not convinced that America is doing all it should to prevent war. About four out of ten believe so, but the rest of the population either cannot answer or believe that America is definitely remiss. When blame and "Don't know" responses are omitted, and unfavorable answers are subtracted from favorable, America's "NET" favorable response is only 11 percentage points.

But if reaction to America, on this issue, is only slightly favorable, reaction to Russia is definitely hostile. Here the "NET" is minus 20. About a fifth believe that the U.S.S.R. is doing all it should; twice as many think not.

Icelandic attitudes toward both America and Russia, on this issue, are about "average" for Western Europe.

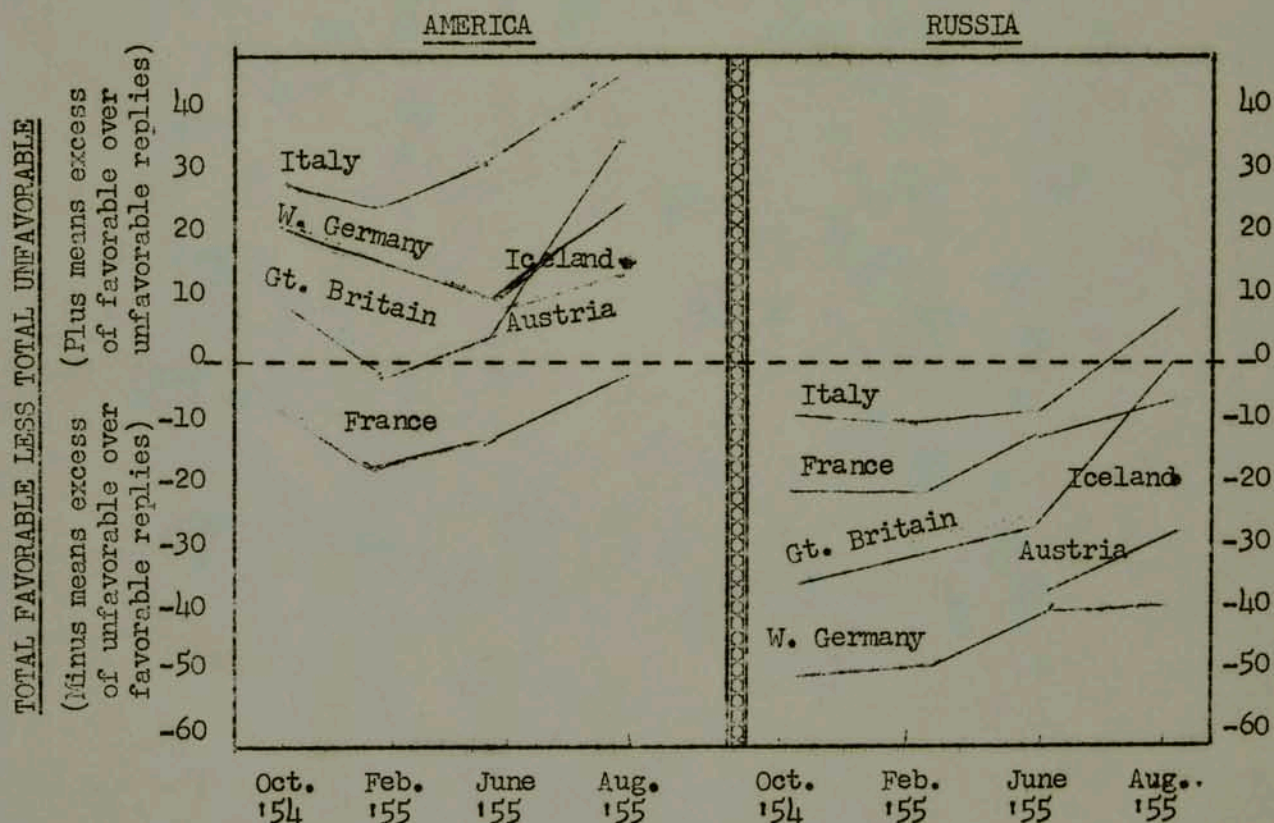
"In your opinion is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"<sup>1</sup>

"Is Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

	<u>About America</u>	<u>About Russia</u>
Yes, doing all it should	41%	22%
No, not doing all it should	30	42
No opinion	29	36
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

<sup>1</sup>This question and all subsequent data for Iceland taken from political (IPS) survey - 1465 cases.

