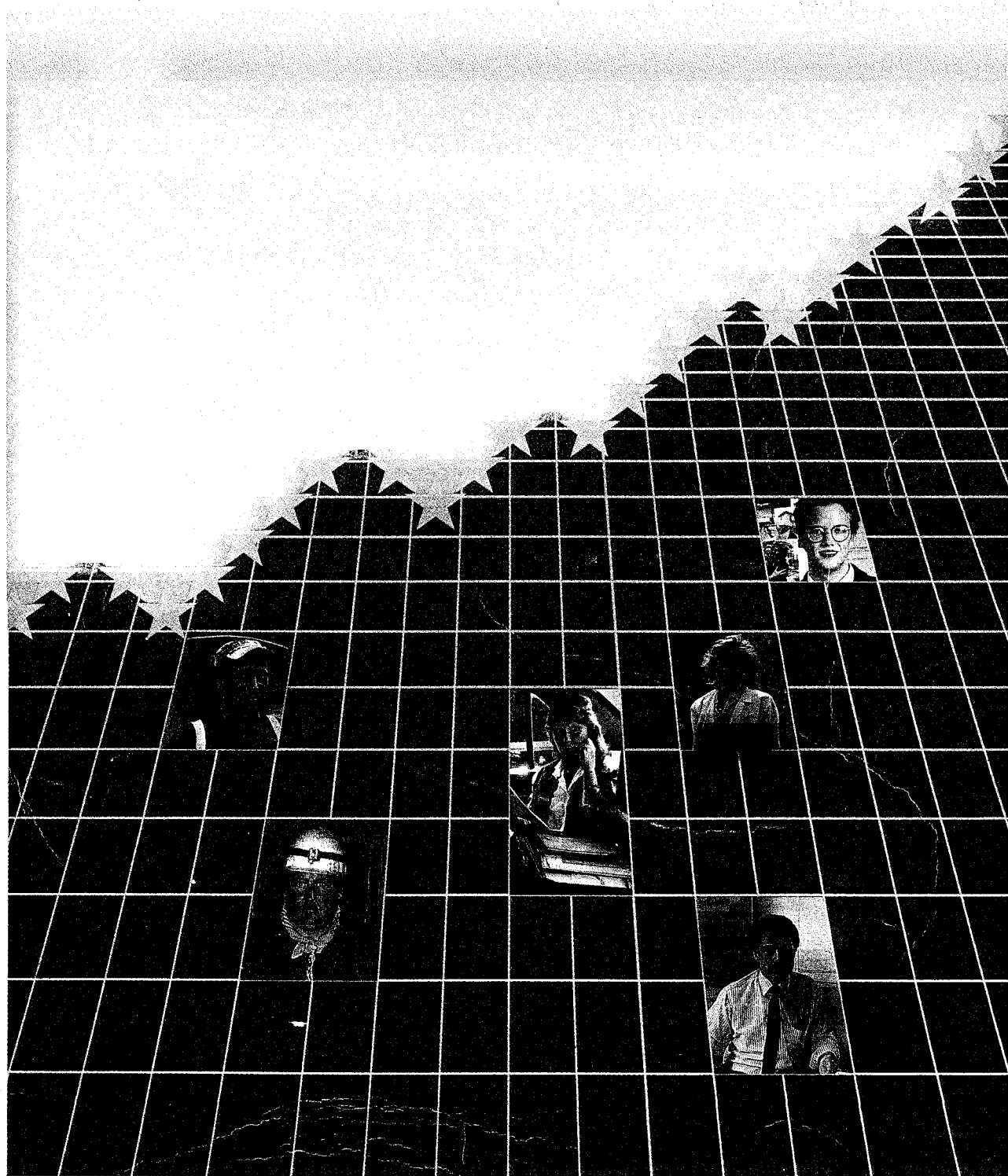




CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROBAROMETER

PUBLIC OPINION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

TEN COUNTRIES SURVEY - AUTUMN 1991



COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

HIGHLIGHTS

The Commission of the European Community's EUROBAROMETER polled 10,000 people in ten Central and Eastern European countries during October 1991 to assess support for domestic political and economic change - and perceptions of the EC's role in the region. The poll was carried out in Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania and European Russia.

* Absolute majorities of people almost everywhere say that their country's economy and their own household finances got worse during 1991. Albanians, Bulgarians and Romanians think on balance that their country's economy and personal finances will improve in 1992 while most people in all other countries are more pessimistic.

* Romania is the only country where most people expressing an opinion do not support the creation of a market economy. In most countries, people on balance want their Governments to speed up economic reforms.

* A majority of people in the region say they are dissatisfied with the development of their democracy. Only most Lithuanians say they are happy with it. Large majorities in Estonia and Russia say human rights are not respected in their countries.

* Around three-quarters of Central and Eastern Europeans have heard of the EC. Roughly half have a positive impression of it, a quarter neutral, while virtually no one (max. 4% anywhere) is negative.

* Large majorities want closer ties with the EC, both through Association Agreements and eventually as full members. Many want their countries to be EC members between now and five years' time.

* Concerning specific EC initiatives, most people holding an opinion believe that "Project 1992", the completion of the European Single Market, will improve rather than harm their country's relations with the EC. They also feel on balance that the former Soviet Union should receive Western aid conditional on economic reforms. They are, however, divided about the usefulness of the EC's initiatives in Yugoslavia. A majority of about two-to-one believes that the EC trades fairly with countries in the region.

Over a quarter of Central and Eastern Europeans have considered going to work in Western Europe - 1.5% say they "definitely will" go, another 6.5% "probably will".

INTRODUCING THE EUROBAROMETER

Standard EUROBAROMETER public opinion surveys have been conducted in the European Community every Spring and Autumn since 1973 on behalf of the Directorate-General for Audiovisual, Information, Communication, Culture of the Commission of the European Communities. Standard EUROBAROMETER surveys Nos. 1 to 31 were carried out by national institutes belonging to the "European Omnibus Surveys" (EOS - Gallup Europe) and, since then, by national institutes associated with INRA (EUROPE). Currently around 12,800 persons of the 15+ age group are interviewed EC-wide face-to-face on a nationally-representative basis in all 12 Member States. Reports are published on the results every June and December. A trends volume comes out every March.

Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER started in Autumn 1990 when nationally-representative surveys were undertaken for the Commission in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. For the second wave of research, the number of countries has been expanded and now also include nationally-representative samples from Albania, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Russia, West of the Urals. A number of identical questions have been asked simultaneously with the EC12 Standard EUROBAROMETER survey No. 36. In each of the ten countries surveyed, 1,000 persons of the 15+ age group were interviewed face-to-face in their homes.

Although the same technical standards for surveys available in the European Community cannot necessarily be expected in Central and Eastern Europe at the present time, the results, cautiously read, do allow us a unique insight into the attitudes of Central and Eastern Europeans as they face revolutionary times.

Coverage of Albania and the Baltic States would not have been possible without the EUROBAROMETER joining forces with Gallup UK acting on behalf of two other clients. Gallup also assisted in the coordination and data-processing for the project.

In accordance with the normal practice for this type of survey, the Commission disclaims all responsibility for questions, results and commentaries. This report, drawn up by the "Surveys, Research, Analyses" Unit of the Directorate-General for Audiovisual, Information, Communication, Culture, is an internal document of the Commission of the European Communities.

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**MAJOR NEWS ITEMS PRIOR TO AND DURING
MAIN FIELDWORK: 14TH - 31ST OCTOBER 1991**

End September	Romanian miners rampage through Bucharest. Government of Mr. Petre Roman resigns.
October	Germany ratifies treaty with Poland and initials another with Czechoslovakia, promoting reconciliation.
1st October	12 republics of the Soviet Union initial a draft treaty, aimed at creating an "economic community".
2nd October	Germany's Foreign Minister and the US Secretary of State call on NATO to accept former Warsaw Pact states, including the Soviet Union, into its non-military discussions.
7th October	Croatia and Slovenia declare full independence. Treaty of friendship signed in Sofia between Greece and Bulgaria.
8th October	Seventh ceasefire in Yugoslavia brokered by the European Community. It soon breaks down.
13th October	Bulgarian General Election (Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER polling starts after the event).
15th October	Group of Seven leading industrialised countries agree to give emergency financial aid to the Soviet Union if there is an external payments crisis.
22nd October	The seven European Free Trade Association (EFTA) countries agree to the creation of a free trade "European Economic Area" with the EC.
27th October	Polish General Election (Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER polling finishes before the event).
28th October	Mr. Boris Yeltsin, President of Russia, announces a major economic reform programme in his address to the Russian Parliament.

1. ECONOMIC AND DEMOCRATIC REFORMS*

1.1 Overall situation

The region's GDP** is estimated to have declined by around 8% in 1991 and is forecast to fall by another 8% in 1992. The inflation rate is estimated to have declined to 80% in Poland in 1991, but increased in all other countries, reaching around 400% in Romania. The Soviet economy declined by an estimated 15% in 1991 without any economic reform package in place. The World Bank recently predicted that GDP per head for the region would not recover to the level of 1989 until 1996 or later. The only light on the horizon seems Poland, the one economy whose GDP is forecast to grow in 1992.

Despite the economic gloom, a number of countries have some cause for celebration. After the aborted August coup, the independence of the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania was internationally recognised. Albanians held their first free General Election in March 1991. The Bulgarians had their second free General Election, which led to their first non-communist government, just before polling began for this Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER. However, the first fully-free Polish General Election resulted in no party receiving more than 12% of the vote, leading to uncertainties about the political stability of the country for the immediate future.

* The present report limits itself largely to describe the profile of public opinion in the countries surveyed. Before any solid conclusions may be drawn, intensive cross analysis of the various results must be carried out. They are currently under way and will be made available in due course.

** Excluding the former Soviet Union/Baltic States and Albania. All economic indicators used in this report originate from The Economist/Business International. In particular please see The Economist's "Business in Eastern Europe" (21 September 1991) and "The World in 1992"

Nevertheless, political news still seems to carry more weight in many Central and Eastern European countries than economic news in general. More than half of all Albanians (65%), Latvians, Lithuanians (both 60%), Bulgarians (57%), Romanians (54%) and Estonians (53%) believe that things in their country are going in the right rather than in the wrong direction. A majority of Czechoslovakians marginally believe things are going better (43%) than badly (38%). Most Russians* (33% "right" versus 39% "wrong"), Hungarians (32% versus 47%) and especially Poles (20% "right" versus 58% "wrong") are unhappy with their situation. (Annex Figure 1).

Since the time of the Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER No 1 of Autumn 1990** , Bulgarians are much more optimistic about their future ("right direction" increased from 38% to 57%). On the other hand, the Czechoslovakians (53% to 43%) and especially the Poles (43% to 20%) have become much more prone to pessimism.

A number of countries in Central and Eastern Europe are already about to start their third year of austerity programmes on the long road to transforming their economies to the free market. Others, especially Russians at the time of the poll, are still waiting to experience the start of such a journey.

Absolute majorities of people from all countries say that their country's economy has declined over the past twelve months (November 1990 to October 1991), ranging from half of all Bulgarians (50%) to the vast majority of Russians (84%). (Annex Figure 2).

* "Russians" in this report refers to the population of the Russian Federation West of the Urals. (115 million out of 147 million)

** 1,000 persons per country were polled face-to-face in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland during the period October-December 1990. Results are available in the Standard EUROBAROMETER report No.34. A forthcoming report prepared for the Commission by ZEUS (Zentrum für Europäische Umfrageanalysen und Studien), Mannheim University will give a synopsis of all Eurobarometer polls in the region over the year 1990.

Roughly the same is true of people's views about their household finances. While marginally more Albanians feel their financial situation stayed the same (37%) rather than became worse (34%) over the past year, the situation is seen to have deteriorated in all other countries. Around two-thirds of Poles (64%), Czechoslovakians, Hungarians and Bulgarians (all 66%) say matters are worse. More Russians suffered deterioration (58% "worse") than people from the Baltic states (39%-50% "worse"). (Annex Figure 3).

Perceptions of prospects for the year 1992 seem better in most countries. Albanians are remarkably bullish, desperately hoping both their country's economic condition and their own household finances will improve (both 60%) rather than not (only 3% "worse" in both cases). This view was expressed one month before market liberalisation in Albania resulted in a net increase in prices of up to 500%. Hence the results must be treated with caution, particularly with regard to the situation today. Many Romanians are also optimistic about the economic condition of their country (46% "will get better" versus 18% "will get worse") and their household finances (36% versus 24%), as well as Bulgarians (48% versus 19% and 35% versus 23%). (Annex Figure 4 & 5).

Majorities in the other seven countries surveyed think matters will continue to get worse rather than better, although Czechoslovakians and Hungarians are divided as to what will happen economically (36% "better" versus 36% "worse" and 33% versus 31% respectively). Russians, again, find themselves the most despondent, both economically (25% versus 44%) and financially (16% versus 46%).

WHAT THE EXPERTS SAY FORECAST GDP/GNP % CHANGE OVER PREVIOUS YEAR

20

10

NB: SCALES NOT DIRECTLY COMPARABLE WITH FIGURE B

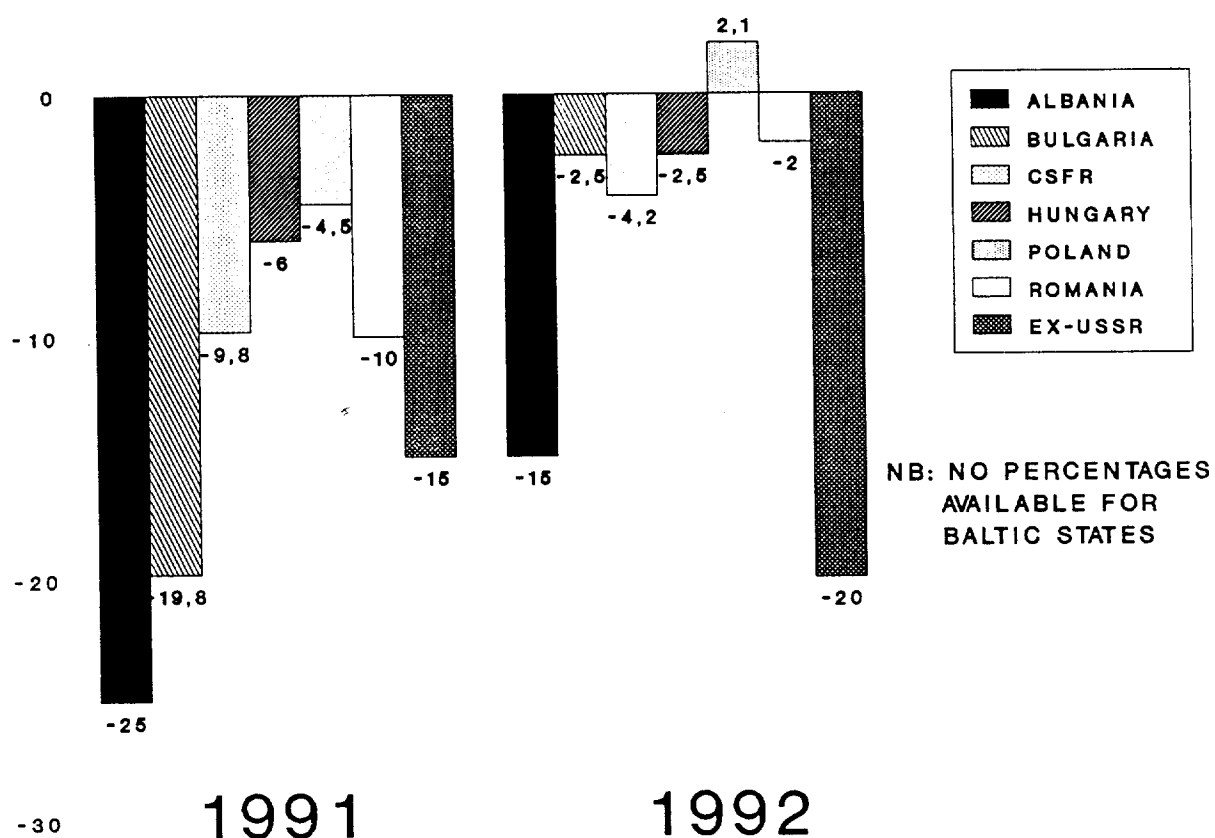


FIGURE A SOURCE: ECONOMIST, BUSINESS INTERNATIONAL ESTIMATES

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

% economy "got/will get better"
minus "got/will get worse"

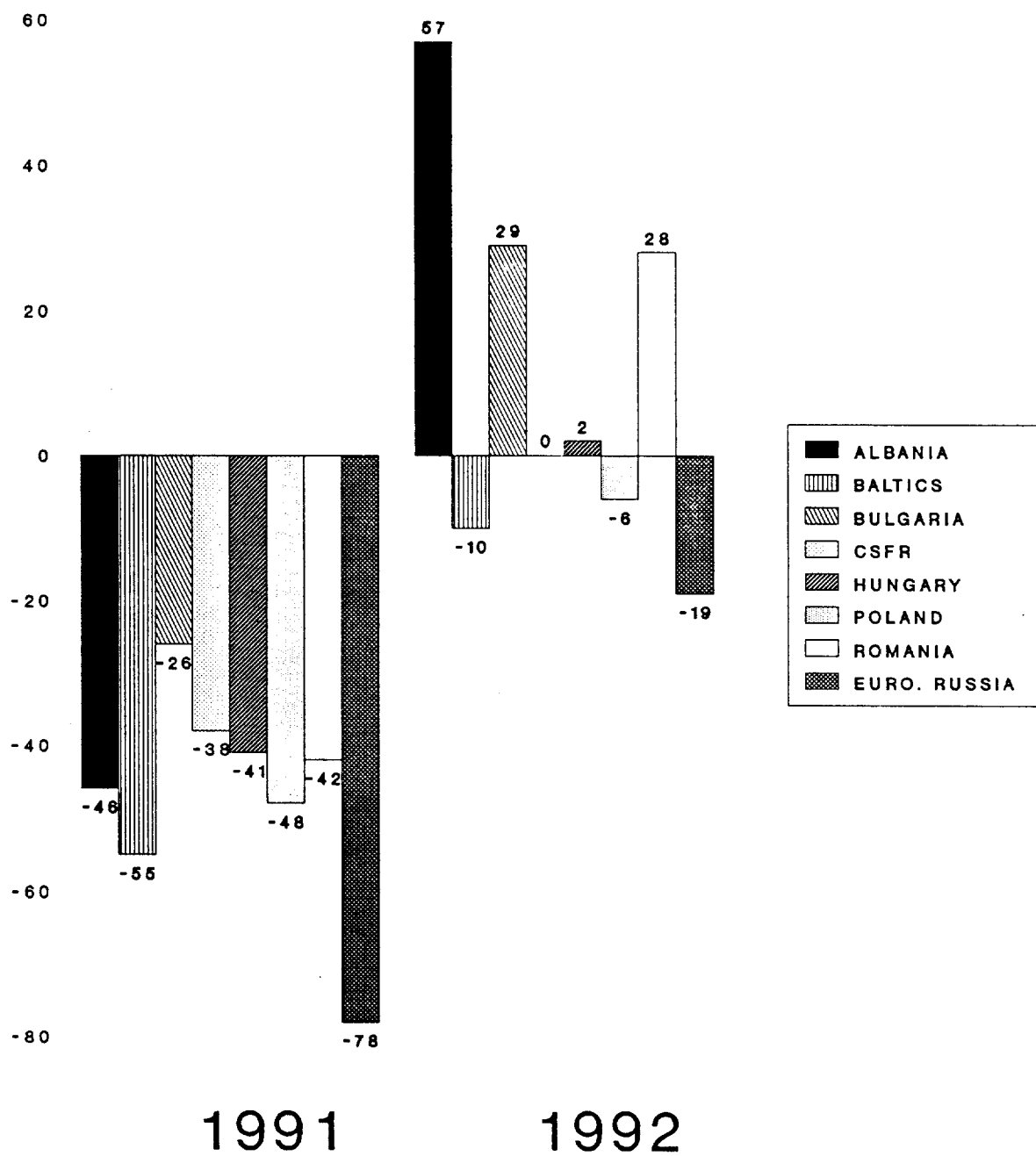


FIGURE B

Under given circumstances ordinary people appear to be no better or worse at forecasting what will happen to their country than experts. If one compares what people say *actually happened* in 1991 compared to what they said *would happen* in Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER No 1, the differences can be very substantial indeed. For instance, most Poles expected that their economy would on balance improve while their household finances would stand still during 1991: having lived through the year, a majority now say things got worse dramatically (economists were just as wrong with their predictions). Things got also worse for more Czechoslovakians and Bulgarians, but many Hungarians, famed for their pessimism, found their economic and household situation better than they had expected!

If one reviews experts' estimates and forecasts for the region for the period 1991-1992, one can see that people can still expect a difficult time ahead, with all countries except Poland about to experience a decline in GDP growth over the previous year (data for the Baltic states are not readily available). Albanians in particular, are expected to suffer a further 15% fall in GDP growth in 1992, despite their high expectations. Experts' views are much more in line with many Russians' poor economic expectations - a 20% drop in GNP growth is forecast. (See Figures A & B Pages 8 & 9 comparing people's perceptions and expectations of economic change with economists' estimates and forecasts).

This is not to say that European Community citizens did not also perceive a downturn in their economy in 1991, albeit not nearly as serious. In standard EUROBAROMETER No 36, polled in the Community at the same time as the Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER No.2, people say they feel that their national economies got worse (47%) rather than better (20%) in 1991; however, perceived economic prospects for 1992 seemed on balance to be better (33%) rather than worse (27%) as compared to the preceding 12 months. Similarly many said in 1991 that their household financial situation had become worse (29%) rather than better (20%), while more look at 1992 as a year of relative prosperity (30%) than not (18%).

Of course, it should be remembered that the average GDP per head of a EC citizen is around six times greater than that of a typical citizen of a Central and Eastern European country and levels of unemployment and patterns of inequality vary also between the Member States of the Twelve.

1.2 Prospects for economic reform

It is remarkable that Central and Eastern Europeans are so supportive of a market economy despite all their current economic difficulties. Many can recall that there was no (official) unemployment under communist regimes - now many countries are experiencing unemployment rates of around 8% as often officially given or much higher as is the case especially in Albania.

Asked if they "personally feel that the creation of a free market economy, that is one largely free from state control, is right or wrong for (their) country's future", absolute majorities of people in almost all countries are in favour of it, from three-quarters of Lithuanians (75%) or two-thirds of Albanians (67%) and Hungarians (65%) to well over half of all Poles (56%). Russians have a relative majority (47% versus 33%) in favour of the free market. Interestingly, the Romanians are the only ones largely against it (35% "right" versus 48% "wrong")*. (Annex Figure 6).

Since last year, support for the free market has increased sharply in Bulgaria (+16) and, to a lesser degree, in Hungary (+3). In Czechoslovakia, both support (+3) and opposition (+7) increased as more people expressed an opinion. Support fell in Poland (-5) as more people objected to the free market (+7) - nevertheless still a solid majority of Poles support it (56%).

* Figures from Albania and Romania presented in this report should be interpreted with particular caution given the conditions under which surveys can take place

SATISFIED WITH DEMOCRACY AND DIRECTION COUNTRY IS GOING IN

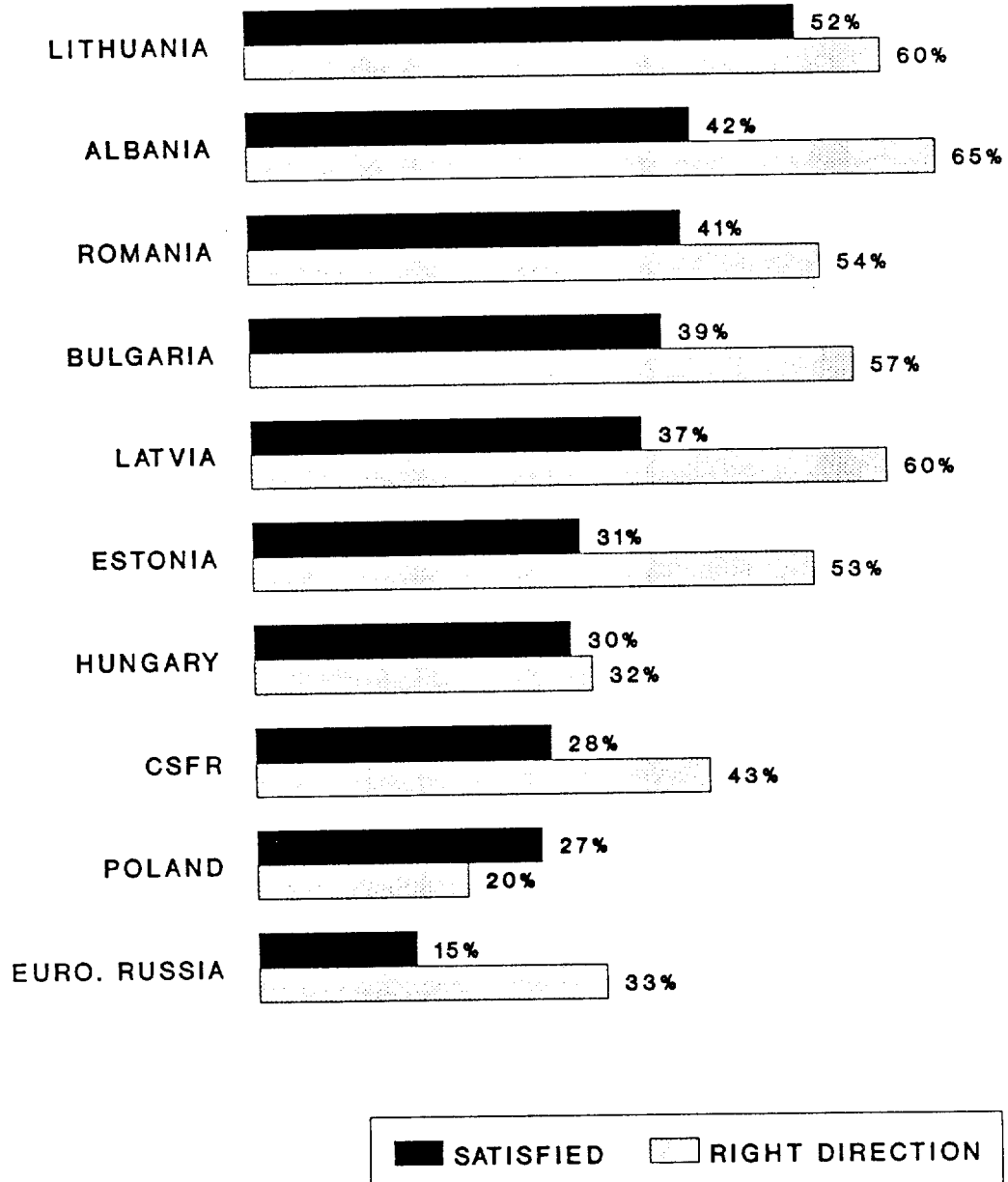
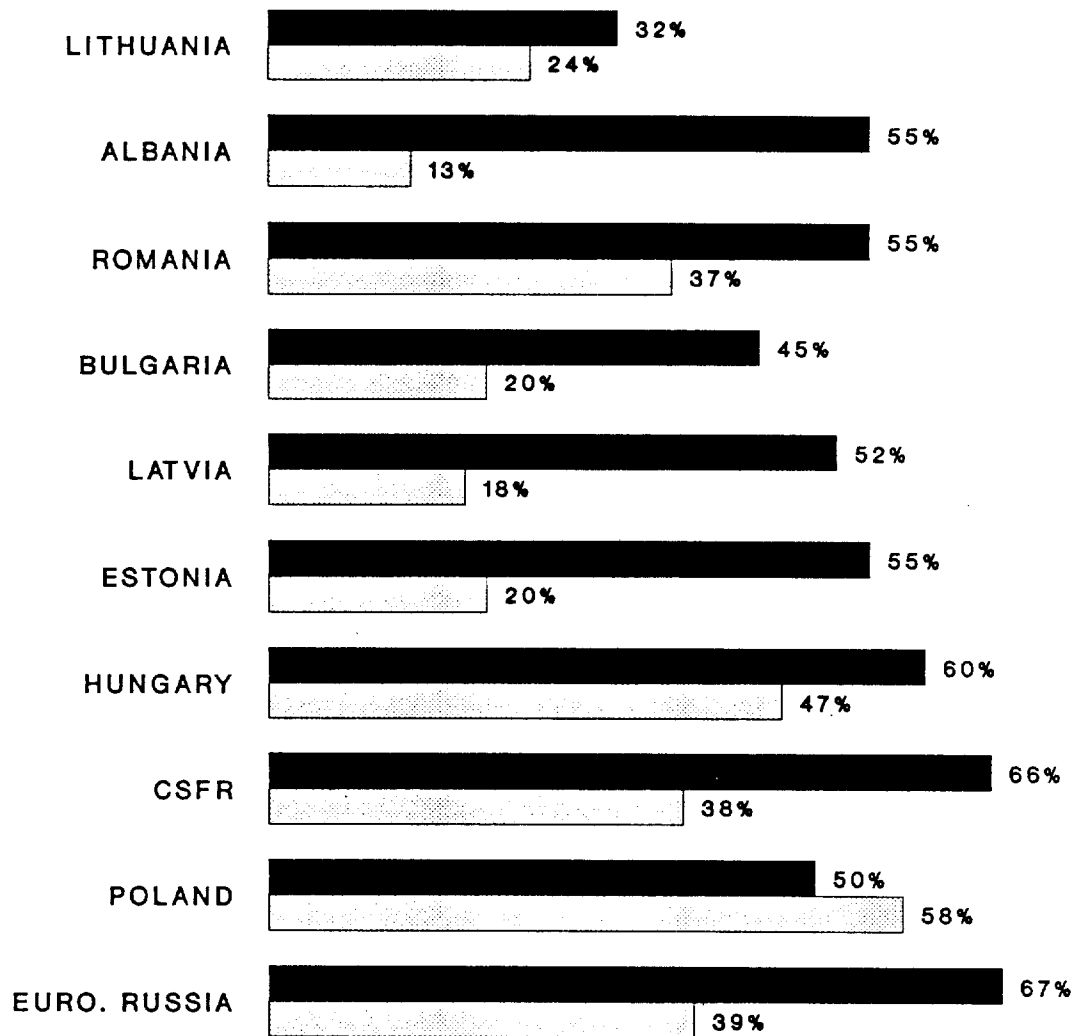


FIGURE C

DISSATISFIED WITH DEMOCRACY AND DIRECTION COUNTRY IS GOING IN



■ DISSATISFACTION ▨ WRONG DIRECTION

FIGURE D

Reasons for satisfaction with the development of democracy do not differ much from country to country. People giving this opinion say there is generally more freedom, including economic freedom, religious tolerance and freedom of speech. The rights of the individual have been restored. The situation is leading the country towards a market economy which people perceive will improve the supply of goods. People can move around more freely. There is a multi-party system in place while there is recognition that communist governments have been successfully removed as the sole authority almost everywhere.

Those dissatisfied - the majority of those polled - complain about the rise in criminality and violence in society. The country's economy is in trouble, unemployment is rising and not enough jobs are available. There is a lack of faith in democracy and criticism in many countries of the current ruling elite. Worries are particularly prevalent in the Baltics about the continued presence of the former Soviet Army and other "occupational regime structures", as one respondent put it.

Some comments about specific country results* may be useful at this point:

In **Albania**, after years of almost complete isolation from the rest of the world, people feel it is important that they are "part" of the West and that their democratic changes have been welcomed by Western countries. Those disillusioned complain that their country has no constitution and that the same political party is still in power. There is a fear among some that many foreign governments still do not trust Albania's reforms and that no credit or economic help may come as a consequence.

* By technical error, the question about reasons why people are satisfied/dissatisfied with the development of their democracy was not asked in Romania

In **Bulgaria's** October 1991 election, the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) (34%) narrowly beat the ex-communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) (33%) and began governing in cooperation with the (mainly Turkish minority) Movement for Rights and Freedoms (8%). The generally optimistic air is summed up by one respondent "At last, after 45 years, the system of government in Bulgaria has changed".

In **Czechoslovakia**, separatism does not seem the biggest worry about democracy. Two out of five people dissatisfied with democracy specifically mention the rising crime rate as their greatest concern.

In **Estonia**, many are pleased with their newly-gained freedoms but concern is expressed about the influence of the "old system", particularly the bureaucracy. There are also worries about the state of relations between the native Estonian and Russian populations.

Hungarians' reasons for satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the development of their democracy largely corresponds to the general profile indicated above. A respondent dissatisfied with democracy gives reasons for his frustrations which could be mirrored in other countries: "I have been working since I was 15. I have had a second job for 17 years and now I am 48 years old. I have created a home, but my living standards are constantly deteriorating".

In **Latvia**, those satisfied with democracy speak mainly of the benefits of guaranteed human rights and the restoration of the independence of Latvia. A number of those dissatisfied are worried about delays in passing laws on Latvian citizenship and the rise of Latvian nationalism.

