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ISRAEL SURVEY

Europe 2025

Europe-Israel relations at a glance

Europe and the Middle East are at a pivotal moment. Russia's war against Ukraine is reshaping Europe's security architecture, while developments in the Middle East are opening opportunities for diplomatic and regional realignment. The ceasefire in the Hamas–Israel war has opened up a space to explore longer-term frameworks for stability, despite unresolved political questions. These dynamics increasingly affect domestic debates in Europe, including on security, migration, and antisemitism. To assess European lawmakers' views, ELNET surveyed 1,061 Members of Parliament from 35 countries between 2022 and 2025, offering unique insights into European–Israeli relations in times of crisis. This year's edition brings together the results of all four waves of the survey.

Executive Summary:

- **Strong and resilient support for cooperation with Israel:** Across all waves of the survey, a clear majority of European MPs rated the relations with Israel as good, varying from 54 percent to 86 percent over the years. Further, a majority of 68 percent continues to call for closer cooperation in 2025, aligning with the results from previous years.
- **Defense and security among top priorities:** Support for defense collaboration with Israel has risen sharply across survey waves, reaching 66 percent in 2025. Cooperation on science and education forms the most stable cross-party consensus. Economic and cultural cooperation show significant regional and ideological variation, with higher support in several Nordic and Eastern European countries than in Germany or France.
- **Antisemitism identified as an urgent and evolving threat:** In 2025, 75 percent of participating MPs considered Israel-related antisemitism to be a serious problem in Europe, up from 57 percent in 2024. More than 80 percent across all survey waves demand stronger government action to combat antisemitism. Most frequently highlighted is antisemitism from Islamist circles (64 percent in 2025) and the political left (50 percent in 2025), while concern about rightwing and everyday antisemitism has declined compared to earlier years.
- **Greater engagement in the Middle East:** Over the years, around two-thirds of MPs support a stronger role for their country in the region. Backing for NATO-Israel cooperation remains consistently high (over 65 percent in each wave). In addition, a large majority of MPs (over 70 percent) view the Abraham Accords as a vital framework for advancing peace and cooperation.
- **UNRWA under pressure:** After October 7, both in 2024 and 2025, MPs made clear that they regard the status quo regarding the UN agency as unacceptable. Majorities of MPs call for reform and stricter oversight or for transferring responsibilities to other organizations.

Method:

The survey was conducted online and included active Members of Parliament from across Europe between 2022 and 2025. Questions and answer options were randomized to avoid order effects, and almost all participants could respond in their native language. The survey was distributed via email to Members of Parliament from most parties in each country. The 2025 wave was the first to include MPs from Germany's Alternative für Deutschland (AfD) and Austria's Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ). The results are presented in aggregated form, have not been weighted, and therefore only reflect the views of the participating MPs.

Limitations:

As with all voluntary surveys, results may reflect a degree of self-selection among participants. The composition of respondents also varied between survey waves. In addition, results are not weighted and therefore cannot be interpreted as statistically representative of entire parliaments or countries. However, they offer valuable insights into the views of a substantial number of European legislators.

* Germany (507), Sweden (77), France (41), Spain (36), Austria (33), Romania (30), Czechia (28), Denmark (22), Greece (20), Ireland (20), Italy (18), Latvia (16), Norway (16), Switzerland (14), Poland (12), Turkey (11), Croatia (10), European Union (10), United Kingdom (9), Belgium (8), Finland (8), Cyprus (7), Hungary (6), Slovakia (6), Luxembourg (5), Malta (5), Netherlands (3), Portugal (3), Lithuania (2), Azerbaijan (1), Bulgaria (1), Estonia (1), Georgia (1), Serbia (1), Slovenia (1)