NET ("Yes" less "No") 11% -20%



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Data for Preceding Graph

"Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

	<u>Great Britain</u>				<u>West Germany</u>				<u>Austria</u>	
	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>
No. of cases	<u>832</u>	<u>805</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>836</u>	<u>820</u>	<u>857</u>	<u>865</u>	<u>792</u>	<u>752</u>
Yes, America is	39%	36%	40%	56%	48%	34%	39%	49%	38%	43%
No, America is not	30	39	35	23	27	29	32	27	44	32
No opinion	31	25	25	21	25	37	29	24	18	25
	<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>Italy</u>				<u>France</u>				<u>Iceland</u>
	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>
	<u>808</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>826</u>	<u>802</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>1465</u>
Yes, America is	42%	37%	49%	58%	25%	21%	21%	36%	41%
No, America is not	16	15	18	10	33	40	36	31	30
No opinion	42	48	33	32	42	39	43	33	29
	<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>

"Is Soviet Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

	<u>Great Britain</u>				<u>West Germany</u>				<u>Austria</u>	
	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>
	<u>832</u>	<u>805</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>836</u>	<u>820</u>	<u>857</u>	<u>865</u>	<u>792</u>	<u>752</u>
Yes, Russia is	13%	17%	22%	35%	13%	9%	18%	20%	22%	24%
No, Russia is not	48	44	45	33	65	59	54	56	59	52
No opinion	39	39	33	32	22	32	28	24	19	24
	<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>Italy</u>				<u>France</u>				<u>Iceland</u>
	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Oct</u> <u>'54</u>	<u>Feb</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>'55</u>
	<u>808</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>826</u>	<u>802</u>	<u>851</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>1465</u>
Yes, Russia is	21%	16%	25%	31%	16%	16%	20%	26%	22%
No, Russia is not	28	26	33	22	37	38	31	32	42
No opinion	51	58	42	47	47	46	49	42	36
	<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>



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OLDER, CONSERVATIVE REYKJAVIK GROUPS MOST SURE U.S. DOING ALL IT SHOULD ...

Conservatives, older people, and people in Reykjavik are most likely to feel America is doing all it should to prevent war. In contrast, young people (who would expect to do the fighting) appear to be most critical. This does not mean any sympathy toward Russia on the part of youth however: In general, the same groups show the same critical type of reactions to Russia's supposed failure to do all it should. Even Communists are skeptical of Russia on this score.

"Is America doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

"Is Soviet Russia doing all it should do to prevent a new world war?"

	NET US (Yes less No)				NET USSR (Yes less No) Number of Cases				
	Yes, US is	No. US is not	No opinion	No	Yes, USSR is	No USSR is not	No opinion	less No)	Number of Cases
<u>Total</u>	41%	30%	29%	11%	12%	42%	36%	-20%	1465
<u>SEX</u>									
Men	41	33	26	8	24	46	30	-22	747
Women	40	27	33	13	20	37	43	-17	718
<u>AGE</u>									
21-29	36	39	25	-3	16	55	29	-39	331
30-44	40	33	27	7	24	42	34	-18	526
45 and over	42	22	36	20	24	34	42	-10	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>									
Reykjavik	46	25	29	21	29	35	36	-6	595
Other cities	35	30	35	5	17	47	36	-30	314
Rural	38	32	30	6	17	46	37	-29	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>									
Independent	39	33	28	6	17	48	35	-31	279
Employees	39	35	26	4	21	48	31	-27	265
Laborers	28	28	44	-	23	40	37	-17	797
Unemployed	47	25	28	22	26	31	43	-5	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>									
Higher	38	35	27	3	20	49	31	-29	360
Lower	42	28	30	14	23	40	37	-17	1105
<u>INCOME</u>									
Low	40	31	29	9	19	44	37	-25	464
Middle	41	30	29	11	22	42	36	-20	854
High	42	30	28	12	28	36	36	-8	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>									
Labor	44	32	24	12	20	45	35	-25	125
Peasant	45	27	28	18	20	55	25	-35	174
Communist	14	64	22	-50	40	31	29	9	84
Conservative	57	19	24	38	26	42	32	-16	400
Independence	20	74	6	-54	24	64	12	-40	30
Not known	34	31	35	3	18	38	44	-20	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>									
Union member	39	36	25	3	26	43	31	-17	615
Not member	42	25	33	17	19	41	40	-22	850