Most **Lithuanians** remain alone among Central and Eastern Europeans as satisfied with their democracy. Those dissatisfied with their democracy say it does not exist and complain that the authorities are too passive. A Lithuanian sums up the prevailing mood of optimism "Democratisation must go on in all countries. It is as inevitable as leaves falling down in Autumn and appearing in Spring".

Poles are the unhappiest in the region about the direction that their country is going in (20% "right" versus 58% "wrong") - and the least satisfied with the development of their democracy (27%) apart from Russians (15%). The very low turnout (43%) at the October 1991 General Election, just after this survey took place, is not surprising. People critical of democracy complain primarily about the state of the economy, the political elite and the perceived rise of a new nomenklatura. Legal loopholes and lack of proper legislation in many areas are some other specific criticisms.

In **European Russia**, those satisfied with the development of their democracy (15%) talk primarily of the importance to them of "Glasnost" and human rights. Those dissatisfied (67%) mainly point to their worries about nationalism and ethnic conflict, that the democratic process is very slow and leads to little change, while the economic crisis deepens and chaos increases. "The executive power is being strengthened and the representative power is being weakened", says a person interviewed.

Asked to position themselves on a "left-right" ten point political scale, most respondents tend to place themselves in the centre of the political scale (points 5 and 6) rather than on the left (points 1-4) or right (points 7-10). This is true in all countries except Czechoslovakia, which is more to the "right", and both Albania and Russia, whose unfamiliarity with such a concept is also evident when almost half did not want to place themselves on the scale at all (45% and 46% respectively). Other refusal/don't know rates are in the range 22%-34% : the average for the European Community on the same question is 18%. (Annex Figure 10).

1.4 Human Rights

As has already been illustrated, human rights - and especially ethnic rights - are a growing problem in Central and Eastern Europe. Ethnic homogeneity varies a great deal from country to country. In Albania, Hungary and Poland, more than 95% of people are from the same ethnic background. Significant minorities (8-9%) of Turks and Hungarians - and others - exist in Bulgaria and Romania respectively. While Czechoslovakia is basically a country of two distinct peoples, Czechs (63%) and Slovaks (32%), the ethnic mix is the most explosive in Yugoslavia and, of course, the former Soviet Union. The Baltic states are among the most diverse - their titular nationality only forming 80% of Lithuanians, 62% of Estonians and 52% of Latvians.

When asked whether people believe there is respect for human rights nowadays in their country, over two-thirds of Hungarians (75%), Albanians (68%), Bulgarians (67%) and Czechoslovakians (66%) agree this is the case. Latvians (56%) and Romanians (52%) are less convinced; Lithuanians (46% versus 49%) and Poles (45% versus 48%) are divided; while resounding majorities in both Estonia (22% versus 70%) and European Russia (16% versus 82%) say human rights are not being respected nowadays. (Annex Figure 11).

Reviewing the responses by ethnic majorities and minorities, some interesting observations can be made. Among Czechs and Slovaks there is little difference in responses to this question (68% and 65% "respect"). In Bulgaria, the Gypsies (n=57) are divided on the issue (44% versus 40%) while most Turks (n=67) seem quite content at present (60% "respect"). In Romania, the biggest difference between ethnic groups is seen, with most ethnic Romanians saying there is respect (54% versus 35% "no respect") while most ethnic Hungarians (n=81) say otherwise (26% versus 65%).

In Lithuania, the Russian and Polish minorities (n=180) are as likely to say there is respect (49%) for human rights as ethnic Lithuanians (44%). However, while a clear majority of ethnic Latvians (62% versus 35%) believe there is respect, ethnic Russians living in Latvia (n=314) are divided (47% versus 48%). There is almost equal concern about the lack of respect for human rights in European Russia among ethnic Russians (81%) and other nationalities living there (84%) (n=171). In Estonia, most ethnic Estonians and ethnic Russians (n=296) agree quite strongly that there is no respect (73% and 66% each).

In many countries, the economically and socially disadvantaged are also more likely to complain about their country's human rights record - especially low-income earners.

In many aspects, the situation in Central and Eastern Europe is quite explosive. Economic deprivation, dissatisfaction with the development of their democracy and ethnic conflicts in some parts of the region have created considerable political instability. Nevertheless, almost everywhere there is continuing faith that the free market *should* deliver the goods. The question is *when*, and whether people are prepared to accept the difficult adjustments necessary while consolidating their nascent democratic institutions.

2. THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

2.1 How European do Europeans feel?

Central and Eastern Europeans feel just as "European" as citizens of the European Community do. Asked whether people ever think of themselves as European - often, sometimes or never - two out of five Romanians profess to "feel European often" (39%), followed by Albanians (28%) and Hungarians (22%), well above the European Community average of 15% "often". These same peoples are also least likely to say they never feel European (18%, 21% and 38% respectively). Only in Lithuania (52%) and European Russia (62%) do more than half the population say they never feel European. By comparison, half of EC citizens (49%) never feel "European". For Central and Eastern Europe as a whole, excluding European Russia* the percentages are 20% "often", 35% "sometimes" and 38% "never". (Annex Figure 12).

2.2 Awareness and image of the Community

Among a list of seven major European-based international organisations, institutions and groupings:

* NATO is the most well-known organisation, heard of by 85% of Central and Eastern Europeans outside European Russia. Highest awareness levels are found in Czechoslovakia (95%). 90% of Russians have heard of it as well. (Annex Figure 13).

* Second comes the **European Community** with an awareness level of 78%. It is best known in Poland (83%). Nowhere have less than two-thirds of the population heard of it. 73% of Russians say they are aware of it as well. (Annex Figure 14).

* As Russia's population West of the Urals (115 million) is greater than all other countries surveyed in the region put together (107 million), it is considered more accurate to report these results separately when the whole region is discussed

* The **Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)** is known by two out of three people (66%). The percentage is exactly the same in European Russia (66%). By far the highest awareness of the CSCE is in Albania (92%), which recently joined this organisation, heralding Albania's return to Europe. Czechoslovakia, where the CSCE has its secretariat, has the second highest level of awareness (81%). (Annex Figure 15).

* The **Council of Europe** has an awareness level close to the CSCE in the region (63%). Czechoslovakians are the most aware (83%). Half as many Russians (42%) say they have heard of it. (Annex Figure 16).

* Other institutions are less known. The **Western European Union** is known by four out of ten people (42%) in the region excluding European Russia. A majority of Hungarians (56%) say they have heard of it while, at the other end of the spectrum, awareness is only 26% in Albania and 32% in European Russia. (Annex Figure 17).

* The same situation is true for the **Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)**. Four out of ten (42%) have heard of it, Estonians (53%) and Latvians (52%) being the most knowledgeable while Russians (34%) and Albanians (35%) are the least. (Annex Figure 18).

* Four out of ten as well (39%) have heard of the **European Free Trade Association (EFTA)**. Latvians (63%) and Estonians (51%) are the most likely to have heard of it, perhaps because of their growing links with the Scandinavian members of it. Once again, this association is least known in Albania (26%) and European Russia (27%). (Annex Figure 19 and 20).

Asked how informed they feel about the European Community's aims and activities, two thirds (67%) of people in the region excluding European Russia say they are not well informed. Albanians (29%), Czechoslovakians (28%) and Hungarians (26%) feel the most informed. By contrast, less than a sixth of Estonians, Lithuanians (both 14%), Bulgarians (13%) and especially Russians (only 6%) feel they are well-informed. Compared to the last poll, more Czechoslovakians (+8) and Bulgarians (+4) feel they are well informed while little change is registered among Poles (+2) and Hungarians (-1). (Annex Figure 21).

Around half of people in the region excluding European Russia say their impression of the European Community is a positive one (49%); a quarter (24%) neutral and a minuscule 2% negative. A further quarter (25%) say they do not know. Over half of Albanians (70%), Lithuanians (55%) and Poles (53%) have positive impressions. In European Russia, 42% are positive, 32% neutral and only 3% negative. (Annex Figure 22).

General positive attitudes towards the Community have not changed much in those countries which were previously polled. Those saying their attitudes are neutral increased in Czechoslovakia (+9) while a corresponding decrease occurred in those not expressing an opinion; and Hungary (+4) where those with positive views declined marginally (-3). Positive, neutral and negative views increased in Poland (+2 each) with a decline in those who say they did not know (-6). Bulgarian attitudes did not change in a significant way.

2.3 Learning more about the Community

Asked how interested people would be to receive more information about the activities of the European Community in several key areas:

* Over a third of Central and Eastern Europeans (35% excluding Russians) say they would be very interested in knowing more about **EC relations with their respective country** - including many Albanians (69%), Lithuanians (52%) and Czechoslovakians (51%). 42% of Russians are also very interested here. (Annex Figure 23).

* Next is the **European Single Market after 1992**, of great interest to well over one out of four (28%) people in the region excluding European Russia. Here Czechoslovakians (50% "very") are far more interested than anyone else. A third of Russians (34%) are very interested too. (Annex Figure 24).

* Again a quarter are very interested in the **debate about a new security system for Europe** (27%). Greatest interest is shown here by Czechoslovakians (37% "very"; 42% "somewhat"). 29% of Russians profess great interest as well. (Annex Figure 25).

* Under a quarter (23%) say they would very much like "**just basic information about the European Community and its work**". Russians are more interested in this than other people in the region (35%), along with the Albanians (36%). (Annex Figure 26).

* **Efforts being made towards political unification in Europe** comes next (22% "very interested"), with Albanians (40%) and Czechoslovakians (36%) showing the greatest interest. 23% of Russians are also very interested in this topic. (Annex Figure 27).

* One in five (21%) is very interested in knowing more about the **PHARE assistance programme** of 24 Western countries co-ordinated by the Commission of the European Communities. Three out of five Russians (29%) show great interest too. (Annex Figure 28).

* Finally, the same proportion (21%) is very interested in knowing more about the details of the associate membership agreements between the European Community and Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Unsurprisingly, greatest interest is shown for this by Czechoslovakians (40% "very"), followed by Poles (23%) and Hungarians (22%). A sixth of Russians (15%) express great interest in learning more about it. (Annex Figure 29).

What is the best way for the European Community to communicate what it does to people in the region? **Domestic television** broadcasts are the most important medium to learn about the activities of the EC, according to Hungarians (86%), Poles (85%), Czechoslovakians (80%), Russians (78%), Bulgarians (73%), Romanians (56%) and Albanians (53%). For people living in the Baltics, **domestic newspapers** are the most important media in Latvia (75%) and Estonia (74%), while they shared equal prominence with television in Lithuania (72% "newspapers" and 73% "television"). (Annex Figure 30-34).

Domestic radio is the second most important medium for Poles (72%), Hungarians (69%), Bulgarians (66%) while **domestic newspapers** take on that significance in Czechoslovakia (68%), European Russia (67%) and Albania (35%). Romanian respondents find their country's radio (39%) and newspapers (38%) equally informative. **In all cases domestic television, radio and newspapers are the three most important media for all countries.** The only other significant medium of information for around half the population in any country is **domestic periodicals** for Poles (48%).

Western television is now as important or more important a source of information about the Community as **Western radio** in the region in all countries except Lithuania and Latvia, where a quarter of the population gets its information from Western radio (24% and 23% respectively), and both European Russia (17% "Western radio" and 5% "Western television") and Romania (10% and 5% respectively). Western television is most viewed in Estonia (18%) and Czechoslovakia (17%) for news about the European Community.

SUPPORT FOR CLOSER TIES WITH EC

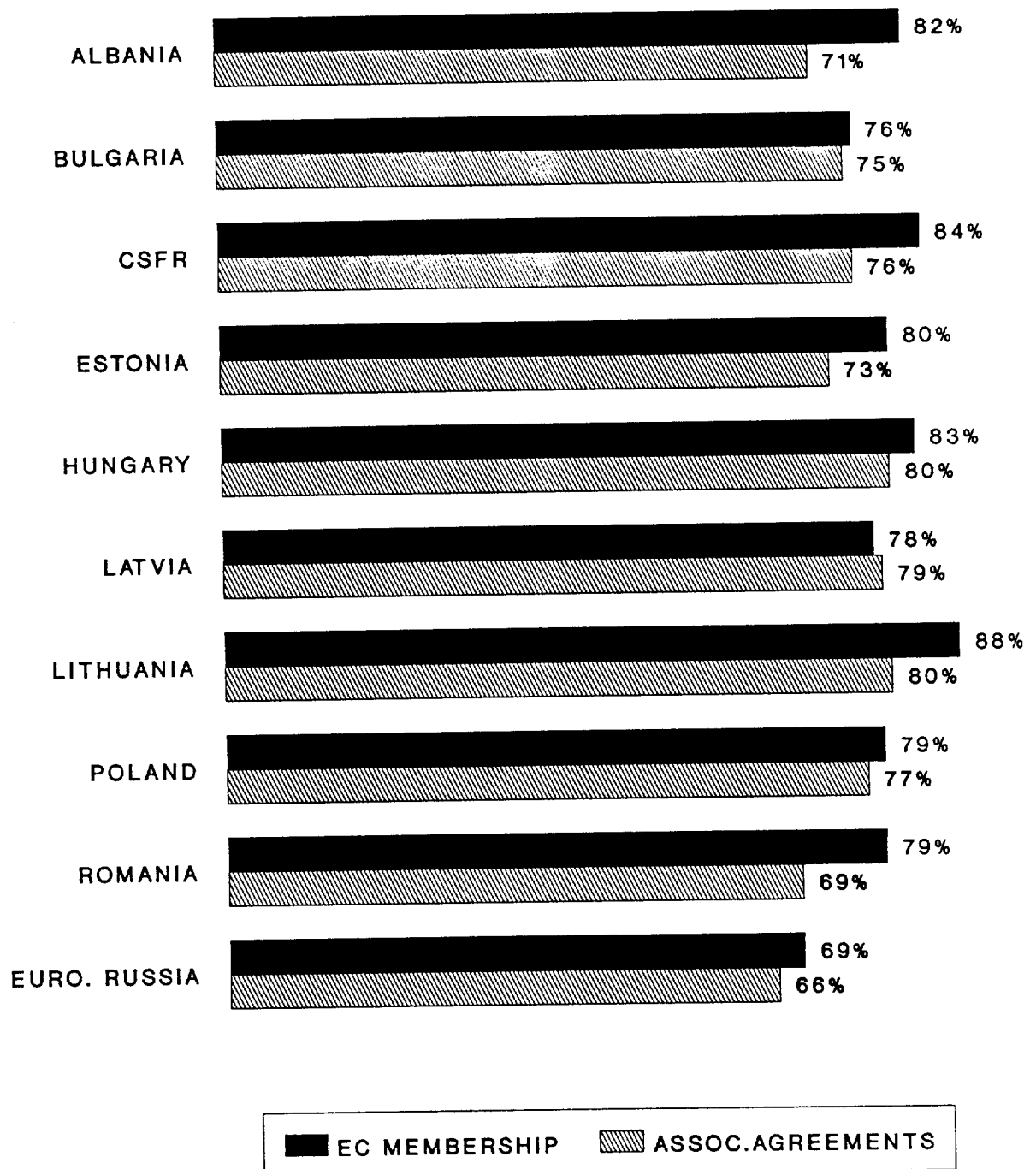


FIGURE E

Albania and Romania seem generally to have less access to EC information sources than other countries. Since the time of the last Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER, domestic periodicals (+18) and newspapers (+10) seem to be playing a far more important role in Poland. The same is true of domestic periodicals in Hungary (+7), domestic radio in Czechoslovakia (+7) and Bulgaria (+4) as well as schools/universities in Poland (+4). Only in Czechoslovakia did domestic newspapers become a less important source (-5).

2.4 Support for associate and full EC membership

On 16th December 1991, the European Community concluded Association Agreements for closer political, economic and cultural ties with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. Moves were also underway at the time of the poll to begin negotiations for similar agreements with Bulgaria and Romania.

Around half (51%) of Central and Eastern Europeans excluding Russians say they have heard something about "Association Agreements" or "European Agreements" over the past few months. Awareness is clearly linked to the level of involvement of each country with the process. Thus over half of Poles (63%), Czechoslovakians (57%) and Hungarians (56%) have heard something about them. Next in line come Bulgarians (41%) and Romanians (39%). Russians (31%), people from the Baltic states (27% - 33%) and Albanians (25%) are the least informed about them. (Annex Figure 35).

During the time of the negotiations with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, fears were expressed that the EC was not going far enough to open its markets, particularly in the areas of agriculture, textiles and steel. The Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER survey asked whether people perceived that the terms still under negotiation at the time were particularly advantageous or disadvantageous to their country.

Those Russians (54% versus 8%) and other Central and Eastern Europeans (46% versus 13%) who have heard of the Agreements feel on balance that the conditions offered by the European Community are reasonable rather than unreasonable. Only the Romanians show any serious doubts over this issue (38% "reasonable" versus 31% "unreasonable"). Large majorities are favourable in Czechoslovakia (49% versus 9%), Hungary (55% versus 4%) and Poland (41% versus 13%). (Annex Figure 36).

Irrespective of whether they have heard about it or not, the vast majority of people from all countries are in favour of such an agreement being concluded between the European Community and their country. Hungarians and Lithuanians (both 80%) are the most in favour. Russians, are ten-to-one for the idea (66% versus 7%) Opposition is a minimal 1%-7%. (Annex Figure 37). (Text Figure E Page 26).

Compared to Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER No. 1, support for the conclusion of such an agreement has increased in Bulgaria (+5) and remained roughly constant in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland.

More than four out of five Central and Eastern Europeans (81%, excluding Russians) are **in favour of their country joining the European Community in the future**. Lithuanians are the keenest (88%), followed by Czechoslovakians (84%), Hungarians (83%) and Albanians (82%). Similar to the association agreements, Russians are ten-to-one (69% versus 7%) in favour. Once again, opposition is a minimal 1%-7%. (Annex Figure 38).

The EUROBAROMETER asked the same question in Hungary (August 1989) and Czechoslovakia (January 1990). Since that time, support for Czechoslovakian EC membership has declined (-6) to a still very high 84%. Hungarian support remains largely stable (83%-84%). Opposition in both countries increased minimally (+3 for both) from very low bases (1%-2%).

Asked about the **advantages of possible EC membership for their respective countries**, the most important are perceived to be **improved trade** and an **increase in people's living standards**. For the Czechoslovakians, Hungarians (both 56%) Estonians (54%), Latvians (49%), Poles (48%) and Lithuanians (47%), priority lies with greater trade. Albanians (63%), Bulgarians (47%), Romanians (46%) and Russians (39%) are concerned, first and foremost, with improving their living standards. Other perceived benefits are the **creation of a market economy**, the **free movement of people**, the fact that **shortages will disappear** and that **democracy might be helped**. Around a fifth could not think of any benefits, or said there would be none. (Annex Figure 39).

Around half say they see no disadvantages - or do not know of any **disadvantages** - about EC membership for their country especially Albanians (80%) and Romanians (76%). Perceived disadvantages are the fear of **economic domination**, the greatest concern in Poland (27%), Bulgaria (25%), Hungary (22%), Romania (12%) and Albania (7%). In Latvia (33%), European Russia (30%), Estonia (28%) and Czechoslovakia (20%), **unemployment** is the key issue. **Emigration** worries a quarter of all Estonians (27%), Latvians (26%) and Lithuanians (24%). **Political domination** is the only other significant concern, for the Poles in particular (14%). (Annex Figure 40).

Asked **when, if ever, their country should become an EC member**, the overall feeling is that EC membership should happen between now and five years' time. Many Romanians (53%), Poles (51%) and Hungarians (45%) want EC membership for their country straight away. Bulgarians (32% "now"; 31% "five year's time") and Estonians (32% "now"; 30% "five years' time") are divided how quickly it should happen. A preponderance of Latvians (45%), Lithuanians (44%), Czechoslovakians (42%) and Albanians (29%) feel five years' time is about right. Many Russians want to wait between five (25%) and ten years (20%). (Annex Figure 41).

Of course, becoming a member of the European Community from the point of application (which no country from this region has yet done) takes several years to come to fruition, if at all. Both Czechoslovakian and Polish officials have spoken in terms of the year 2000 as a realistic target for their countries to become full members of the Community. Hungarians want to move faster, and have signalled their intention to make a formal application in 1992 with a view to achieving full membership by the mid-1990's.

Recent moves towards economic and monetary union may also make it increasingly difficult for Central and Eastern European countries to integrate their economies with the Community. This is one of the reasons why EC Commission Vice-President Frans Andriessen recently floated the idea of "affiliate membership" as a future way of giving Central and Eastern European countries certain benefits of membership as an interim measure without subjecting their fragile economies to the full vigours of the forthcoming Single Market.

2.5 Awareness and anticipated effect of "1992"

About a third of Central and Eastern Europeans, (35% excluding Russians), have heard of "1992", the project to complete, by the end of 1992, the building of a Single Market for the European Community, including the free movement of people, goods, services and capital between all Member States. (Annex Figure 42).

More than half of all Albanians (63%) and Russians (53%) say they have heard of the "1992" project. Those least aware are the Poles (33%), Hungarians (29%) and Romanians (27%).

The overall consensus among those holding an opinion is that "1992" will improve rather than harm relations between their country and the European Community. In particular people living in the Baltic states (Lithuanians 63%; Estonians 56%; Latvians 49%) as well as Albanians (60%) and Russians (49%) are sure about this. Only between 1%-6% of the population of each country thinks it will be harmful. (Annex Figure 43).

3. ISSUES FACING EUROPE

3.1 Perceived impact of PHARE assistance programme

The Commission of the European Communities was asked in 1989 to coordinate a major assistance programme called PHARE provided by the 24 most industrialised countries (G24) to restructure the economies of Poland and Hungary, the first countries to break free from effective Soviet control. The decision was taken in July 1990 to extend the programme to cover Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Yugoslavia. Romania was admitted to the programme later. The integration of East Germany into the Community and the suspension of the PHARE programme to Yugoslavia because of the Serbo-Croat war means that current recipients at the time of the poll are five countries - Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania.

People from these five recipient countries have very different awareness levels of the PHARE programme. Highest awareness levels exist in those countries which are the latest recipients of aid from PHARE - Czechoslovakia (60%), Bulgaria (47%) and Romania (44%). However, the original recipients have very low awareness levels - Hungary (20%) and especially Poland (11%).

Romanians are the **most likely to say that the PHARE programme is having a major impact** (33%) on their economy, three times as many as say that the impact is minor (10%) or that there is no real impact (1%). People holding an opinion from the other recipient countries are divided as to whether the programme is having a major or minor impact, but very few people in the region (1%-5%) feel it is having no real impact. (Annex Figure 44).

Absolute majorities of Central and Eastern Europeans from all countries have heard of the European Community's initiatives to try and resolve the crisis facing Yugoslavia and its republics. Awareness levels of the Community's role are highest in Czechoslovakia (83%). By comparison, 71% of EC citizens have heard of these initiatives. (Annex Figure 48).

Asked about the usefulness of the initiatives in trying to help resolve the crisis, relative majorities of Lithuanians (48% "useful" versus 10% "not useful"), Albanians (42% versus 25%), Latvians (38% versus 23%) and Poles (37% versus 16%) think they are useful. Bulgarians (28% versus 29%) and Hungarians (29% versus 30%) are divided. Russians (24% versus 29%), Estonians (24% versus 33%), Romanians (18% versus 33%) and Czechoslovakians (35% versus 48%) mainly feel they have not been useful.

In the European Community, the consensus is that, on balance, these initiatives have not been useful (29% "useful" versus 42% "not useful"), although there is a majority in six smaller EC Member States considering these initiatives useful.

3.4 Fair Trade

The former Soviet Union moved to a hard currency "world market price" trade system with the rest of Central and Eastern Europe at the beginning of 1991. Its level of trade fell sharply with the other countries of the region which began to increase substantially their trade with the European Community. In 1990, EC imports from Central and Eastern Europe (excluding Albania, the Baltic states and the former Soviet Union) had already grown by 7% and EC exports towards them by 4% compared to 1989. In 1990 the overall balance of this trade rested in Central and Eastern Europe's favour in all these countries with the sole exception of Bulgaria.

Respondents were asked whether they consider the European Community, Japan, the former Soviet Union and United States as fair or unfair when it comes to trade with their respective country.

Taking the region as a whole (excluding European Russia from the region's overall results):

*** 44% of people say that Japan is a fair trader**, compared to 9% who feel otherwise. Hungarians are the most convinced (62%). A third of Russians (33%) also feel the same way, compared to a quarter (26%) who feel otherwise, by far the highest negative feeling towards Japanese trade in the region. (Annex Figure 49).

*** About the same percentage of people think the United States is a fair trader (43%)**, 14% more complain it is not. Again Hungarians are the most favourable (54%). Russians are more narrowly of the same view (31% versus 23%). (Annex Figure 50).

*** Concerning the European Community, people are more than two to one convinced it is fair (40%) rather than unfair (18%) in trade.** In fact all countries have convincing majorities of three-to-one or more in this regard except Czechoslovakia (39% "fair" versus 18% "unfair") and Poland, where people are divided on the subject (29% "fair" versus 32% "unfair"). More Russians feel the Community is fair (32%) than unfair (24%). (Annex Figure 51).

*** People in the region are much more critical of the trading situation with the former Soviet Union, a third (34%) saying it is unfair and only a quarter (24%) fair.** All countries had a majority of people saying that the former Soviet Union is unfair except Bulgaria (45% "fair" versus 21% "unfair"), Romania (35% versus 21%) and Albania (21% versus 11%). Russians are convinced by a majority of five-to-one (50% versus 11%) that "other (former) Soviet republics" are unfair rather than fair in trade. (Annex Figure 52).

3.5 Emigration to Western Europe

Parts of Western Europe has been experiencing an upsurge of racism and right-wing activity recently, which has been translated on occasion into increasingly popular support for extreme right-wing parties in elections. Commentators have said that one of the main reasons is fear about large-scale immigration, particularly from developing countries but not excluding worries about an exodus from Central and Eastern Europe as well.

In the standard EUROBAROMETER survey of Spring 1991, 14% of EC Citizens were happy to accept immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe without restriction. 63% agreed to have them with restrictions while 20% would not accept them at all. (See EUROBAROMETER Report No. 35).

In Central and Eastern Europe, three out of ten (30%) people from the region excluding European Russia say they have considered going and working in a country in Western Europe. The percentage for European Russia is around a quarter (23%). Considering the likelihood of such a decision becoming a reality **3% from the region excluding European Russia say they intend definitely to go, while the figure is less than 1% for Russians.** Looking at people who say they will definitely or probably go the percentages for the region except European Russia are 12%, and European Russia 4%. Countries with the largest emigration potential are Poland and Czechoslovakia (both 13% "definitely" and "probably") and Romania (12%). (Annex Figure 53).

If these percentages were ever translated into reality, the results would mean that around 1.5% or 2.5 million people of the 15+ age group would definitely try and emigrate to Western Europe from the region as a whole. The combined figure for those "definitely" or "probably" going would be 8% or around 13 million. Caution should be exercised concerning such eventualities coming to fruition. This question, perhaps more than any other, shows Western Europe what it may be facing if it does not do more to help tackle the causes of Central and Eastern Europe's problems.

ANNEXES

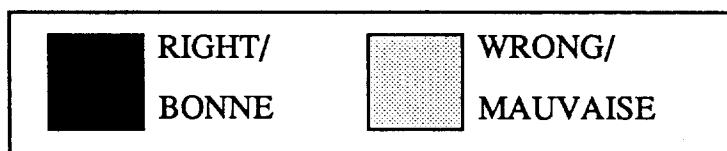
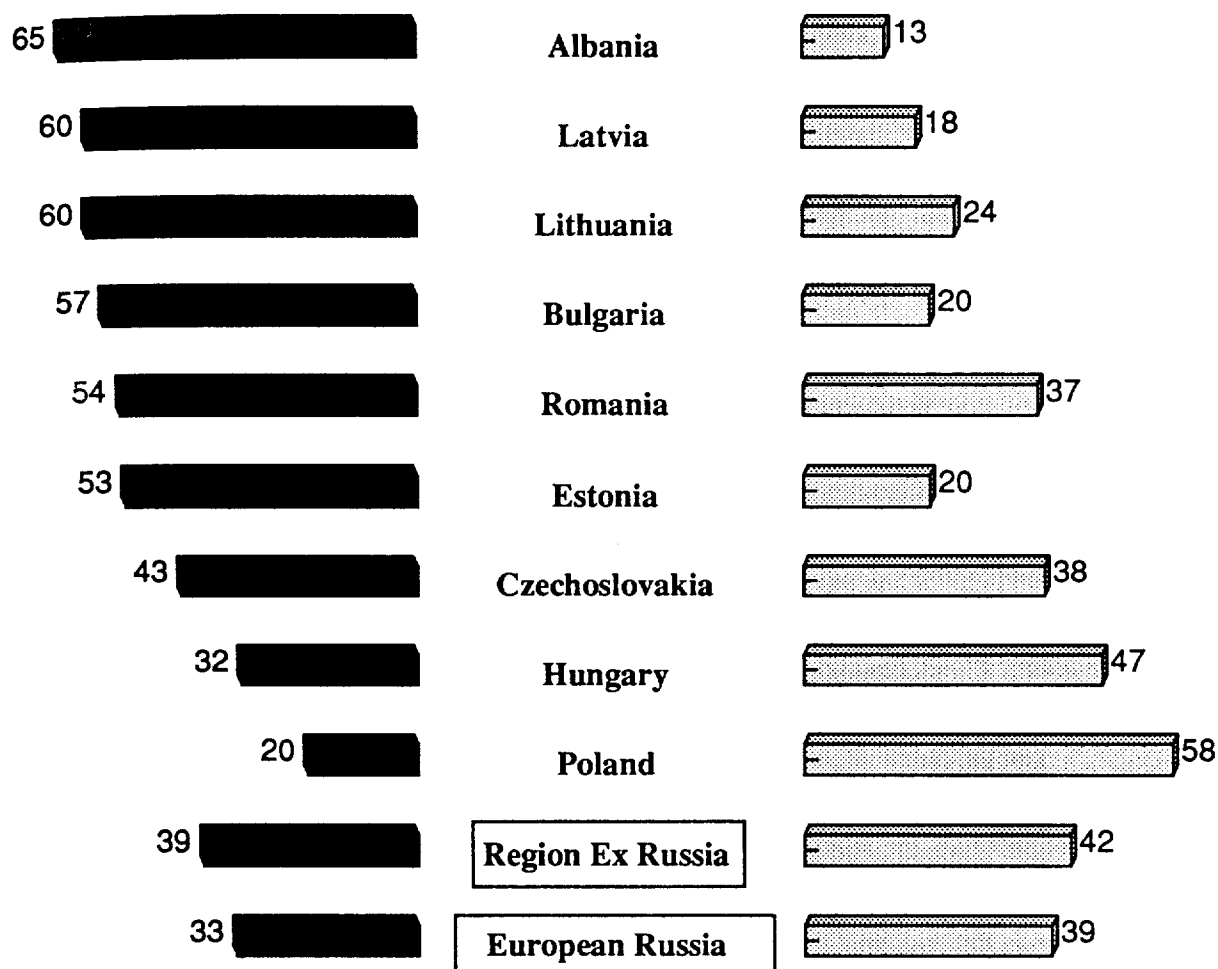
GRAPHICS OF FULL RESULTS

Notes on Annex Figures

- * Percentages of respondents who gave no answer to a question or who answered "don't know" are not always shown to make figures more easily readable.
- * For some questions, respondents were allowed to give more than one answer. In these cases, the total answers are often more than 100 per cent. All questions where multiple answers were permissible are clearly labelled.
- * Due to rounding some question answers do not add to 100 per cent even where all question responses are shown. Thus some totals may show 99 or 101 per cent.
- * Questions on EC Association Agreement negotiations, interest in learning more about the PHARE programme, the former Soviet Union and Emigration were not asked in Albania due to the early start of fieldwork in order to end the survey by October 31st.

