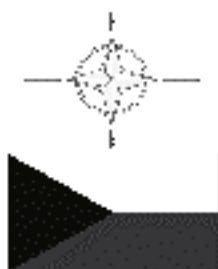


THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION AND SECURITY OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

Czech perceptions
toward security,
defense and NATO



Gabal, A&C



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created to deepen understanding,
promote collaboration and stimulate
exchanges of practical experience
between Americans and Europeans.

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BASIC PROBLEM:

Does the Czech society identify with NATO and its membership commitments?

- Decision on, preparations for, and entry into NATO were conducted without sufficient popular input
- Throughout the whole process, the public remained passive
- NATO operation in Kosovo:
 - a difficult test of the new security orientation of CR
 - a break-up of consensus
 - an important segment of the public opposed the operation

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HAVE THE CZECHS REMAINED OUTSIDE OF NATO



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PROJECT GOALS:

- ⇒ Gain better understanding of Czech views
- ⇒ Provide more information to our NATO allies and address concerns about Czech views on defense
- ⇒ Assess the experience of a new NATO member

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APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

findings based on a survey of public opinion

- ⇒ 1001 respondents older than 18
- ⇒ Fully representative random sample
- ⇒ Survey conducted in november-december 2000
- ⇒ Data collection by Median Ltd.

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PRINCIPAL THEMES

- ⇒ Security of the Czech Republic
- ⇒ Czech military after entry into NATO
- ⇒ CR in NATO:
 - What does membership mean to Czechs?
 - How should Czechs act as a NATO member?
- ⇒ Did Czechs pass the test in the Kosovo operation?
- ⇒ Would the allies assist CR in a crisis?
- ⇒ Further NATO enlargement

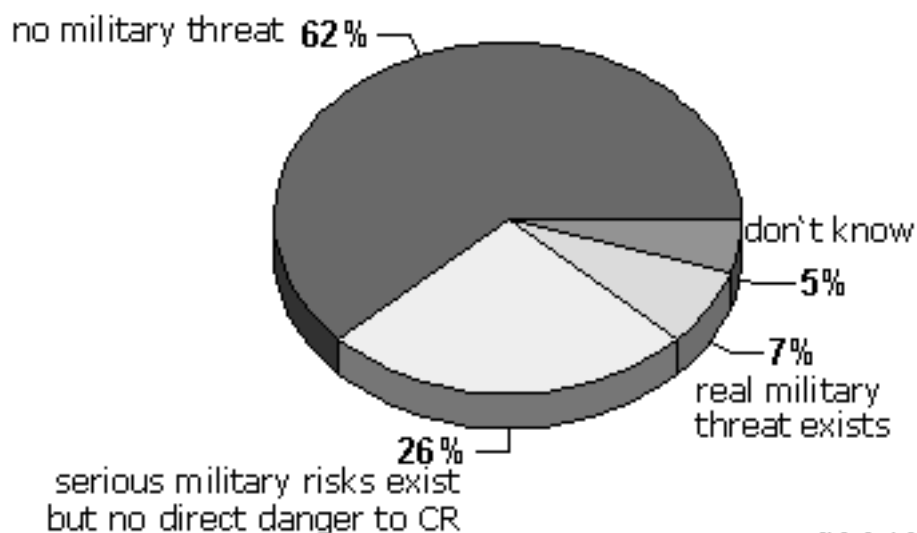
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SECURITY OF CR

- ⇒ Majority of the population feels secure (88%)
- ⇒ Perception of security has grown since the fall of communism
- ⇒ NATO entry has increased the perception of complete security

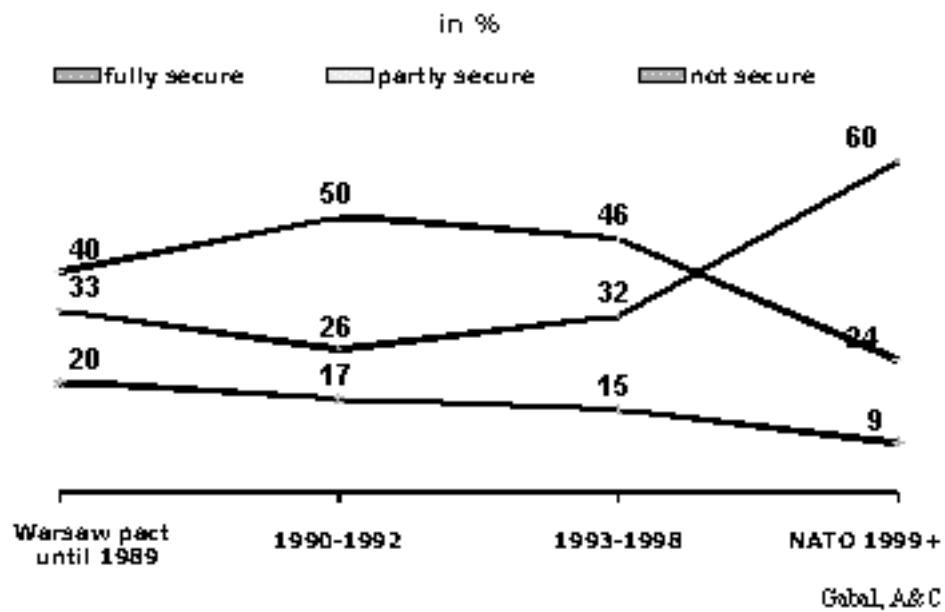
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DOES THE CR FACE ANY EXTERNAL MILITARY THREAT?