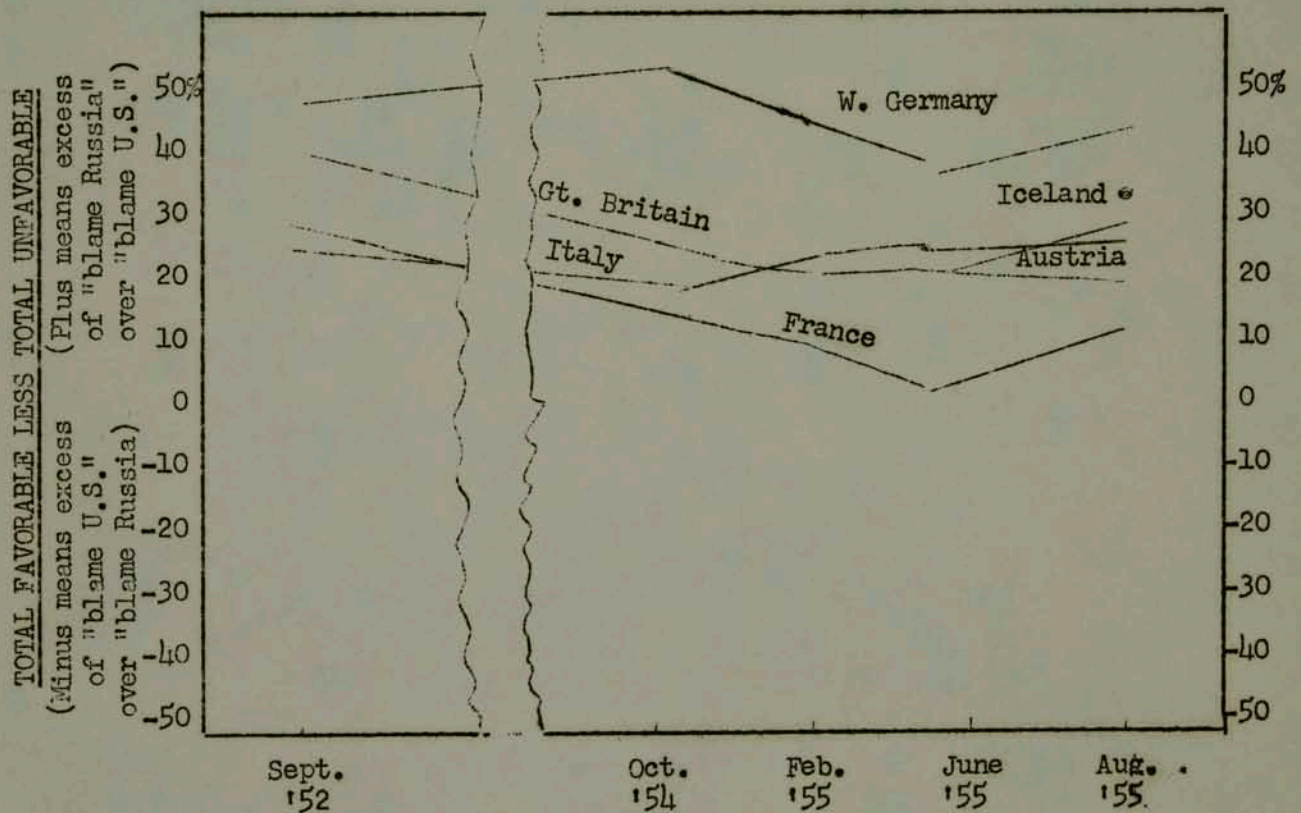
AND RUSSIA BLAMED MUCH MORE THAN U.S. FOR PRESENT CONFLICT THOUGH PREPONDERANCE BLAME BOTH OR HAVE NO OPINION ON ISSUE ...

In a direct comparison, America's moral superiority over Russia appears to be even clearer. In answer to a specific question on this issue, nearly four out of ten say Russia is more at fault; less than a tenth blame America more. But still the preponderance blame both or have no opinion.

America's "NET" over Russia is 32 percentage points - slightly above "average" for Western Europe.

"In the present conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States, which country do you think is more to blame - Russia or the United States?"

Russia	38%
United States	6
Both	30
No opinion	26
	<u>100%</u>



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Data for Preceding Graph

"In the present conflict between Soviet Russia and the U.S., which country do you think is more to blame - Russia or the United States?"

	<u>Great Britain</u>					<u>West Germany</u>					<u>Austria</u>	
	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Jun '55	Aug '55
	1503	832	805	800	800	1591	836	820	857	865	792	752
Russia	48%	32%	30%	35%	29%	51%	53%	44%	40%	44%	28%	32%
United States	8	7	11	13	8	4	4	4	6	3	7	5
Both to blame	26	39	41	36	40	29	28	37	39	33	58	47
No opinion	18	22	18	16	23	16	15	15	15	20	7	16
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	<u>Italy</u>					<u>France</u>					<u>Iceland</u>
	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Aug '55
	1505	808	814	826	802	1345	851	900	800	800	1465
Russia	34%	28%	32%	35%	32%	39%	20%	19%	11%	19%	38%
United States	11	11	11	11	9	11	7	11	10	8	6
Both to blame	32	26	27	33	23	35	40	34	48	44	30
No opinion	23	35	30	21	36	15	33	36	31	29	26
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

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CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL GROUPS MOST LIKELY TO BLAME RUSSIA FOR CONFLICT ...