Fig. 1

► *Distribution of MPs participating in the survey*

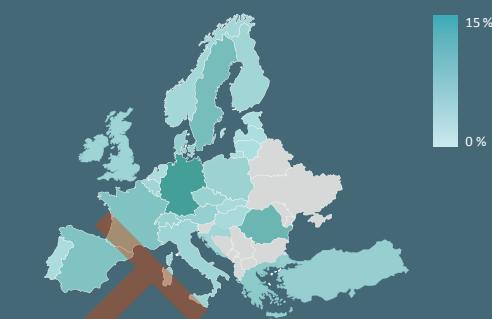


Fig. 2

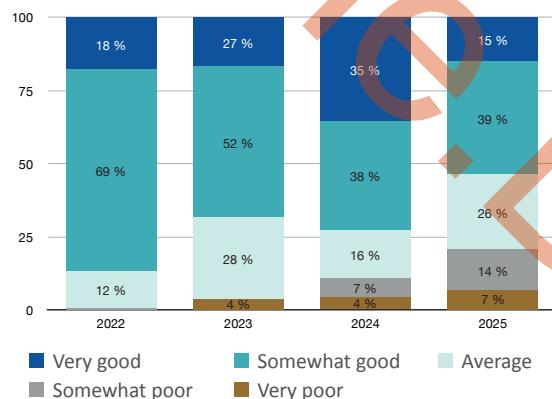
► *Party affiliation of participants (2022-2025)*



Status and Nature of Relations with Israel

Fig. 3 (1015 responses)

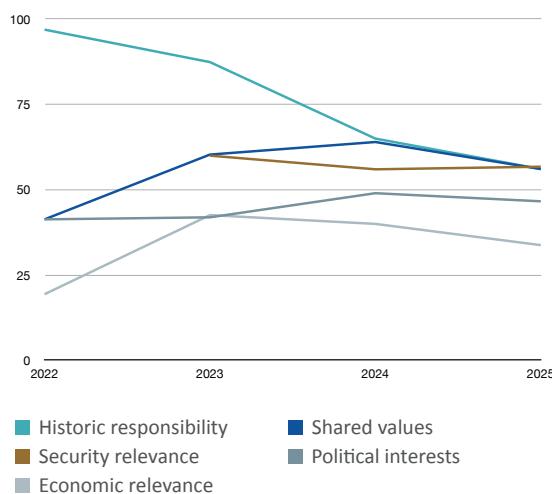
► *How would you rate your country's current relationship with Israel?*



- 70 percent of European MPs across all survey waves perceive their country's relations with Israel as very good or rather good. Only 8 percent give a negative assessment, underlining a strong and resilient foundation of support.
- Support remains broad across the political spectrum, positive assessments are reported by 85 percent of Liberal MPs, 78 percent of both Conservative and Green MPs, and 72 percent of Social Democratic MPs, with majorities also among leftwing and other party groups. Among rightwing parties, around 53 percent assess relations favorably.
- MPs from Romania (96 percent), Italy (87 percent), and Germany (83 percent) report particularly favorable views of their countries' relations with Israel. In contrast, markedly smaller shares of MPs from Ireland (9 percent), Spain (20 percent), Turkey (18 percent), and Belgium (43 percent) describe relations as positive.
- MPs who have visited Israel are more likely to view relations positively, with 76 percent giving a favorable assessment compared to 65 percent among those without prior visits.

Fig. 4 (848 responses, multiple answers)

► *Which factors define your country's relationship with Israel?*



- Values and historical responsibility dominate in several party families and countries, with Greens referencing responsibility in 92 percent and values in 50 percent of all cases, and Germany (88 percent responsibility; 61 percent values), Austria (91 percent responsibility), and Czechia (82 percent values) showing similarly strong normative framing, while Spain (17 percent responsibility) and Turkey (9 percent responsibility) stand out with less emphasis on values and responsibility.
- Security and strategic interests are most prominent among Conservative (48 percent security), Liberal (46-50 percent), and rightwing MPs (56 percent), and in Greece (75 percent security), Czechia (68 percent), and France (63 percent), whereas they remain significantly lower among leftwing MPs (22 percent) and in Ireland (10 percent), Romania (10 percent), and Turkey (9 percent).
- Economic cooperation plays a secondary but differentiated role, cited by 27 percent overall, but rising to 55 percent in Greece, 49 percent in Austria, and 43 percent in Czechia, while remaining lower in Germany (28 percent), Italy (17 percent), and France (15 percent).
- Individual countries show substantial shifts over time with historical responsibility declining in Germany from 96 percent in 2023 to 66 percent in 2025, Sweden's security share increasing to 56 percent in 2025, and Spain's security emphasis rising to 83 percent in 2025, while party-level patterns remain stable across survey waves.