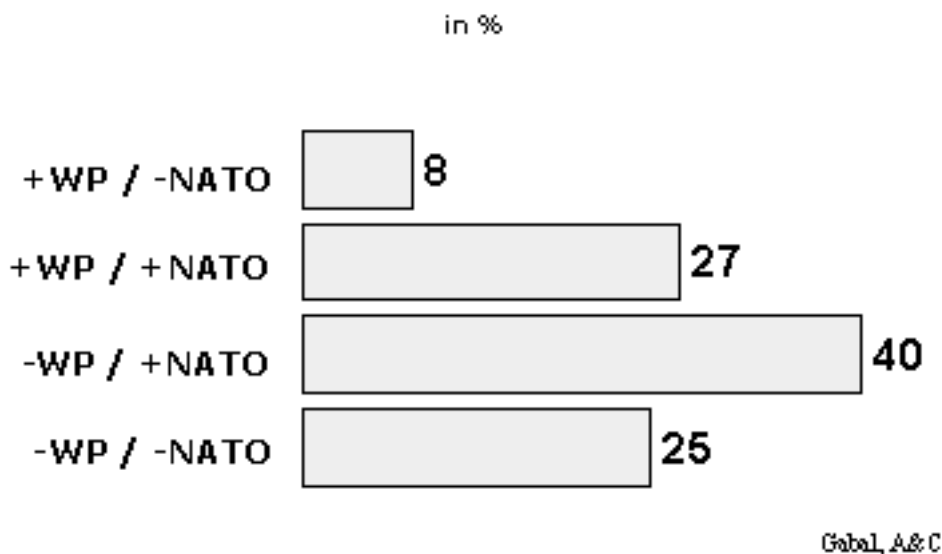


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PERCEPTION OF SECURITY OF CR