Supporters of Conservative and Peasant parties show a marked tendency to blame Russia and absolve the United States. Communists alone blame the United States more than Russia. Opinion-leader groups - often most pro-American - on this issue are barely more favorable than their opposites.

"In the present conflict between Soviet Russia and the United States, which country do you think is more to blame - Russia or the United States?"

	<u>Russia</u>	<u>United States</u>	<u>(NET U.S. over Russia)</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
<u>Total</u>	38%	6%	(32%)	30%	26% .100%	1465
<u>SEX</u>						
Men	39	6	(33)	36	19	747
Women	37	7	(30)	25	31	718
<u>AGE</u>						
21-29	34	2	(32)	40	24	331
30-44	39	7	(32)	30	24	526
45 and over	39	8	(31)	9	44	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>						
Reykjavik	35	7	(28)	34	24	595
Other cities	35	7	(28)	28	30	314
Rural	42	6	(36)	28	24	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>						
Independent	48	7	(41)	24	21	279
Employees	40	7	(33)	32	21	265
Laborers	35	6	(29)	36	23	797
Unemployed	36	7	(29)	26	31	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Higher	43	7	(36)	32	18	360
Lower	36	6	(30)	30	28	1105
<u>INCOME</u>						
Low	38	6	(32)	27	29	464
Middle	37	6	(31)	32	25	854
High	44	8	(36)	30	18	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>						
Labor	44	5	(39)	33	18	125
Peasant	58	2	(56)	21	19	174
Communist	1	52	(-51)	29	18	84
Conservative	54	2	(52)	24	20	400
Independence	24	17	(7)	57	2	30
Not known	27	5	(22)	36	32	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Union member	34	8	(26)	38	20	615
Not member	40	6	(34)	25	29	850

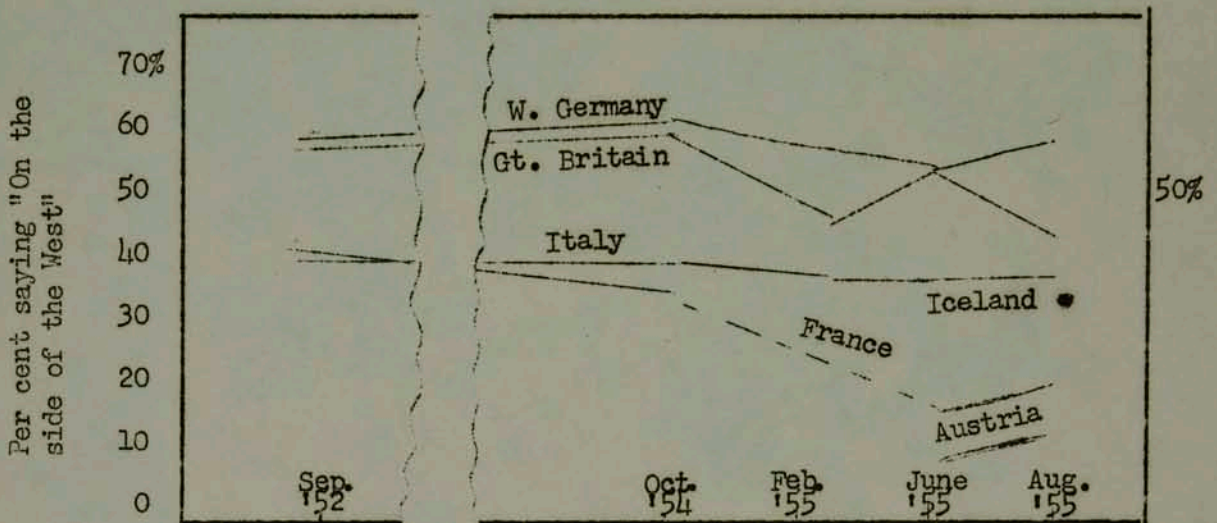
III. Neutralism

ONLY A THIRD OF PEOPLE IN ICELAND FAVOR SIDING WITH WESTERN POWERS ...

Despite a rather favorable general attitude toward America, neutralism appears to be about as strong in Iceland as almost anywhere in Europe. About half the population favor taking neither side in the present conflict - an amount of neutralism about level with that of France and only exceeded by Austria (where special circumstances obtain). At most, a third of the people favor taking sides with the West.