Potential for cooperation

Fig. 5 (934 responses)

► **What would you recommend regarding your country's current cooperation with Israel?**

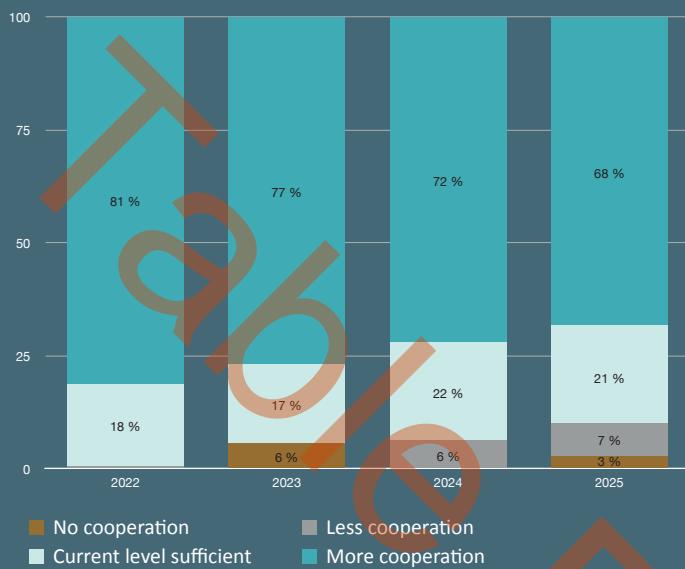
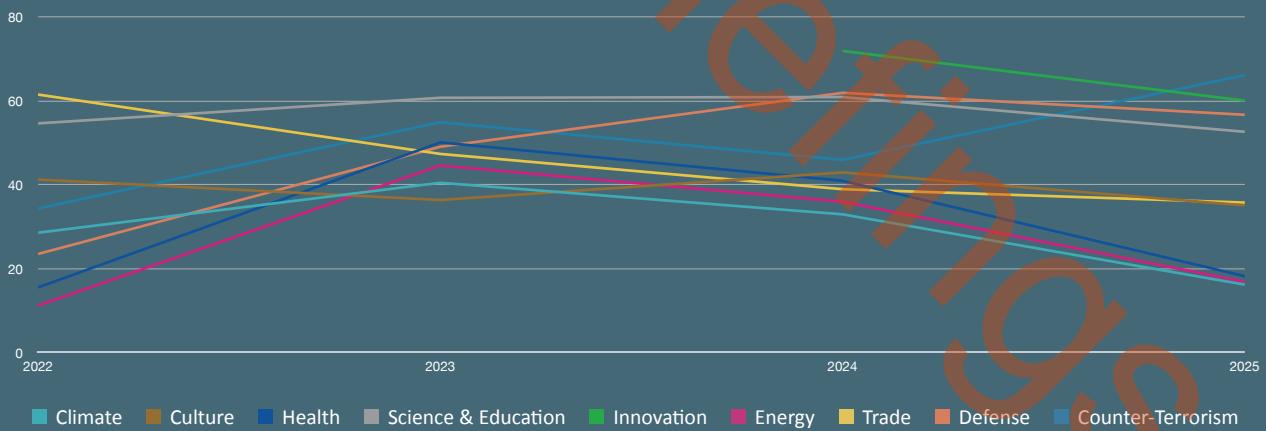


Fig. 6 (716 responses, multiple answers)

► **In which areas would you like to see particularly close cooperation with Israel?**



■ Defense and homeland security cooperation is the strongest overall priority, and support has intensified since 2022 with defense rising from 24 percent in 2022 to 57 percent in 2025. This preference is especially pronounced among Conservative (56 percent) and Liberal MPs (54 percent), and among MPs from Czechia (71 percent), Greece (60 percent), France (59 percent), Denmark (55 percent), and Spain (53 percent). In contrast, MPs in Germany (28 percent) and Ireland (20 percent) place lower emphasis on defense collaboration.