ANNEX FIGURE 1

**DIRECTION OF COUNTRY - RIGHT OR WRONG?/
EVOLUTION DU PAYS - BONNE OU MAUVAISE VOIE?**

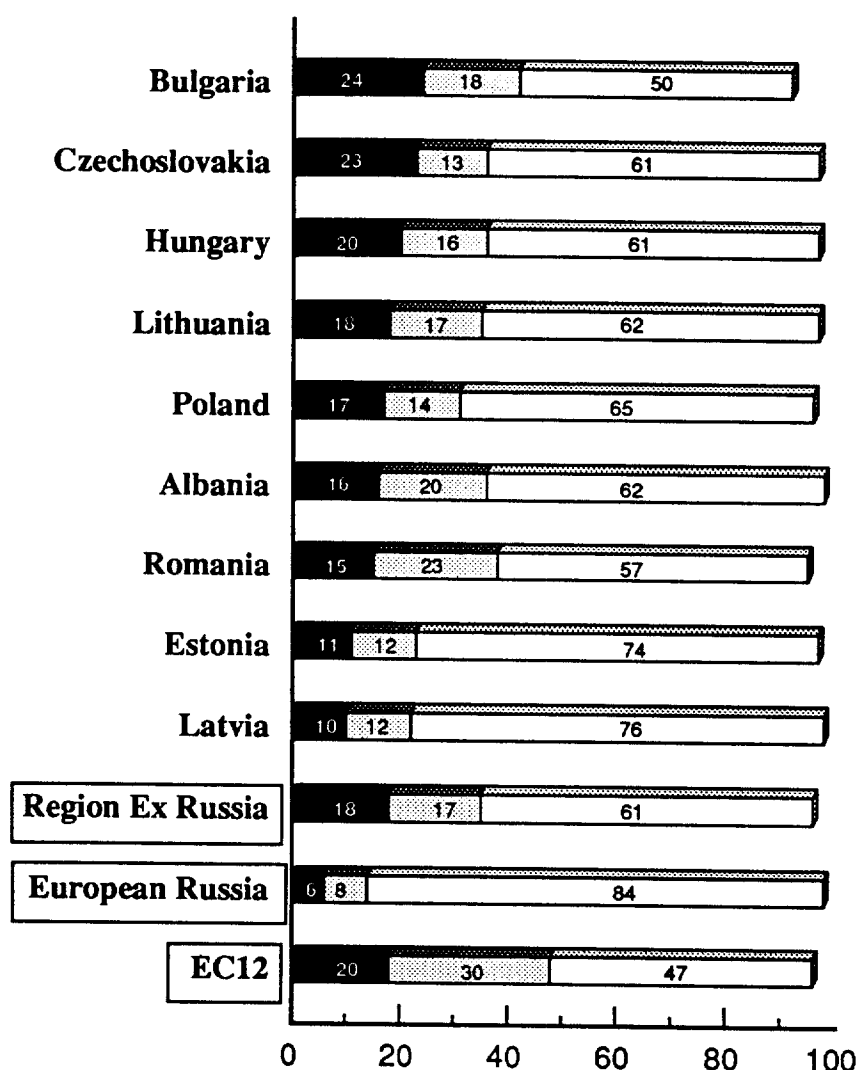


*Q. IN GENERAL, DO YOU FEEL THINGS IN (OUR COUNTRY) ARE GOING
IN THE RIGHT OR IN THE WRONG DIRECTION?!*

*EN GENERAL, ESTIMEZ-VOUS QUE LA SITUATION DANS (NOTRE PAYS) EVOLUE
DANS UNE BONNE OU DANS UNE MAUVAISE VOIE?*

ANNEX FIGURE 2

ECONOMIC SITUATION - PAST 12 MONTHS/ SITUATION ECONOMIQUE - LES 12 DERNIERS MOIS



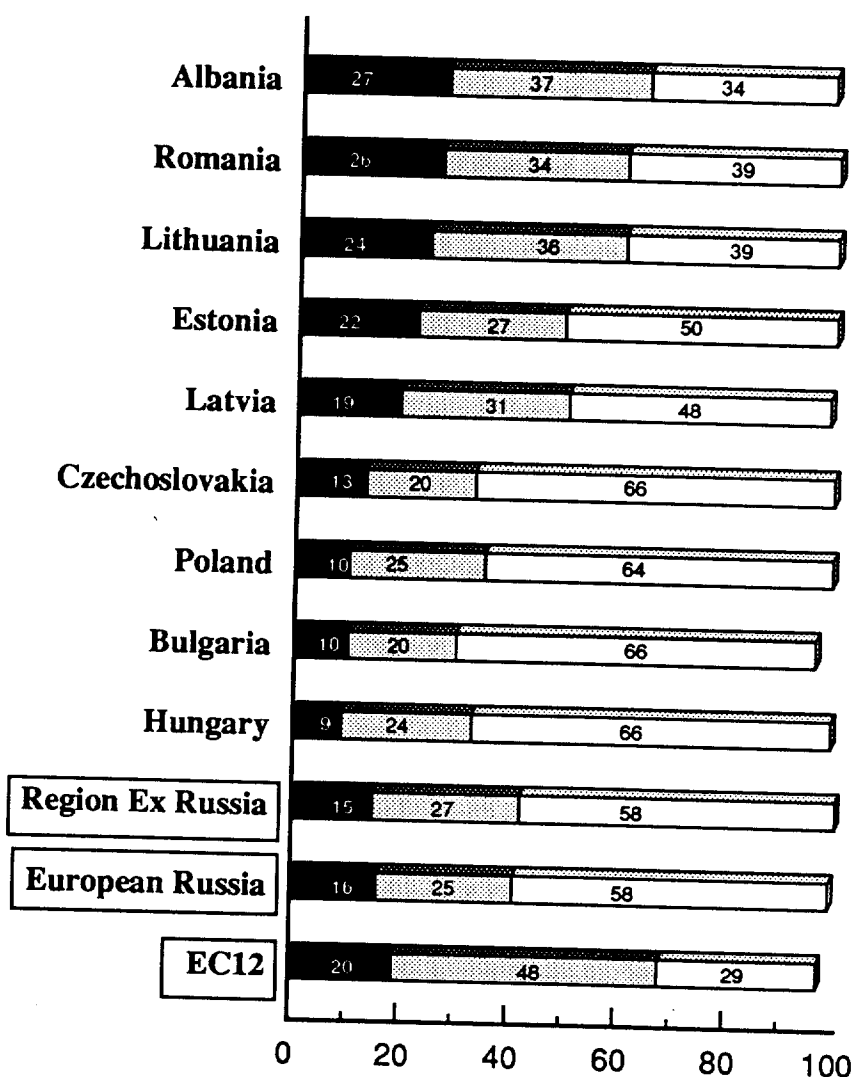
GOT BETTER/
MEILLEURE
 STAYED THE SAME/
INCHANGE
 GOT WORSE/
MOINS BONNE

*Q. COMPARED TO 12 MONTHS AGO, DO YOU THINK THE
GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IN (OUR COUNTRY) HAS GOT
A LOT BETTER, GOT A LITTLE BETTER, STAYED THE SAME, GOT A LITTLE WORSE,
OR GOT A LOT WORSE?/*

*PAR RAPPORT A CE QU'ELLE ETAIT IL Y A 12 MOIS, PENSEZ-VOUS
QUE LA SITUATION ECONOMIQUE GENERALE DE (NOTRE PAYS)
EST ACTUELLEMENT BIEN MEILLEURE, UN PEU MEILLEURE,
INCHANGE, UN PEU MOINS BONNE OU BIEN MOINS BONNE?*

ANNEX FIGURE 3

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES - PAST 12 MONTHS/ FINANCES DU MENAGE - LES 12 DERNIERS MOIS



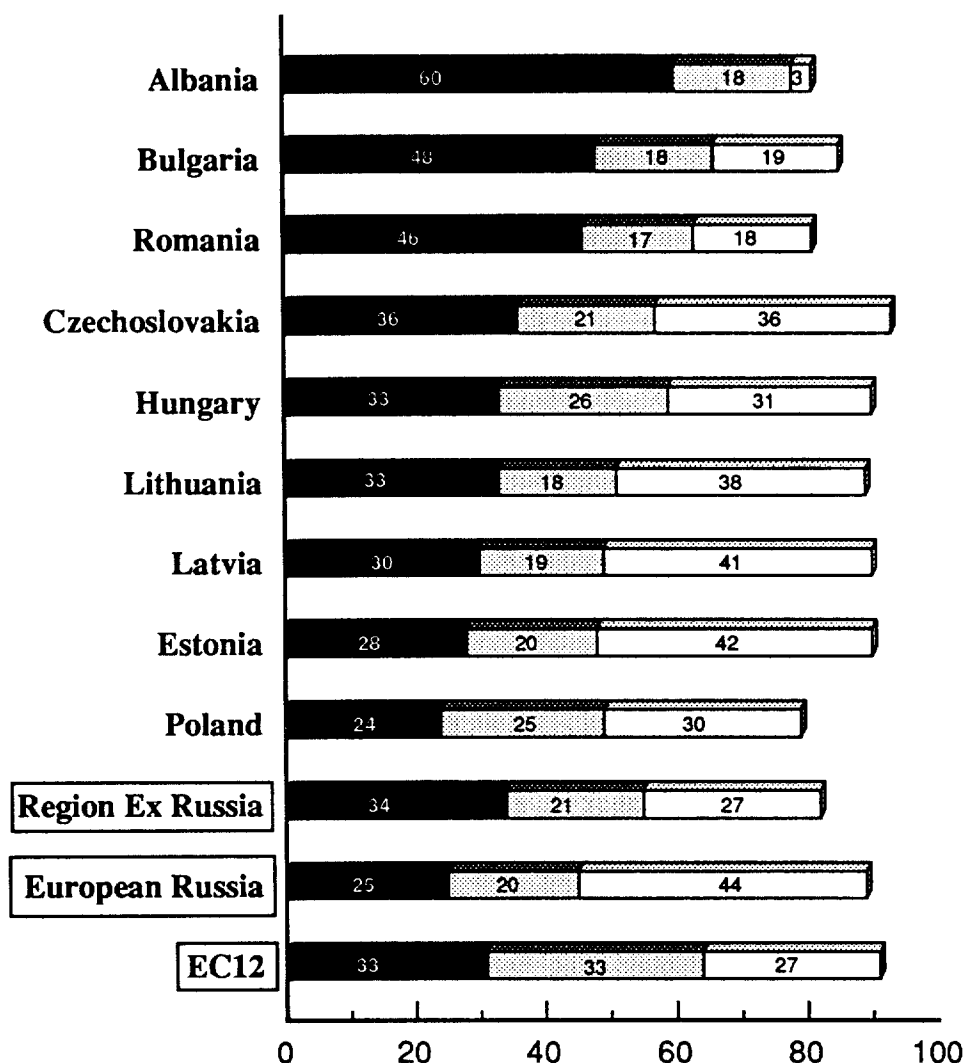
GOT BETTER/ MEILLEURE
 STAYED THE SAME/ INCHANGE
 GOT WORSE/ MOINS BONNE

Q. COMPARED TO 12 MONTHS AGO, DO YOU THINK THAT THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAS GOT A LOT BETTER, GOT A LITTLE BETTER, STAYED THE SAME, GOT A LITTLE WORSE OR GOT A LOT WORSE?/

PAR RAPPORT A CE QU'ELLE ETAIT IL Y A 12 MOIS, PENSEZ-VOUS QUE LA SITUATION FINANCIERE DE VOTRE MENAGE EST ACTUELLEMENT BIEN MEILLEURE, UN PEU MEILLEURE, INCHANGE, UN PEU MOINS BONNE OU BIEN MOINS BONNE?

ANNEX FIGURE 4

ECONOMIC SITUATION - NEXT 12 MONTHS/ SITUATION ECONOMIQUE - LES 12 PROCHAINS MOIS



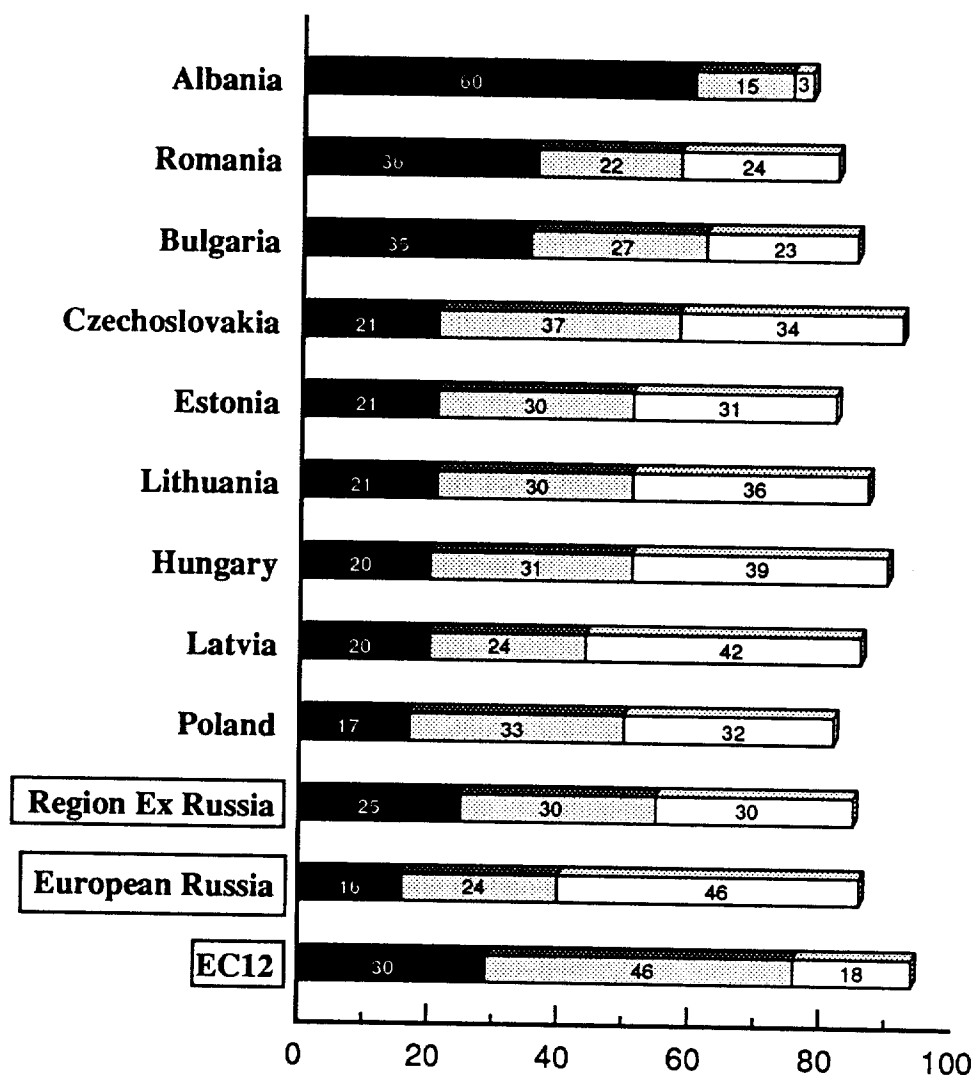
GET BETTER/
MEILLEURE
 STAY THE SAME/
INCHANGE
 GET WORSE/
MOINS BONNE




*Q. AND OVER THE NEXT 12 MONTHS, DO YOU THINK THE GENERAL ECONOMIC
SITUATION IN (OUR COUNTRY) WILL GET A LOT BETTER, GET A LITTLE
BETTER, STAY THE SAME, GET A LITTLE WORSE OR GET
A LOT WORSE?/*

*ET DANS LES 12 PROCHAINS MOIS, PENSEZ-VOUS QUE LA SITUATION
ECONOMIQUE GENERALE DE (NOTRE PAYS) VA DEVENIR BIEN
MEILLEURE, UN PEU MEILLEURE, INCHANGE, UN PEU MOINS
BONNE OU BIEN MOINS BONNE?*

ANNEX FIGURE 5

HOUSEHOLD FINANCES - NEXT 12 MONTHS/ FINANCES DU MENAGE - LES 12 PROCHAINS MOIS



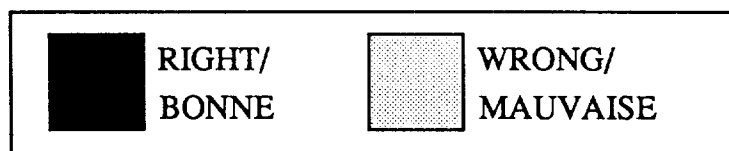
 GET BETTER/
MEILLEURE
  STAY THE SAME/
INCHANGE
  GET WORSE/
MOINS BONNE

Q. AND OVER THE NEXT 12 MONTHS, DO YOU EXPECT THE FINANCIAL SITUATION OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD WILL GET A LOT BETTER, GET A LITTLE BETTER, STAY THE SAME, GET A LITTLE WORSE, OR GET A LOT WORSE?/

ET DANS LES 12 PROCHAINS MOIS, PENSEZ-VOUS QUE LA SITUATION FINANCIERE DE VOTRE MENAGE VA DEVENIR BIEN MEILLEURE, UN PEU MEILLEURE, INCHANGE, UN PEU MOINS BONNE OU BIEN MOINS BONNE?

ANNEX FIGURE 6

FREE MARKET - RIGHT OR WRONG?/ ECONOMIE DE MARCHE - BONNE OU MAUVAISE?

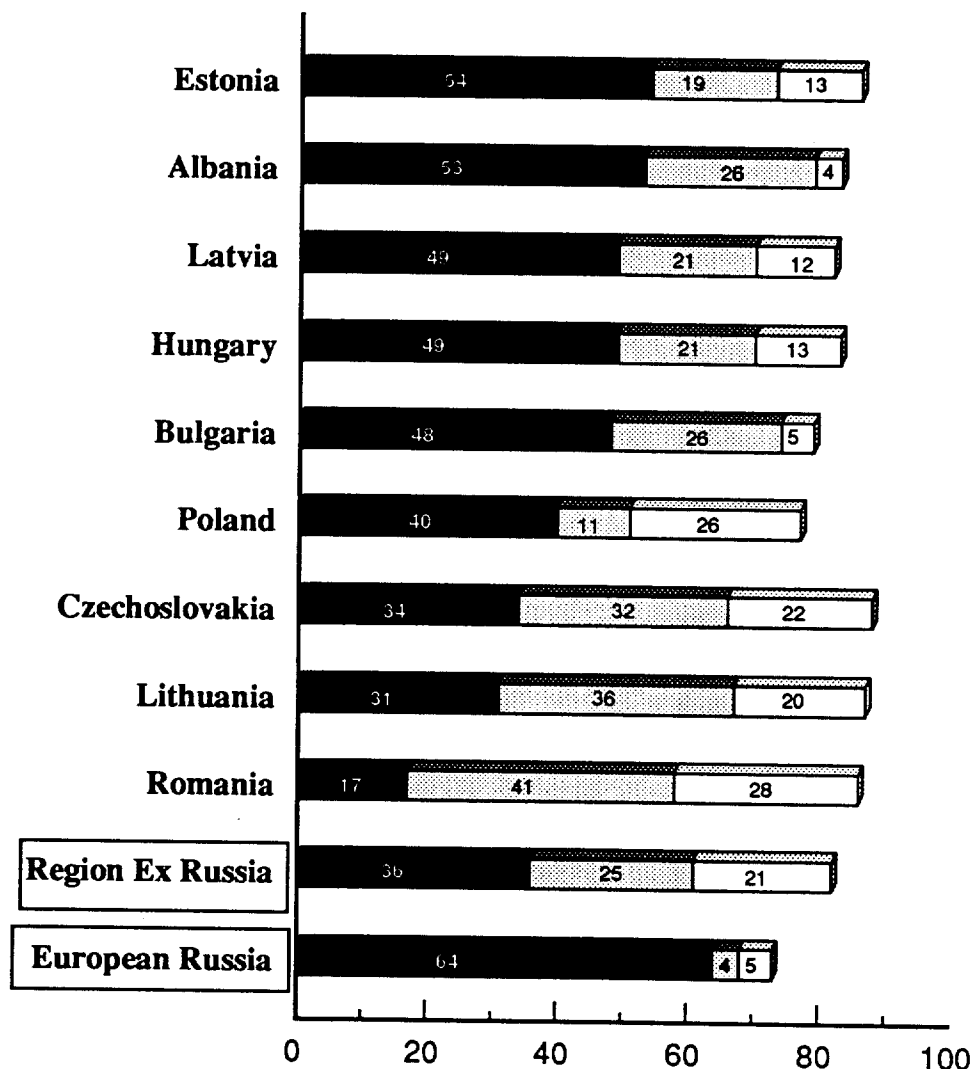


Q. DO YOU PERSONALLY FEEL THAT THE CREATION OF A FREE MARKET ECONOMY, THAT IS ONE LARGELY FREE FROM STATE CONTROL, IS RIGHT OR WRONG FOR (OUR COUNTRY'S) FUTURE?/

PERSONELLEMENT, PENSEZ-VOUS QUE LA CREATION D'UNE ECONOMIE DE MARCHE, C'EST-A-DIRE TRES PEU CONTROLEE PAR L'ETAT, SOIT UNE BONNE OU UNE MAUVAISE CHOSE POUR L'AVENIR DE (NOTRE PAYS)?

ANNEX FIGURE 7

ECONOMIC REFORM - TOO FAST OR TOO SLOW?/ REFORME ECONOMIQUE - TROP RAPIDE OU TROP LENTE?



**TOO SLOW/
TROP LENTE**

**ABOUT THE RIGHT SPEED/
COMME IL CONVIENT**

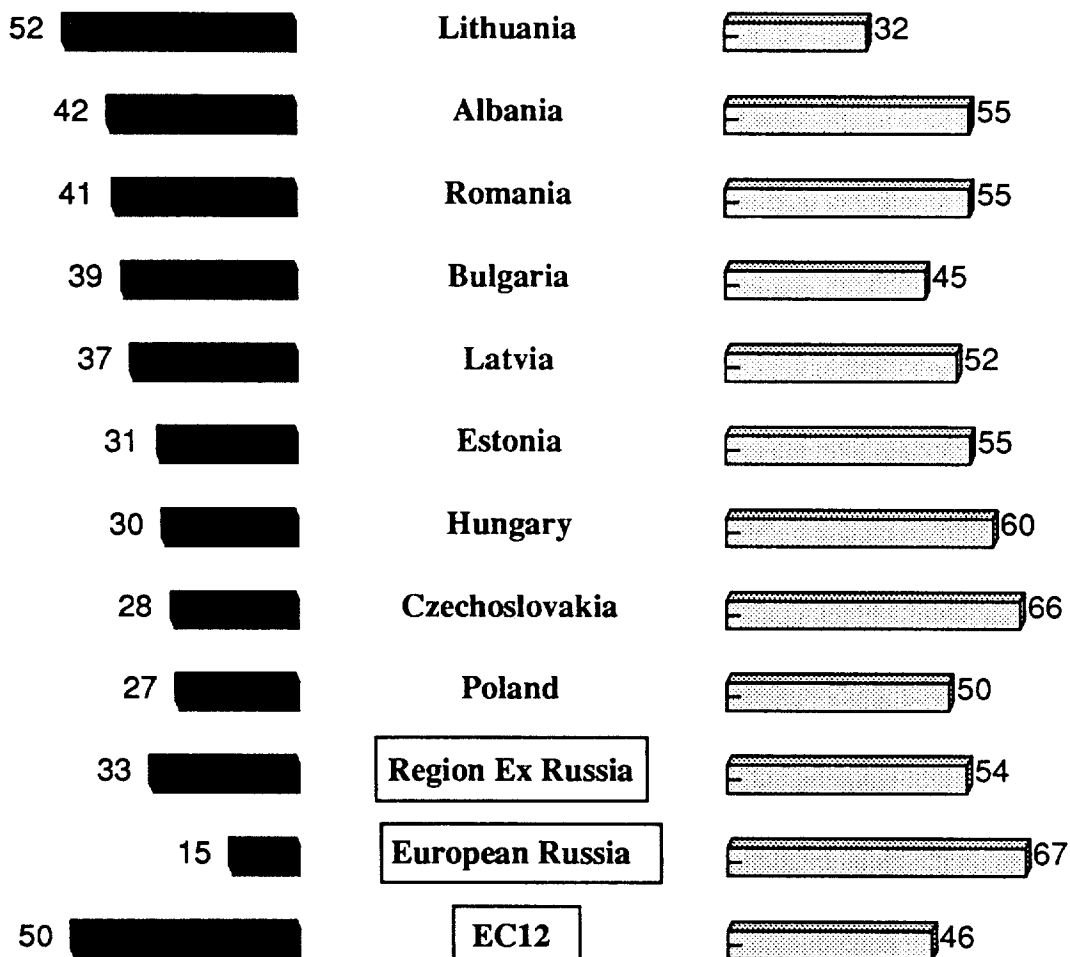
**TOO FAST/
TROP RAPIDE**

Q. THE WAY THINGS ARE GOING, DO YOU FEEL THAT (OUR COUNTRY'S) GOVERNMENT'S ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME IS GOING TOO FAST, TOO SLOW OR ABOUT THE RIGHT SPEED?/

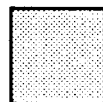
ETANT DONNE L'EVOLUTION ACTUELLE, ESTIMEZ-VOUS QUE LE PROGRAMME DE REFORMES ECONOMIQUES ADOPTE PAR LE GOUVERNEMENT DE (NOTRE PAYS) EVOLUE TROP RAPIDEMENT, TROP LENTEMENT OU COMME IL CONVIENT?

ANNEX FIGURE 8

**SATISFACTION WITH DEVELOPMENT OF
DEMOCRACY/
SATISFACTION AVEC DEVELOPPEMENT DE
LA DEMOCRATIE**



**SATISFIED/
SATISFAIT**



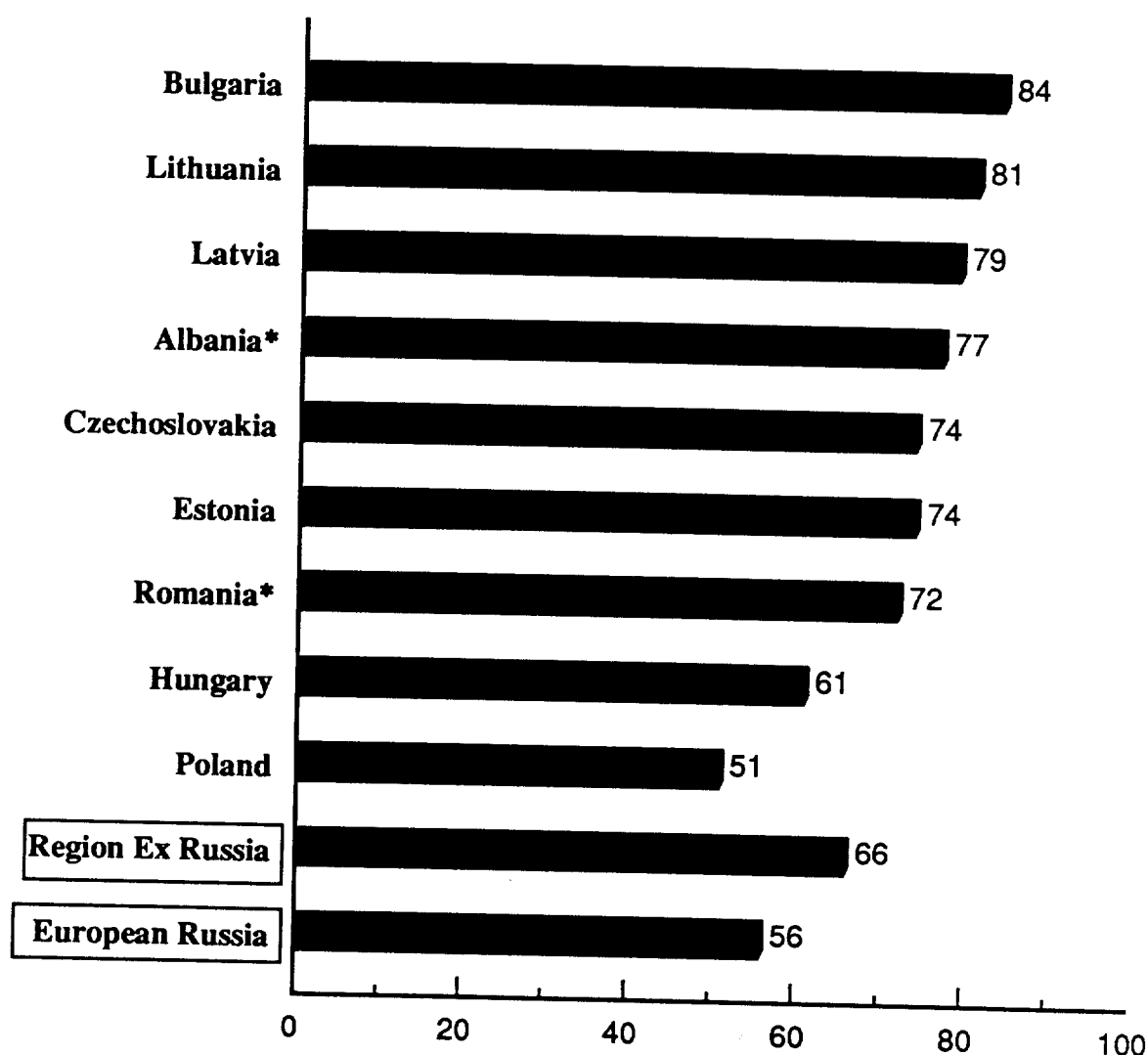
**NOT SATISFIED/
PAS SATISFAIT**

Q. ON THE WHOLE, ARE YOU VERY SATISFIED, FAIRLY SATISFIED, NOT VERY SATISFIED OR NOT AT ALL SATISFIED WITH THE WAY DEMOCRACY IS DEVELOPING IN (OUR COUNTRY)?/

DANS L'ENSEMBLE, ETES-VOUS TRES SATISFAIT, PLUTOT SATISFAIT, PLUTOT PAS SATISFAIT ON PAS DU TOUT SATISFAIT DE LA FACON DONT LA DEMOCRATIE S'INSTALLE DANS (NOTRE PAYS)?

ANNEX FIGURE 2

**INTENTION TO VOTE IN ELECTION/
INTENTION DE VOTER LORS D'UNE ELECTION**



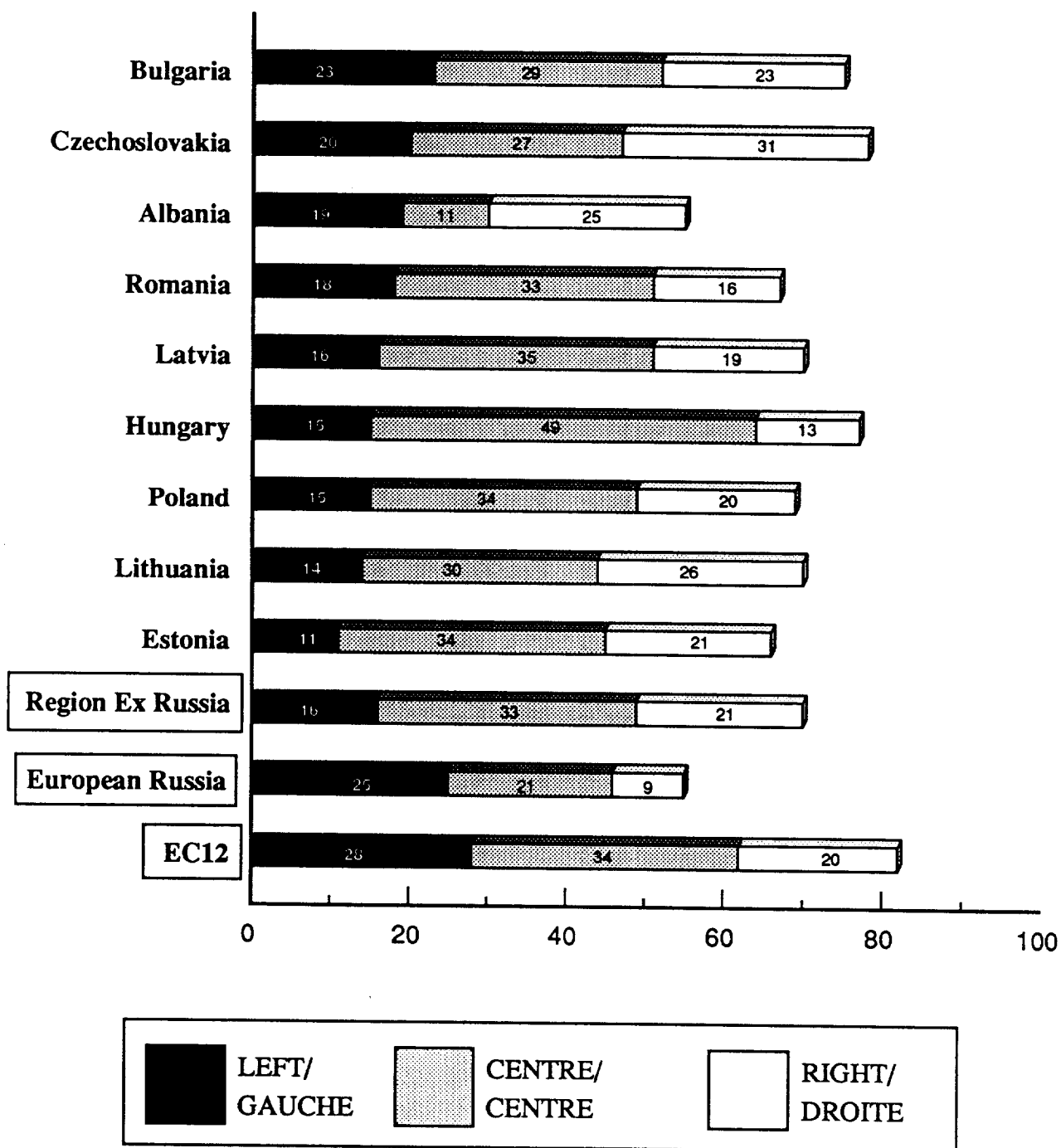
** ANSWERS FOR ALBANIA AND ROMANIA DRAWN FROM A SEPARATE QUESTION DEALING WITH PARTY PREFERENCE IN ANY FORTHCOMING ELECTION. FIGURES REFLECT ALL SAYING THAT THEY WOULD VOTE FOR A PARTICULAR PARTY./*

POUR L'ALBANIE ET LA ROUMANIE, LES REPONSES ONT ETE TIREES D'UNE QUESTION SEPARÉE PORTANT SUR LA PREFERENCE PARTISANNE LORS D'UNE ELECTION FUTURE. LES CHIFFRES PORTENT SUR TOUS CEUX QUI DISENT QU'ILS VOTERAIENT POUR UN PARTI DETERMINE.