"At the present time, do you personally think that Iceland should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

West	34%
East	2
Neither side	49
No opinion	15
	<u>100%</u>



	Great Britain					West Germany					Austria	
	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Jun '55	Aug '55
	1503	832	805	800	800	1591	836	820	857	865	792	752
West	57%	59%	45%	52%	42%	58%	60%	56%	52%	58%	10%	15%
East	-	2	1	1	1	*	*	1	1	1	1	1
Neither side	28	29	40	36	33	31	31	36	36	27	86	79
No opinion	15	10	14	11	24	11	9	7	11	14	3	5
	<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>

	Italy					France					Iceland
	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Sep '52	Oct '54	Feb '55	Jun '55	Aug '55	Aug '55
	1505	808	814	826	802	1345	851	900	800	800	1465
West	40%	40%	38%	37%	38%	42%	36%	Not	18%	23%	34%
East	3	4	2	4	4	4	2	Ask-	3	4	2
Neither side	42	39	43	45	34	43	39	ed	57	51	49
No opinion	15	17	17	14	24	11	23		22	22	15
	<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>

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CONSERVATIVE PARTIES, OPINION-LEADING GROUPS MOST FAVORABLE TO WESTERN ALIGNMENT ...

Supporters of the Conservative and Peasant parties, as well as the better-educated and more wealthy are most likely to favor alignment with the West. But the tendency is more comparative than absolute. Even among these groups, only a bare majority feels Iceland should be on the side of the West.

"At the present time, do you personally think that Iceland should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

	<u>Side of West</u>	<u>Side of East</u>	<u>Neither Side</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
<u>Total</u>	34%	2%	49%	15% .. 100%	1465
<u>SEX</u>					
Men	42	2	46	10	747
Women	26	2	52	20	718
<u>AGE</u>					
21-29	30	2	55	13	331
30-44	34	3	53	10	526
45 and over	37	1	43	19	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>					
Reykjavik	33	2	51	14	595
Other cities	27	3	55	15	314
Rural	40	2	44	14	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
Independent:	44	2	46	8	279
Employees	40	1	50	9	265
Laborers	16	2	52	30	797
Unemployed	35	2	36	27	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Higher	46	1	42	11	360
Lower	29	2	51	18	1105
<u>INCOME</u>					
Low	35	1	44	20	464
Middle	31	2	53	14	854
High	47	2	45	6	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>					
Labor	25	2	57	16	125
Peasant	55	2	40	3	174
Communist	-	10	81	9	84
Conservative	54	1	34	11	400
Independence	3	8	70	19	30
Not known	24	1	55	20	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>					
Union member	34	2	52	12	615
Not member	34	2	47	17	850

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CULTURAL AND IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITIES CHIEF REASONS GIVEN FOR SIDING WITH WEST ...

Similar forms of government and ways of thinking are the main types of reasons why Icelanders say they favor being on the side of the West. The attractions of safety and defense appear to be substantially less important in swinging Icelanders to the West.

"At the present time, do you personally think that Iceland should be on the side of the West, on the side of the East, or on neither side?"

(IF "West"): "Why is that?"

Cultural and Ideological Reasons: (19%)

Forms of government similar, democratic	7%
Closer connections; greater relations	6
Cultural connection; more similarity of thinking	3
More freedom	2
Economic conditions; more commercial relations	1

Reasons of Safety, Defense: (9%)

For our defense	5
More safety	3
Iceland cannot stand alone	1
Other answers (Do not know the Russians very well, etc.)	3
No opinion	3
	<u>34%</u>

NEUTRALISM SEEN AS PROJECTION OF ICELAND'S INDEPENDENCE ...

Chief reason given for not taking sides appears to be simply a reiteration that neutrality is good, that Iceland should keep out of quarrels - an indication of the high status of the concept of neutrality. But almost as important is the definite feeling that taking sides would jeopardize their independence.

(IF "Neither side"): "Why is that?"

Iceland should be neutral in war, not take part in quarrels, better to be neutral	21%
Independence above all, Iceland should be independent, to be independent	19
The nation is small	2
Preferable from commercial points of view	1
Not so dangerous if war breaks out	1
Neither side is right	1
Other answers	2
No opinion	2
	<u>49%</u>

IV. Likelihood of War

ICELANDERS SHOW GREAT CERTAINTY THERE WILL NOT BE A WAR IN NEXT FEW YEARS...