- Across all survey waves, 75 percent of MPs recommend strengthening cooperation with Israel, while only around 6 percent favor reducing or ending cooperation, indicating a broad and durable pro-cooperation majority.
- Support for strengthening cooperation is particularly high among Liberal MPs (87 percent) and Conservative MPs (80 percent), while leftwing MPs show a more divided profile, with around 53 percent favoring stronger cooperation and around 14 percent supporting a reduction.
- Country patterns vary substantially: Czechia (80 percent), Germany (78 percent), and Italy (72 percent) show consistently high support, while Spain (43 percent) and Ireland (40 percent) report significantly more hesitation, with higher shares preferring to maintain rather than expand cooperation.
- These patterns remain highly stable across all survey years, including before and after major geopolitical shocks, indicating that European positions toward cooperation with Israel are shaped by long-term strategic alignments instead of short-term events.

■ Cooperation on science and education forms the most stable cross-party consensus. Support is highest among rightwing MPs (59 percent), Liberals (44 percent), and Conservatives (40 percent). At the country level, it is particularly strong in Sweden (66 percent), Austria (64 percent), Czechia (57 percent), and Romania (53 percent).

■ Rightwing MPs prioritize security above all (66 percent defense, 75 percent homeland security). Conservative MPs show a similar but more moderate pattern (49 percent defense, 43 percent counter-terrorism, 32 percent culture).

Regional Cooperation

► Should your country actively promote further agreements between Israel and Arab/Muslim countries?

- Across all survey waves, **81 percent** of European MPs support their country promoting further Arab–Israeli normalization, with consistently high backing across party families (ranging from 65 percent among Left MPs to 88 percent among Liberals) and particularly strong endorsement in Italy (93 percent), Norway (93 percent), Austria (88 percent), Czechia (85 percent), Greece (83 percent), and Germany (82 percent), while lower support is registered in Finland (63 percent), Denmark (61 percent), and Ireland (47 percent).

Fig. 7 (148 responses, Survey wave of 2025)

► Which countries should take responsibility for the reconstruction of the Gaza Strip?

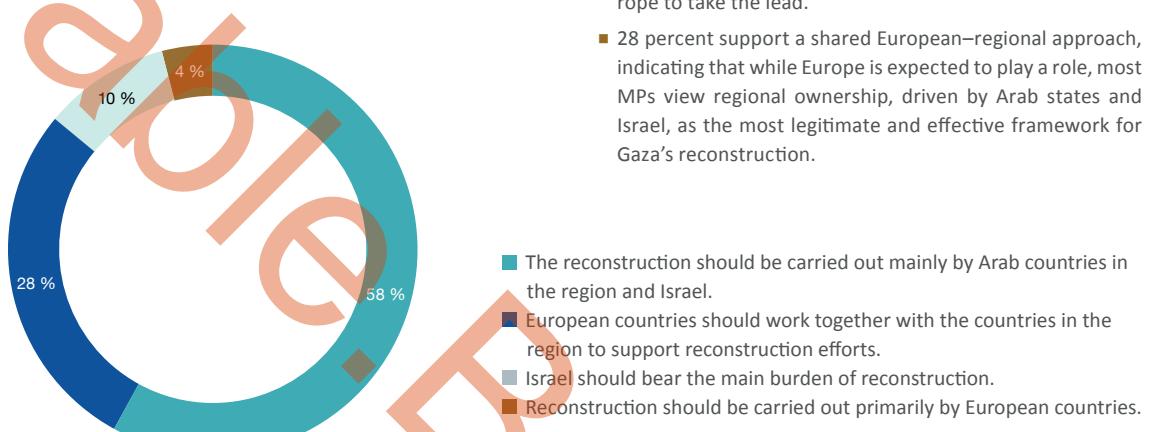
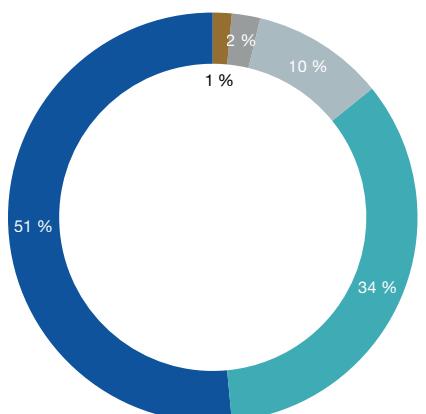


