

The background features a stylized map of Europe in white and yellow outlines on a red field. Several yellow and white stars are scattered across the map. A white horizontal band with a red and white striped radar pattern is positioned across the middle of the image.

# 2019 security radar.

# *Wake-up call for Europe!*

**FRIEDRICH  
EBERT**   
**STIFTUNG**

**FES Regionalbüro für  
Zusammenarbeit und  
Frieden in Europa**

FES Regional Office for  
Cooperation and Peace  
in Europe



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# 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.

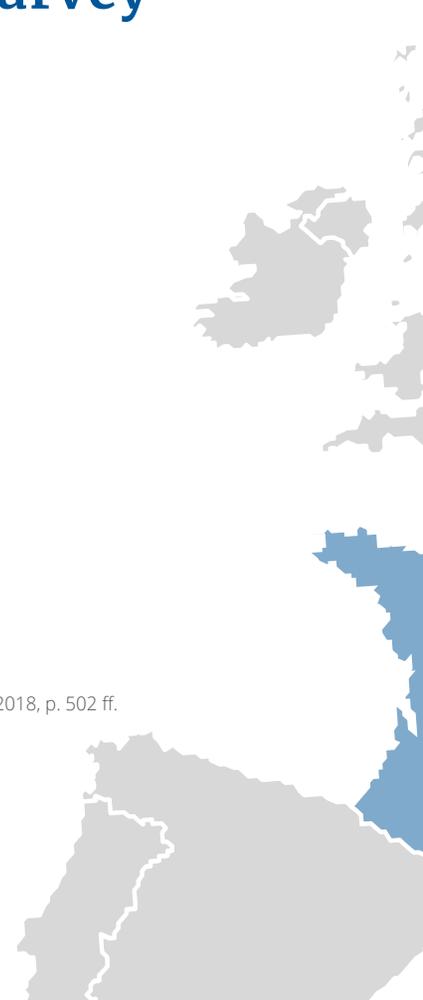
**FES ROCPE**  
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www.security-radar.eu

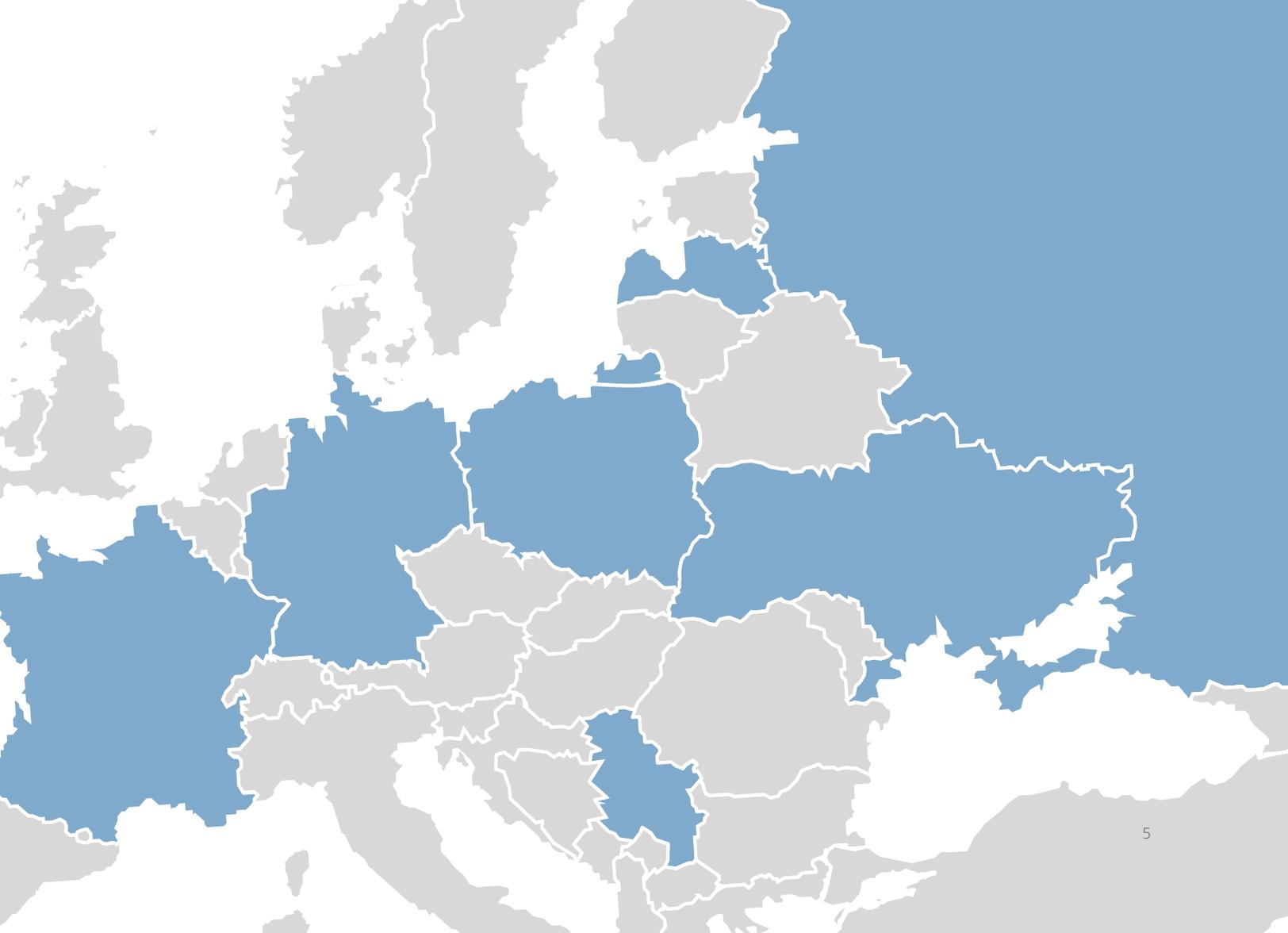
# Methodology: Multi-Country CATI Survey

