



## Icelanders best informed of Europeans on NATO

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Bjarni Benediktsson – Stjórnmal – Dómsmálaráðherra – Menntamálaráðherra – Skýrsla – NATO –  
Skoðanakönnun – Staða Varnarliðsins á Íslandi – Kalda stríðið – 1955

## Tekið af vef Borgarskjalasafnsins

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[bjarnibenediktsson.is](http://bjarnibenediktsson.is)

Einkaskjalasafn nr. 360  
Stjórnmalamaðurinn  
Askja 2-21, Örk 3

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SECRET

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

ICELANDERS BEST INFORMED OF EUROPEANS ON NATO...

An outstanding finding of the survey is that Icelanders are the best informed about NATO of all European nations so far tested. This high level of information is indicated by such results as: Nine-tenths have heard of NATO; eight out of ten know Iceland is a member; three-fourths know the United States is a member; two-thirds know Soviet Russia is not a member. In responses to most of these questions, Icelanders' correct information runs around 20 percentage points higher than that of other European nations.

This high level of information runs throughout all segments of the population.

THREE-FOURTHS AWARE OF PRESENCE OF U.S. TROOPS...

About three-fourths of the adult population are aware of the presence of American troops. Nearly all of this group are also aware that the troops are in Iceland under NATO assignment.

Again, the level of information is high among all subgroups

NEARLY THREE-FOURTHS BELIEVE THAT NATO'S PURPOSE IS DEFENSIVE...

A little under three-fourths of the population believe that NATO is defensive in purpose; less than a twentieth feel that its purpose is offensive.

All groups in Iceland share this belief. Even Communists split evenly on this issue.

BUT LESS THAN HALF WANT ICELAND TO BE IN NATO...

Although about eight out of ten know Iceland is a member of NATO, only 44 per cent actually want Iceland to be a member. Results from the preceding question make it clear that no great misconception that NATO is an offensive alliance lies behind this reluctance.

Among the Icelandic population, only the Conservative and Peasant party members and the wealthier and better-educated show more than half in favor of membership in NATO.

Reasons behind support of NATO membership appear mainly to be those of safety and defense rather than ideological commitment to the West.

AND ONLY THE ORDER OF A FOURTH APPROVE 1951 DEFENSE AGREEMENT...

A heavy drop in support can be noted when a specific NATO commitment, the 1951 Defense Agreement, is brought into the picture. Only 28 per cent approve of the agreement; 48 per cent are opposed to it; about a seventh give qualified answers -- tending to the negative.

Only one group -- Conservative Party supporters -- shows a bare majority (51%) favoring the agreement.

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AND STILL LESS THINK THE BASE IS A GOOD THING FOR ICELAND...

Support of NATO and its commitments, which dropped from 44 per cent to 28 per cent when the Defense Agreement of 1951 was mentioned, drops still further when the specific presence of the Keflavik Base is the subject of questioning.

Only 20 per cent believe that the Base is a good thing for Iceland, all things considered. Twice as many think it is not. The rest show mixed reactions -- tending to negativity -- or have no opinion.

All groups but Conservative Party supporters show more people unfavorable than favorable. Even among Conservatives, only about a third actually think the Base a good thing for Iceland.

BUT MOST ICELANDERS ADMIT SOME ADVANTAGES IN THE BASE...

Although they generally do not support the presence of the Base, most Icelanders do admit some advantages in its presence. Chief advantages mentioned are economic stimulation and defense against possible attack. However, a third of the population say emphatically that there are no advantages at all in the presence of the Base.

THOUGH THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO SEE DISADVANTAGES...

In contrast to the group that saw no advantages in the Base, only a tenth saw no disadvantages. The bulk of the population stresses danger to Iceland's culture, nationality and language, or to the morals of Icelandic girls and the prosperity of Icelandic industries. A tenth simply say the Base is "completely bad."

HOWEVER, FEW ICELANDERS CONSIDER THE KEFLAVIK BASE TO BE ICELAND'S MOST IMPORTANT CURRENT PROBLEM ...

This hostility to the Base can be tempered to a small extent by the tentative finding that Keflavik is not in the forefront of the minds of most Icelanders. While 14 per cent deem it the most important problem facing Iceland at the time of the survey, many more mention such subjects as inflation, political corruption, government finances and foreign trade and fishing. Even among those opposed to the Base, it looms up as Iceland's major problem for only a fourth.