Fig. 8 (134 responses, Survey wave of 2025)

► Should Arab countries take a greater role in initiating a new peace process between Israel and the Palestinians?



■ Fully agree ■ Rather agree ■ Undecided
■ Rather disagree ■ Fully disagree

- 58 percent of surveyed MPs believe that reconstruction in Gaza should be led jointly by Arab countries together with Israel, while only about 10 percent argue that Israel alone should bear primary responsibility and 4 percent call for Europe to take the lead.

- 28 percent support a shared European–regional approach, indicating that while Europe is expected to play a role, most MPs view regional ownership, driven by Arab states and Israel, as the most legitimate and effective framework for Gaza's reconstruction.

- The reconstruction should be carried out mainly by Arab countries in the region and Israel.
- European countries should work together with the countries in the region to support reconstruction efforts.
- Israel should bear the main burden of reconstruction.
- Reconstruction should be carried out primarily by European countries.

- A strong majority of MPs supports a greater diplomatic role for Arab states in launching a new peace initiative between Israel and the Palestinians: 52 percent fully agree and another 34 percent rather agree, amounting to nearly 86 percent overall. This support reaches 100 percent in several countries, including Austria, Italy, Greece, Poland, Norway, Hungary, Slovakia, and Belgium, and remains high in Spain (83 percent), Germany (80 percent), and France (75 percent).

- Only around 4 percent oppose such a role for Arab countries, while roughly 10 percent are undecided. Support is near-unanimous among Conservatives (98 percent), and remains strong among Greens (83 percent), leftwing parties (83 percent), Liberals (80 percent), and rightwing parties (79 percent). Even among Social Democrats, who show the lowest level of support, around 67 percent back an expanded Arab role.

Foreign Policy and Regional Involvement

Fig. 9 (380 responses)

► **What measures should be taken regarding the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)?**

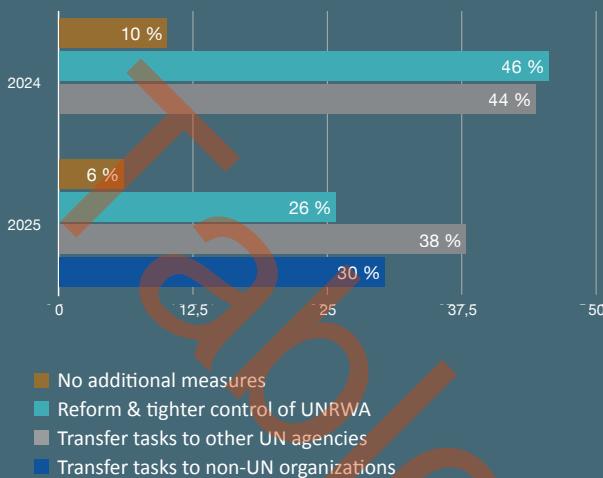
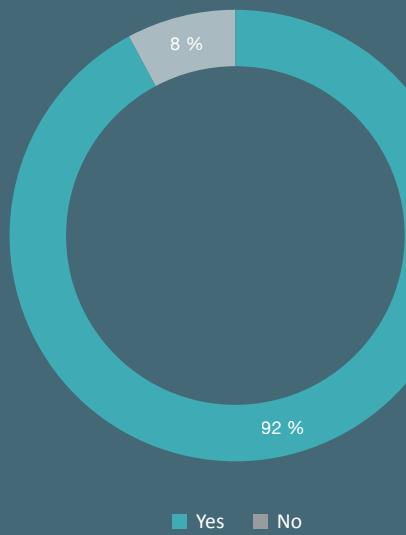


Fig. 10 (128 responses, Survey wave of 2023)

► **Should Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) be designated as a terrorist organization?**



- A broad consensus exists among participating European MPs, with 92 percent supporting the designation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as a terrorist organization.