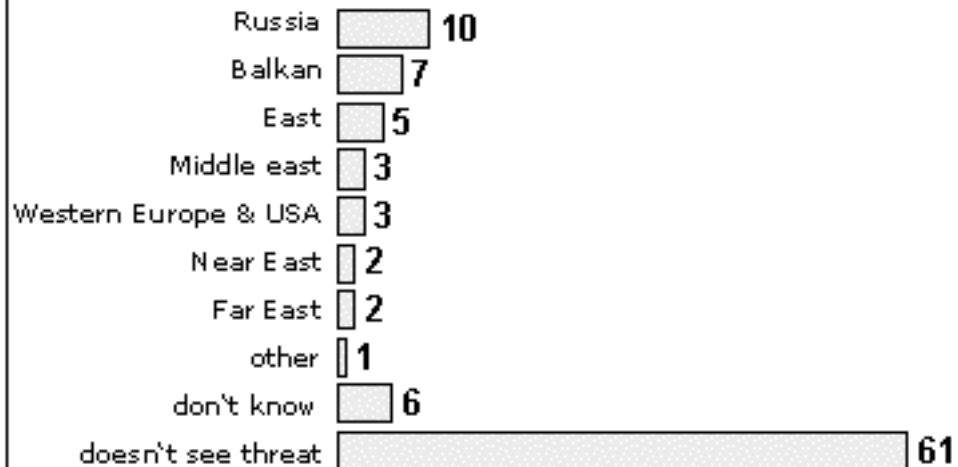


PERCEPTION OF SECURITY UNDER WARSAW PACT AND NATO



PERCEPTION OF ORIGIN OF POTENTIAL THREAT

unprompted answers, in %



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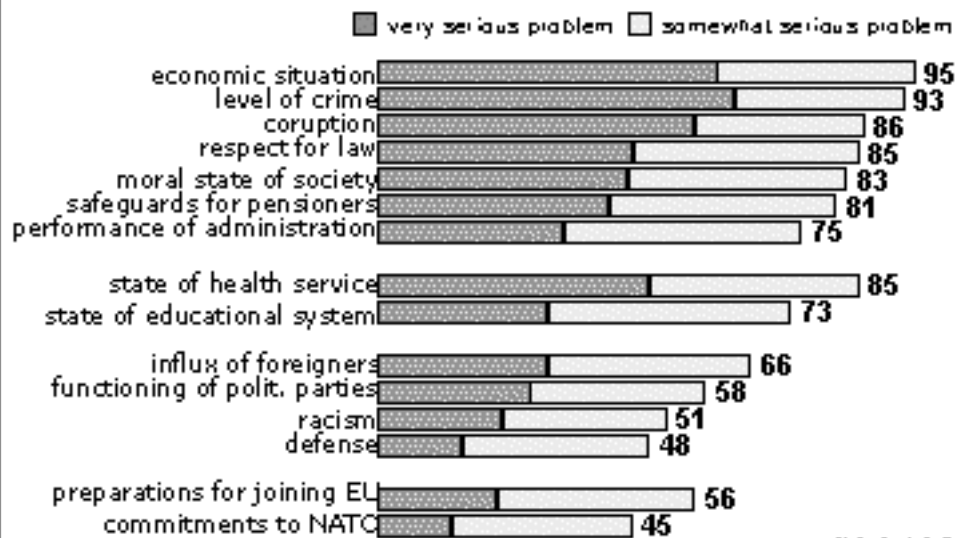
DEFENSE AND NATO ARE NOT PRIORITIES

- ⇒ Priorities: economic situation, poor governance, and problems in functioning of the state
- ⇒ Influx of foreigners is seen as a more serious external threat than Russia
- ⇒ Czech commitments to NATO: geopolitical inclusion into the Atlantic community (EU), not defense

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HOW SERIOUS IS THE PROBLEM?

in %



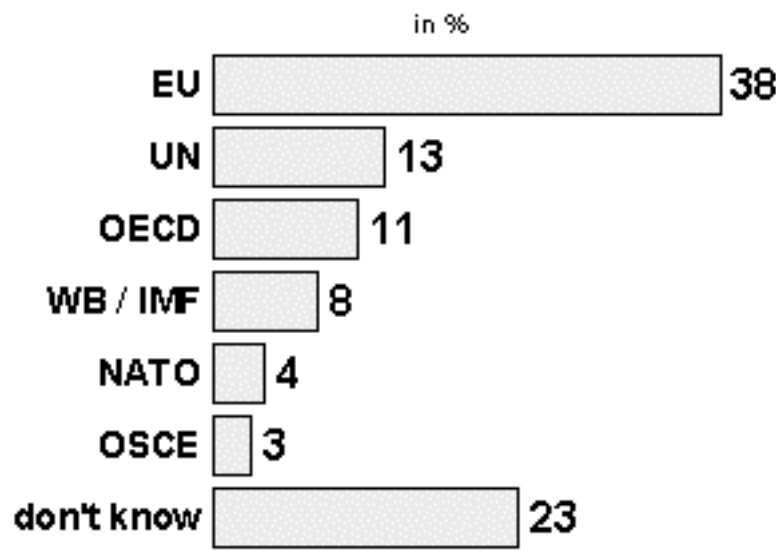
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WHICH INSTITUTION CAN HELP CR DEVELOP FAVORABLY?



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ENSURING CZECH SECURITY AGAINST AGGRESSION

domestic defense capacities

→ Belief in institutions is divided along 3 categories

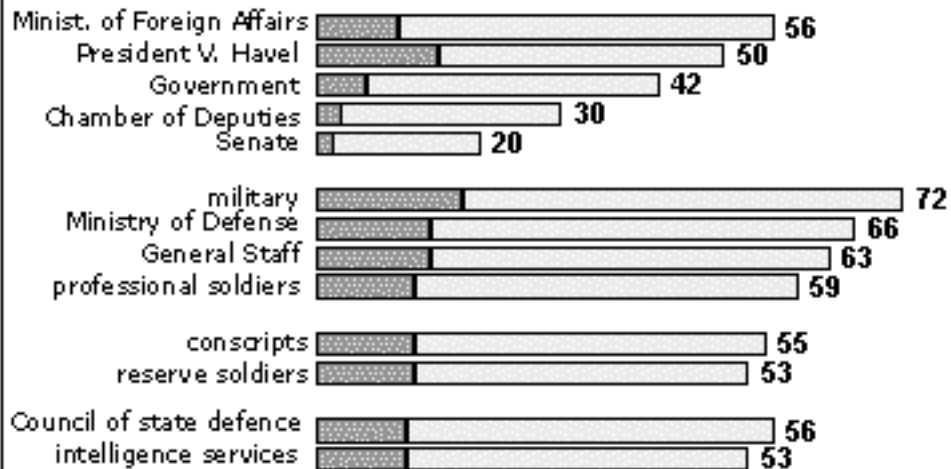
1. constitutional bodies
2. leadership of the armed forces
3. soldiers