Behind this neutralist desire to take neither side there appears to lie less the fear of war than the expectation of peace. More than any nation in Europe tested so far - Austria excepted - Icelanders feel there will not be a war in the next three or four years. This level of optimism is so high that it enfolds pro-Westerners and neutralists - both groups presumably drawing different conclusions from the same optimism. But, as in Western Europe as a whole, the net reaction appears to be toward neutralism.

It should be remembered that this survey was conducted after the first Geneva meeting, in an atmosphere of optimism and release from tension. The apparent failure of the Foreign Ministers' meeting may well have modified Icelanders' optimism since this time.

"Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next three or four years?"<sup>1</sup>

	<u>Iceland</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>West Germany</u>	<u>Austria</u>	<u>Italy</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Belgium</u>
No. of cases	<u>1465</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>865</u>	<u>752</u>	<u>802</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>806</u>
Will be	5%	4%	9%	6%	7%	5%	8%
Will not be	75	72	70	81	54	64	66
Qualified <sup>2</sup>	—	11	5	3	9	9	2
No opinion	20	13	16	10	30	22	4
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

<sup>1</sup>All surveys made in August 1955.

<sup>2</sup>"Qualified" was not coded in Iceland.



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ALL GROUPS THROUGHOUT ICELAND ALIKE IN FORESEEING NO WAR ...

Belief there will be no war in the near future runs through all segments of Icelandic society. It is highest among Communist supporters, but not much more so than among Conservatives.

"Do you believe that there will or will not be a world war in the next three or four years?"

	<u>Will be</u>	<u>Will not be</u>	<u>No opinion</u>		<u>Number of Cases</u>
<u>Total</u>	5%	75%	20%	100%	1465
<u>SEX</u>					
Men	5	79	16		747
Women	5	70	25		718
<u>AGE</u>					
21-29	4	77	19		331
30-44	4	79	17		526
45 and over	7	69	24		608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>					
Reykjavik	6	81	13		595
Other cities	4	70	26		314
Rural	5	70	25		556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
Independent	6	76	19		279
Employees	3	80	17		265
Laborers	6	74	20		797
Unemployed	4	64	32		124
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Higher	4	79	17		360
Lower	5	73	22		1105
<u>INCOME</u>					
Low	6	68	26		464
Middle	5	78	17		854
High	2	77	21		147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>					
Labor	5	79	16		125
Peasant	6	78	16		174
Communist	1	82	17		84
Conservative	5	79	16		400
Independence	10	73	17		30
Not known	6	69	25		652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>					
Union member	6	79	15		615
Not member	5	71	24		850

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V. Reactions to Geneva Summit Conference

ICELANDERS WERE WELL-PLEASSED WITH OUTCOME OF GENEVA, BELIEVE IT HAS LESSENED CHANCES OF WAR ...

Behind this almost-universal belief at the time of the survey that war would not come lay the impact of the first Geneva conference. Most Icelanders had heard of it; six out of ten were pleased with the results; seven out of ten believed it had lessened the chances of war.

"Have you heard or read of a major Four-Power conference that has just taken place in Geneva?"

Yes	84%
No	14
No opinion	2
	<u>100%</u>

(If "Yes"):

"Everything considered, are you pleased or displeased with the results of the conference?"

Pleased	59%
Displeased	3
No opinion	22
	<u>84%</u>

"Do you feel that the Four-Power conference has lessened the chance of war between the East and West, or don't you think so?"

Has lessened	68%
Has not lessened	5
No opinion	11
	<u>84%</u>

BUT IMPACT OF FOREIGN-MINISTERS' CONFERENCE STILL TO BE MEASURED ...

The optimism shown above was measured when the so-called "Spirit of Geneva" was fresh in the minds of Icelanders, and before the Foreign Ministers' Conference had had opportunity to add sober revision of an emotional atmosphere. It is probable that at the present time Icelanders' optimism has abated considerably. But the precise measurement of this deflation and its relation to pro-Western commitments must await a later survey.

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OPINION-LEADERS WERE MOST PLEASED WITH CONFERENCE, MOST SURE IT LESSENE  
CHANCES OF WAR ...

Men, the better-educated, and the wealthy, were most satisfied with the results of the conference and were most likely to believe it has lessened the chances of war. But among all groups there was a heavy preponderance on the side of optimism.

"Have you heard or read of a major Four-Power conference that has just taken place in Geneva?"

(If "Yes"):

"Everything considered, are you pleased or displeased with the results of the conference?"

"Do you feel the Four-Power conference has lessened the chances of war between the East and West, or don't you think so?"