- This reflects the wider threat assessment among European MPs who rank Iran as the second biggest threat to European security after Russia.

■ Across the 2024 and 2025 waves, European MPs overwhelmingly agree that the status quo of UNRWA is not sustainable. 90 to 94 percent support either reforming the agency with stronger oversight (2024: 46 percent, 2025: 25 percent) or transferring its responsibilities to other organizations through an orderly dissolution (2024: 46 percent, 2025: 68 percent).

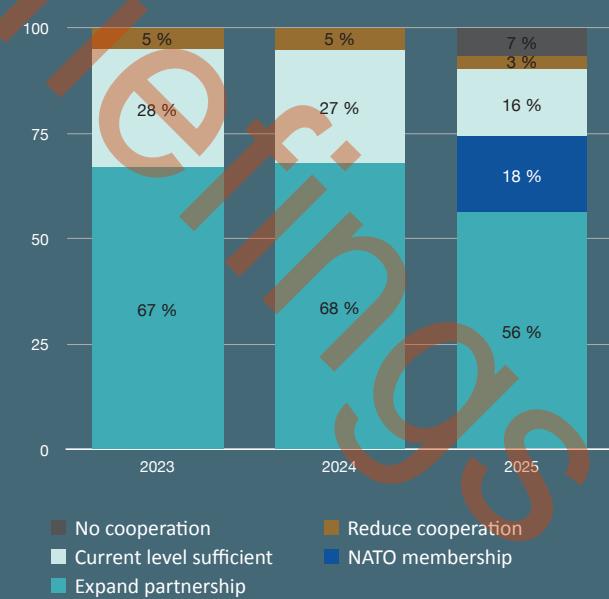
■ Party families diverge in degree, not direction. While Conservatives (62 percent), Liberals (51 percent), and rightwing parties (82 percent) tend to favor dissolution and transfer, Social Democrats (68 percent) and leftwing parties (54 percent) mostly support reform rather than replacement. However, across all groups, support for maintaining the status quo remains very low (10 percent or less).

■ Momentum has shifted from reform toward replacement. In 2024, support for reform (46 percent) and dissolution and transfer (44 percent) was nearly balanced. By 2025, the share favoring dissolution and transfer rose to 68 percent, while support for reform declined to 26 percent.

■ 68 percent of MPs believe that their own country should suspend all UNRWA payments until a long-term reform or replacement framework is in place, while 32 percent oppose a full funding freeze.

Fig. 11 (633 responses)

► **Given increasing geopolitical challenges, what should Israel's future relationship with NATO be?**



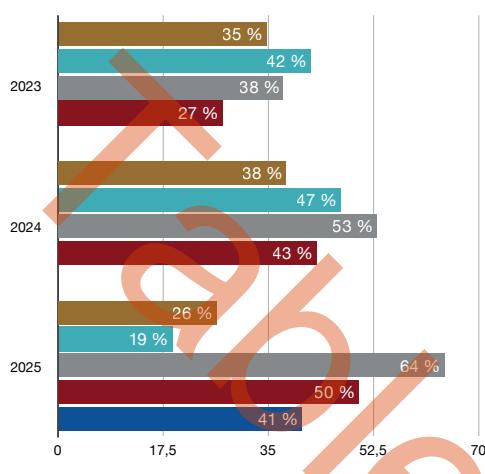
- Overall support for closer Israel–NATO ties has remained largely stable. In 2025, 74 percent support either expanded cooperation or full membership, compared to 67 percent in 2023 and 68 percent in 2024.

- Support for closer cooperation is consistently high among Conservatives, Liberals, and Greens (75 to 85 percent), while it is lower among Social Democrats (55 to 60 percent) and significantly lower among leftwing parties (35 to 45 percent).