Q. WOULD YOU GO AND VOTE IN THE NEXT "GENERAL ELECTION"?

VOTERIEZ-VOUS LORS DES PROCHAINES ELECTIONS?

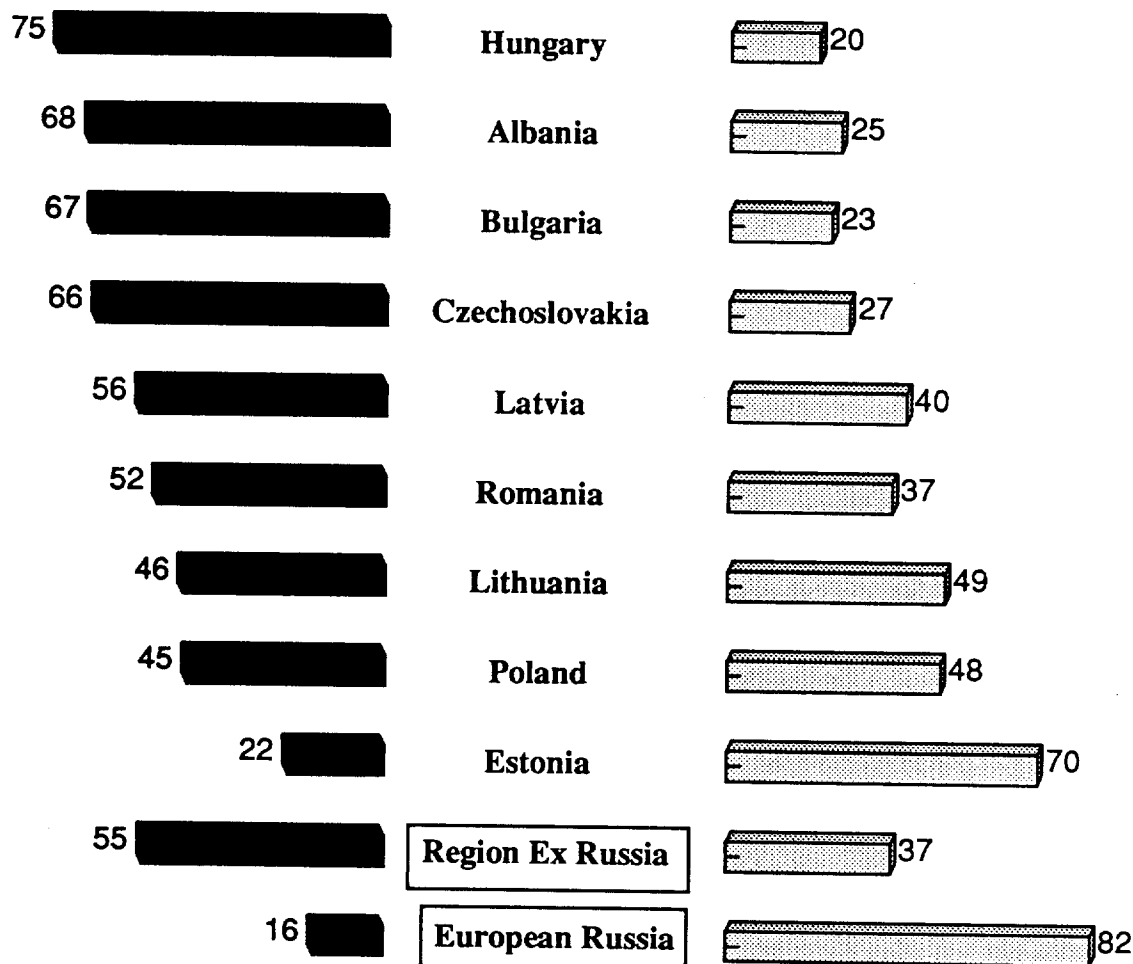
POLITICAL VIEWS - LEFT OR RIGHT?/ OPINION POLITIQUE - GAUCHE OU DROITE?



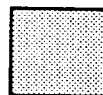
Q. IN POLITICAL MATTERS, PEOPLE TALK OF "THE LEFT" AND "THE RIGHT". HOW WOULD YOU PLACE YOUR VIEWS ON THIS SCALE?/

A PROPOS DE POLITIQUE, LES GENS PARLENT DE "DROITE" ET DE "GAUCHE". VOUS-MEME, VOUDRIEZ-VOUS SITUER VOTRE POSITION SUR CETTE ECHELLE?

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS/ RESPECT DES DROITS DE L'HOMME



RESPECT/
RESPECTE/



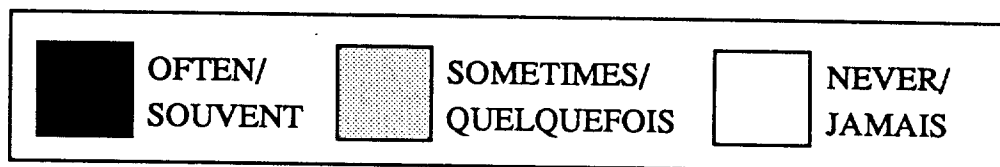
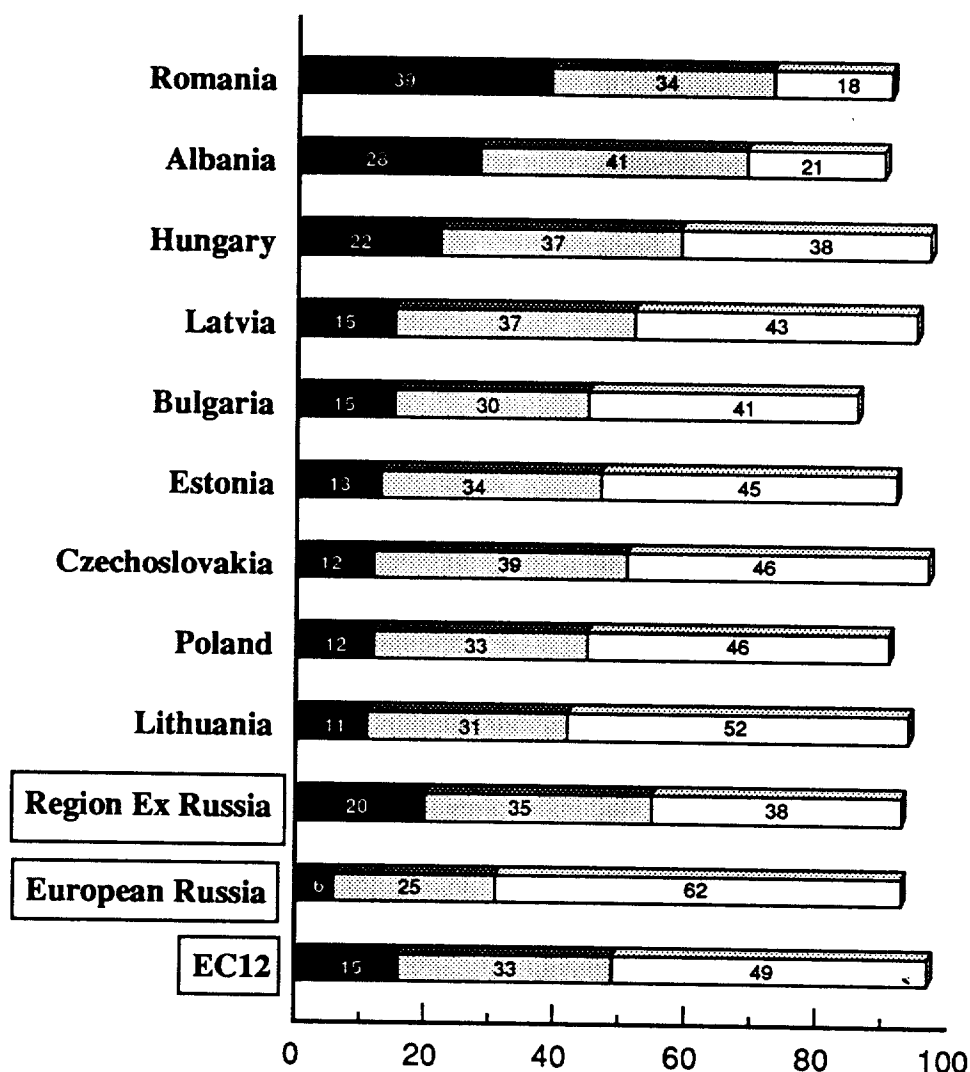
NO RESPECT/
PAS RESPECTE

Q. TO WHAT DEGREE DO YOU BELIEVE THERE IS RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS NOWADAYS IN (OUR COUNTRY)? DO YOU FEEL THERE IS A LOT OF RESPECT, SOME RESPECT, NOT MUCH RESPECT OR NO RESPECT AT ALL?/

DANS QUELLE MESURE CROYEZ-VOUS QUE L'ON RESPECTE AUJOURD'HUI LES DROITS DE L'HOMME DANS (NOTRE PAYS)? PENSEZ-VOUS QU'ON LES RESPECTE BEAUCOUP, UN PEU, PAS BEAUCOUP OU PAS DU TOUT?

ANNEX FIGURE 12

FREQUENCY OF THINKING ONESELF EUROPEAN/ FREQUENCE DU SENTIMENT D'ETRE EUROPEEN



*Q. DO YOU EVER THINK OF YOURSELF AS NOT ONLY A CITIZEN OF (OUR COUNTRY)
BUT ALSO AS A EUROPEAN?*

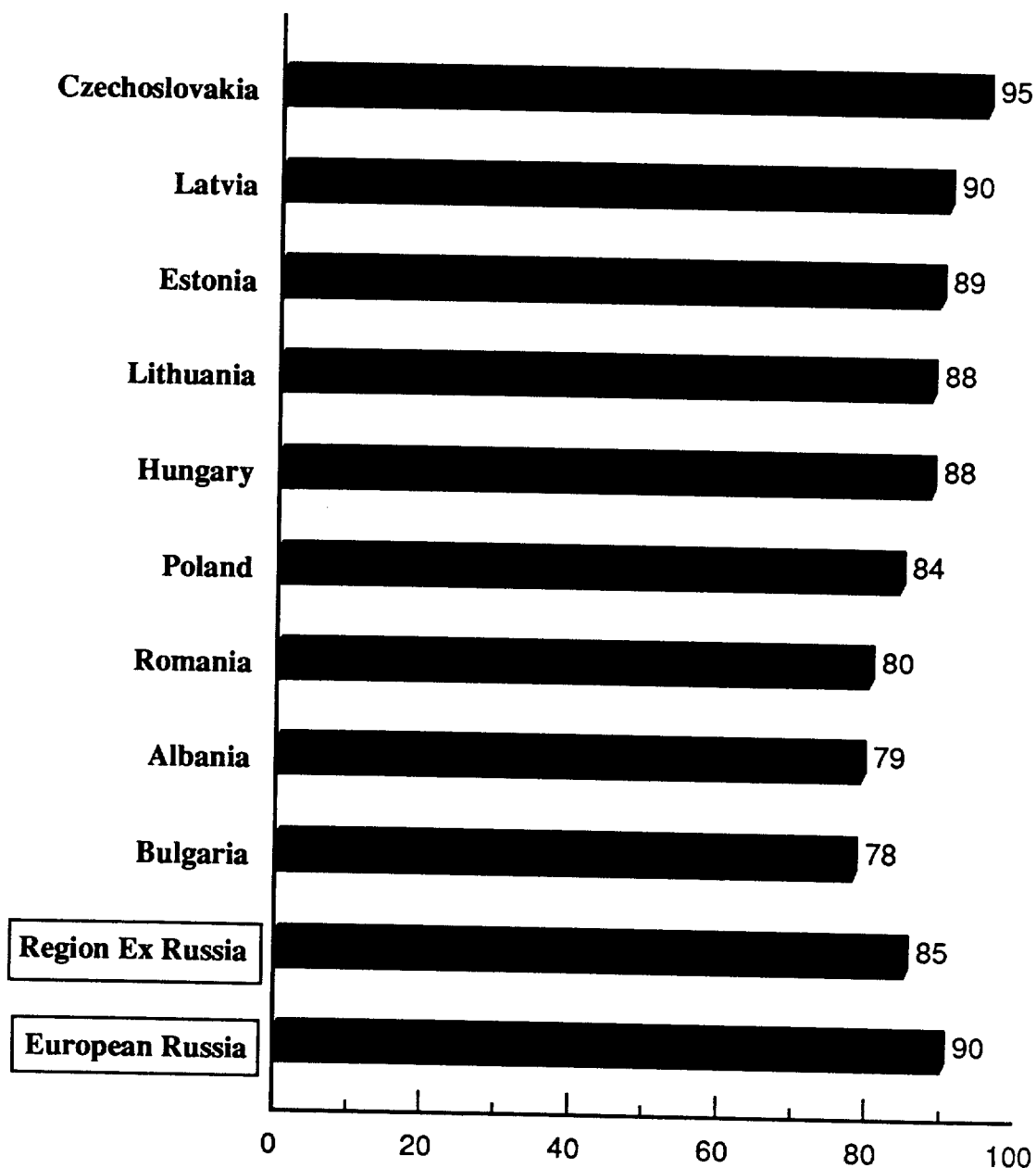
DOES THIS HAPPEN OFTEN, SOMETIMES OR NEVER?/

*VOUS ARRIVE-T-IL DE PENSER QUE VOUS ETES NON SEULEMENT
UN CITOYEN DE (NOTRE PAYS) MAIS AUSSI*

UN EUROPEEN? CECI VOUS ARRIVE-T-IL SOUVENT, QUELQUEFOIS OU JAMAIS?

ANNEX FIGURE 13

**AWARENESS OF NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY
ORGANISATION/
CONNAISSANCE DE L'ORGANISATION DU TRAITE
DE L'ATLANTIQUE NORD**

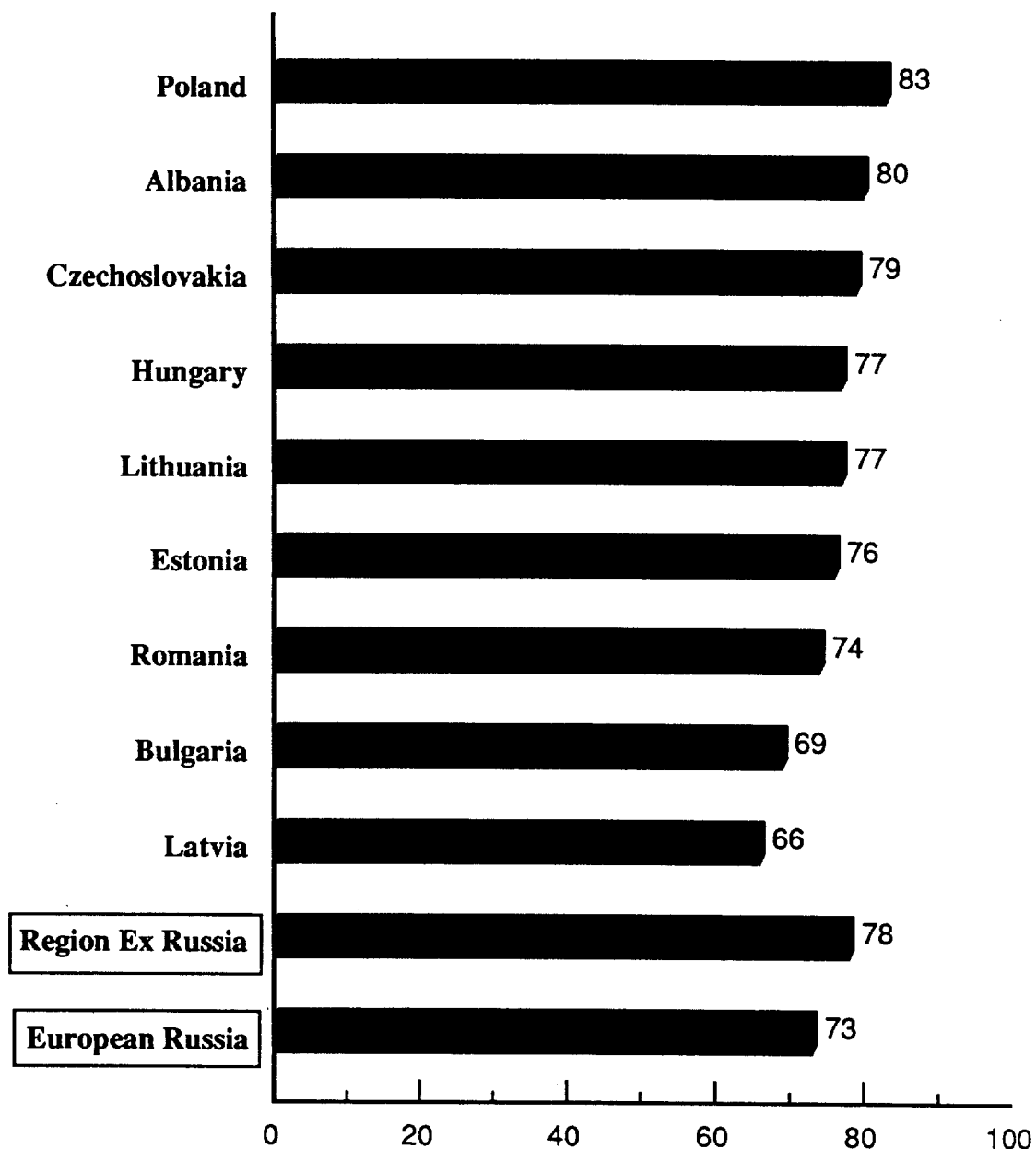


*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

ANNEX FIGURE 14

**AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY/
CONNAISSANCE DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE**

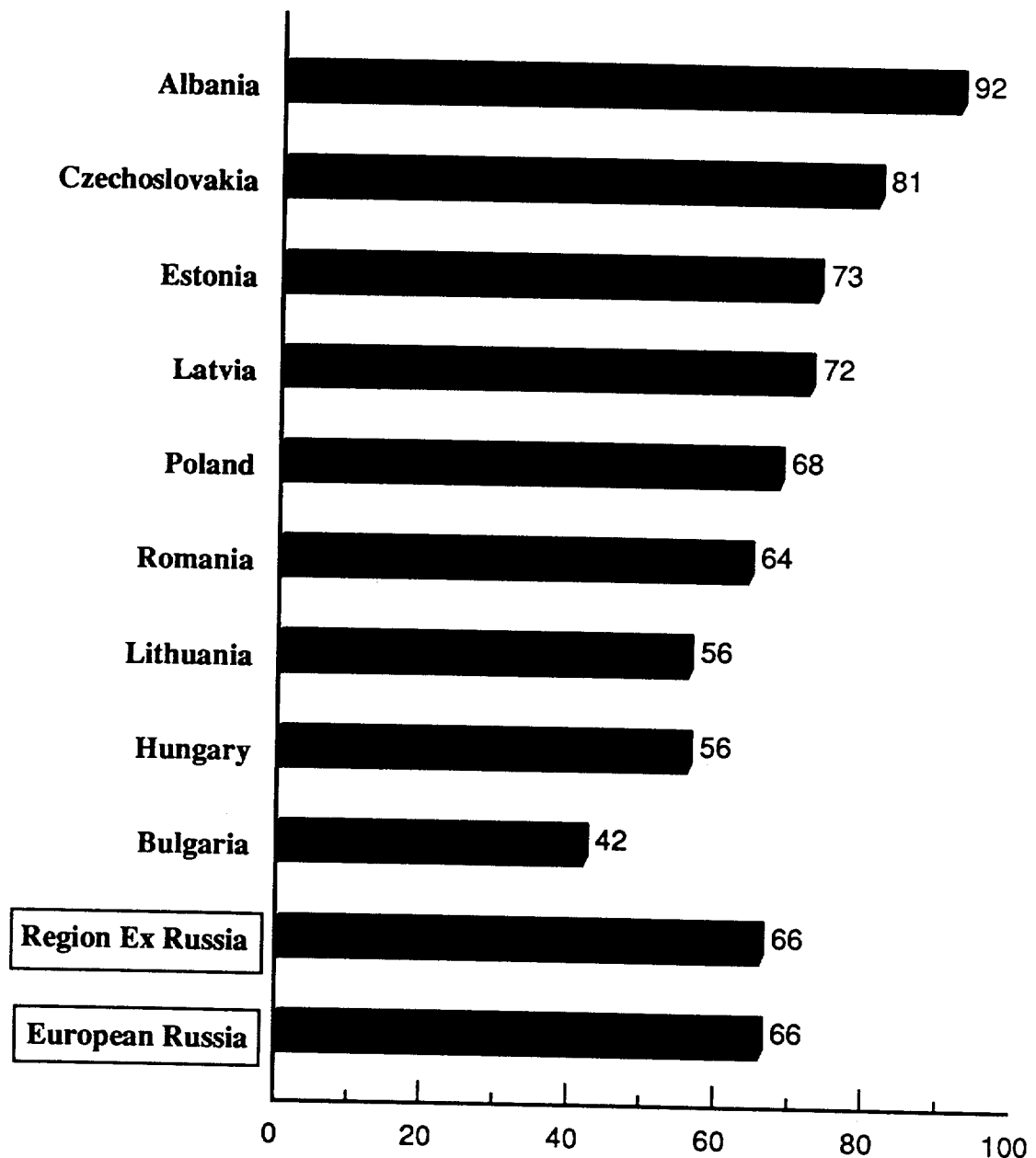


*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF/*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

**AWARENESS OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY
AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE/**

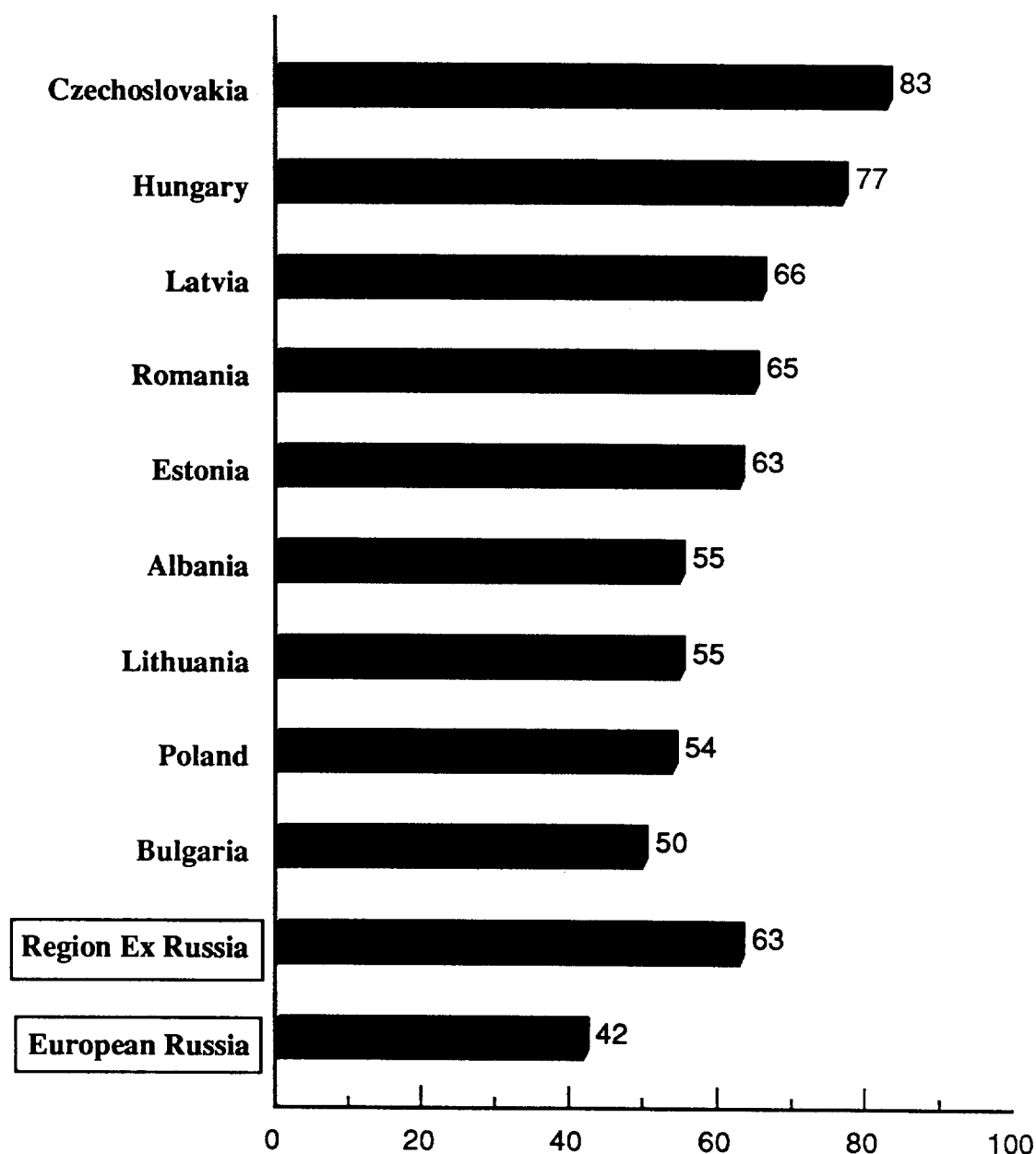
**CONNAISSANCE DE LA CONFERENCE SUR LA
SECURITE ET LA COOPERATION EN EUROPE**



*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

AWARENESS OF COUNCIL OF EUROPE/ CONNAISSANCE DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE

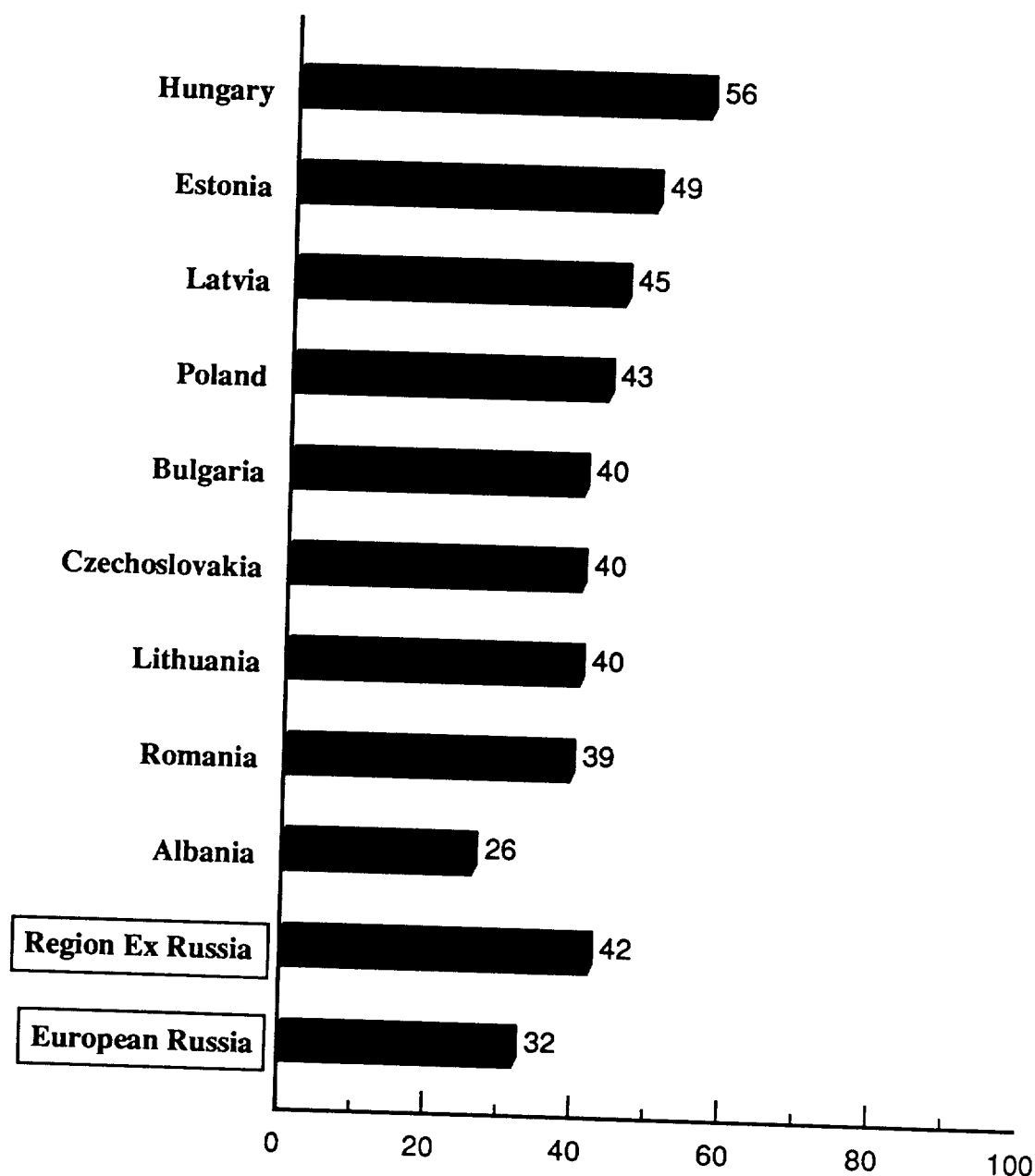


*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

ANNEX FIGURE 17

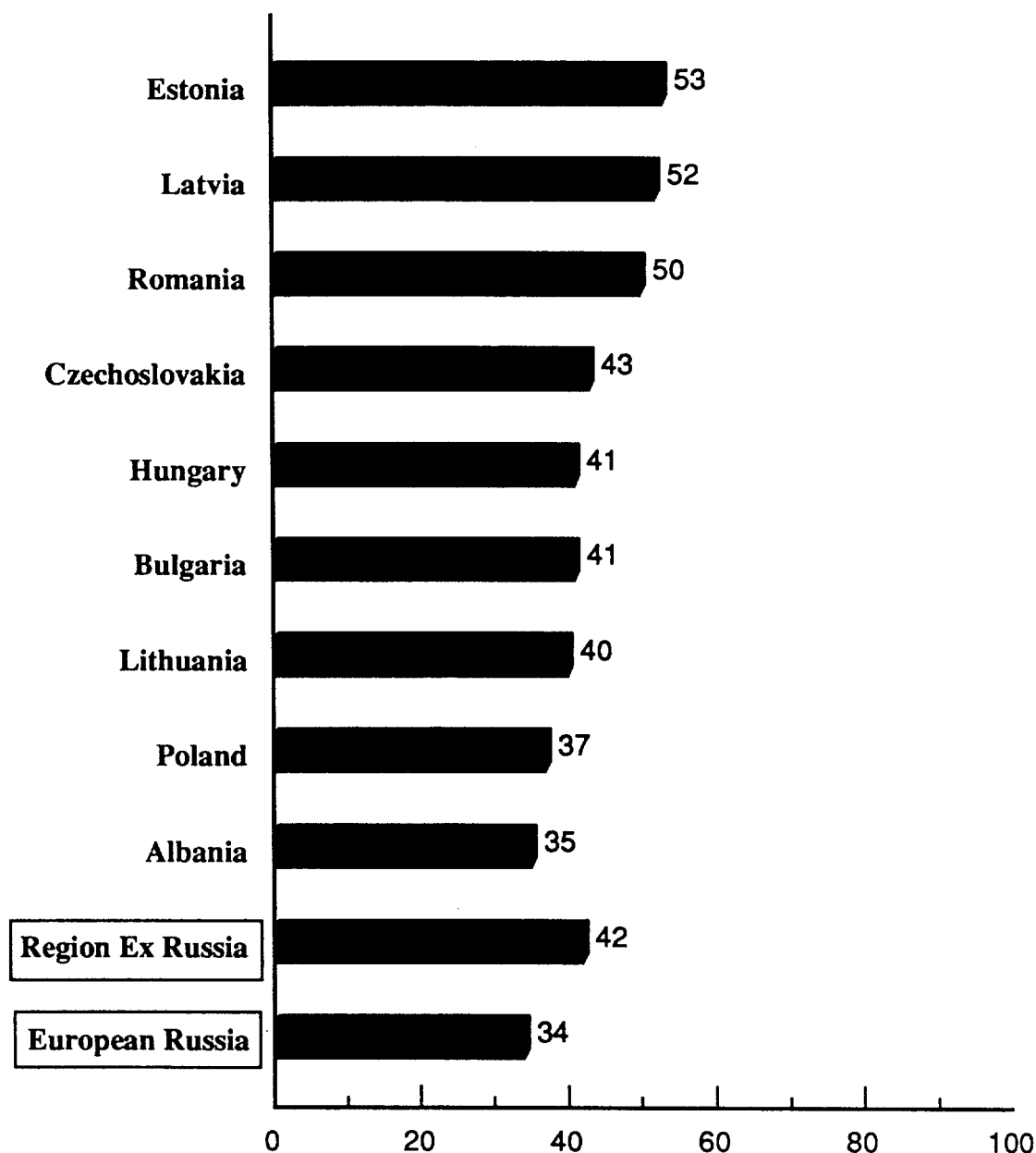
**AWARENESS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION/
CONNAISSANCE DE L'UNION DE L'EUROPE
OCCIDENTALE**