- 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?”
- Military expenditures data: International Institute for Strategic Studies: The Military Balance 2018. London: Routledge 2018, p. 502 ff.
- GDP data: IMF World Economic Outlook 2018





## Germany

Polity	Parliamentary federal republic
Population	82.7 million
GDP	\$ 4 029.1 billion
Active armed forces	179,000
Defence spending	\$ 41 734 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.14%



### Concerns

**37%**

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

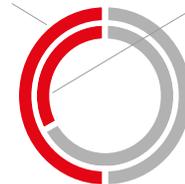


**24%**

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.



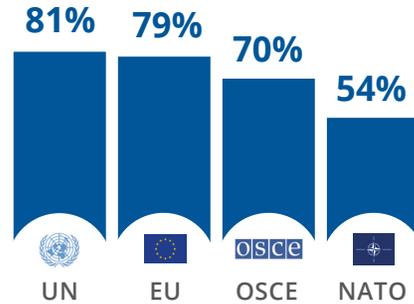
**33%** 

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

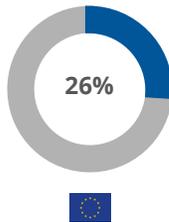
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



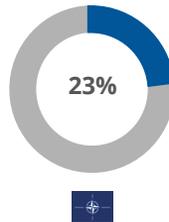
These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.



Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

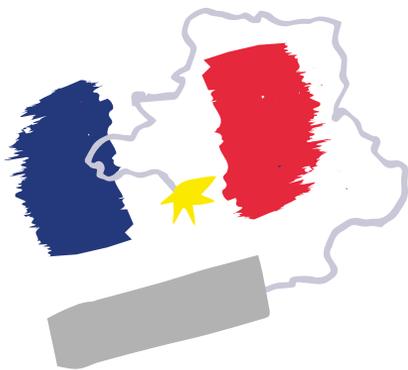


Germany should not increase its military spending.



# France

Polity	Semi-presidential republic
Population	67.1 million
GDP	\$ 2 794.7 billion
Active armed forces	203,000
Defence spending	\$ 48 640 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.89%



## Concerns

**44%**

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

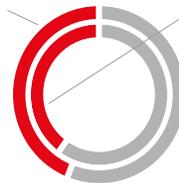


**32%**

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.