	Pleased	Not Pleased	No Opinion	Less-ened Chances	Not Less-ened Chances	No Opinion	Total Heard of Conf.	Not Heard of Conf.	No. of Cases
<u>Total</u>	59%	3%	22%	68%	5%	11%	84%	16%	1465
<u>SEX</u>									
Men	70	4	18	78	6	8	92	8	747
Women	46	2	27	57	4	14	75	25	718
<u>AGE</u>									
21-29	60	3	25	69	6	13	88	12	331
30-44	60	4	20	71	6	7	84	16	526
45 and over	56	3	22	64	4	13	81	19	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>									
Reykjavik	66	2	18	72	5	9	86	14	595
Other cities	55	4	23	66	4	12	82	18	314
Rural	53	4	25	64	6	12	82	18	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>									
Independent	56	4	26	68	8	10	86	14	279
Employees	67	4	21	77	5	10	92	8	265
Laborers	58	3	21	66	5	11	82	18	797
Unemployed	48	3	21	55	3	14	72	28	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>									
Higher	72	4	20	81	6	9	96	4	360
Lower	54	3	23	63	5	12	80	20	1105
<u>INCOME</u>									
Low	48	3	26	58	6	13	77	23	464
Middle	62	3	21	71	5	10	86	14	854
High	69	5	15	78	5	6	89	11	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>									
Labor	54	6	22	70	4	8	82	18	125
Peasant	63	5	22	71	5	14	90	10	174
Communist	77	2	13	85	1	6	92	8	84
Conservative	63	3	22	73	6	9	88	12	400
Independence	80	3	17	87	10	3	100	-	30
Not known	52	2	24	60	5	13	78	22	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>									
Union member	70	3	18	77	5	9	91	9	850
Not member	50	3	25	61	5	12	78	22	86

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INCREASED PROSPECTS FOR PEACE, WILL TO AGREE CHIEF REASONS FOR SATISFACTION WITH GENEVA OUTCOME ...

Few Icelanders could mention specific reasons for being pleased at the outcome of the Four-Power Conference. The reaction appears to be one of optimism and good-feeling based on a general spirit, rather than on concreteness. It may well be vulnerable to a more realistic picture of the situation based on the lack of progress of the Foreign Ministers' meeting, which had not taken place at the time of the survey.

(If "pleased" with results of Four-Power conference): "Why is that?"

More peaceful prospects, less prospects of war	23%
Greater will to agree, indications of agreement (peace)	20
Leaders met, got acquainted, could agree	4
Possible to discuss problems now; exchange of information kept secret previously	2
The cold war ended	2
Better harmony between Russia and the U.S.	2
Because of behavior of Russia; Russians showed that they wanted to be friendly	1
A landmark	1
Big powers reached some agreement	1
Other reasons	2
No opinion	2
(Some respondents mentioned more than one reason)	60%

ICELANDERS FEEL BOTH WESTERN POWERS AND RUSSIA HAVE GAINED PRESTIGE FROM THE CONFERENCE ...

Further indication of this spirit of (uncritical) good will can be found in the fact that Icelanders preponderantly felt that both East and West gained equally in prestige because of their behavior at the Geneva Conference. Even the minority who felt that one side or another "won" the conference split equally between East and West.

"Who has through its behavior in this conference gained more prestige in your eyes: the U.S.S.R. or the Western Powers?"

U.S.S.R.	15%
Western Powers	16
Both gained equal prestige	44
No opinion	9
	84%

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ALL SUBGROUPS AGREED THAT BOTH SIDES GAINED PRESTIGE ...

This feeling that both sides gained equally in prestige showed up in all the subgroups analyzed. Among Communist supporters it was the predominant opinion though this group was more likely than average to feel that the U.S.S.R. "won."

These results, coupled with similar findings, indicate a situation prior to the Foreign Ministers' Conference of hopes for an "Era of Good Feeling" in the field of world conflict, cutting through all segments of the population. At that time and placed in that emotional framework, the questions on NATO and defense needs would probably seem to intrude incongruously into this area of optimism and call unwelcome attention to less pleasant possibilities. But it is possible that, seen in the light of the soberer feelings following the second Geneva Conference, such questions might now seem less incongruous and unnecessary.

(If "Heard of Conference"): "Who has through its behavior in this conference gained more prestige in your eyes: the U.S.S.R. or the Western Powers?"