*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

**AWARENESS OF ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC
CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT/
CONNAISSANCE DE L'ORGANISATION POUR LA
COOPERATION ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT
ECONOMIQUE**

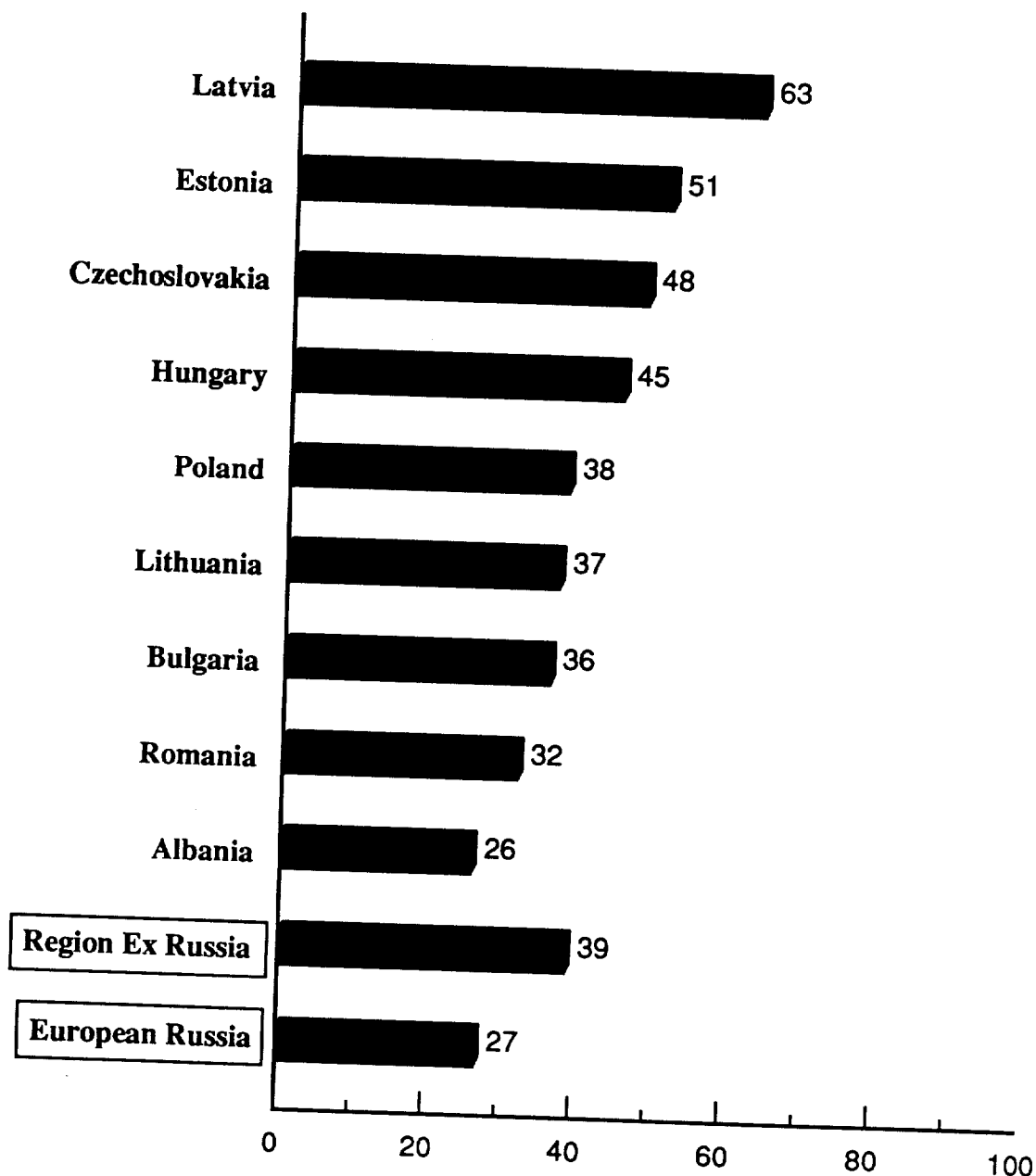


*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

ANNEX FIGURE 19

**AWARENESS OF EUROPEAN FREE TRADE
ASSOCIATION/
CONNAISSANCE DE L'ASSOCIATION EUROPEENE DE
LIBRE ECHANGE**

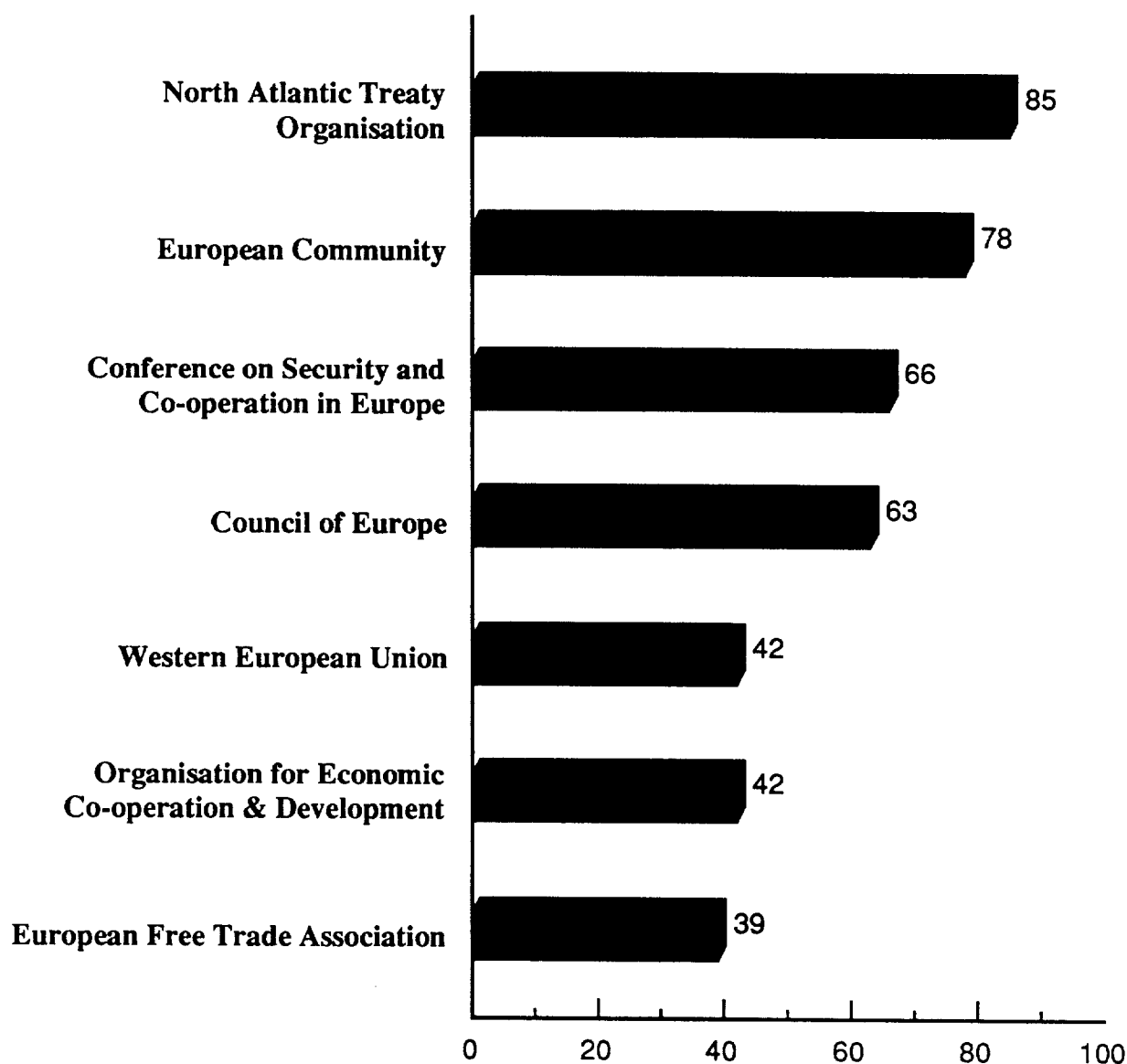


*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF/*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

AWARENESS OF INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS/ CONNAISSANCE DES ASSOCIATIONS ET INSTITUTIONS INTERNATIONALES

REGION EX. RUSSIA

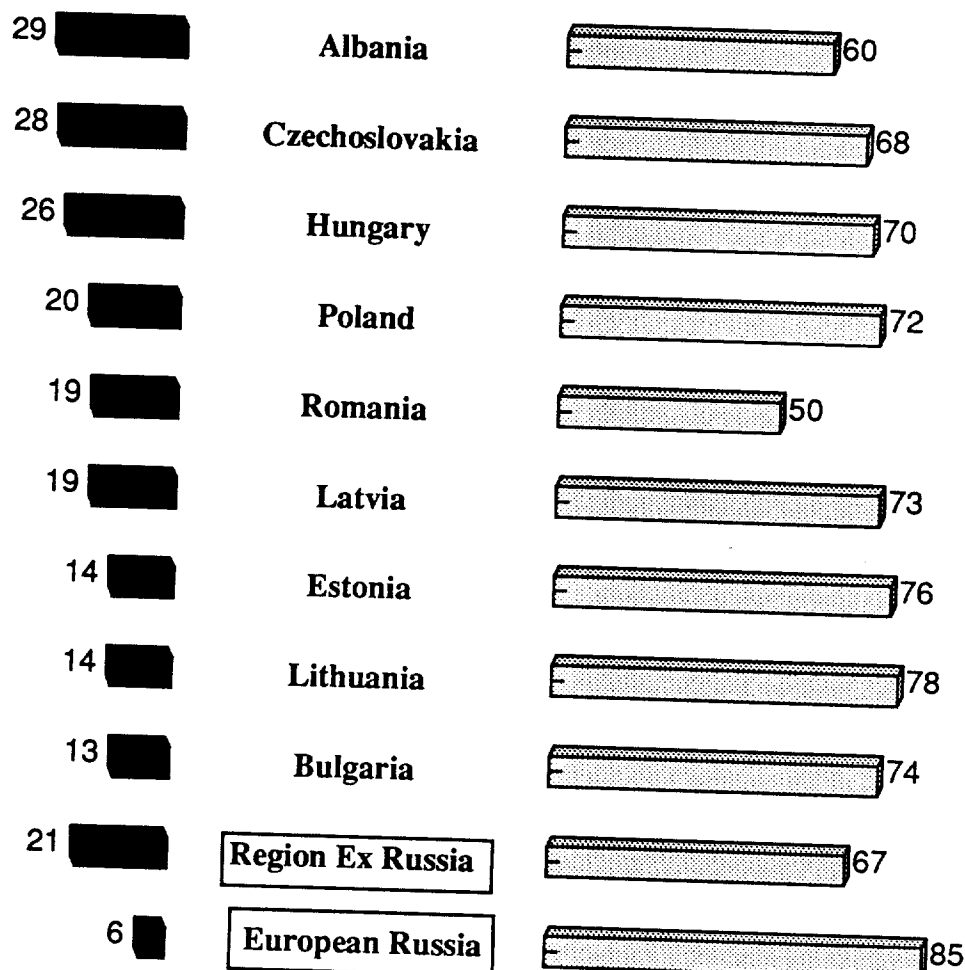



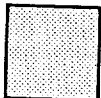
*Q. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO TELL ME WHETHER YOU HAVE, OR HAVE NOT
HEARD OF*

*J'AIMERAIS QUE VOUS ME DISIEZ SI VOUS AVEZ OU NON ENTENDU
PARLER DE*

ANNEX FIGURE 21

PERCEIVED LEVEL OF INFORMEDNESS ABOUT EC/ PERCEPTION NIVEAU D'INFORMATION SUR CE

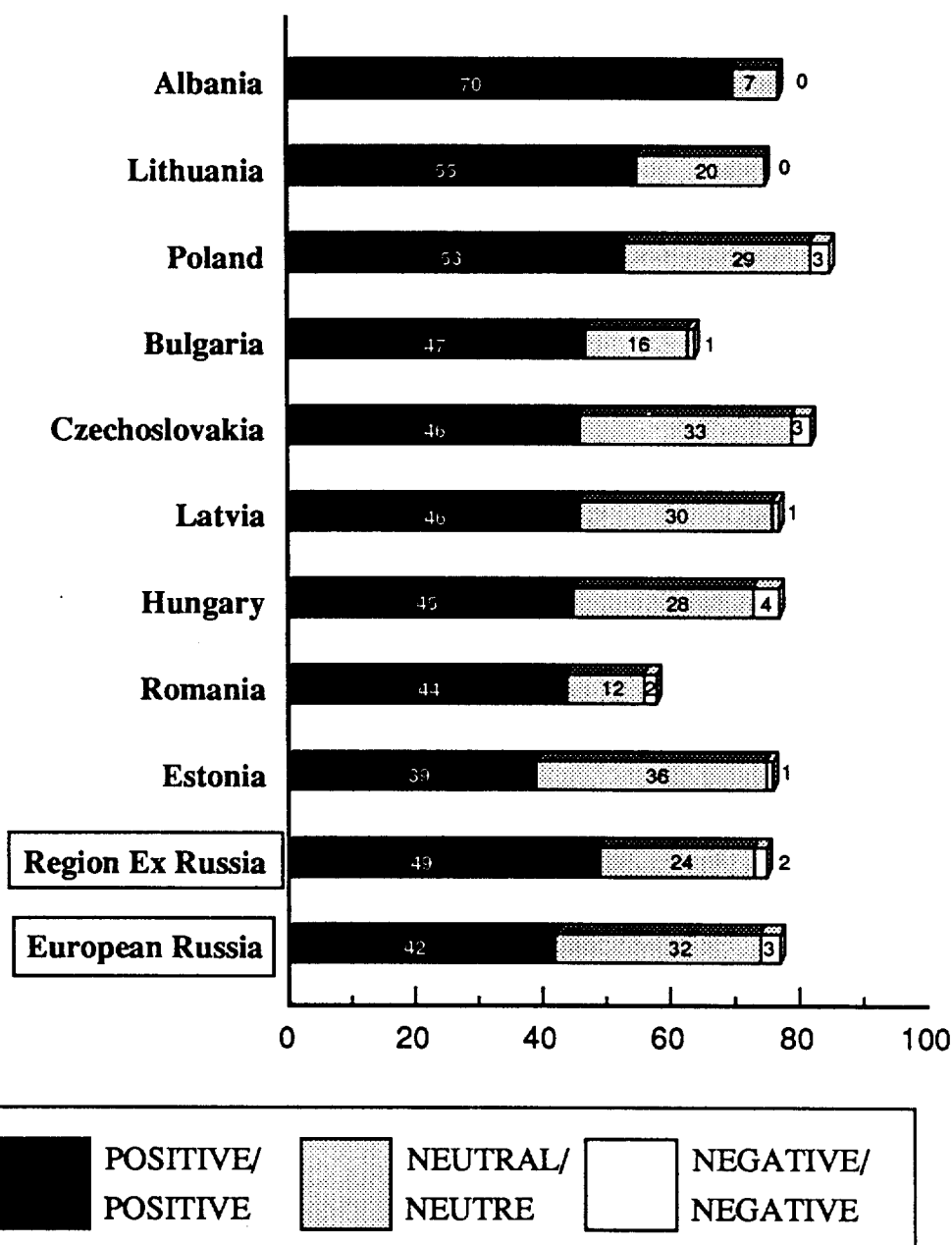


INFORMED/
INFORME  NOT INFORMED/
PAS INFORME 

*Q. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT ALL YOU KNOW ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY,
HOW WELL INFORMED DO YOU FEEL ABOUT ITS AIMS AND ACTIVITIES?
DO YOU FEEL VERY INFORMED, QUITE INFORMED, NOT VERY INFORMED,
OR NOT AT ALL INFORMED?/*

*SI VOUS PRENEZ EN COMPTE TOUT CE QUE VOUS CONNAISSEZ DE LA
COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE, COMMENT VOUS ESTIMEZ-VOUS INFORME
AU SUJET DE SES BUTS ET ACTIVITES? VOUS TROUVEZ-VOUS TRES
INFORME, PLUTOT INFORME, PEU INFORME OU PAS DU TOUT INFORME?*

IMAGE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNITY/ IMAGE DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE

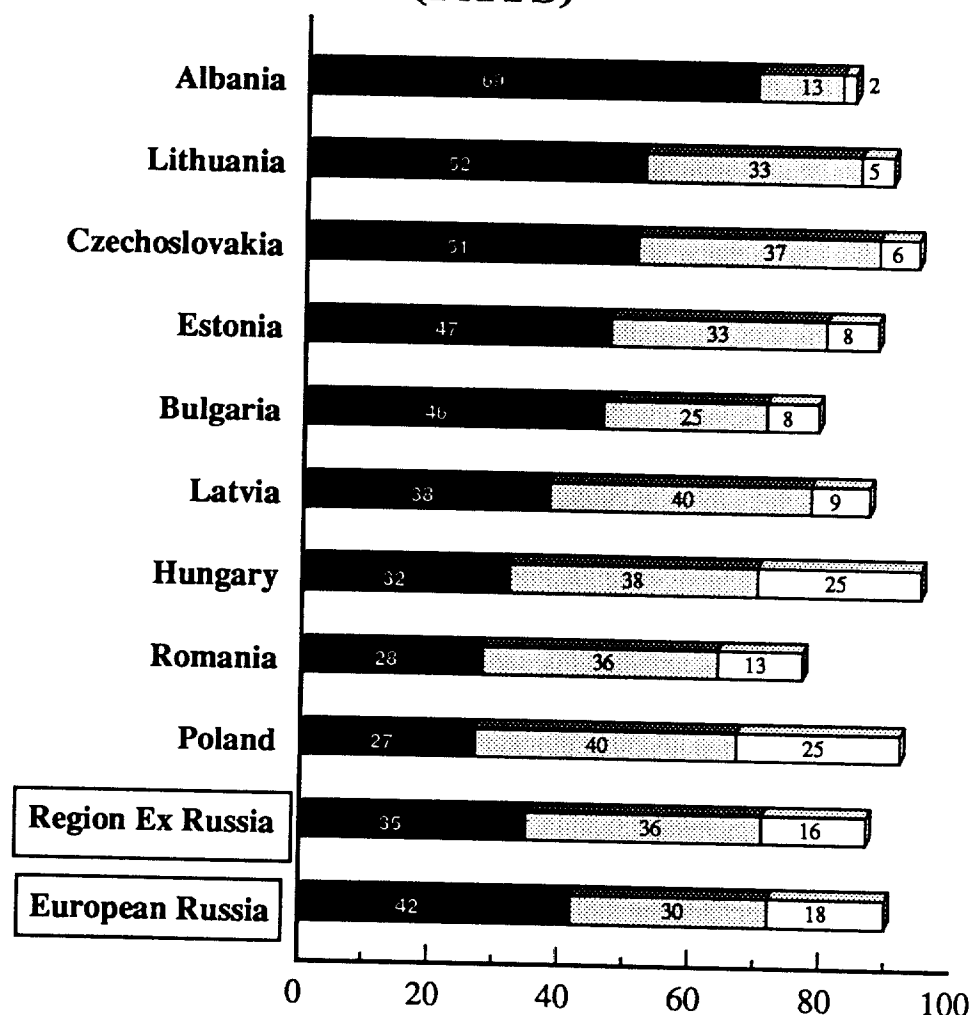


Q. AS YOU MIGHT KNOW, 12 STATES OF WESTERN AND SOUTHERN EUROPE FORM TOGETHER THE "EUROPEAN COMMUNITY". WOULD YOU SAY THAT YOUR IMPRESSIONS OF THE AIMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ARE GENERALLY POSITIVE, NEUTRAL OR NEGATIVE?/

COMME VOUS LE SAVEZ SANS DOUTE, 12 ETATS DE L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE ET DU SUD FORMENT ENSEMBLE LA "COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE". GLOBALEMENT, QUELLES SONT VOS IMPRESSIONS A L'EGARD DES ACTIVITES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET DES BUTS QU'ELLE POURSUIT?

ANNEX FIGURE 23

**INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT EC -
(COUNTRY) RELATIONS/
INTERET POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR LES RELATIONS
CE - (PAYS)**



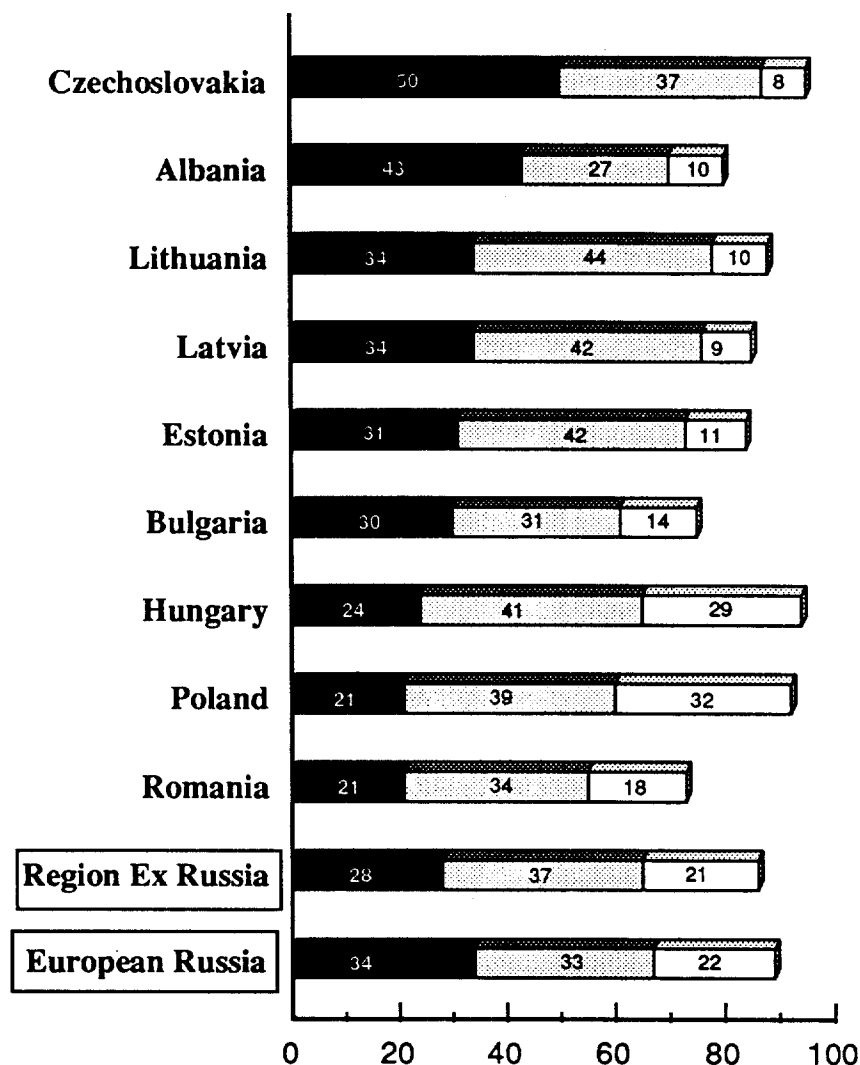
VERY INTERESTED/
TRES INTERESSE
 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED/
RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE
 NOT REALLY INTERESTED/
PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE

Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT IT: EC - (OUR COUNTRY) RELATIONS?/

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR DAVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE, OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR PLUS A LEUR PROPOS: LES RELATIONS ENTRE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET (NOTRE PAYS)?

ANNEX FIGURE 24

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT '1992'/ INTERET POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR '1992'



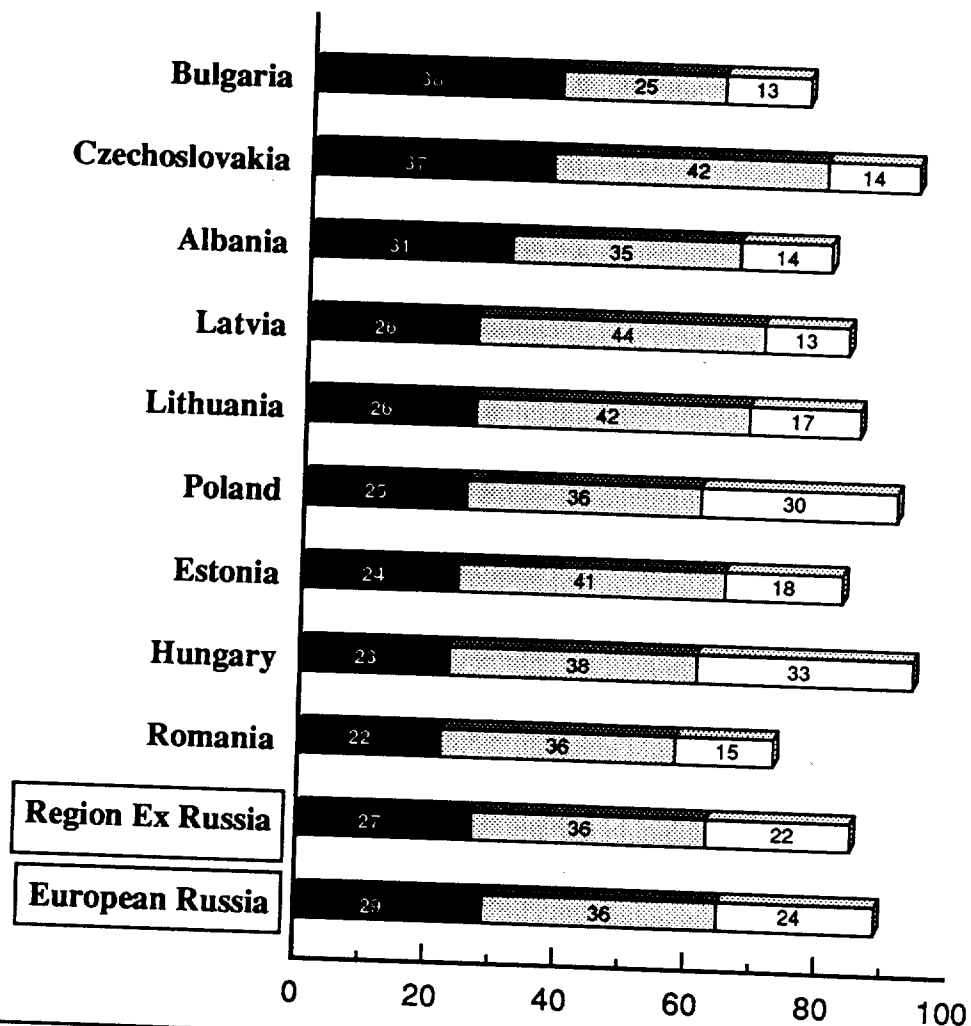
VERY INTERESTED/
TRES INTERESSE
 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED/
RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE
 NOT REALLY INTERESTED/
PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE

Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET AFTER 1992?/

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR DAVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE, OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR PLUS A PROPOS DU MARCHE UNIQUE EUROPEEN D'APRES 1992?

ANNEX FIGURE 25

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT EUROPEAN SECURITY DEBATE/ INTERET POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR LE DEBAT SUR LA SECURITE EUROPEENNE

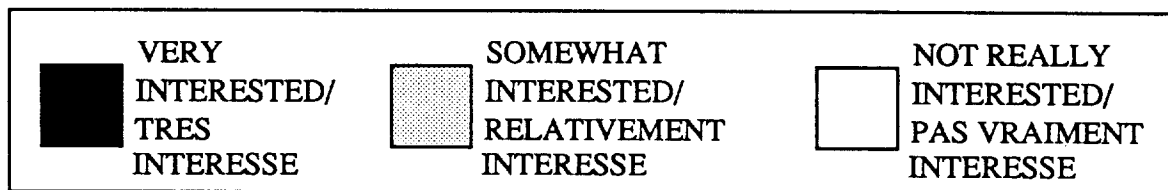
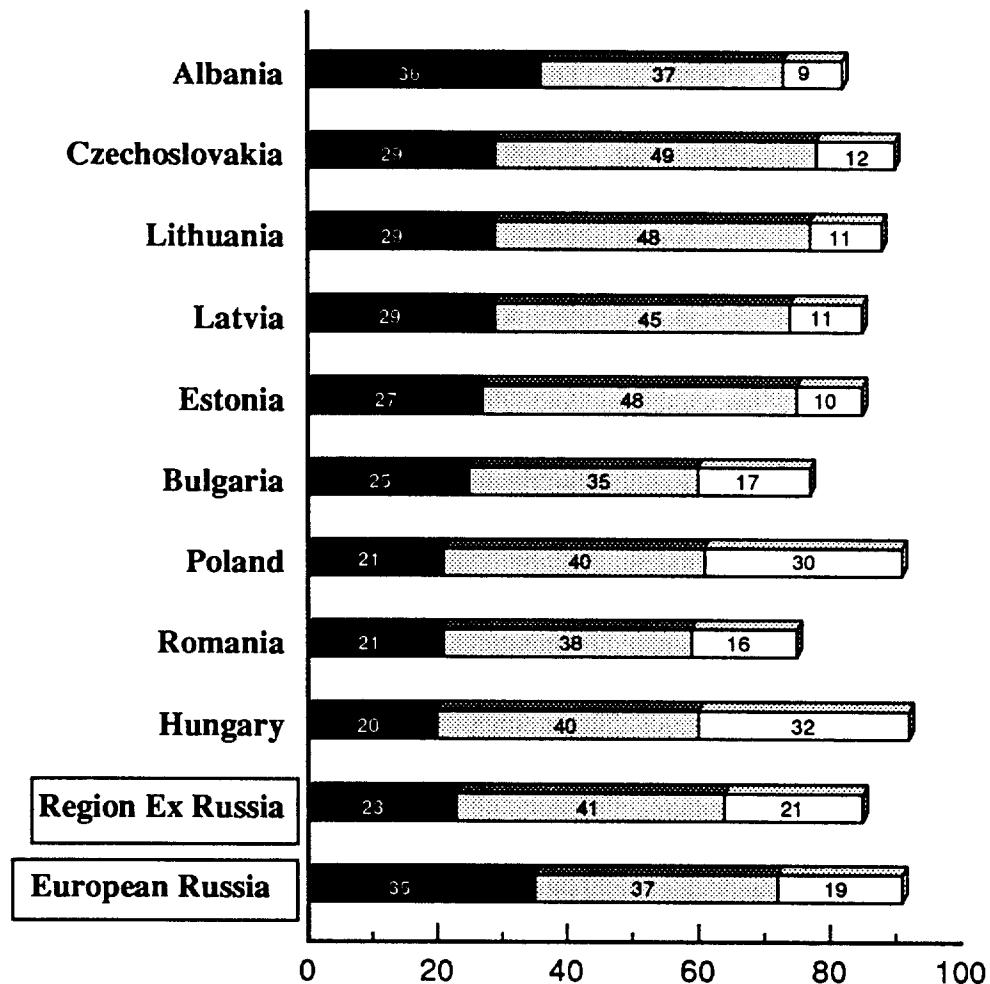


VERY INTERESTED/
TRES INTERESSE
 SOMEWHAT INTERESTED/
RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE
 NOT REALLY INTERESTED/
PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE

Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT THE DEBATE ABOUT A NEW SECURITY SYSTEM FOR EUROPE?!

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR D'AVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR PLUS A PROPOS DU DEBAT AUTOUR DU NOUVEAU SYSTEME DE SECURITE EN EUROPE?

**INTEREST IN BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT
THE EC/
INTERET POUR RECEVOIR PLUS D'INFORMATIONS
DE BASE SUR LA CE**

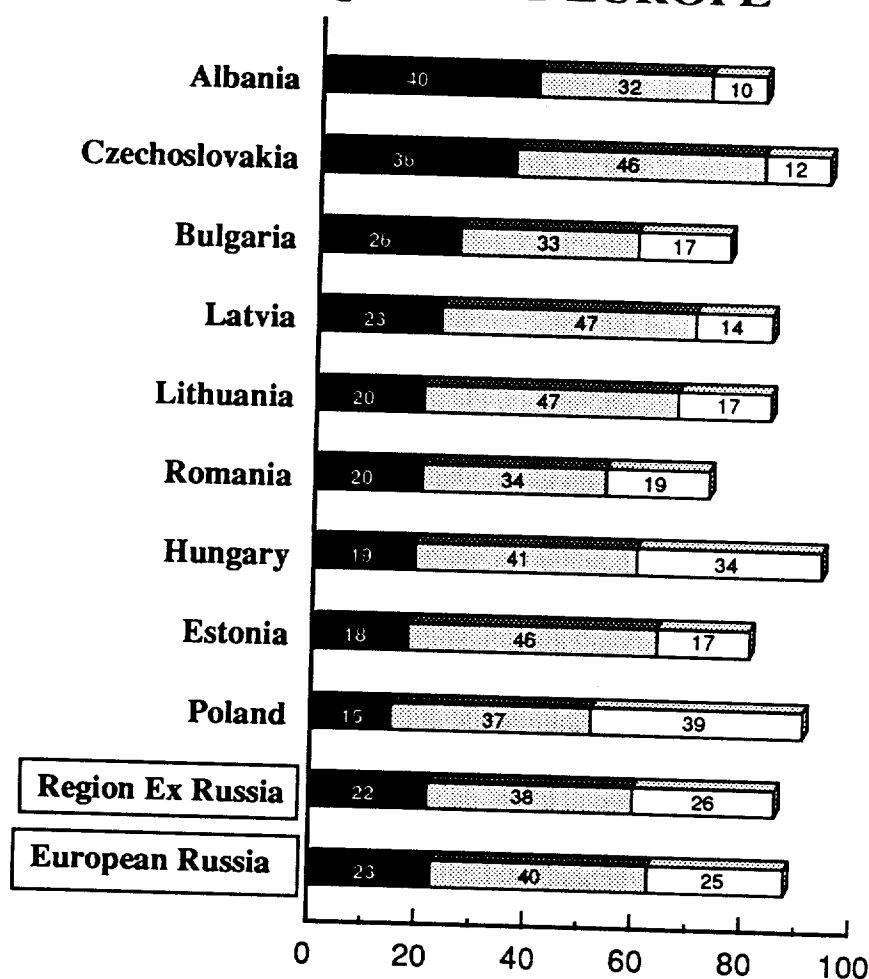


Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN HAVING MORE BASIC INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?!

