Wake-up call for Europe!
Content

Introduction .................................................................................................................................................................................................... 2
Methodology: Multi-Country CATI Survey ................................................................................................................................................ 4

The Country Spotlights
Germany .......................................................................................................................................................................................................... 6
France .............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 8
Latvia ............................................................................................................................................................................................................. 10
Poland ........................................................................................................................................................................................................... 12
Russia ........................................................................................................................................................................................................ 14
Serbia ........................................................................................................................................................................................................... 16
Ukraine ......................................................................................................................................................................................................... 18

General Information ................................................................................................................................................................................. 20
Introduction

In the context of dramatic challenges for the European Security Architecture, new emerging cold and hot conflicts, an annexation, and intensifying cyber attacks, the *Security Radar 2019 – Wake-up call for Europe* analysis aims to shed light on two main factors, which have a substantial impact on political decision makers: public opinion in general, and expert perspectives in particular, regarding the security and foreign policy situation in Europe.

The aim of the analysis is to provide in-depth information on a topic that is relevant for both politicians and society as a whole. In the 30 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the seemingly solid and peaceful road towards European unity, new divisions have opened up within Europe, and even within the European Union.

According to some experts, even though there are far fewer conventional and nuclear weapons on its territory, Europe appears to be in a worse situation today than it was during the Cold War. The experts suggest that the rules and common understanding that once guided the world through dangerous moments are becoming more and more irrelevant. A military conflict cannot be excluded with the certainty that we had a quarter of a century ago.

The representative public opinion poll, held in seven European countries, was developed by the FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe and conducted by Ipsos Berlin. It systematically analyses and investigates the attitudes and values related to the current security and foreign policy situation in Europe, five years after the eruption of the crisis in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea by Russia.

Seven countries were chosen to participate in this public opinion poll. They are France and Germany, two founding members of the organisation now known as the European Union; Latvia and Poland, which joined the EU in 2004; Serbia, which has had full candidate status for EU membership since 2013; Ukraine, which signed an Association Agreement with the EU in 2014 and a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) with the EU in 2016; and lastly, Russia.
The choice of the seven countries detailed above for participation in the poll was based on their importance for European security: France and Germany are, for the moment, the two remaining major countries of the EU, whose support is necessary for any possible initiatives; Poland is the most powerful Central Eastern European EU member state; Latvia is a member of the historically volatile Baltic region and a former Soviet republic; Serbia is a very important country in Southeast Europe, with ties to the EU but with cultural affinity to Russia; Ukraine is the largest country of the Eastern Partnership programme and is currently trying to defend itself against separatists backed by Russia in Donbass. Last but not least, the poll includes Russia, because without Russia any talk of security in Europe is pointless.

In each of these seven countries the survey measured the values and attitudes in five dimensions:

- Perception of the current threat situation
- Trust and attitudes towards institutions
- Attitudes towards foreign and security policy
- Attitudes towards national identity
- Prospects for the development of security policy in Europe

In addition to the poll, active political consulting experts from the above-mentioned countries were involved in group discussions, intended to determine the typical mindset of the local expert community: to reveal how experts evaluated the current situation and what actions they recommended accordingly. In each country a small group of approximately five experts participated in an active and open discussion.

The criteria for including the experts were (a) proven expertise and knowledge, as acknowledged within the country-specific expert discourse and (b) established influence on the political discourse within the country.
Methodology: Multi-Country CATI Survey

Countries: Germany, France, Latvia, Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Serbia

Mode: Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI)

Sampling: Random sampling, representative of the population of the country

Target group: Resident population aged 18+ that lives in a private household and can be reached by landline and/or mobile phone

Interviews: n=1,000 interviews in each country, 7,000 in total

Weighting: The sample structure of the reported results is adjusted to the official statistics (weighting based on age, gender and region)

Fieldwork: August – October 2018

Notes:
- All percentages quoted in this report represent combined shares of answers “agree” and “somewhat agree”.
- The question on the influence of international organisations was asked about each of the organisations separately in the following form: “In your opinion, which of the following institutions should play a bigger role in the future?”
- GDP data: IMF World Economic Outlook 2018
## Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polity</td>
<td>Parliamentary federal republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>82.7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>$ 4 029.1 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active armed forces</td>
<td>179,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending</td>
<td>$ 41 734 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending % GDP</td>
<td>1.14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Concerns

- **37%**
  - If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.

- **24%**
  - In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

- **50%**
  - The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

- **33%**
  - Russia is a threat to security in Europe.
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

Ukraine should become a member of the EU. Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

- Ukraine should become a member of the EU: 81%
- Ukraine should become a member of NATO: 79%
- Germany should not increase its military spending: 70%
- These organisations should play a bigger role in the future: 54%
France

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polity</th>
<th>Semi-presidential republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>67.1 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>$2,794.7 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active armed forces</td>
<td>203,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending</td>
<td>$48,640 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending % GDP</td>
<td>1.89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerns

- **44%**
  - If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.

- **32%**
  - In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

- **44%**
  - The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

- **40%**
  - Russia is a threat to security in Europe.
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

Ukraine should become a member of the EU.

Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

To ward off dangers to France it is permitted to carry out military actions in other countries.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

- UN: 68%
- EU: 64%
- OSCE: 45%
- NATO: 45%

55%
Latvia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polity</th>
<th>Parliamentary republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>1.9 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>$ 34.3 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active armed forces</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending</td>
<td>$ 507 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending % GDP</td>
<td>1.68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerns

- **61%**
  If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.

- **49%**
  In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

- **47%**
  The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

- **50%**
  Russia is a threat to security in Europe.
Relations between Russia and many European states are currently influenced by a lack of cooperation.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

- UN: 79%
- EU: 77%
- OSCE: 77%
- NATO: 67%

My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

Ukraine should become a member of the EU.

Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

84%
Poland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polity</th>
<th>Semi-presidential republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>38 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>$549.5 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active armed forces</td>
<td>105,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending</td>
<td>$9,837 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending % GDP</td>
<td>1.93%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerns

- **64%**
  If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.

- **57%**
  In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

- **34%**
  The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

- **77%**
  Russia is a threat to security in Europe.
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

Ukraine should become a member of the EU.

Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

Russia constitutes the greatest threat to Poland.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

- UN: 81%
- EU: 68%
- OSCE: 74%
- NATO: 78%

79%
In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely. Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.
Influential states should take a leadership role in international politics.

My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

- Ukraine should become a member of the EU: 20%
- Ukraine should become a member of NATO: 7%
- UN: 79%
- EU: 68%
- OSCE: 75%
- NATO: 40%

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.
Serbia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polity</th>
<th>Parliamentary republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>7 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>$47.7 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active armed forces</td>
<td>28,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending</td>
<td>$523 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending %GDP</td>
<td>1.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerns

- **74%**
  - If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.

- **49%**
  - In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

- **71%**
  - The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

- **23%**
  - Russia is a threat to security in Europe.
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

Ukraine should become a member of the EU.
Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

Serbia should increase its military spending.
If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.

The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

Concerns

83%
In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

59%

27%

68%

Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Polity</th>
<th>Semi-presidential republic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>44.8 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>$ 126.4 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active armed forces</td>
<td>204,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending</td>
<td>$ 2,734 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defence spending % GDP</td>
<td>2.63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The conflict in and around Ukraine is a domestic matter and should be left to Ukraine.

My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

Ukraine should become a member of the EU. Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

- UN: 76%
- EU: 71%
- OSCE: 61%
- NATO: 67%

The conflict in and around Ukraine is a domestic matter and should be left to Ukraine.
General Information

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