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BELIEF IN INSTITUTIONS IN CASE OF MILITARY AGGRESSION

in %

I definitely trust I somewhat trust



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ARE CZECHS WILLING TO DEFEND THEMSELVES?

⇒ Historical experience in defending the state:
two defeats followed by occupation

Germany (1938)

„we should have attempted to defend ourselves“ (30:34:29)

Warsaw Pact (1968)

„defense, if attempted, would have been useless“ (24:27:42)

⇒ It is an important experience in our history:

„It is necessary to remember the occupations“ (71%)

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WILLINGNESS TO DEFEND THE STATE IN CASE OF MILITARY AGGRESSION

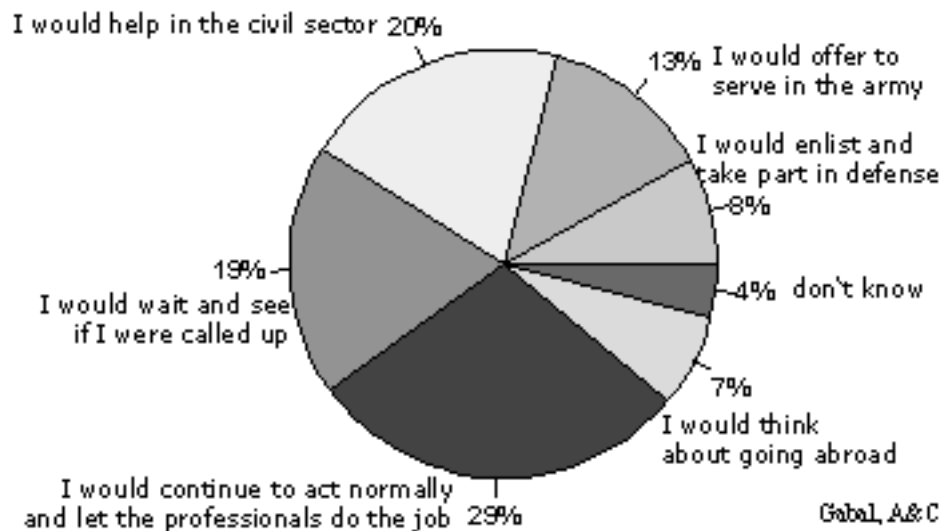
⇒ Majority of Czechs would rely on the armed forces

⇒ Willingness to personally take part in defense of the country is not marginal

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WHAT WOULD YOU DO IN CASE OF A MILITARY AGGRESSION AGAINST CR?

males only



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DETERMINANTS OF WILLINGNESS TO TAKE PART IN DEFENSE

- ⇒ Males
- ⇒ Strong historical awareness
- ⇒ Trust in capabilities of military and defense institutions under crisis conditions
- ⇒ Conviction that the country is evolving in the right direction
- ⇒ Perception of security as part of NATO

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ARMED FORCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC

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EVALUATING CONTEMPORARY CR ARMED FORCES

- ⇒ The military has certain shortcomings but functions adequately, given the constraints (66%)
- ⇒ The military does not function well, leadership falls short of professional standards (24%)
- ⇒ The military works well, is led by competent professionals (4%)

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MAJOR PROBLEMS FACING THE MILITARY

- ⇒ obsolete equipment (28%)
- ⇒ mishandling of funds (23%)
- ⇒ obsolete infrastructure (16%)
- ⇒ old-thinking officer corps (13%)
- ⇒ poor training (11%)

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DILEMMA AFTER ENTERING NATO:

What kind of a military does CR need?