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR DAVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE DE RECEVOIR PLUS D'INFORMATIONS DE BASE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?

ANNEX FIGURE 27

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT POLITICAL UNIFICATION OF EUROPE/ INTERET POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR L'UNIFICATION POLITIQUE DE L'EUROPE



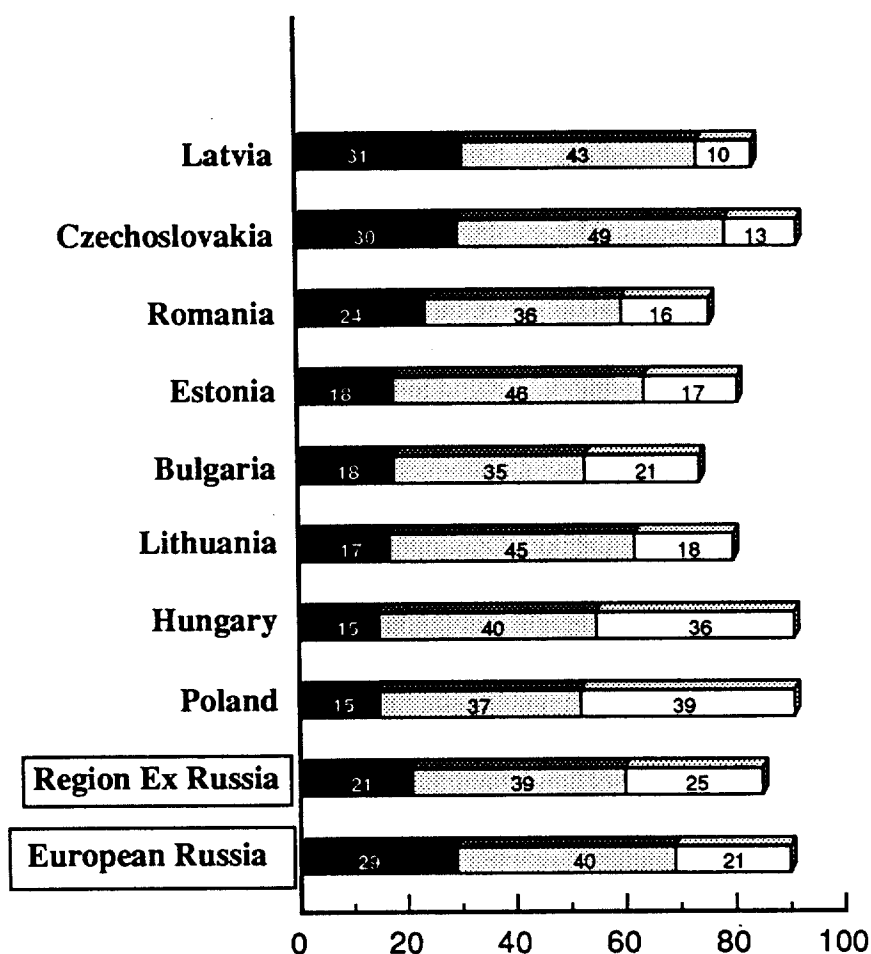
**VERY INTERESTED/
TRES INTERESSE**
 **SOMEWHAT INTERESTED/
RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE**
 **NOT REALLY INTERESTED/
PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE**




Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT EFFORTS TOWARDS POLITICAL UNIFICATION IN EUROPE?!

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR DAVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR PLUS A PROPOS DES EFFORTS FAITS POUR L'UNIFICATION POLITIQUE DE L'EUROPE?

ANNEX FIGURE 28

INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT PHARE/ INTERET POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR PHARE



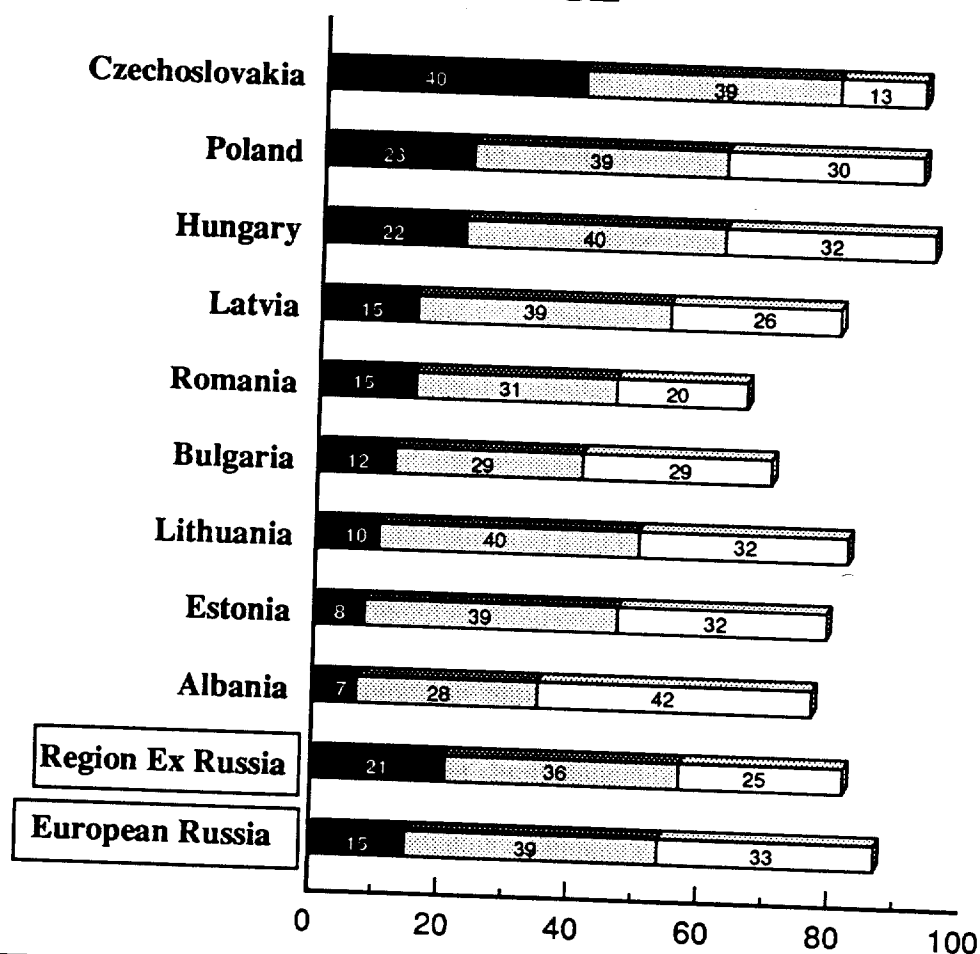
 <p>VERY INTERESTED/ TRES INTERESSE</p>	 <p>SOMEWHAT INTERESTED/ RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE</p>	 <p>NOT REALLY INTERESTED/ PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE</p>
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Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME CALLED PHARE OF 24 WESTERN COUNTRIES CO-ORDINATED BY THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?!

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR DAVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR PLUS A PROPOS DU PROGRAMME D'ASSISTANCE 'PHARE' DE 24 PAYS OCCIDENTAUX COORDONNE PAR LA COMMISSION DES COMMUNAUTES EUROPEENNES?

ANNEX FIGURE 29

**INTEREST IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT EC ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP/
INTERET POUR EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR LES MEMBRES ASSOCIES CE**



**VERY INTERESTED/
TRES INTERESSE**

**SOMEWHAT INTERESTED/
RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE**

**NOT REALLY INTERESTED/
PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE**

Q. HOW INTERESTED WOULD YOU BE IN LEARNING MORE ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS WORK? I AM GOING TO READ YOU A SHORT LIST OF TOPIC AREAS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED, SOMEWHAT INTERESTED OR NOT REALLY INTERESTED IN KNOWING MORE ABOUT DETAILS OF THE ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP AGREEMENTS, BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY AND POLAND?!

Q. A QUEL POINT SERIEZ-VOUS INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR DAVANTAGE SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENE ET SES ACTIVITES? JE VAIS VOUS CITER QUELQUES DOMAINES ET JE VAIS VOUS DEMANDER, POUR CHACUN D'EUX, DE BIEN VOULOIR ME DIRE SI VOUS SERIEZ TRES INTERESSE, RELATIVEMENT INTERESSE OU PAS VRAIMENT INTERESSE D'EN SAVOIR PLUS SUR LES TRAITES D'ASSOCIATION ENTRE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET LA TCHECOSLOVAQUIE, LA HONGRIE ET LA POLOGNE?

INFORMATION SOURCES ABOUT EC/ SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA CE*

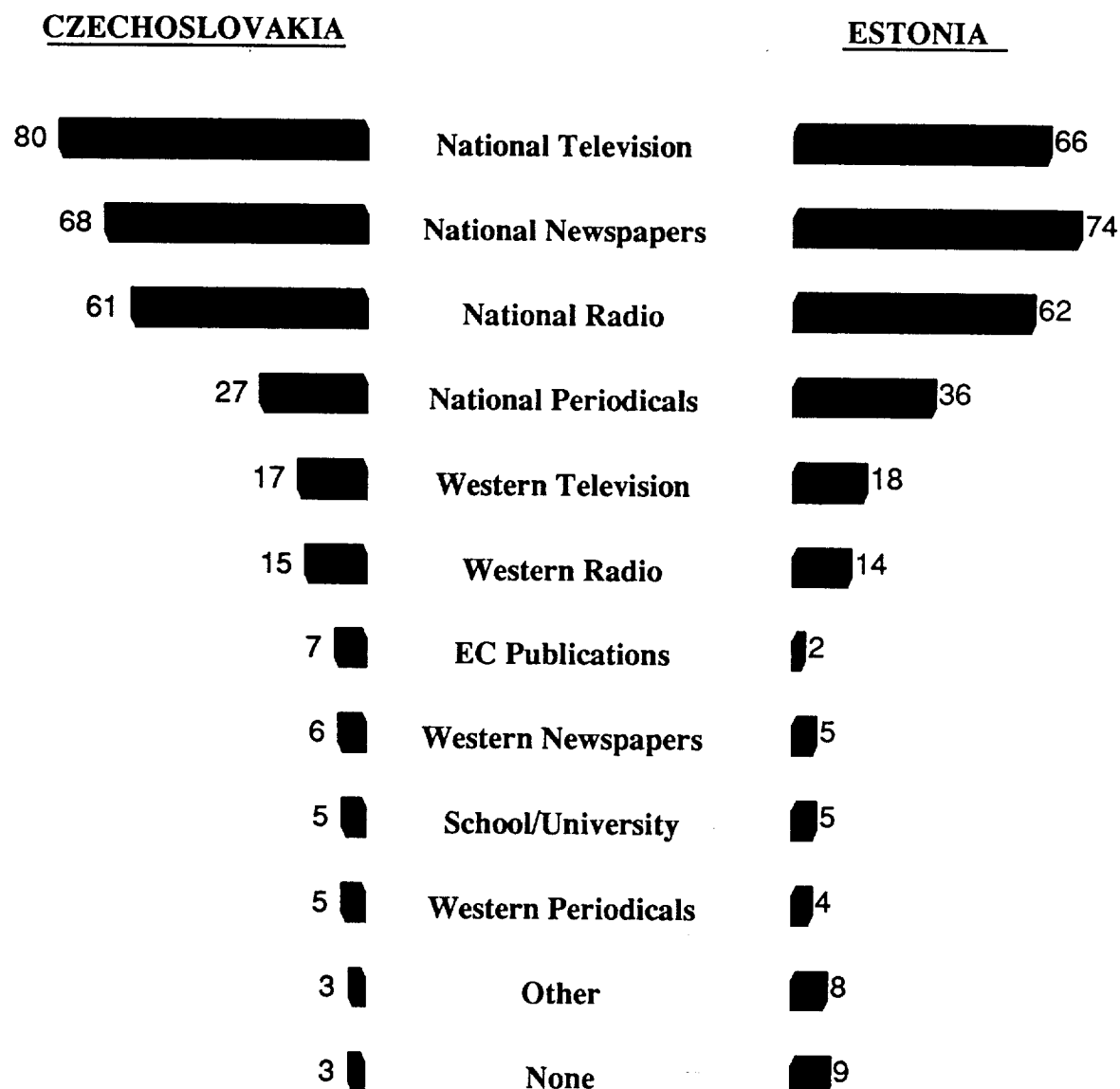
<u>ALBANIA</u>		<u>BULGARIA</u>
53	National Television	73
35	National Newspapers	59
20	National Radio	66
13	Western Television	8
6	Western Radio	7
1	National Periodicals	17
1	Western Newspapers	3
1	School/University	3
0	Western Periodicals	2
0	EC Publications	1
1	Other	2
17	None	14

**MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%/
REPONSES MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.*

*Q. HERE IS A LIST OF WAYS YOU MIGHT HEAR ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. WHICH OF THEM ARE YOUR
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?!*

*VOICI DIFFERENTS MOYENS PAR LESQUELS VOUS POURRIEZ ENTENDRE QUELQUE
CHOSE AU SUJET DES ACTIVITES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET DE SES
INSTITUTIONS. LESQUELS D'ENTRE EUX CONSTITUENT VOS PRINCIPALES SOURCES
D'INFORMATION SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?*

INFORMATION SOURCES ABOUT EC/ SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA CE*



*MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%/
REponses MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.

Q. HERE IS A LIST OF WAYS YOU MIGHT HEAR ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. WHICH OF THEM ARE YOUR MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?/

VOICI DIFFERENTS MOYENS PAR LESQUELS VOUS POURRIEZ ENTENDRE QUELQUE CHOSE AU SUJET DES ACTIVITES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET DE SES INSTITUTIONS. LESQUELS D'ENTRE EUX CONSTITUENT VOS PRINCIPALES SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?

INFORMATION SOURCES ABOUT EC/ SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA CE*

HUNGARY

LATVIA

























86		National Television		69
69		National Radio		63
63		National Newspapers		75
29		National Periodicals		28
13		Western Television		13
6		School/University		2
5		Western Radio		23
3		Western Periodicals		2
2		Western Newspapers		3
2		EC Publications		1
1		Other		10
6		None		9

**MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%/
REponses MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.*

*Q. HERE IS A LIST OF WAYS YOU MIGHT HEAR ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. WHICH OF THEM ARE YOUR
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?!*

*VOICI DIFFERENTS MOYENS PAR LESQUELS VOUS POURRIEZ ENTENDRE QUELQUE
CHOSE AU SUJET DES ACTIVITES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET DE SES
INSTITUTIONS. LESQUELS D'ENTRE EUX CONSTITUENT VOS PRINCIPALES SOURCES
D'INFORMATION SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?*

INFORMATION SOURCES ABOUT EC/ SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA CE*

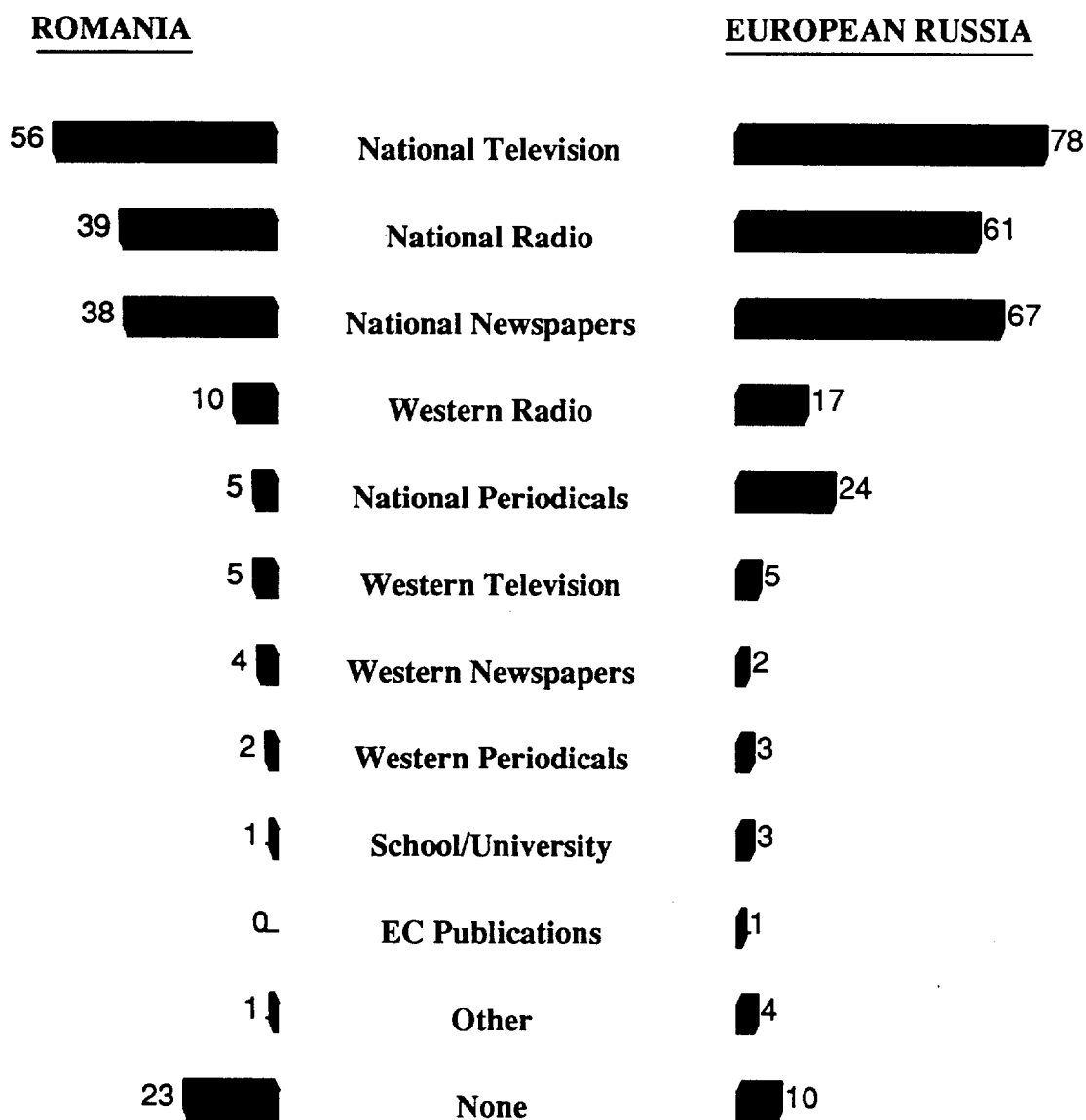
<u>LITHUANIA</u>		<u>POLAND</u>	
73		National Television	 85
72		National Newspapers	 67
60		National Radio	 72
24		Western Radio	 11
23		National Periodicals	 48
12		Western Television	 10
4		School/University	 8
3		Western Periodicals	 6
3		Western Newspapers	 4
2		EC Publications	 7
4		Other	 2
9		None	 9

**MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%/
REponses MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.*

*Q. HERE IS A LIST OF WAYS YOU MIGHT HEAR ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE
EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. WHICH OF THEM ARE YOUR
MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?/*

*VOICI DIFFERENTS MOYENS PAR LESQUELS VOUS POURRIEZ ENTENDRE QUELQUE
CHOSE AU SUJET DES ACTIVITES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET DE SES
INSTITUTIONS. LESQUELS D'ENTRE EUX CONSTITUENT VOS PRINCIPALES SOURCES
D'INFORMATION SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?*

INFORMATION SOURCES ABOUT EC/ SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA CE*



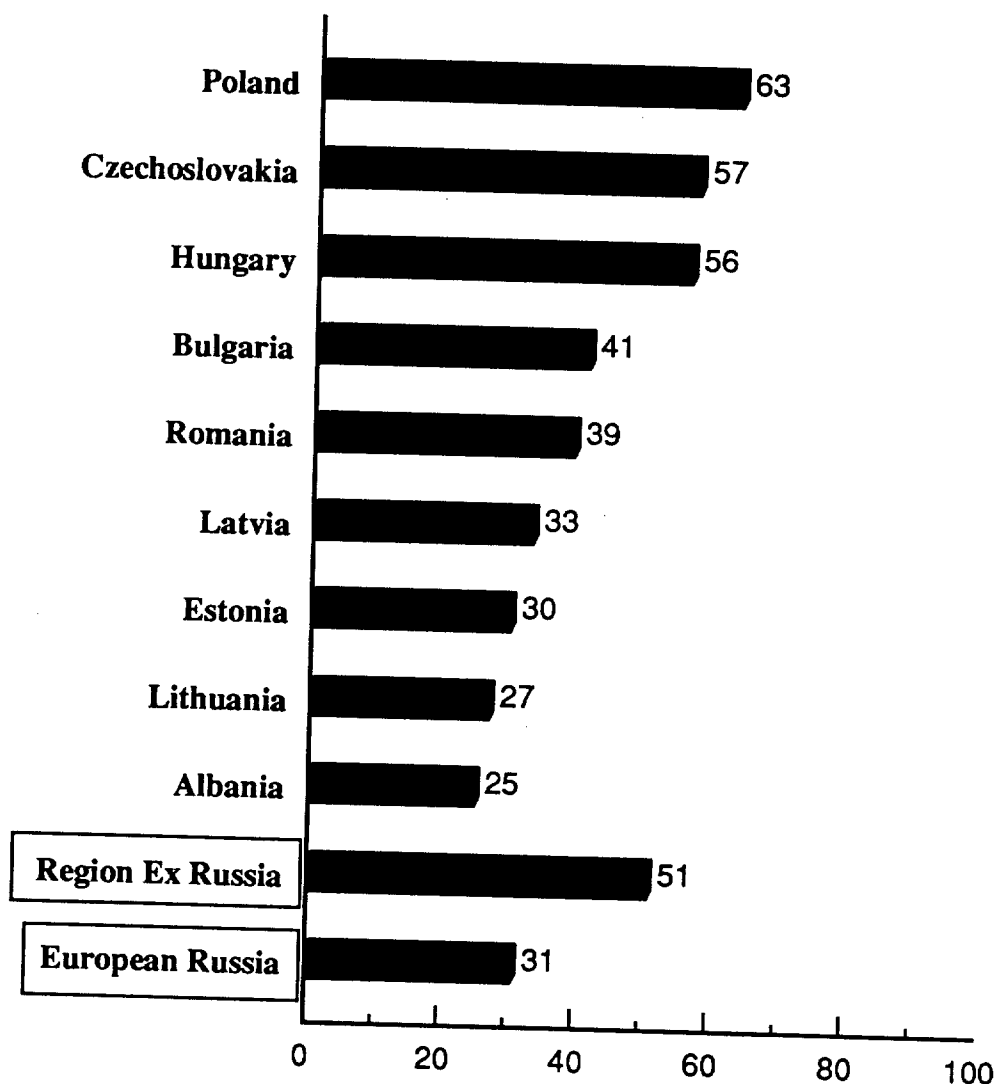
**MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%.
REPOSES MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.*

Q. HERE IS A LIST OF WAYS YOU MIGHT HEAR ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ITS INSTITUTIONS. WHICH OF THEM ARE YOUR MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY?!

VOICI DIFFERENTS MOYENS PAR LESQUELS VOUS POURRIEZ ENTENDRE QUELQUE CHOSE AU SUJET DES ACTIVITES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET DE SES INSTITUTIONS. LESQUELS D'ENTRE EUX CONSTITUENT VOS PRINCIPALES SOURCES D'INFORMATION SUR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?

ANNEX FIGURE 35

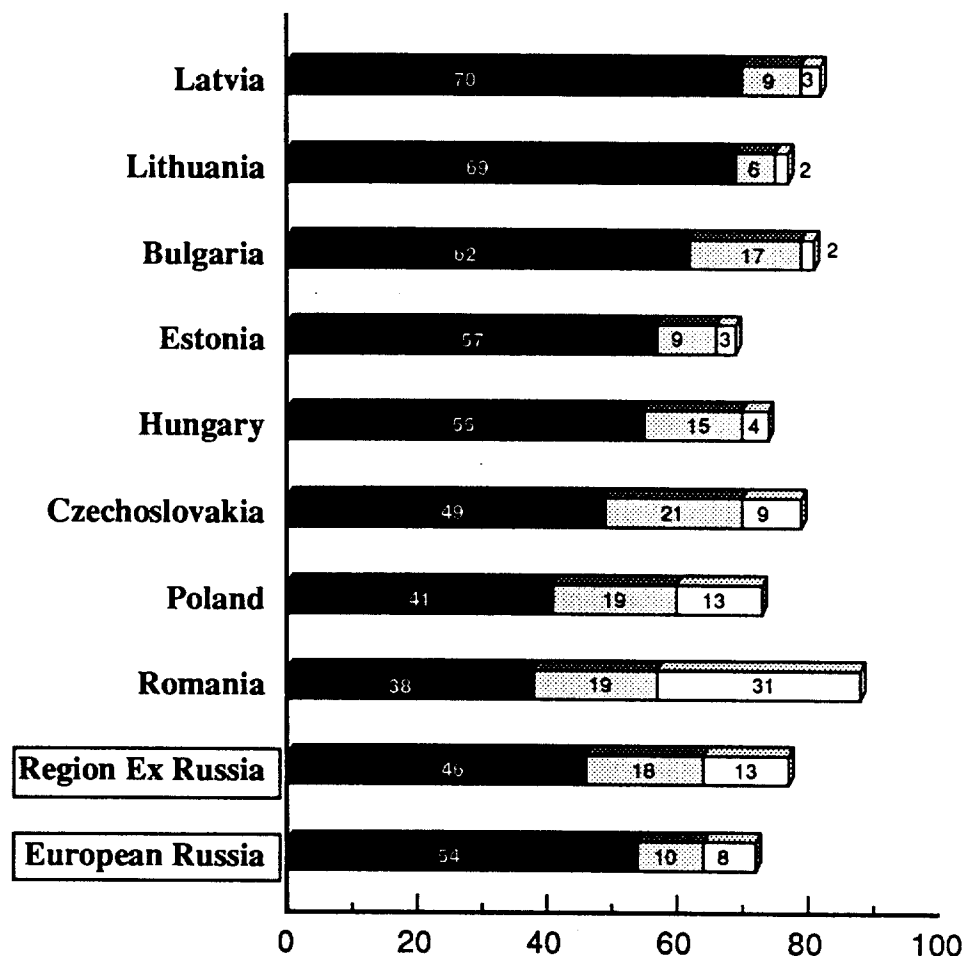
**AWARENESS OF ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS/
NOTORIETE DES TRAITES D'ASSOCIATIONS**



Q. OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS, HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT "ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS" OR "EUROPEAN AGREEMENTS" FOR CLOSER POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL CO-OPERATION BEING NEGOTIATED BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, AND POLAND?/

CES DERNIERS MOIS, AVEZ-VOUS ENTENDU PARLER DES NEGOCIATIONS - ENTRE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE, LA TCHECOSLOVAQUIE, LA HONGRIE ET LA POLOGNE - DE "TRAITES D'ASSOCIATION" OU "D'ACCORDS EUROPEENS" POUR UNE COOPERATION POLITIQUE, ECONOMIQUE ET CULTURELLE PLUS ETROITE?

**OPINION ABOUT ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS*/
OPINION SUR LES TRAITES D'ASSOCIATION**



REASONABLE/
RAISONNABLES

NEITHER REASONABLE
NOR UNREASONABLE/
NI RAISONNABLES
NI IRRATIONNABLES

UNREASONABLE/
IRRATIONNABLES

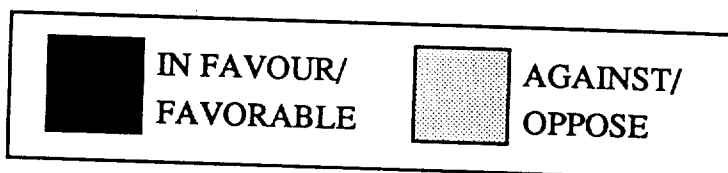
** ONLY ASKED OF THOSE, EXCLUDING ALBANIA, WHO HAVE HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT 'ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS' OR 'EUROPEAN AGREEMENTS'.*

**POSEE SEULEMENT, A L'EXCEPTION DE L'ALBANIE, A CEUX QUI ONT ENTENDU QUELQUE CHOSE AU SUJET DES "TRAITES D'ASSOCIATION" OU "ACCORDS EUROPEENS"*

Q. FROM WHAT YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT THESE AGREEMENTS, DO YOU FEEL THAT THE CONDITIONS OFFERED BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ARE VERY REASONABLE, QUITE REASONABLE, NEITHER REASONABLE NOR UNREASONABLE, QUITE UNREASONABLE OR VERY UNREASONABLE?!

D'APRES CE QUE VOUS AVEZ ENTENDU AU SUJET DE CES ACCORDS, ESTIMEZ-VOUS QUE LES CONDITIONS OFFERTES PAR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE SONT TRES RAISONNABLES, ASSEZ RAISONNABLES, NI RAISONNABLES NI IRRATIONNABLES, ASSEZ IRRATIONNABLES OU TRES IRRATIONNABLES?

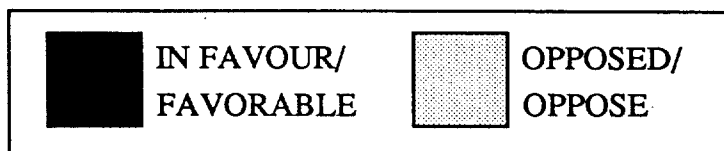
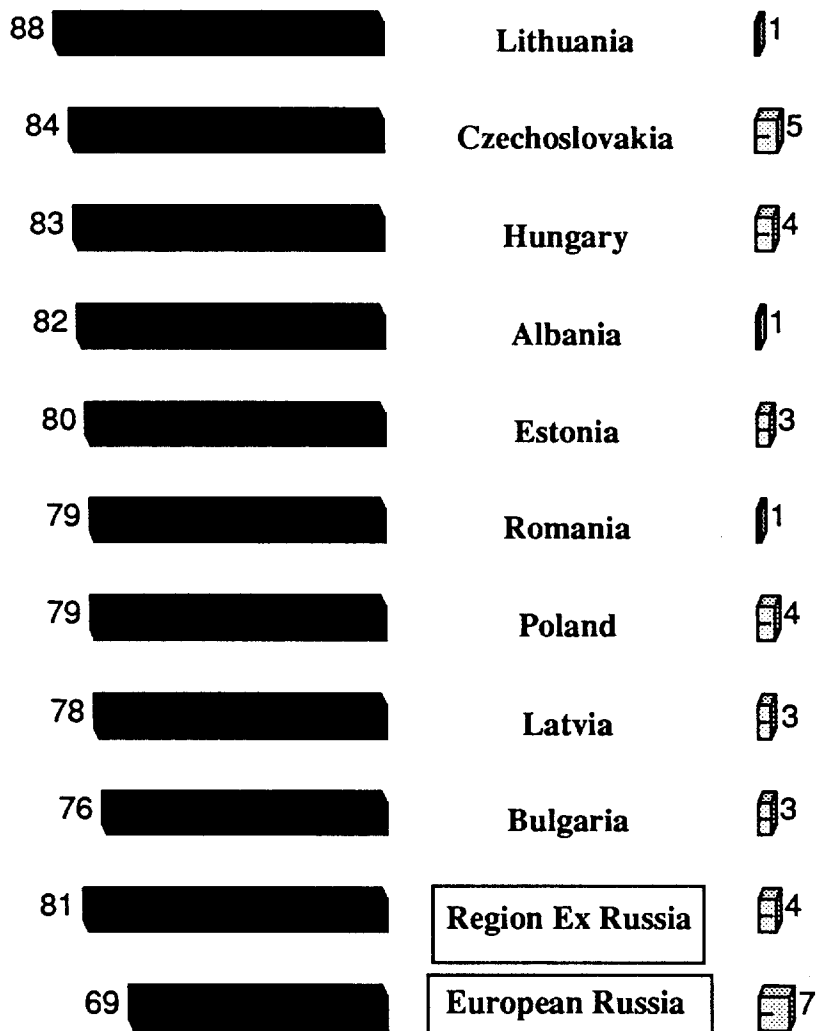
SUPPORT FOR EC ASSOCIATION AGREEMENTS/ APPUI AUX TRAITES D'ASSOCIATION



Q. IRRESPECTIVE OF WHETHER YOU HAVE HEARD ABOUT IT OR NOT, WOULD YOU BE IN FAVOUR, OR AGAINST, SUCH A TREATY BEING CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND (OUR COUNTRY)?/

QUE VOUS EN AYEZ ENTENDU PARLER OU NON, SERIEZ-VOUS FAVORABLE OU OPOSE A LA CONCLUSION D'UN TEL TRAITE ENTRE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET (NOTRE PAYS)?