At the same time, there is no indication that a prolonged and intemperate campaign may not succeed in bringing the Keflavik Base to the forefront of the Icelandic mind and in calling forth much latent hostility to add to the already vocal hostility.

I. Level of Information and Awareness of U.S. Troops

## ICELANDERS BEST INFORMED OF EUROPEANS ABOUT NATO ...

Nine out of every ten Icelanders say they have heard about NATO -- substantially more than in six other European countries where the question was asked. Additional, more rigorous standards of information show Iceland to be proportionately even better informed: Eight out of ten know Iceland is a member; three-fourths know that the United States is also; two-thirds know Russia is not.

"Have you heard or read of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization -- NATO, that is?"

No. of cases	Great Britain		Italy		France		Belgium	West Germany <sup>1</sup>		Austria <sup>1</sup>	Iceland
	Feb '55	Aug '55	Feb '55	Aug '55	Feb '55	Aug '55		Aug '55	Feb '55	Aug '55	
	805	800	814	802	900	800		806	820	865	
Yes have heard	71%	69%	69%	72%	37%	45%	74%	58%	64%	54%	88%
No, have not heard	29	31	31	28	63	55	26	42	36	46	12
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

"Do you happen to know whether (survey country) is a member of NATO or not? What about the U.S.? the U.S.S.R.?"

Aug. '55	Great Britain	Italy	France <sup>2</sup>	Belgium	West Germany	Austria	Iceland
<u>Survey country:</u>							
Member	60%	63%	49%	59%	43%	3%	80%
Not a member	1	2	1	3	9	40	-
Don't know	8	7	10	12	12	11	8
	69%	72%	60%	74%	64%	54%	88%
<u>United States:</u>							
Member	56%	60%	46%	57%	53%	44%	76%
Not a member	2	2	4	6	4	3	2
Don't know	11	10	10	11	7	7	10
	69%	72%	60%	74%	64%	54%	88%
<u>U.S.S.R.:</u>							
Member	11%	1%	3%	6%	4%	5%	6%
Not a member	36	54	44	56	49	38	65
Don't know	22	17	13	12	11	11	17
	69%	72%	60%	74%	64%	54%	88%

- 1 Awareness of NATO among West Germans and Austrians is not strictly comparable since West Germany has only recently entered NATO, and Austria is not a member.
- 2 In France, an additional 15 per cent did not know the name "NATO" but were aware of the existence of such a treaty organization and were therefore asked about membership.

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## ALL SEGMENTS OF ICELAND'S POPULATION UNUSUALLY WELL-INFORMED ...

The better-educated and the upper economic groups in Iceland are naturally best informed about NATO. But such information appears to be high among all groups in the nation - an indication that the level of information in Iceland is apt to be high even among those with low formal education or low income.

"Have you heard or read of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization--NATO, that is?"

"Do you happen to know whether Iceland is a member of NATO or not? What about the U.S.? The U.S.S.R.?"

	Heard of NATO	Know Iceland is Member	Know U.S. is Member	Know Russia is not Member	Number of Cases
<u>Total</u>	88%	80%	76%	65%	11465
<u>SEX</u>					
Men	94	87	83	76	747
Women	83	74	69	55	718
<u>AGE</u>					
21-29	90	83	80	72	331
30-44	91	86	82	71	526
45 and over	85	75	70	56	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>					
Reykjavik	89	84	80	66	595
Other cities	84	75	73	59	314
Rural	89	80	74	68	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
Independent	92	88	81	77	279
Employees	93	87	81	73	265
Laborers	87	80	77	62	797
Unemployed	76	58	55	44	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Higher	95	94	89	84	360
Lower	86	76	72	59	1105
<u>INCOME</u>					
Low	83	74	69	59	464
Middle	91	84	80	67	854
High	89	82	81	76	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>					
Labor	83	68	70	56	125
Peasant	93	87	79	73	174
Communist	93	85	87	72	84
Conservative	91	85	82	71	400
Independence	100	97	97	93	30
Not known	85	77	71	60	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>					
Union member	93	87	82	73	615
Not member	85	76	72	60	850

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ABOUT THREE-FOURTHS KNOW OF U.S. TROOPS IN ICELAND: MOST OF THESE KNOW THEY ARE PART OF NATO FORCE ...