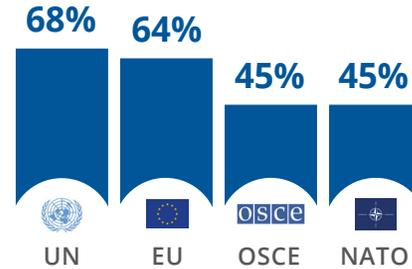
**40%** 

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

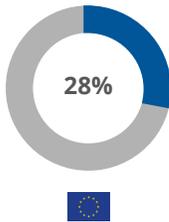
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



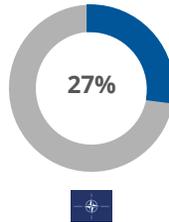
These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.



Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

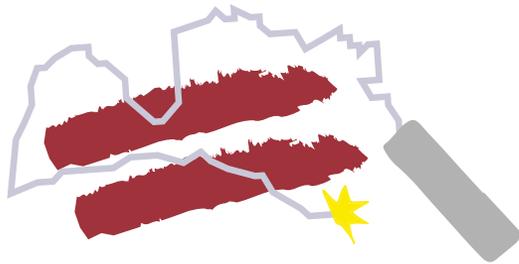


To ward off dangers to France it is permitted to carry out military actions in other countries.



# Latvia

Polity	Parliamentary republic
Population	1.9 million
GDP	\$ 34.3 billion
Active armed forces	5,000
Defence spending	\$ 507 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.68%



## 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%**

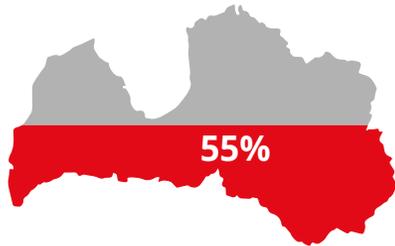
The USA is a threat to security in Europe.



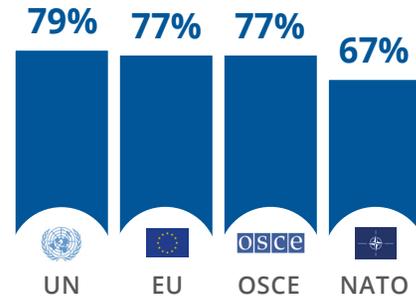
**50%** 

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

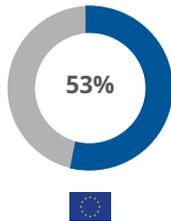
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



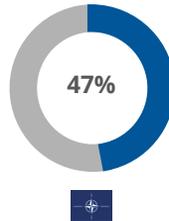
These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.



Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.



Relations between Russia and many European states are currently influenced by a lack of cooperation.



# Poland

Polity	Semi-presidential republic
Population	38 million
GDP	\$ 549.5 billion
Active armed forces	105,000
Defence spending	\$ 9 837 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.93%



## 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.



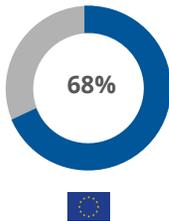
**77%** 

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

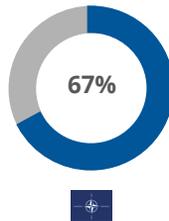
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



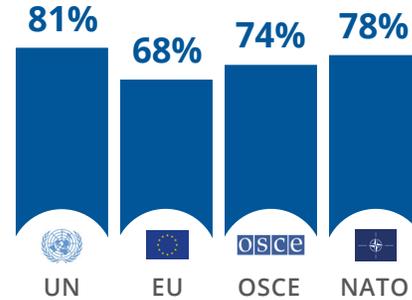
Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.



These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.

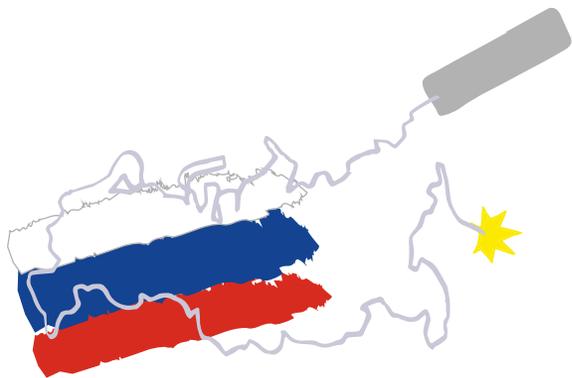


Russia constitutes the greatest threat to Poland.