SUPPORT FOR EC MEMBERSHIP/ APPUI A L'APPARTENANCE CE



Q. IF (OUR COUNTRY) WERE TO JOIN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN THE FUTURE, WOULD YOU FEEL STRONGLY IN FAVOUR, SOMEWHAT IN FAVOUR, SOMEWHAT OPPOSED OR STRONGLY OPPOSED?/

SI, DANS LE FUTUR, (NOTRE PAYS) DEVAIT REJOINDRE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE, Y SERIEZ-VOUS TRES FAVORABLE, PLUTOT FAVORABLE, PLUTOT OPPOSE OU TRES OPPOSE?

ADVANTAGES OF EC MEMBERSHIP/ AVANTAGES DE L'APPARTENANCE CE

REGION EX RUSSIA

EUROPEAN RUSSIA

46		Improve trade		36
40		Improve living standards		39
27		Help create a free market		34
21		Free movement of people		29
21		Shortages will disappear		22
17		Help democracy		12
12		More common European foreign policy		14
10		Improve defence		3
9		Help build a United States of Europe		6
14		Other		7
1		None		6
14		Don't know		20

* MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%.
REponses MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.

Q. WHAT ADVANTAGES, IF ANY, DO YOU FEEL THERE MIGHT BE FOR
(OUR COUNTRY) IF IT WERE TO BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY? ANY OTHERS?/

QUELS AVANTAGES, S'IL Y EN A, PENSEZ-VOUS QUE (NOTRE PAYS) POURRAIT
TIRER DE SA PLEINE APPARTENANCE A LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE?
ET QUELS AUTRES?

DISADVANTAGES OF EC MEMBERSHIP/ DESAVANTAGES DE L'APPARTENANCE CE

REGION EX. RUSSIAEUROPEAN RUSSIA

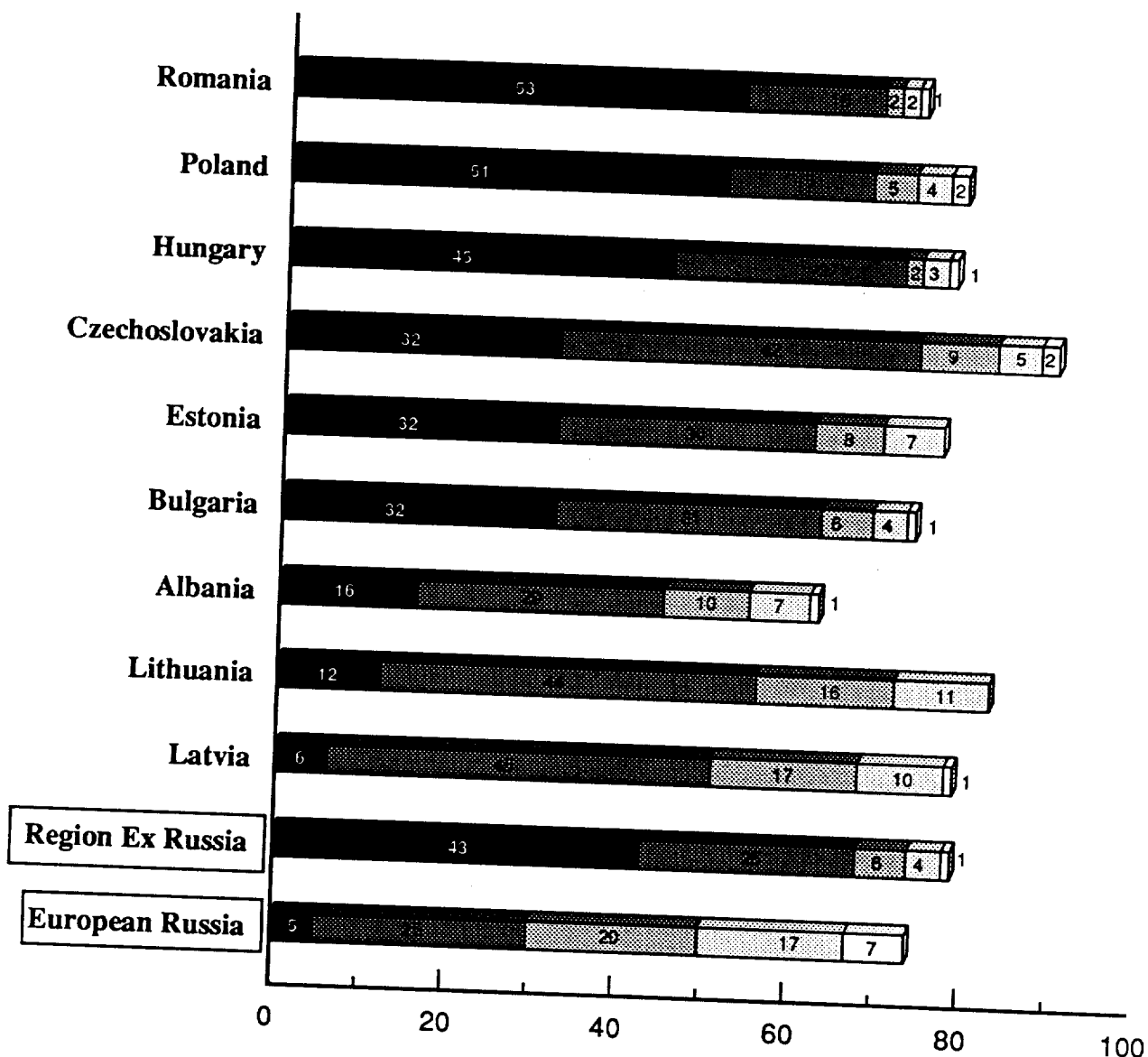
** MULTIPLE ANSWERS PERMITTED. TOTAL EXCEEDS 100%./
REPOSES MULTIPLES PERMISES. LE TOTAL EST SUPERIEUR A 100%.*

*Q. WHAT DISADVANTAGES, IF ANY, DO YOU FEEL THERE MIGHT BE FOR
(OUR COUNTRY) IF IT WERE TO BECOME A FULL MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN
COMMUNITY? ANY OTHERS?/*

*ET QUELS DESAVANTAGES, S'IL Y EN A, PENSEZ-VONS QUE (NOTRE PAYS) POURRAIT
TIRER DE SA PLEINE APPARTENANCE A LA CE? ET QUELS AUTRES?*

ANNEX FIGURE 41

EC MEMBERSHIP: WHEN?/ APPARTENANCE CE: QUAND?

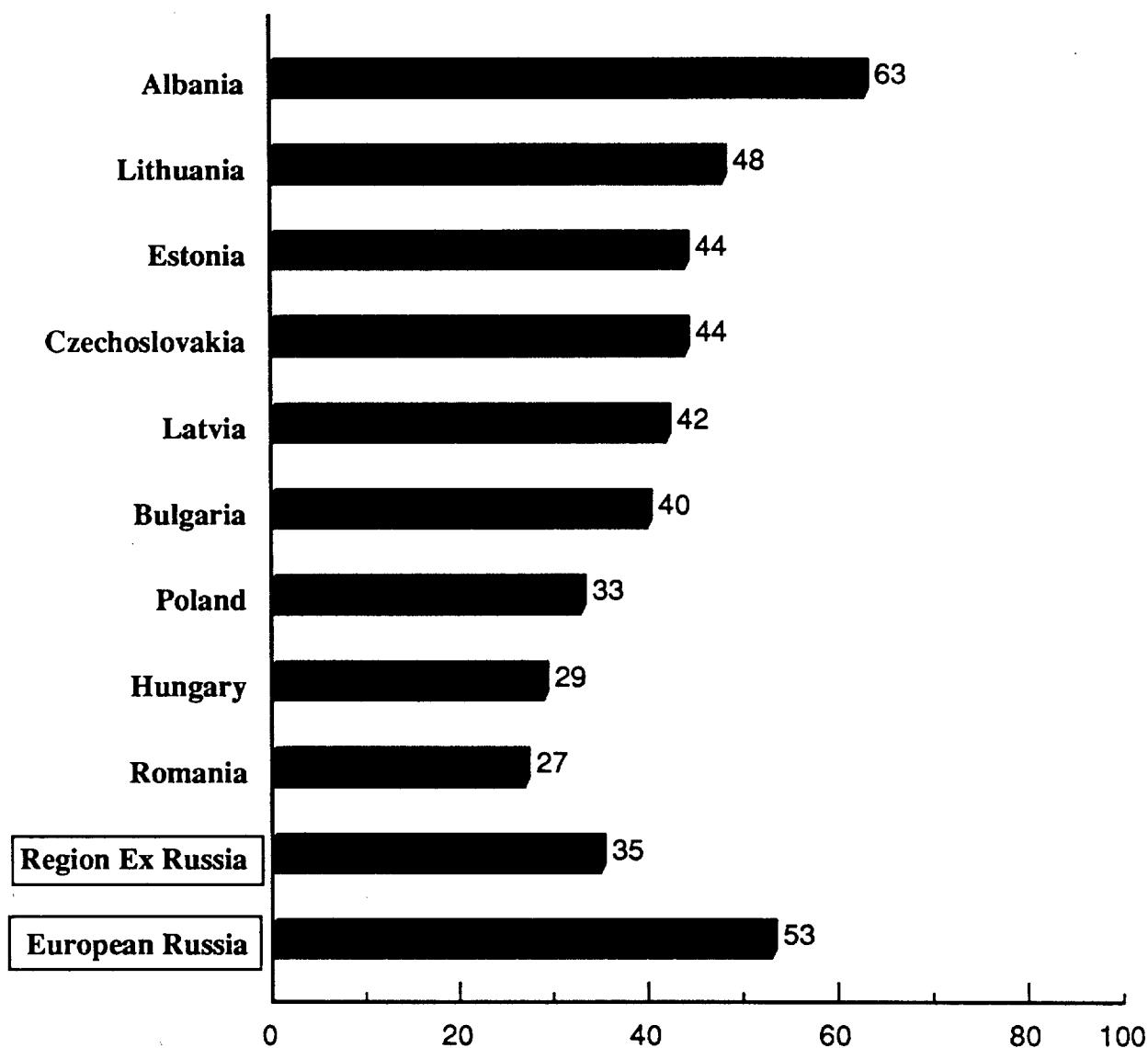


NOW/
MAINTENANT
 IN 5 YEARS
TIME/
DANS 5 ANS
 IN 10 YEARS
TIME/
DANS 10 ANS
 LATER/
PLUS TARD
 NEVER/
JAMAIS

Q. WHEN, IF EVER, DO YOU THINK (OUR COUNTRY) SHOULD BECOME A MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY? SHOULD IT BECOME A MEMBER NOW, IN 5 YEARS TIME, IN 10 YEARS TIME, LATER OR NEVER?/

ETES-VOUS FAVORABLE A CE QUE (NOTRE PAYS) DEVIENNE MEMBRE DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE? (SI OUI), DEVRAIT-IL DEVENIR MEMBRE MAINTENANT, DANS 5 ANS, DANS 10 ANS, PLUS TARD OU JAMAIS?

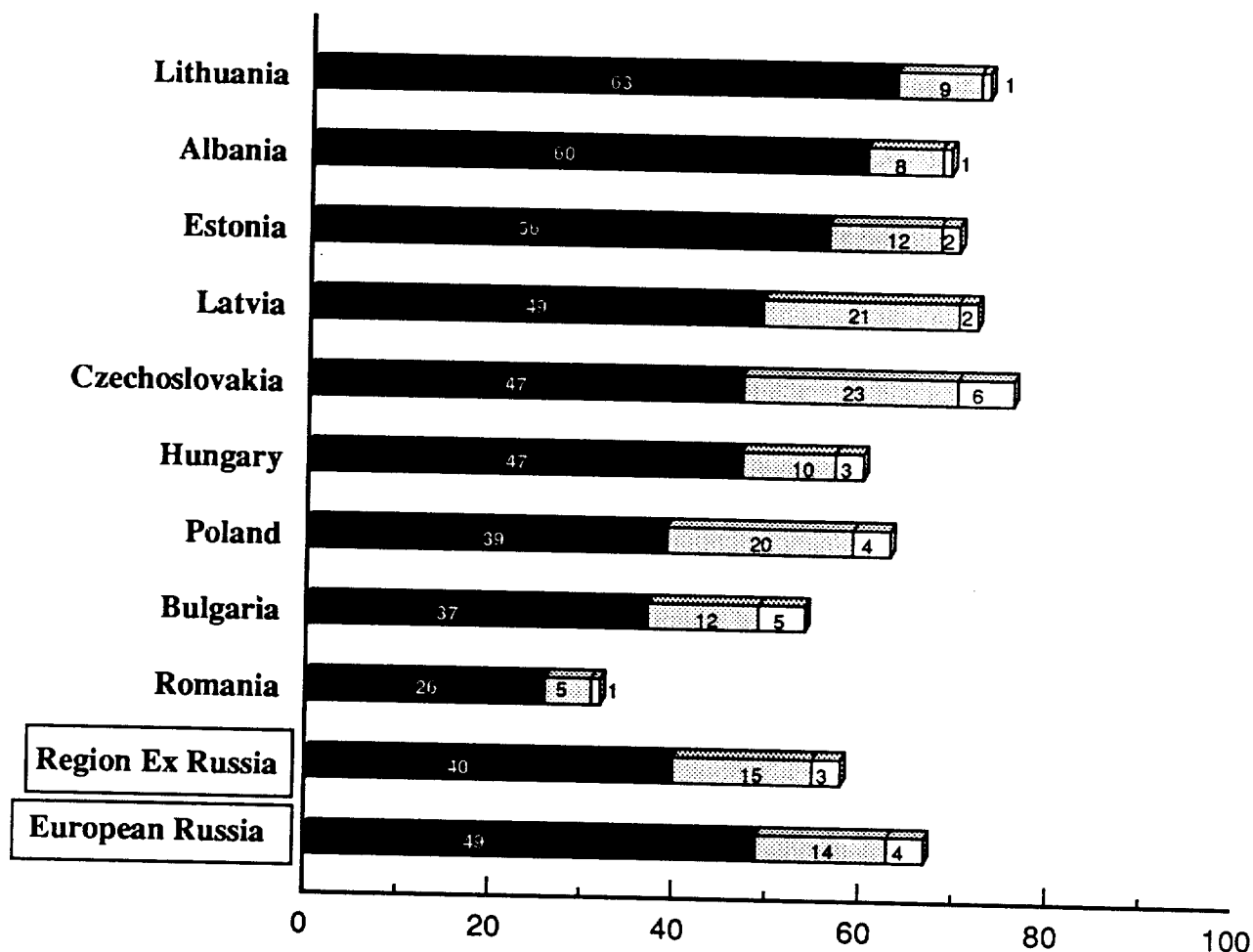
**AWARENESS OF THE SINGLE EUROPEAN MARKET
OF "1992"/
NOTORIETE DU GRAND MARCHE EUROPEEN DE "1992"**



Q. HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT "PROJECT EUROPE 1992" - THAT IS, THE PLAN TO COMPLETE, BY THE END OF 1992, THE BUILDING OF A SINGLE MARKET FOR ALL EUROPEAN COMMUNITY MEMBER COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE, GOODS, SERVICES AND MONEY BETWEEN ALL MEMBER STATES?/

AVEZ-VOUS ENTENDU PARLER DU "PROJET EUROPE 1992", C'EST-A-DIRE LE PROJET DE COMPLETER, D'ICI LA FIN 1992, LA CONSTRUCTION D'UN MARCHE UNIQUE POUR TOUS LES PAYS MEMBRES DE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE COMPRENANT LE LIBRE MOUVEMENT DES PERSONNES, DES BIENS ET DES SERVICES, AINSI QU'UNE MONNAIE COMMUNE POUR L'ENSEMBLE DES PAYS MEMBRES?

IMPACT OF "1992"/ IMPACT DE "1992"

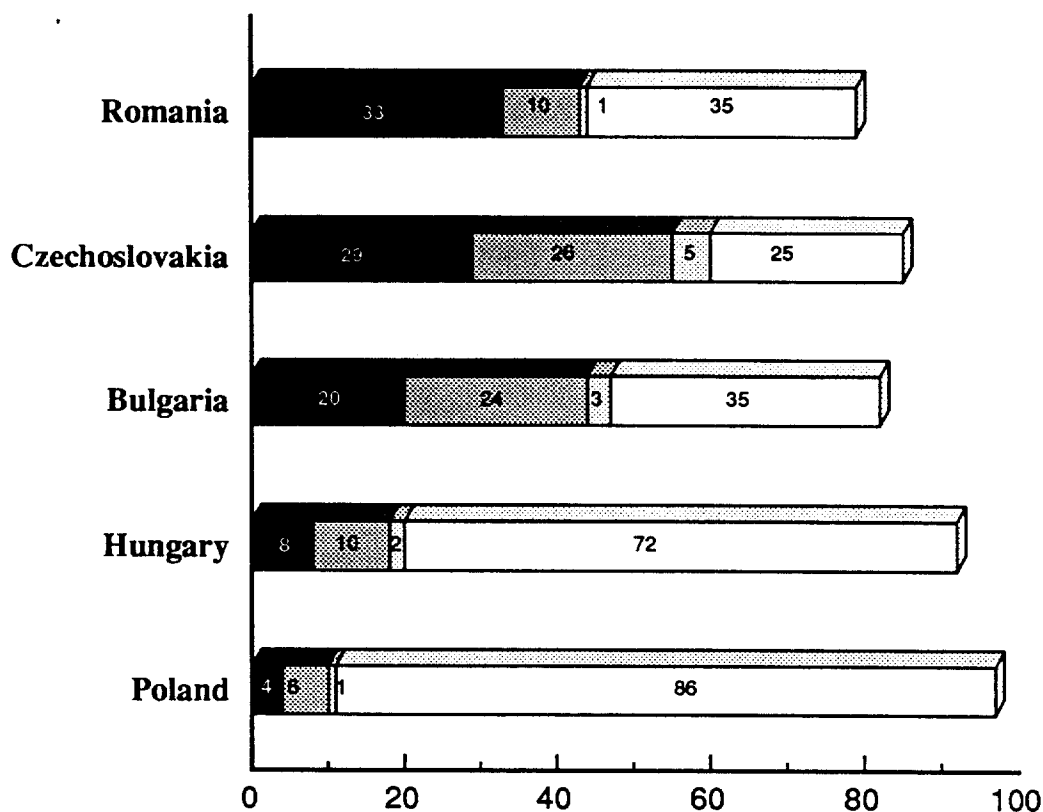


 WILL IMPROVE RELATIONS/ AMELIORERA CES RELATIONS
  BOTH/ LES DEUX
  WILL BE HARMFUL FOR RELATIONS/ NUIRA A CES RELATIONS

Q. WHAT EFFECT DO YOU THINK THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY'S SINGLE MARKET 1992 PROJECT WILL HAVE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN (OUR COUNTRY) AND WESTERN EUROPE? DO YOU THINK IT WILL IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN (OUR COUNTRY) AND WESTERN EUROPE OR DO YOU THINK IT WILL BE HARMFUL?/

SELON VOUS, QUEL EFFET CE PROJET DE MARCHE UNIQUE DANS LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE AURA-T-IL SUR LES RELATIONS ENTRE (NOTRE PAYS) ET L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE? PENSEZ-VOUS QU'IL AMELIORERA LES RELATIONS ENTRE (NOTRE PAYS) ET L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE OU QU'IL NUIRA A CES RELATIONS?

AWARENESS AND IMPACT OF PHARE*/ NOTORIETE ET IMPACT DE PHARE



HEARD, MAJOR IMPACT/
ENTENDU, BEAUCOUP D'IMPACT

HEARD, MINOR IMPACT/
ENTENDU, PEU D'IMPACT

HEARD, NO REAL IMPACT/
ENTENDU PEU DE REEL IMPACT

NOT HEARD/
PAS ENTENDU

** QUESTION ONLY ASKED IN COUNTRIES RECEIVING PHARE.*

** QUESTION POSEE SEULEMENT DANS LES PAYS BENEFICIAIRES DE PHARE*

Q. HAVE YOU HEARD ANYTHING ABOUT AN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME CALLED PHARE TO HELP IMPROVE (OUR COUNTRY'S) ECONOMY BEING PROVIDED BY 24 WESTERN NATIONS AND COORDINATED BY THE COMMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. (IF YES) DO YOU FEEL THAT THIS ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME IS HAVING A MAJOR IMPACT, MINOR IMPACT OR NO REAL IMPACT IN HELPING IMPROVE (OUR COUNTRY'S) ECONOMY?/

AVEZ-VOUS ENTENDU PARLER D'UN PROGRAMME APPELE PHARE, SOUTENU PAR 24 PAYS OCCIDENTAUX ET COORDONNE PAR LA COMMISSION DES COMMUNAUTES EUROPEENNES, ET AYANT POUR BUT D'AIDER A AMELIORER L'ECONOMIE DE (NOTRE PAYS). (SI OUI) PENSEZ-VOUS QUE CE PROGRAMME D'ASSISTANCE A BEAUCOUP D'IMPACT, PEU D'IMPACT OU PAS DE REEL IMPACT SUR L'AMELIORATION DE L'ECONOMIE DE (NOTRE PAYS)

ANNEX FIGURE 45

FINANCIAL AID TO SOVIET UNION/ AIDE FINANCIERE A L'UNION SOVIETIQUE

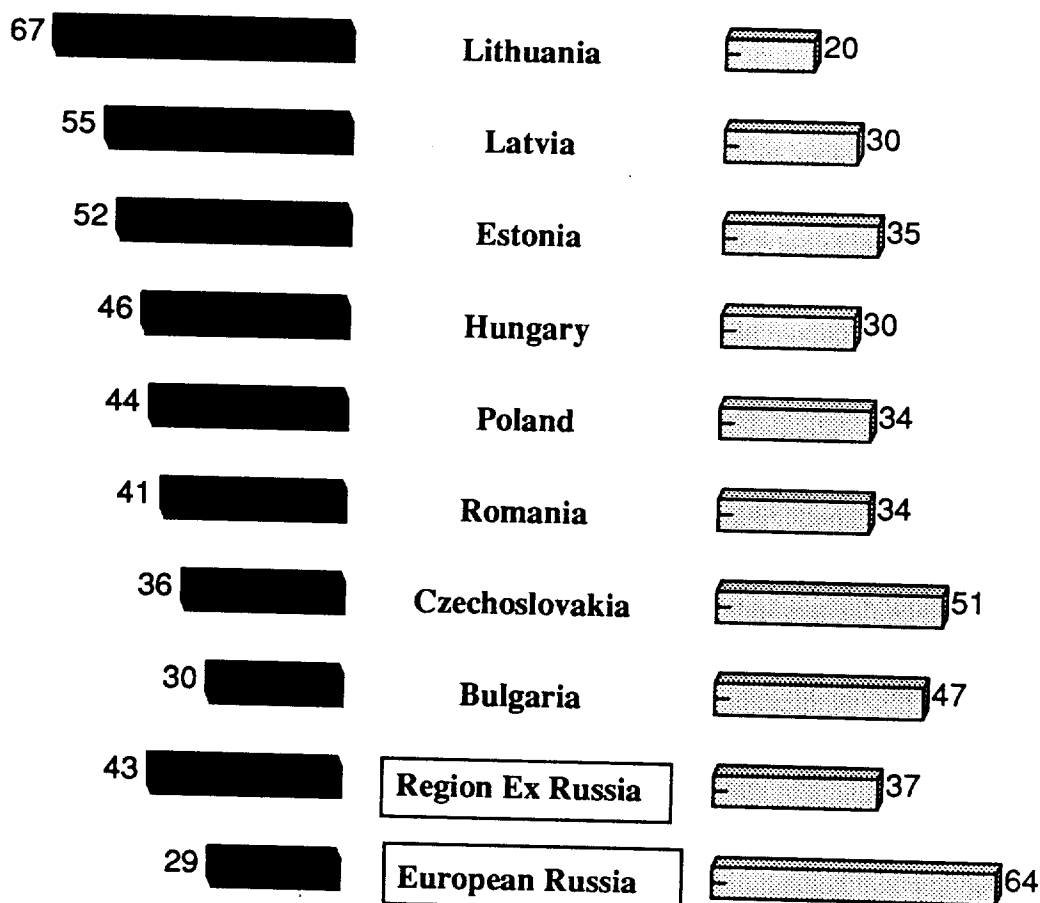


YES, IMMEDIATELY/
OUI, IMMEDIATEMENT
 YES, WHEN REFORMS ESTABLISHED/
OUI, LORSQUE REFORMES ETABLIES
 NO/
NON

Q. THE SOVIET UNION HAS ASKED FOR SUBSTANTIAL FINANCIAL AID FROM THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. IN PRINCIPLE, DO YOU THINK THAT THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD GIVE AID TO THE SOVIET UNION OR NOT? (IF YES) DO YOU BELIEVE THIS AID SHOULD BE GIVEN IMMEDIATELY OR SHOULD IT WAIT UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ECONOMIC REFORM PROGRAMME LEADING TO A MARKET ECONOMY?/

L'UNION SOVIETIQUE A DEMANDE UNE AIDE SUBSTANTIELLE A LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE ET AUX AUTRES PAYS OCCIDENTAUX. EN PRINCIPE, PENSEZ-VOUS QUE LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE DEVRAIT AIDER L'UNION SOVIETIQUE OU NON? (SI OUI) TROUVEZ-VOUS QUE CETTE AIDE DEVRAIT ETRE ACCORDEE IMMEDIATEMENT, OU QU'IL FAUDRAIT ATTENDRE LA MISE EN PLACE D'UN PROGRAMME DE REFORMES ECONOMIQUES CONDUISANT A UNE ECONOMIE DE MARCHE?

**SOVIET UNION - NEW UNION OR INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES/
UNION SOVIETIQUE - NOUVELLE UNION OU PAYS INDEPENDANTS**




	BECOME INDEPENDENT/ DEVIENNENT INDEPENDANTES		STAY TOGETHER/ RESTENT ENSEMBLE
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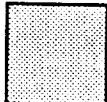
Q. DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE BETTER FOR (OUR COUNTRY) AND EUROPE'S FUTURE THAT MOST SOVIET UNION REPUBLICS STAY TOGETHER IN A NEW UNION, OR THAT ALL SOVIET REPUBLICS BECOME COMPLETELY INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES?/

PENSEZ-VOUS QU'IL SERAIT MIEUX POUR L'AVENIR DE (NOTRE PAYS) ET DE L'EUROPE QUE LA PLUPART DES REPUBLIQUES D'UNION SOVIETIQUE RESTENT ENSEMBLE DANS LA NOUVELLE UNION, OU QUE TOUTES LES REPUBLIQUES SOVIETIQUES DEVIENNENT DES NATIONS TOTALEMENT INDEPENDANTES?

**SHOULD YUGOSLAVIA REMAIN TOGETHER OR NOT?/
LA YOUGOSLAVIE DEVRAIT - ELLE
RESTER UNIE OU NON?**



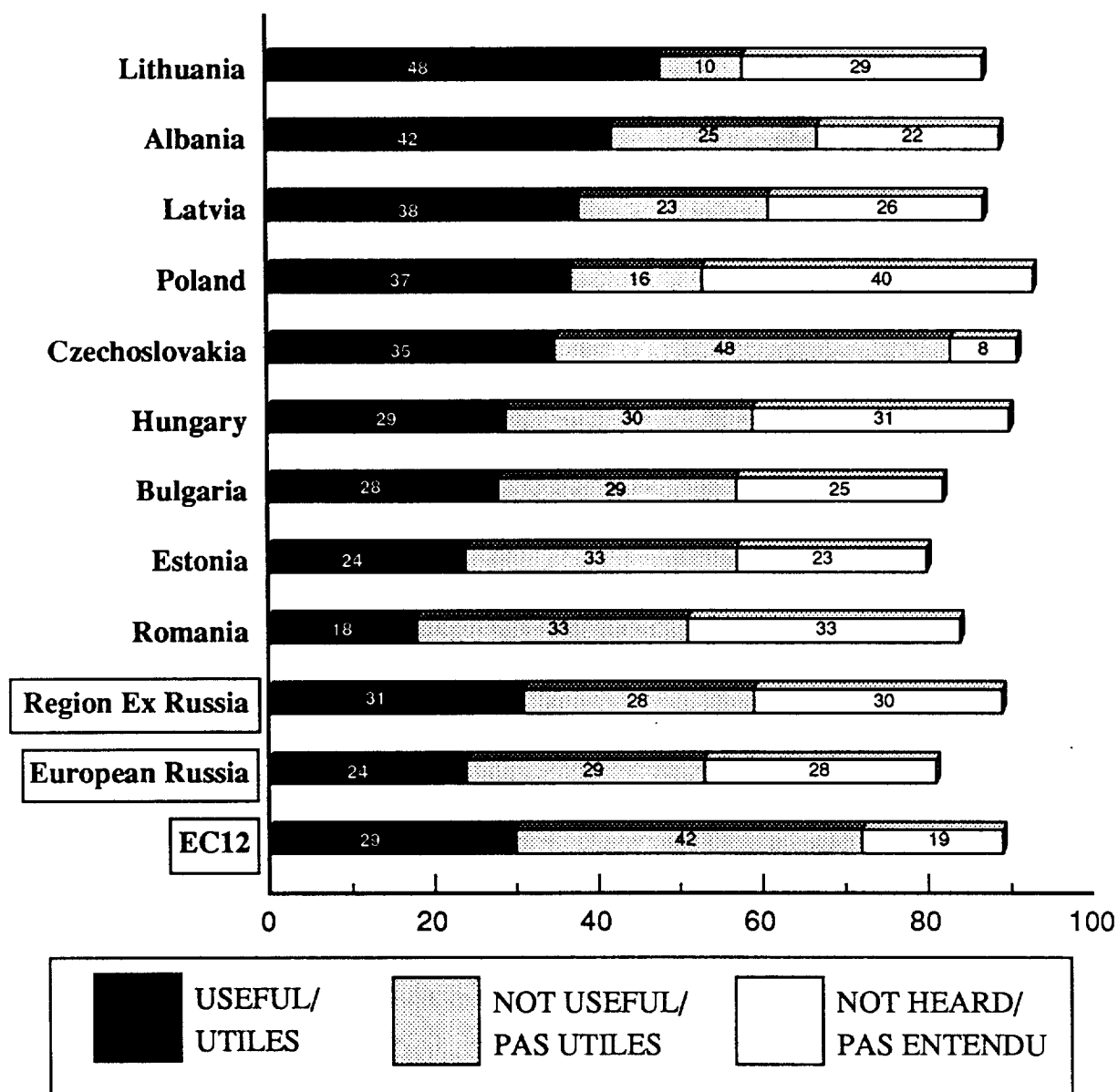
 **RESPECT
SELF-DETERMINATION/
RESPECTER LE DROIT A
L'AUTO-DETERMINATION**

 **PRESERVE TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY/
PRESERVER L'INTEGRITE
TERRITORIALE**

Q. WITH REGARD TO YUGOSLAVIA, SOME SAY "THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS TO PRESERVE YUGOSLAVIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY ALSO IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE BREAK-UP OF STATES ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE," OTHERS SAY "THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IS RESPECT FOR DEMOCRACY AND FOR EACH PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION, INCLUDING POSSIBLE INDEPENDENCE FOR CERTAIN REPUBLICS." WHICH OF THESE TWO POSITIONS COMES CLOSER TO YOUR PERSONAL VIEWPOINT?/

EN CE QUI CONCERNE LA YOUGOSLAVIE, CERTAINS DISENT: "LA CHOSE LA PLUS IMPORTANTE EST DE PRESERVER L'INTEGRITE TERRITORIALE DE LA YOUGOSLAVIE AFIN EGALEMENT D'EVITER L'ECLATEMENT D'AUTRES ETATS D'EUROPE" ET D'AUTRES DISENT: " LA CHOSE LA PLUS IMPORTANTE EST LE RESPECT DE LA DEMOCRATIE ET DU DROIT DE CHACUN A L'AUTO-DETERMINATION, MEME SI CELA ENTRAINE L'INDEPENDANCE DE CERTAINES REPUBLIQUES". LAQUELLE DE CES 2 POSITIONS SE RAPPROCHE LE PLUS DE VOTRE OPINION PERSONNELLE?