Antisemitism and Jewish Communities

Fig. 12 (705 responses, multiple answers)

► *Which political or ideological backgrounds pose the greatest threats to Jewish life in your country?*



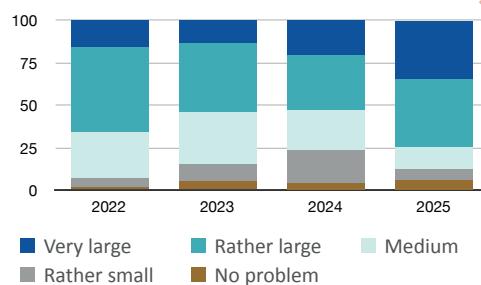
- Perceptions have shifted significantly over time. Concern about Islamist antisemitism increased from 38 percent in 2023 to 44 percent in 2024 and 64 percent in 2025, making it the most frequently cited threat. Leftwing antisemitism rose from 27 percent in 2023 to 36 percent in 2024 and 50 percent in 2025, while rightwing antisemitism remained comparatively stable with a drop in 2025 (2023: 35 percent, 2024: 32 percent, 2025: 26 percent).

- Israel-related antisemitism has long been present but was first included in this question in 2025. It was identified as a serious concern by 35 to 45 percent of MPs in Northern and Western Europe and 20 to 30 percent in Central and Southern Europe.

- Differences are stronger across party families than across countries. Conservatives and Liberals predominantly identify Islamist antisemitism (60 to 75 percent) as threats, Social Democrats cite Islamist and leftwing antisemitism at similar levels (45 to 55 percent each), while leftwing parties identify both significantly less frequently (15 to 20 percent each).

Fig. 13 (913 responses)

► *How significant is the problem of Israel-related antisemitism in your country?*



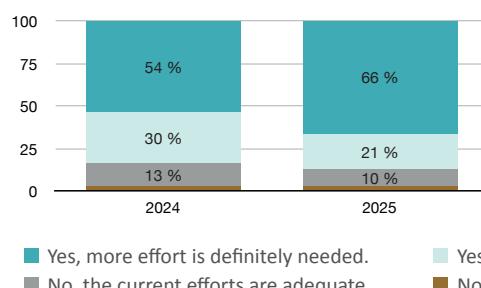
- Concern about Israel-related antisemitism has increased markedly over time. The share of MPs describing it as a very severe problem rose from roughly 15 percent in 2022 and 2023 to 20 percent in 2024, and 35 percent in 2025.

- Party families diverge. Conservatives and Liberals most frequently describe the issue as very severe (around 40 to 50 percent), Social Democrats more often fall into the moderate-to-severe range (around 30 to 45 percent), while leftwing parties report substantially lower severe concern (around 15 to 20 percent).

- In Western and Northern Europe, 40 to 50 percent of MPs consider Israel-related antisemitism to be a severe problem, while in Central and Southern Europe, the share is lower, around 20 to 30 percent.

Fig. 14 (405 responses)