Most Icelanders are aware of the presence of American troops in Iceland and understand that these troops represent NATO -- of which they know Iceland is a member. Thus, there is little chance that Icelandic reactions to the Iceland Force stem from real confusion on this point.

"As far as you know, are there any NATO troops stationed in Iceland now?"

Yes	63%
No	12
Don't know	25
	<u>100%</u>

(IF "Yes") "From what country or countries do they come?"

U.S.	61%
Don't know	2
	<u>63%</u>

(IF "No") "Are there any foreign troops of any kind stationed in Iceland now?"

Yes	11%
No	-
Don't know	1
	<u>12%</u>

(IF "Yes" to above) "From what country or countries do they come?"

U.S.	11%
Don't know	-
	<u>11%</u>

Thus, to the 61 per cent who know correctly that there are American troops stationed in Iceland under NATO, there can be added 11 per cent more who know that American troops are present but are not aware of their NATO connection.

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## AWARENESS OF U.S. TROOPS HIGH AMONG ALL GROUPS ...

Though the usual opinion-leader groups are best informed of the presence of American troops, information appears to be high throughout all segments of the population. Labor union members, most likely to have contact with the Base with fellow-unionists who have worked there, are among the best-informed. Although Reykjavik must see more American troops than other parts of Iceland, respondents in that area are not much better-informed than the rest of the population.

"As far as you know, are there any NATO troops stationed in Iceland now?"

(IF "Yes") "From what country or countries do they come?"

(IF "No.") "Are there any foreign troops of any kind stationed in Iceland now?"

(IF "Yes" to above) "From what country or countries do they come?"

	Know of U.S. NATO Troops	Know of U.S. Troops but not aware of their NATO status	Total awareness US Troops	Not Aware	Number of Cases
<u>TOTAL</u>	61%	11%	72%	28%	1465
<u>SEX</u>					
Men	69	13	82	18	747
Women	53	9	62	38	718
<u>AGE</u>					
21-29	72	8	80	20	331
30-44	67	11	78	22	526
45 and over	51	12	63	37	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>					
Reykjavik	65	11	76	24	595
Other cities	56	11	67	33	314
Rural	61	12	73	27	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
Independent	67	13	80	20	279
Employees	72	8	80	20	265
Laborers	59	12	71	29	797
Unemployed	36	10	46	54	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>					
Higher	79	8	87	13	360
Lower	55	12	67	33	1105
<u>INCOME</u>					
Low	53	13	66	34	464
Middle	64	10	74	26	854
High	74	9	83	17	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>					
Labor	63	9	72	28	125
Peasant	64	12	76	24	174
Communist	71	6	77	23	84
Conservative	65	10	75	25	400
Independence	73	20	93	7	30
Not known	57	12	69	31	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>					
Union member	68	12	80	20	615
Not member	56	10	66	34	850

II. Purpose of NATO

ICELANDERS AGREE THAT NATO IS DEFENSIVE IN PURPOSE ...

Any propaganda to the effect that NATO is an aggressive alliance appears to have met with little success in Iceland. Those who have heard of NATO overwhelmingly accept it as defensive in purpose. Only something of the nature of a twentieth of the population feel that NATO's purpose is offensive.

In this respect, Icelandic opinion closely resembles that of other NATO members -- with the added advantage that positive awareness of NATO's defensive purposes is highest in Iceland.

"Is it your impression that the main purpose of NATO is defensive or offensive?"

	West <u>Germany</u> <u>Feb '55</u>	France <u>Feb '55</u>	Italy <u>Feb '55</u>	Great <u>Britain</u> <u>Feb '55</u>	Iceland <u>Aug '55</u>
No. of cases	<u>820</u>	<u>900</u>	<u>814</u>	<u>805</u>	<u>1465</u>
Defensive	45%	20%	46%	52%	71%
Offensive	2	6	13	3	5
Qualified answer	3	3	-	5	6
No opinion	8	8	13	11	6
<u>Total Aware of NATO</u>	<u>58%</u>	<u>37%</u>	<u>72%</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>88%</u>

(In the case of Italy, responses add to more than the 69 per cent aware of NATO because a few respondents gave more than one answer.)