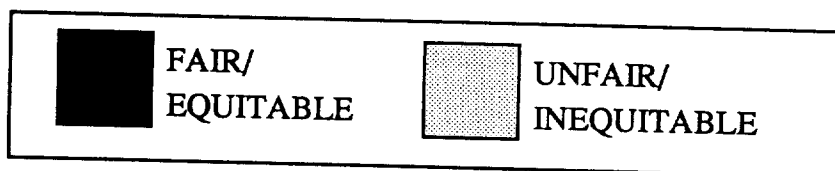
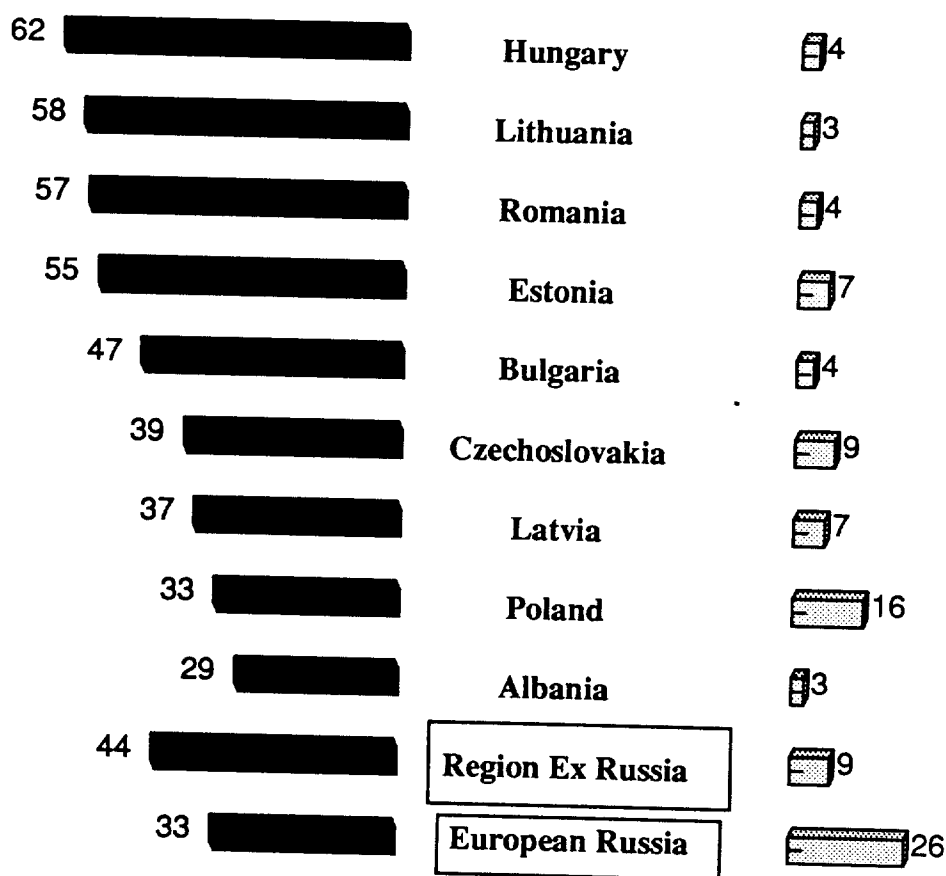
**AWARENESS AND EVALUATION OF EC INITIATIVES IN YUGOSLAVIA/
NOTORIETE ET EVALUATION DES INITIATIVES CE EN YEOUGOSLAVIE**



Q. HAVE YOU HEARD OR NOT ABOUT INITIATIVES TAKEN BY THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY TO TRY TO HELP RESOLVE THE CRISIS IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ITS REPUBLICS? (IF YES) DO YOU FEEL THESE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN VERY USEFUL, QUITE USEFUL, NOT VERY USEFUL OR NOT AT ALL USEFUL IN TRYING TO HELP RESOLVE THE CRISIS?!

AVEZ-VOUS ENTENDU PARLER OU NON DES INITIATIVES PRISES PAR LA COMMUNAUTE EUROPEENNE POUR ESSAYER D'AIDER A RESOUDRE LA CRISE EN YEOUGOSLAVIE ET DANS SES REPUBLIQUES? (SI OUI) PENSEZ-VOUS QUE CES INITIATIVES DE LA CE ONT ETE TRES UTILES, ASSEZ UTILES, PAS TRES UTILES, OU PAS UTILES DU TOUT POUR ESSAYER D'AIDER A RESOUDRE LA CRISE?

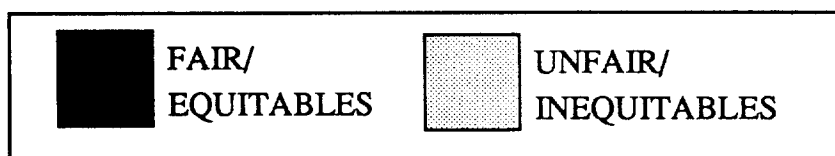
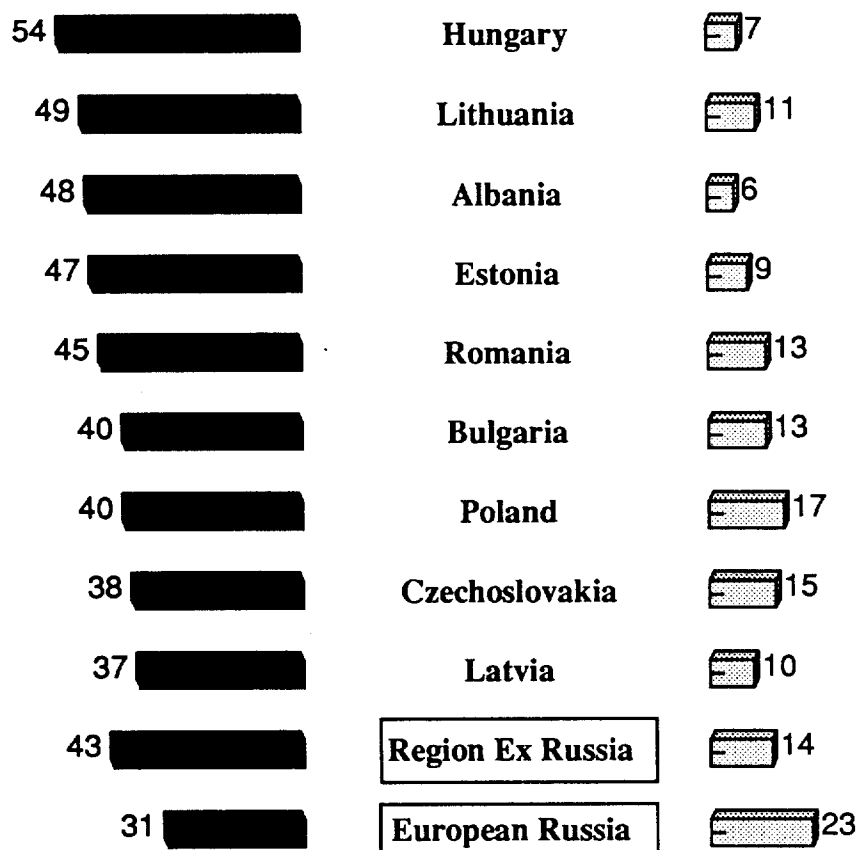
FAIRNESS OF TRADING PARTNERS - JAPAN/ EQUITE DES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX - JAPON



Q. SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT SOME OF OUR COUNTRY'S TRADING PARTNERS USE UNFAIR PRACTICES THAT MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR (OUR COUNTRY) TO SELL PRODUCTS THERE. FROM WHAT YOU KNOW OR HAVE HEARD, TELL ME IF YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING TRADE PARTNERS ARE FAIR OR UNFAIR TO (OUR COUNTRY) WHEN IT COMES TO TRADE?!

CERTAINES PERSONNES CROIENT QUE CERTAINS DE NOS PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX FONT USAGE DE PRATIQUES INEQUITABLES QUI FONT QUE (NOTRE PAYS) A DES DIFFICULTES POUR Y VENDRE DES PRODUITS. D'APRES CE QUE VOUS CONNAISSEZ OU AVEZ ENTENDU, POUVEZ-VOUS ME DIRE SI LES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX SUIVANTS SONT EQUITABLES OU INEQUITABLES ENVERS (NOTRE PAYS) EN MATIERE DE COMMERCE?

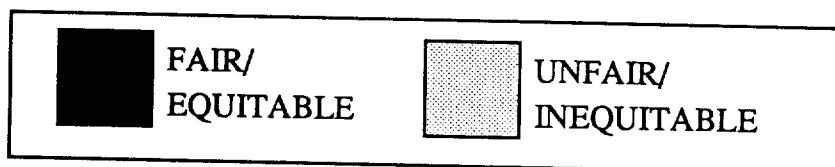
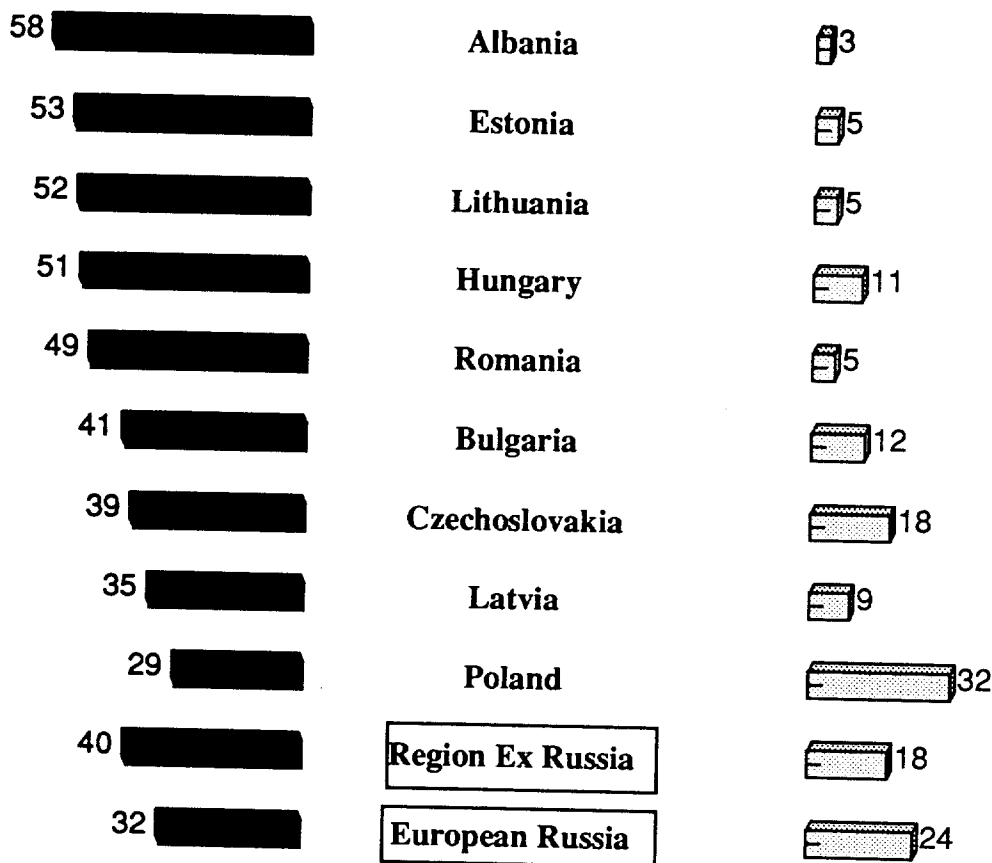
**FAIRNESS OF TRADING PARTNERS - USA/
EQUITE DES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX -
ETATS - UNIS**



Q. SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT SOME OF OUR COUNTRY'S TRADING PARTNERS USE UNFAIR PRACTICES THAT MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR (OUR COUNTRY) TO SELL PRODUCTS THERE. FROM WHAT YOU KNOW OR HAVE HEARD, TELL ME IF YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING TRADE PARTNERS ARE FAIR OR UNFAIR TO (OUR COUNTRY) WHEN IT COMES TO TRADE?!

CERTAINES PERSONNES CROIENT QUE CERTAINS DE NOS PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX FONT USAGE DE PRATIQUES INEQUITABLES QUI FONT QUE (NOTRE PAYS) A DES DIFFICULTES POUR Y VENDRE DES PRODUITS. D'APRES CE QUE VOUS CONNAISSEZ OU AVEZ ENTENDU, POUVEZ-VOUS ME DIRE SI LES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX SUIVANTS SONT EQUITABLES OU INEQUITABLES ENVERS (NOTRE PAYS) EN MATIERE DE COMMERCE?

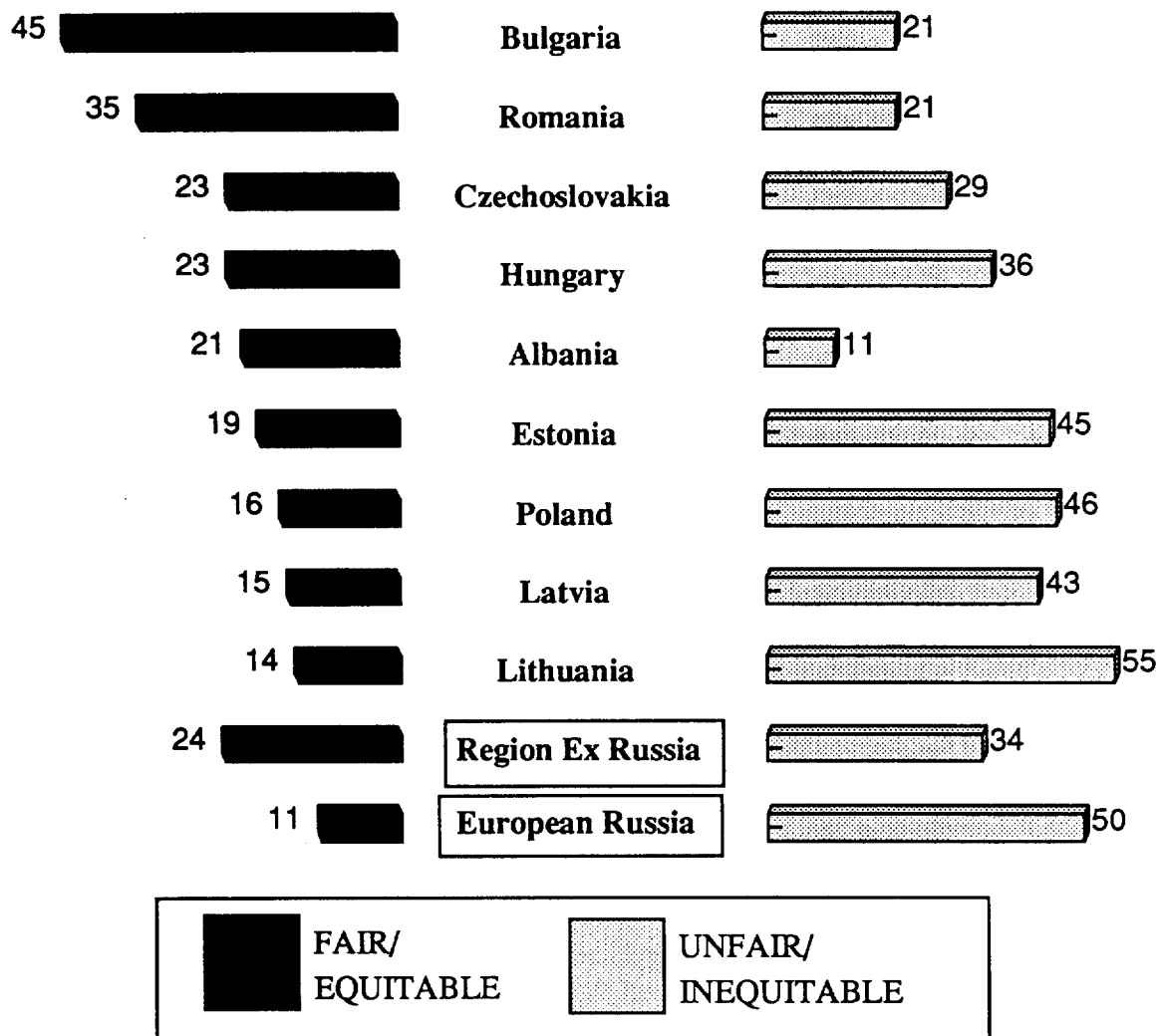
FAIRNESS OF TRADING PARTNERS - EC/ EQUITE DES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX - CE



Q. SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT SOME OF OUR COUNTRY'S TRADING PARTNERS USE UNFAIR PRACTICES THAT MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR (OUR COUNTRY) TO SELL PRODUCTS THERE. FROM WHAT YOU KNOW OR HAVE HEARD, TELL ME IF YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING TRADE PARTNERS ARE FAIR OR UNFAIR TO (OUR COUNTRY) WHEN IT COMES TO TRADE?!

CERTAINES PERSONNES CROIENT QUE CERTAINS DE NOS PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX FONT USAGE DE PRATIQUES INEQUITABLES QUI FONT QUE (NOTRE PAYS) A DES DIFFICULTES POUR Y VENDRE DES PRODUITS. D'APRES CE QUE VOUS CONNAISSEZ OU AVEZ ENTENDU, POUVEZ-VOUS ME DIRE SI LES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX SUIVANTS SONT EQUITABLES OU INEQUITABLES ENVERS (NOTRE PAYS) EN MATIERE DE COMMERCE?

**FAIRNESS OF TRADING PARTNERS - SOVIET UNION/
EQUITE DES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX -
UNION SOVIETIQUE**



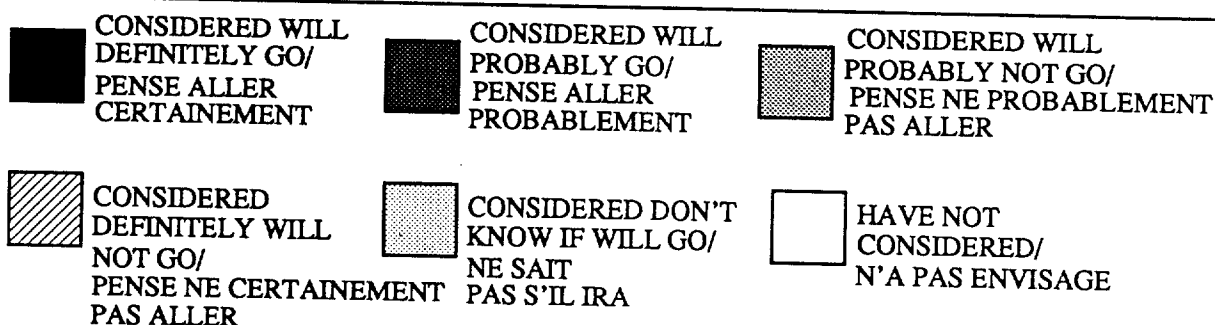
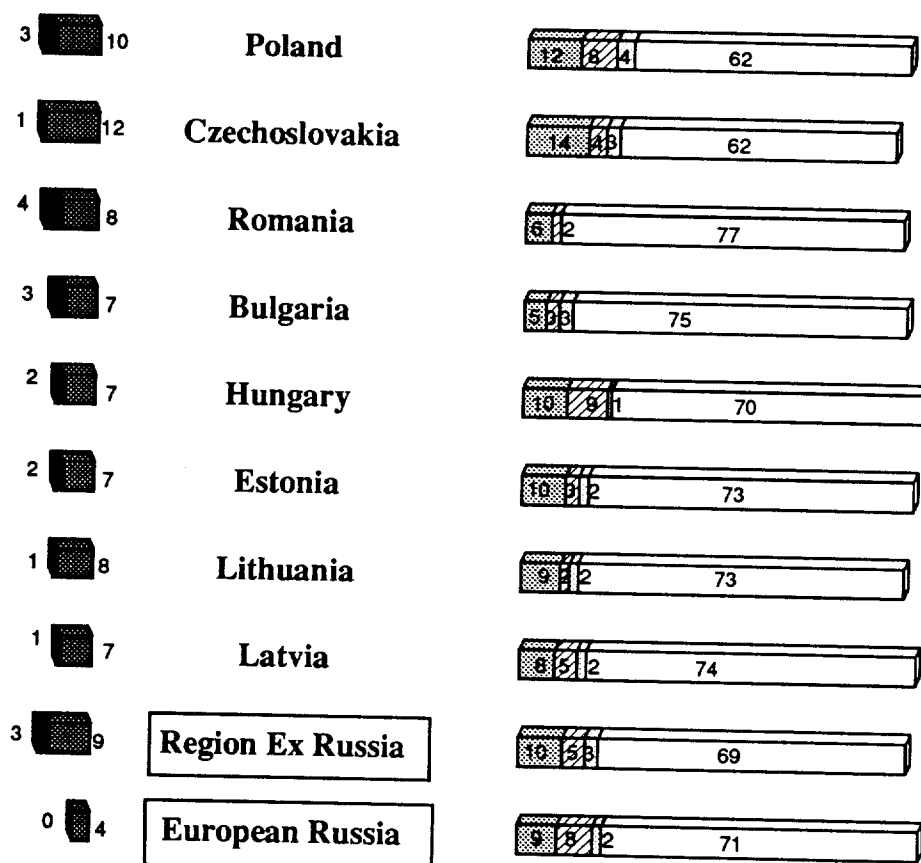
Q. SOME PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT SOME OF OUR COUNTRY'S TRADING PARTNERS USE UNFAIR PRACTICES THAT MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR (OUR COUNTRY) TO SELL PRODUCTS THERE. FROM WHAT YOU KNOW OR HAVE HEARD, TELL ME IF YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING TRADE PARTNERS ARE FAIR OR UNFAIR TO (OUR COUNTRY) WHEN IT COMES TO TRADE?

CERTAINES PERSONNES CROIENT QUE CERTAINS DE NOS PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX FONT USAGE DE PRATIQUES INEQUITABLES QUI FONT QUE (NOTRE PAYS) A DES DIFFICULTES POUR Y VENDRE DES PRODUITS. D'APRES CE QUE VOUS CONNAISSEZ OU AVEZ ENTENDU, POUVEZ-VOUS ME DIRE SI LES PARTENAIRES COMMERCIAUX SUIVANTS SONT EQUITABLES OU INEQUITABLES ENVERS (NOTRE PAYS) EN MATIERE DE COMMERCE?

**FOR EUROPEAN RUSSIA, THE QUESTION ASKED ABOUT "OTHER SOVIET REPUBLICS"!*

**EN RUSSIE EUROPEENNE, LA QUESTION MENTIONNAIT "AUTRES REPUBLIQUES SOVIETIQUES".*

LIKELIHOOD OF EMIGRATION TO WESTERN EUROPE*/ **PROBABILITE D'EMIGRATION VERS L'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE**



* SEE PAGE 38 FOR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF THE RESULTS/
 VOIR PAGE 38 POUR PLUS D'EXPLICATION SUR LES RESULTATS

Q. HAVE YOU EVER SERIOUSLY CONSIDERED GOING AND WORKING IN A COUNTRY IN WESTERN EUROPE? HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT YOU WILL MOVE TO WESTERN EUROPE TO LIVE AND WORK? DO YOU THINK THAT YOU WILL DEFINITELY GO, PROBABLY GO, PROBABLY NOT GO, OR DEFINITELY NOT GO AND WORK IN WESTERN EUROPE?/

AVEZ-VOUS DEJA SERIEUSEMENT ENVISAGE D'ALLER TRAVAILLER DANS UN PAYS D'EUROPE OCCIDENTALE? QUELLES SONT LES CHANCES POUR QUE VOUS ALLIEZ VIVRE ET TRAVAILLER EN EUROPE OCCIDENTALE? PENSEZ-VOUS QUE VOUS IREZ CERTAINEMENT, IREZ PROBABLEMENT, N'IREZ PROBABLEMENT PAS, OU N'IREZ CERTAINEMENT PAS TRAVAILLER EN EUROPE OCCIDENTALE?

ANNEXES

HOW THE POLL WAS DONE

**PARTICIPATING RESEARCH INSTITUTES/BY COUNTRY
INSTITUTS ET CHARGES D'ETUDES/PAR PAYS**

Albania	Sociological Research Centre Tirana University Tirana - Albania	Fatos Tarifa	tel.++/35542 28244
Bulgaria	Balkan British Social Surveys 44A Graf Ignatiev Street Sofia 1000 - Bulgaria	Kancho Stoychev	tel.++/3592 896447 fax.++/3592 873493
Czechoslovakia	ECOMA Research Institute of Commerce 110 00 Prague 1 Lazarska 3 - Czechoslovakia	Jana Berova Ladislav Koppl	tel.++/422 205451/2/3/4/5 fax.++/422 201812
Estonia	SAAR POLL Tartu Shosse 4 Tallin - Estonia	Andrus Saar	tel.++/70142 425217 fax.++/70142 423285
Hungary	Modus Fragepan Utca 50-56 1135 Budapest - Hungary	Emoke Lengyel Antal Toth	tel.++/361 1310909 fax.++/361 113480 fax.++/361 1297682
Latvia	Latvijas Fakti Stabu Str 6, Riga 226001 PO Box 248 - Latvia	Aigars Freimanis	tel.++/70132 297702/276218 tel.++/70132 284488 fax.++/70132 273787
Lithuania	Sociological Laboratory of Vilnius University Universiteto Str. 3 Vilnius - Lithuania	Rasa Alishauskiene	Tel.++/70122 621694 fax.++/70122 621694/613473/ 223563
Poland	Pentor Ul. Flory 9M4 00-586 Warszawa - Poland	Piotr Kwiatkowski Jacek Dohnalik	tel.++/4822 498120/498129 fax ++/4822 498151/493031
Romania	Centre for Urban & Regional Sociology Laboratory for Public Opinion Polling Bucharest - Romania	Dumitru Sandu	tel.++/4036 136307
European Russia	Institute of Sociology USSR Academy of Sciences Ul. Krzhizhanovskogo 24/35 Kor.5 1178259 Moscow - Russia	Elena Bashkirova Yuri Kizichenko	tel.++/7095 1290523 fax++/7095 1289161 tel/fax++/7095 1250069

Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER No. 2

Between October 14th - 31st 1991 (Albania started 27 September), the institutes listed above conducted the second wave of the Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER at the request of the **Commission of the European Communities**, Directorate General X, Audiovisual, Information, Communication, Culture, "Surveys, Research, Analyses, (EUROBAROMETER)" Unit.

Gallup UK is an independent market and opinion research company based in London, UK. It participated in the international co-ordination of the survey and processed the results.

The results of the Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER are made available through the Unit "Surveys Research Analyses" of DGX of the Commission of the European Communities. All requests for further information should be addressed to Mr. Karlheinz REIF, DG X/B - SRA, (EUROBAROMETER) rue de la Loi, 200 B - 1049 Brussels. Tel. 32-2-299.94.41, Fax. 299.92.05

All EUROBAROMETER data are stored at the Zentral archiv (Universitat Koln, Bachemer Strasse 40, D-500 Koln 41). They are at the disposal of all institutes which are which are members of the European Consortium for Political Research, of the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research (Michigan) and all those interested in social science research.

Details on Sampling

In total ten countries in Central and Eastern Europe were surveyed. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Romania together with the European part of the Russian Federation in the former Soviet Union. Yugoslavia was not included in this current survey due to the outbreak of hostilities prior to the commencement of fieldwork.

In total **10 027** citizens of the respective countries, of 15 years and over, were interviewed face-to-face, in their private residence.

Country	Number of Respondents
Albania	1,000
Bulgaria	989
Czechoslovakia	1,076
Estonia	999
Hungary	987
Latvia	999
Lithuania	1,000
Poland	1,000
Romania	1,000
European Russia	977 975

With the exception of Hungary, where a quota sampling technique was employed, each country applied a multi stage random (probability) sample design

The general procedure adopted (with slight variations between countries) was, thus, similar to that employed in the Standard EUROBAROMETER surveys: taking into account the geographical spread of the population and the distribution of types of locality, a number of sampling points were drawn to cover the whole of each country. The areas covered within each country are appended. Electoral lists and available national census statistics were used to draw the sampling points for each country. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address was drawn, at random. That starting address formed the first of a cluster of addresses. The remainder of the cluster was selected as every Nth address by a random route procedure from the initial address. In Latvia the random walk procedure was combined with a quota based on region, nationality, sex and age groupings. The maximum number of interviews obtained from each household was one. All interviews were carried out face to face by fully trained interviewers.

REALISATION OF FIELDWORK

Country	Fieldwork dates	Population Total (15+ yrs) (000s)
Albania	Sep 27 - Oct 15	1,920
Bulgaria	Oct 25 - Oct 31	7,031
Czechoslovakia	Oct 14 - Oct 31	11,962
Estonia	Oct 18 - Oct 30	1,217
Hungary	Oct 18 - Oct 29	8,170
Latvia	Oct 23 - Oct 31	2,096
Lithuania	Oct 17 - Oct 28	2,843
Poland	Oct 16 - Oct 22	28,007
Romania	Oct 14 - Oct 30	17,860
European Russia	Oct 18 - Oct 30	88,772
<hr/>		
Regional Total		169,879

WEIGHTING OF DATA

The individual results for each country were not weighted owing to the poor level of detailed up to date information for each country's population characteristics, and the lack of comparable data across all ten countries. In addition, as each country (with the exception of Hungary) had adopted strict random sampling procedures it was felt that the achieved sample would be representative of the population without recourse to weighting.

The overall results of the survey were weighted according to each country's 15+ population. Again no standard source was available from which to assess the magnitude of each country's population. The figures given above are thus drawn from census data supplied by each institute (where recent census have been conducted) and reference books such as the 1992 **European Marketing Pocket Book** (using World Bank and IMF data).

The overall weighted figure for "region" does not include European Russia. As the European part of this republic accounts for over fifty per cent of the entire region's population any weighted figure including this 'country' would be overwhelmingly influenced by its results.

REGIONS COVERED WITHIN EACH COUNTRY

Albania:

North Albania

Shkoder

Tropoje

Mirdite

Kukes

Diber.

South Albania

Korce

Vlore

Permet

Gjirckaster

Sarando.

Central Albania

Tirane

Elbasan

Gramah

Lushnje

Fier.

Bulgaria:

Varna
Razgrad
Michailougrad
Lovech
Sofia (Region)
Sofia (City)
Plovdiv
Bourgas
Haskovo

Czechoslovakia:

Prague
Central Bohemia
Southern Bohemia
Western Bohemia
Northern Bohemia
Eastern Bohemia
Southern Moravia
Northern Moravia

Bratislava
Central Slovakia
Eastern Slovakia
Western Slovakia

Estonia:

North-Western
North-Eastern
South-Eastern
South Western

Hungary:

Central Region (Budapest included)
Northern Hungary (North-East)
Northern Great Plain
Southern Great Plain
Southern Transdanubia
Northern Transdanubia

Latvia:

Riga
Liepaja
Daugavpils
Vidzeme
Zemgale
Kurzeme
Latgale

Lithuania:

Zemaitija
Aukstaitija
Suvalkija
Dzukija
Pietryciu Lietuva

Poland:

Central
Eastern
"Little Poland" Southern
Silesia
Western North
Greater Poland

Romania:

Galati, Iasi, Botosani.
Vaslui, Neamt, Vrancea, Bacau
Suceava, Buzau
Ialomita, Calarasi, Braila
Tulcea, Constanta
Teleorman, Giurgiu, Olt
Dolj, Mehedinti
Vilcea, Dimbovita, Arges
Prahova, Gorj
Caras-Severin, Hunedoara
Timis, Arad
Covasna, Harghita, Mures, Salaj
Cluj, Bihor, Satu Mare
Alba, Maramures, Bistrita-Nas
Brasov, Sibiu
Bucuresti

European Russia:

Northern
Northern-Western
Central
Volgo-Vjatsky
Central
Black-Earth
Along Volga
North Caucasian
Urals

GALLUP

Gallup in the UK is a member of the Gallup International Group of companies which has recognised affiliates in 50 countries worldwide including all EC and EFTA countries in Europe. The British company was formed in 1937 and is the largest independent research organisation in Britain. Throughout the worldwide group all companies are independently owned and managed by their working directors. The Headquarters of the Membership Association of Gallup International is located in London

Gallup International has had nearly 20 years of close association with the European Commission. Initially, the French affiliate of Gallup International directed by Madame Helen Riffault pioneered the twice yearly surveys in all EC countries on behalf of the Commission which became the basis of the EUROBAROMETER reports over a 15 year period from 1973-1989. Currently under the direction of Madame Nicole Jamar EOS Gallup Europe is responsible for the "FLASH EUROBAROMETER" framework contract for up to five years, which involves telephone and face to face omnibus surveys in all twelve EC countries.

Gallup in the UK was one of the Western pioneers of research in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, with early surveys in Eastern Europe stretching back to 1972. It conducted the first direct measures of voting intentions, political opinion and media awareness by a Western pollster in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Bulgaria. Subsequently most of the companies participating in Central and Eastern EUROBAROMETER No. 2 have had a close working relationship with Gallup International and many are candidates for recognition.

In 1991 Gallup in the UK together with France, working with Princeton Survey Research Associates coordinated the largest simultaneous study ever conducted to date in both Eastern and Western Europe across 12 countries, in a one hour interview, on attitudes towards a wide variety of political and social problems including ethnic tensions. This major study, commissioned by the Los Angeles Times, consisted of both quantitative and qualitative research, entitled "The Pulse of Europe" was featured in a series of ten television documentaries by CNN. In 1990 Gallup UK also conducted a major 17 country survey in Western Europe on behalf of the Readers Digest Association, on consumer habits today. In 1992 Gallup UK will be setting up a continual television audience measurement survey on behalf of Russian Federation Television.

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