► *Should the government increase its efforts to counter antisemitism?*

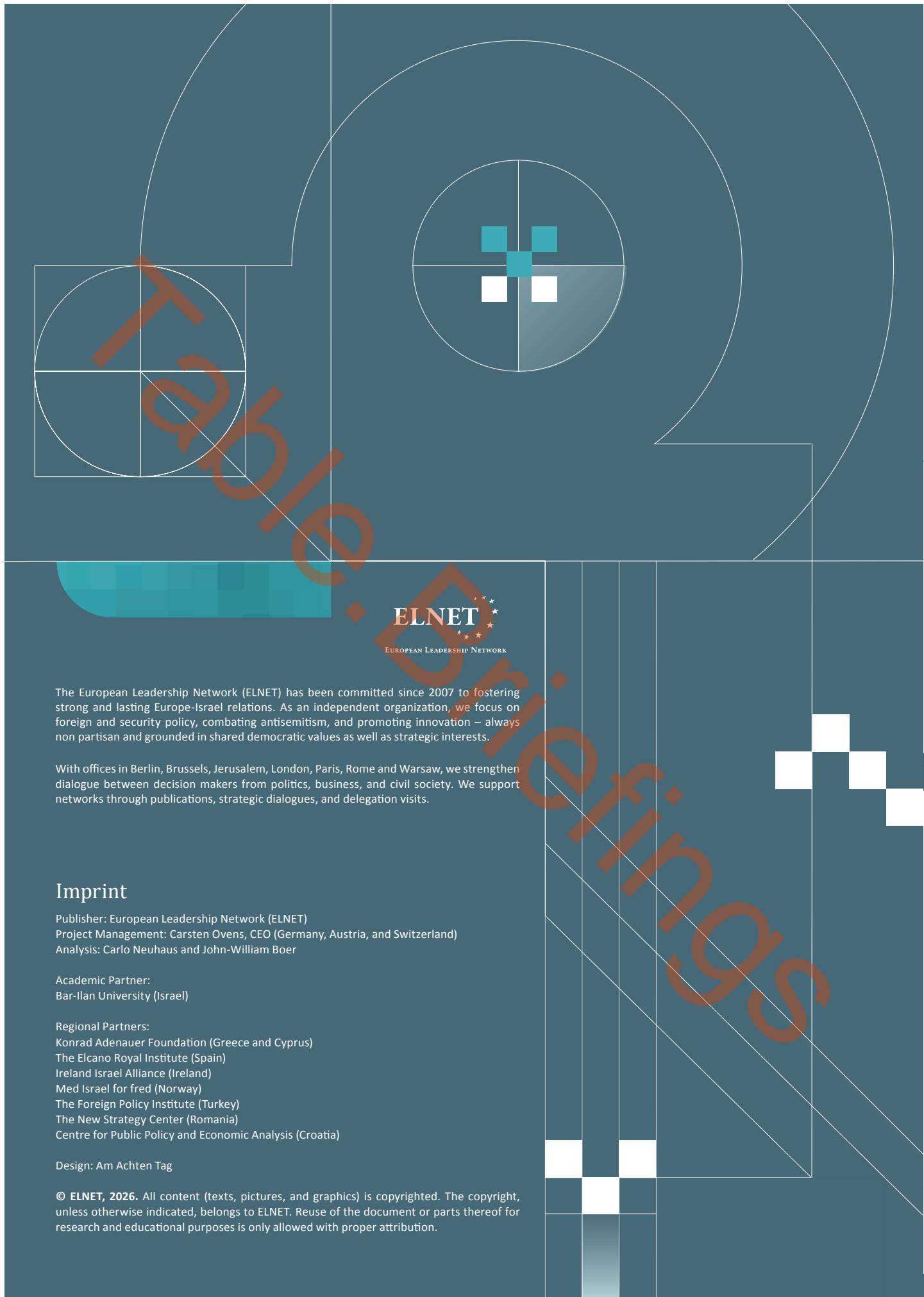


- Across both years, over 80 percent of MPs support increasing efforts to counter antisemitism. The share calling for decisively stronger action grew from 54 percent in 2024 to 66 percent in 2025, shifting the overall stance from general support to clear urgency, while support for maintaining the status quo remained at around 10 percent and calls to reduce efforts stayed at around 3 percent.

- 60 to 70 percent of Conservatives and Liberals call for stronger measures, compared to 40 to 55 percent among Social Democrats and Greens, while leftwing parties still show majority support but with only 15 to 25 percent calling for decisive action. Regionally, Northern and Western Europe show the strongest support for more efforts against rising antisemitism.

For more information on Israel-related antisemitism, as mentioned in the IHRA definition of antisemitism, please scan this QR-Code:





The European Leadership Network (ELNET) has been committed since 2007 to fostering strong and lasting Europe-Israel relations. As an independent organization, we focus on foreign and security policy, combating antisemitism, and promoting innovation – always non partisan and grounded in shared democratic values as well as strategic interests.

With offices in Berlin, Brussels, Jerusalem, London, Paris, Rome and Warsaw, we strengthen dialogue between decision makers from politics, business, and civil society. We support networks through publications, strategic dialogues, and delegation visits.

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