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## EVEN ICELANDIC COMMUNISTS SPLIT ON PURPOSES OF NATO ...

All groups in Iceland except Communists agree that NATO is defensive. Even among Communists, only a third definitely call NATO offensive; and this group is matched by another third which accepts NATO's defensive purpose.

"Is it your impression that the main purpose of NATO is defensive or offensive?"

	<u>Defensive</u>	<u>Offensive</u>	<u>Qualified</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>	<u>Total Aware of NATO</u>	<u>Number of Cases</u>
<u>Total</u>	71%	5%	6%	6%...	88%	1465
<u>SEX</u>						
Men	77	5	8	4	94	747
Women	64	4	5	10	83	718
<u>AGE</u>						
21-29	74	4	6	6	90	331
30-44	73	5	6	7	91	526
45 and over	67	4	7	7	85	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>						
Reykjavik	73	5	6	5	89	595
Other cities	66	2	7	9	84	314
Rural	70	5	7	7	89	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>						
Independent	81	3	4	4	92	279
Employees	75	6	6	6	93	265
Laborers	68	5	7	7	87	797
Unemployed	52	5	8	11	76	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Higher	83	4	6	2	95	360
Lower	66	5	7	8	86	1105
<u>INCOME</u>						
Low	66	3	7	7	83	464
Middle	73	5	6	7	91	854
High	70	6	8	5	89	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>						
Labor	66	2	10	5	83	125
Peasant	87	1	1	4	93	174
Communist	33	36	17	7	93	84
Conservative	83	1	4	3	91	400
Independence	90	7	3	-	100	30
Not known	64	4	7	10	85	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Union member	74	7	8	4	93	615
Not member	68	3	5	9	85	850

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III. Attitudes Toward Membership in NATO

LESS THAN HALF WANT ICELAND TO BE IN NATO ...

Although generally convinced of NATO's defensive nature, and aware that Iceland is a member, less than half the people of Iceland are in favor of that membership. Those definitely in favor outnumber those opposed by two to one; but they are still less than a majority.

"Do you think Iceland should be a member of NATO, or don't you think so?"

Should be	44%
Should not be	22
Qualified answer	9
No opinion	13
	<u>88%</u>

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BUT OPINION LEADERS AND CONSERVATIVE PARTIES SHOW MAJORITY DEFINITELY IN FAVOR OF NATO MEMBERSHIP ...

Majorities in favor of NATO membership, sometimes as much as nearly two-thirds, are found among the opinion-leaders, and particularly within the Conservative and Peasant parties. The only group definitely committed against NATO membership are the Communist supporters. But substantial opposition, ranging from a tenth to a third, exists in all major subgroups.

"Do you think Iceland should be a member of NATO, or don't you think so?"

	Should be	Should not be	Qualified	No Opin- ion	Total Aware of NATO	Number of Cases
<u>TOTAL</u>	44%	22%	9%	13% ...	88%	1465
<u>SEX</u>						
Men	50	27	8	9	94	747
Women	37	18	10	18	83	718
<u>AGE</u>						
21-29	41	28	8	13	90	331
30-44	44	26	9	12	91	526
45 and over	44	16	10	15	85	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>						
Reykjavik	46	21	9	13	89	595
Other cities	37	26	8	13	84	314
Rural	45	22	10	12	89	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>						
Independent	57	18	13	4	92	279
Employees	48	23	9	13	93	265
Laborers	39	26	8	14	87	797
Unemployed	35	10	8	23	76	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Higher	56	24	9	6	95	360
Lower	39	22	9	16	86	1105
<u>INCOME</u>						
Low	38	18	14	13	83	464
Middle	47	24	7	13	91	854
High	52	25	5	7	89	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>						
Labor	33	26	7	17	83	125
Peasant	65	12	10	6	93	174
Communist	6	79	1	7	93	84
Conservative	63	12	8	8	91	400
Independence	30	53	7	13	100	30
Not known	34	23	12	16	85	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Union member	43	31	8	11	93	615
Not member	44	16	10	15	85	850

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SAFETY, DEFENSE SEEN AS CHIEF REASONS FOR JOINING NATO ...