	USSR	Western Powers	Both equal Prestige	No Opin- ion	Total Heard of Conf.	Not heard of Conf.	Number of Cases
<u>Total</u>	15%	16%	44%	9%	84%	16%	1465
<u>SEX</u>							
Men	17	16	52	7	92	8	747
Women	13	16	35	11	75	25	718
<u>AGE</u>							
21-29	13	17	46	12	88	12	331
30-44	18	15	44	7	84	16	526
45 and over	30	16	41	11	81	19	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>							
Reykjavik	13	18	44	11	86	14	595
Other cities	16	15	42	9	82	18	314
Rural	16	14	44	8	82	18	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>							
Independent	17	18	42	9	86	14	279
Employees	19	16	47	10	92	8	265
Laborers	13	15	44	10	82	18	797
Unemployed	12	19	35	6	72	28	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>							
Higher	19	15	52	10	96	4	360
Lower	14	16	41	9	80	20	1105
<u>INCOME</u>							
Low	14	13	39	11	77	23	464
Middle	18	16	46	6	86	14	854
High	16	24	43	6	89	11	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>							
Labor	16	14	43	9	82	18	125
Peasant	20	24	41	15	90	10	174
Communist	24	5	57	6	92	8	84
Conservative	16	24	40	8	88	12	400
Independence	30	3	67	-	100	-	30
Not known	11	11	43	5	78	22	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>							
Union member	17	17	49	8	91	9	850
Not member	13	15	39	11	78	22	86

VI. Outside Influence on Iceland Political Groups

HALF IN ICELAND BELIEVE RUSSIA UNDULY INFLUENCING LOCAL COMMUNISTS; A FIFTH BELIEVE U.S. DOING SAME WITH NON-COMMUNIST PARTIES ...

Casting oblique illumination on Iceland's trust in neutrality, and its fears for its independence, is the belief that the conflicting powers are interfering in local politics. Half the Icelanders believe that local Communists are under undue Russian influence; but about a fifth believe that the United States also exerts undue influence on non-communist parties - mainly the Conservatives. However, it should be noted that the question did not explore the type of influence meant. Respondents may well distinguish between tight Russian control and American "engineering of consent."

"Are there any political groups in Iceland which in your opinion are unduly influenced by some other country?"

Yes	62%
No	7
No opinion	31
	<u>100%</u>

(IF "Yes"): "What groups? What country is it influenced by?"

By U.S.S.R. or Satellites:

Communists under Russian influence	51%
Communists under Eastern-European influence	1

By both sides:

All parties under either Russian or U.S. influence	2
--	---

By U.S.

Conservatives under U.S. influence	11
Conservatives and Peasants under U.S. influence	3
Government under U.S. influence	1
Conservatives, Peasants and Laborites under U.S. influence	1
Un-named parties under U.S. influence	1

Don't know what parties or countries (Some respondents mentioned more than one example)	2
	<u>73%</u>

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FEELING OF UNDUE AMERICAN INFLUENCE FOUND IN ALL GROUPS ...

This feeling of undue American influence on Icelandic politics is not limited to Communists and their sympathizers. In all subgroups, somewhere from a tenth to a fifth mention groups unduly influenced by the United States. Young people, laborites and union members are the most likely to do so. As might be expected, relatively more - but barely less than half - of the Communist supporters display a belief in U.S. influence.

All groups are united in finding undue Russian influence - opinion-leader groups most of all. Even among Communists, around a fifth feel themselves unduly influenced by Russia - indication of heretical elements within Icelandic communism.

(IF "Yes"): "What groups? What country is it influenced by?"

	By Soviet Russia	By U.S.	By Both	Don't know what groups or country		Number of Cases
<u>Total</u>	52%	17%	2%	2% ... 73% <sup>1</sup>		1465
<u>SEX</u>						
Men	58	20	3	2	82	747
Women	47	15	1	3	65	718
<u>AGE</u>						
21-29	55	26	2	1	84	331
30-44	52	19	2	1	74	526
45 and over	51	10	2	2	65	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>						
Reykjavik	52	17	2	1	72	595
Other cities	46	18	1	2	67	314
Rural	54	16	2	3	75	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>						
Independent	58	18	1	-	77	279
Employees	65	20	5	2	92	265
Laborers	48	16	1	1	66	797
Unemployed	40	15	-	10	65	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Higher	65	20	3	1	89	360
Lower	49	17	2	3	71	1105
<u>INCOME</u>						
Low	45	14	1	3	63	464
Middle	54	19	2	2	77	854
High	64	15	1	2	82	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>						
Labor	59	22	2	6	89	125
Peasant	71	13	2	1	87	174
Communist	19	52	6	-	77	84
Conservative	67	10	1	2	80	400
Independence	73	67	-	-	140	30
Not known	41	15	2	3	61	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Union member	54	21	2	1	78	615
Not member	51	15	1	3	70	850

Some respondents mentioned more than one example.