## Russia

Polity	Federal semi-presidential republic
Population	144.5 million
GDP	\$ 1 576.5 billion
Active armed forces	900,000
Defence spending	\$ 45 600 million
Defence spending % GDP	3.1%



### Concerns

**81%**

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



**59%**

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

 **78%**

The USA is a threat to security in Europe.



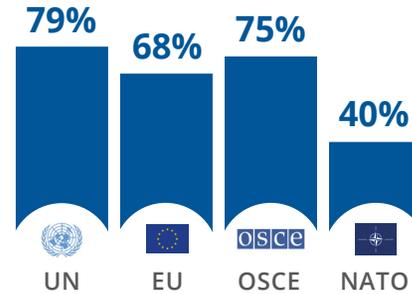
**12%** 

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

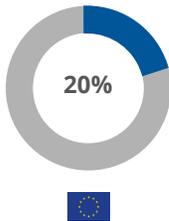
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



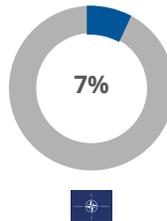
These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.



Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

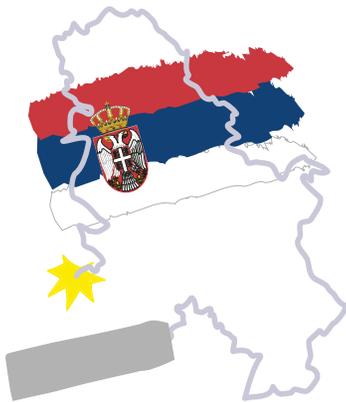


Influential states should take a leadership role in international politics.



## Serbia

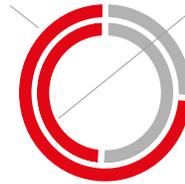
Polity	Parliamentary republic
Population	7 million
GDP	\$ 47.7 billion
Active armed forces	28,000
Defence spending	\$ 523 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.33%



### 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.



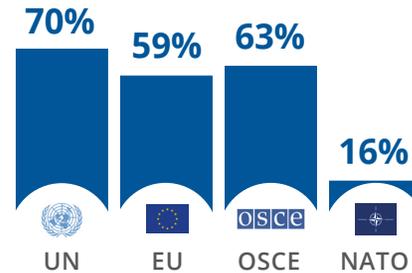
**23%** 

Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

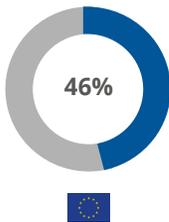
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



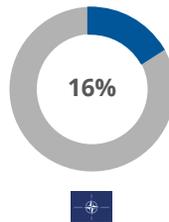
These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.



Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.



Serbia should increase its military spending.



# Ukraine

Polity	Semi-presidential republic
Population	44.8 million
GDP	\$ 126.4 billion
Active armed forces	204,000
Defence spending	\$ 2 734 million
Defence spending % GDP	2.63%



## Concerns

**83%**  
 If I think of the various developments in my country and in the world, I am concerned about my personal future.



**59%**  
 In view of increasing tensions between Russia and the West, I think new wars in Europe are likely.

 **27%**  
 The USA is a threat to security in Europe.

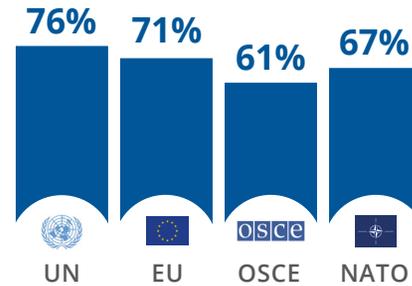


**68%**   
 Russia is a threat to security in Europe.

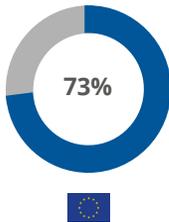
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



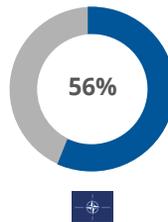
These organisations should play a bigger role in the future.



Ukraine should become a member of the EU.



Ukraine should become a member of NATO.



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



# General Information

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