Reasons of safety and defense, almost of necessity and inevitability rather than of choice, appear to be the justifications offered by those Icelanders who believe their country should be in NATO. Ideological considerations appear to be secondary.

Those opposing NATO membership generally give answers simply stating that neutrality is good, that Iceland should not become involved.

(IF "Should be" in NATO) "Why is that?"

Safety, defense, necessity (31%)

Because of safety, defense	19%
Geographical position	5
Will get assistance, support from U.S.	3
Danger of attack	2
We have to take sides	1
Iceland small, capable of little alone	1

Ideological (9%)

Iceland is peace-loving; so is NATO	4
Should stand by the Western democracies	4
Should stand by Scandinavian countries	1

No opinion	<u>4</u>
	44%

(IF "Should not be" IN NATO) "Why is that?"

Neutrality (13%)

Iceland should be neutral	9%
Should avoid ties, obligations	4

Safety (5%)

We have no army	2
Less danger in case of war	2
Iceland a small country	1

Anti-military (3%)

NATO is a military alliance	3
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<u>Other</u>	<u>1</u>
	22%

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IV. Opinion of 1951 Defense Agreement

## ONLY THE ORDER OF A FOURTH APPROVE 1951 DEFENSE AGREEMENT ...

Support for NATO membership is cut nearly in half when a specific implementation of NATO is brought forward. Only 28 per cent approve the 1951 Defense Agreement allowing American troops to be stationed in Iceland. Opinion-leader groups, as usual, are least opposed to the agreement, but in all cases opposition outweighs approval. Only in the single case of Conservative Party supporters does a bare majority favor the agreement.

"Do you approve or disapprove of the Defense Agreement of 1951 which permits the stationing of U.S. military forces in Iceland?"

	Approve	Disapprove	NET (Approval less disapproval)	Qualified	No Opin- ion	Number of Cases
			28%			
			48			
			14			
			10			
			100%			
	Approve	Disapprove	NET (Approval less disapproval)	Qualified	No Opin- ion	Number of Cases
<u>SEX</u>					..100%	
Men	33%	47%	-14	12%	8%	747
Women	23	48	-25	17	12	718
<u>AGE</u>						
21-29	24	50	-26	15	11	331
30-44	25	52	-27	16	7	526
45 and over	33	37	- 4	12	18	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>						
Reykjavik	29	47	-18	14	10	595
Other cities	20	53	-33	13	14	314
Rural	32	46	-14	15	7	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>						
Independent	34	44	-10	16	6	279
Employees	33	46	-13	13	8	265
Laborers	24	51	-27	17	8	797
Unemployed	32	34	- 2	17	17	124
<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Higher	35	46	-11	15	4	360
Lower	26	48	-22	14	12	1105
<u>INCOME</u>						
Low	28	43	-15	18	11	464
Middle	27	50	-23	14	9	854
High	38	46	- 8	5	11	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>						
Labor	22	50	-28	12	16	125
Peasant	43	39	4	15	3	174
Communist	2	93	-91	1	4	84
Conservative	51	30	21	14	5	400
Independence	7	93	-86	-	-	30
Not known	16	53	-37	17	14	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Union member	26	56	-30	12	6	615
Not member	30	42	-12	16	12	850

V. Attitudes Toward Keflavik Base

FEW ICELANDERS THINK THE KEFLAVIK BASE A GOOD THING FOR ICELAND -- EVEN LESS THAN SUPPORT THE 1951 AGREEMENT...

Perhaps the heart of the study is located in direct Icelandic reaction to the Keflavik Base. In a sense, all questions in the survey have derived some of their value in that they lead up to this issue.

Support for the 1951 Defense Agreement is low. It becomes still lower when Icelanders are asked specifically whether or not they think the presence of the Keflavik Base a good thing for Iceland.

A bare fifth of the people of Iceland think the Base, on balance, is a good thing for their country. Twice as many think it is not good. A fourth have "qualified" reactions.

"How do you feel about the Keflavik Base -- all things considered, do you think it is a good thing for Iceland, or don't you think so?"

Think it a good thing	20%
Don't think so	40
Qualified answer	26
No opinion	14
	<u>100%</u>

Qualified reactions to the Base are generally mixed good and bad -- but with the balance slightly toward the negative. This is indicated by the following cross-analysis of questions:

Those who express qualified reaction to the Keflavik Base --

Favor neutrality over Western alignment,  
49 per cent to 34 per cent.

Show only a third favoring the 1951 Defense Agreement, while a third disapprove, and the balance show mixed reactions or have no opinion.

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ONLY CONSERVATIVES MORE FAVORABLE THAN UNFAVORABLE AND EVEN THEIR SUPPORT IS SMALL ...

With the exception of the Conservatives, all groups are much more likely to believe the Base is not good for Iceland than to believe it good. The opinion-leader groups, generally favorable, share in the general feeling on this point. Even among Conservatives, where "Good" outweighs "Not good", only about a third actually think the Base a good thing for Iceland. On this issue there seems to be an unusual consensus of opinion.

"How do you feel about the Keflavik Base -- all things considered, do you think it is a good thing for Iceland, or don't you think so?"

	Think good thing	Don't think so	NET (Good less Not Good)	Qualified	No Opinion	Number of Cases
<u>TOTAL</u>	20%	40%	20	26%	14%...100%	1465
<u>SEX</u>						
Men	25	43	-18	21	11	747
Women	15	37	-22	32	16	718
<u>AGE</u>						
21-29	19	45	-26	25	11	331
30-44	20	44	-24	23	13	526
45 and over	21	34	-13	29	16	608
<u>CITY-SIZE</u>						
Reykjavik	20	36	-16	30	14	595
Other cities	18	42	-24	22	18	314
Rural	21	42	-21	25	12	556
<u>OCCUPATION</u>						
Independent	19	42	-23	29	10	279
Employees	21	42	-21	25	12	265
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<u>EDUCATION</u>						
Higher	22	41	-19	27	10	360
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<u>INCOME</u>						
Low	17	36	-19	33	14	464
Middle	19	41	-22	24	16	854
High	26	46	-20	16	12	147
<u>VOTING INTENTION</u>						
Labor	22	38	-16	29	11	125
Peasant	22	41	-19	28	9	174
Communist	2	86	-84	10	2	84
Conservative	36	22	14	32	10	400
Independence	7	86	-79	7	-	30
Not known	12	44	-32	26	18	652
<u>UNION MEMBERSHIP</u>						
Union member	21	46	-25	21	12	615
Not member	19	35	-16	30	16	850

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SPECIFIC IMPLEMENTATION OF PRO-WESTERN ORIENTATION CUTS ICELAND SUPPORT IN HALF...

A recapitulation of Icelandic attitudes toward NATO and the Base reveals rather strikingly how Iceland's support drops once general acceptance of NATO commitment becomes acceptance of the physical manifestation of that commitment. As the subjects of questioning become more concrete and closer to home, support for American objectives drops accordingly, from nearly half all the way down to a fifth. The table below indicates this trend:

Believe NATO is defensive in purpose	45%
Favor membership in NATO	44
Favor 1951 Defense Agreement	28
Believe Keflavik Base a "good thing"	20

This brief recapitulation underscores earlier indications that in Iceland support for NATO is not only low but to a large degree weak in intensity; is apt to be more verbal than actual; is based on a conception of NATO membership shorn of specific obligations where these obligations conflict with other and presumably more basic attitudes, such as neutralism.<sup>1</sup>

The findings indicate that support for NATO and the 1951 Defense Agreement, low as it is already, may well be at the mercy of an intensive and violent anti-Keflavik campaign.

<sup>1</sup> See West European Public Opinion Barometer, Report No. 20, "Icelandic Reactions to General Political Issues Relating to Attitudes Toward America and General Commitment to the West."



VI. Advantages and Disadvantages of Base

## MOST ICELANDERS DO FIND SOME ADVANTAGES IN KEFLAVIK BASE ...

Despite a low level of support for the Keflavik Base, most Icelanders, realistically, do find some advantages in its existence. An economic shot in the arm, a protection against possible attack (which few Icelanders, as we have seen, consider likely) --these are the advantages that a majority seem willing to admit. Nevertheless, a solid group of about a third see no advantages of any kind to Iceland in the presence of the Base.

"What advantages do you see in having U.S. military forces stationed in Iceland?"

Increased employment, employment, high standard of living, economic advantage	30%
Protection if attacked, safety	24
Gives us foreign exchange	5
Protection against dictatorship	1
Other	2
No advantage, none, "No"	31
No opinion	8
	<u>101%</u>

(Some respondents mentioned more than one advantage)

## DANGER TO ICELANDIC CULTURE SEEN AS CHIEF DISADVANTAGE OF BASE ...

Icelandic apprehension for the separateness and purity of its culture, nationality and language appears to be behind much of the hostility to the Base. This sort of reason is the largest single category of response when Icelanders are asked to mention disadvantages arising from the Base. Also of some importance are fears for the impact of the Base on the morals of local girls and its competition with local industries for labor. Where a third say there are "No advantages" to the Base, only a tenth say there are "No disadvantages."

The responses here indicate an important element of the Icelandic culture -- the fear that the purity of their culture may be contaminated by prolonged contact with outside influences. It represents ethnocentrism rather than anti-American feelings; but Americans are the foreigners who are there. To a large degree, it is this fear which has been seized upon by the Communist and Independence (National Defense) Parties as a means for bringing about revocation of the 1951 Agreement.

"What disadvantages do you see?"

Dangerous for nationality, culture, language	25%
Bad influence on Icelandic girls, morals	14
Bad for industries, labor goes to the Keflavik Base	11
Unfortunate and of no use	9
Bad influence on youth	5
Against the constitution, bad for independence	4
Greater risk of attack	4
Violates our neutrality	2
Bad influence on politics	1
Other	7
No disadvantages, none as yet, no special disadvantages	8
No opinion	14
	<u>104%</u>

(Some respondents mentioned more than one disadvantage)

## SECRET

BUT IN FACT FEW ICELANDERS CONSIDER KEFLAVIK BASE THEIR MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM ...

High though the opposition to the Base may be, the issue is not in the forefront of everyone's mind. Preceding questions have indicated numerically large unfavorable reaction to the Base. Disadvantages seem to outweigh advantages. Committed opinion is two to one convinced that the Base is not a good thing for Iceland.

Yet, when asked to name Iceland's most important problem, about a seventh of the population mentioned the Base. In a sense, this is high. Mention of the Base ranked almost even with mention of general economic problems which in other countries have generally ranked far ahead of all other issues. Mention of this specific issue by 14 per cent is therefore significant. Yet the fact remains that 86 per cent did not mention the Base. If support of the Base is lukewarm, opposition also may be perfunctory among the mass of the people.

This possibility cannot be taken as indicating an acceptable situation, as the question asked for the "most important" issue. The Base might occupy a position of importance just short of the other "most" important problems mentioned. Additionally, many of those who mention "inflation" in general may be thinking of the Base without mentioning it specifically.

"On the whole, what do you think is the most important problem facing Iceland today?"

(1) High prices. The inflation. Economic problems.	18%
(2) The Iceland Defense Force; the occupation; the Base at Keflavik; the American forces in Iceland; national and moral problems concerning the Iceland Defense Force.	14
(3) Political corruption; too much politics, etc.	9
(4) Government finances. Financial corruption.	7
(5) Foreign trade. Adverse balance of payment; lack of foreign currency. Import restrictions.	6
(6) Bad fishing conditions; bad hay harvest.	6
(7) Alcoholism; intemperance in drinking and smoking	5
(8) Problems of upbringing; too little is done for the youth; bad discipline.	4
(9) The problems of territorial waters, the conflict with the British trawler owners.	3
(10) Defense of the nationality, the language, the independence.	3
(11) The labor disputes.	2
(12) Scarcity of dwellings.	2
(13) Religious apathy.	2
(14) The need for changes in the political system, bad government.	2
(15) Defects in the Icelandic national character, for instance chauvinism, etc.	1
(16) Squandering of money; too much money; post-war conditions.	1
(17) Scarcity of labour.	1
(18) The manuscripts. (Refers to the fact that the manuscripts to the Icelandic sagas have for the past 200-300 years been in Denmark)	1
(19) Difficulties for the industries (agriculture, fisheries and fishing industries).	1
(20) The social structure.	1
(21) Other.	2
(22) No opinion.	16
	107%

(Some respondents mentioned more than one problem)