→ Primarily for home defense (34%)

- based on mandatory service (33%)
- lower quality, lower cost (34%)

→ Designed for collective defense within NATO framework (59%)

- fully professional (62%)
- higher quality (up to NATO standards), higher cost (53%)

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CR DEFENSE BUDGET

=

NATO

+

COLLECTIVE DEFENSE

+

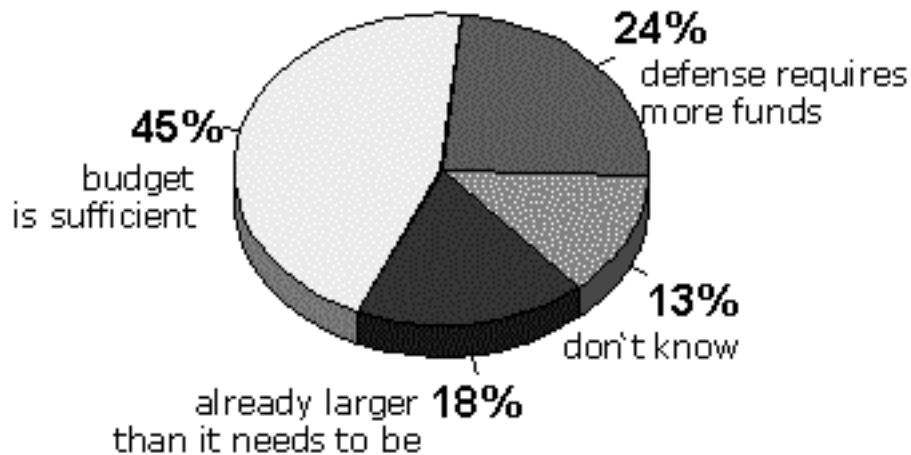
PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCE

+

GOOD MANAGEMENT

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**WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT
THE DEFENSE BUDGET (CZK 44 BN IN 2000)?**



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**ENTRY INTO NATO
AND BEHAVIOR AS A MEMBER**

⇒ Approval for NATO entry has grown

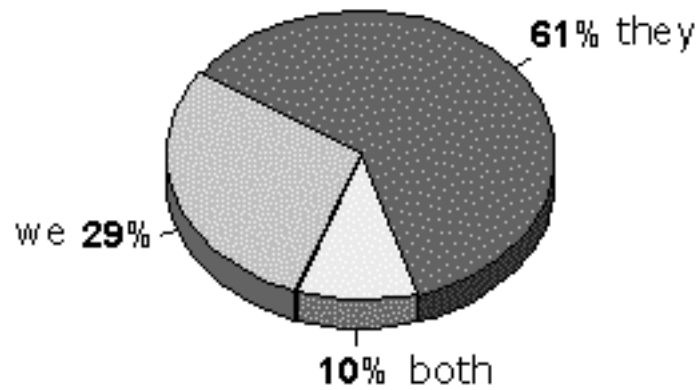
- level of approval has risen up to 70%
- disapproval decreased to 24%

⇒ Approval of entry into NATO is not a problem in CR

⇒ the problem is self-identification as a NATO member

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**WHEN SPEAKING ABOUT NATO,
DO YOU USE „WE“ OR „THEY“?**



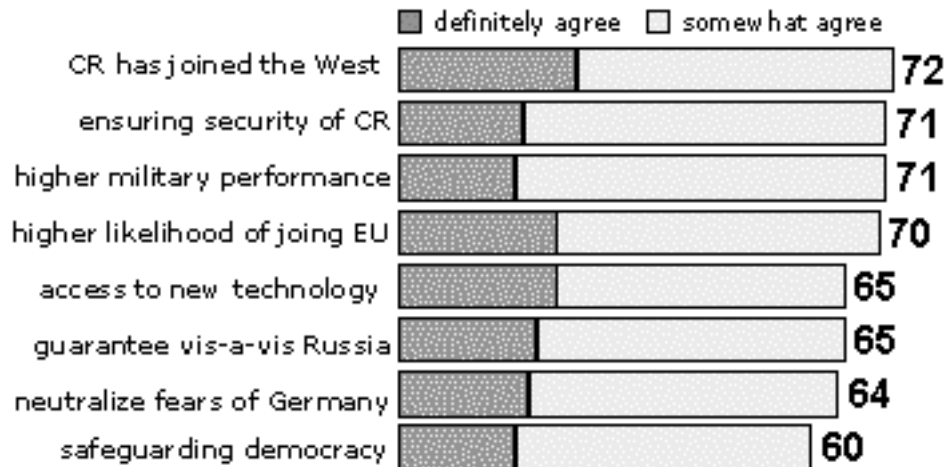
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**THERE IS A WIDESPREAD
UNDERSTANDING OF THE BENEFITS
THAT STEM
FROM NATO MEMBERSHIP**

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POSITIVE ASPECTS OF NATO MEMBERSHIP

in %



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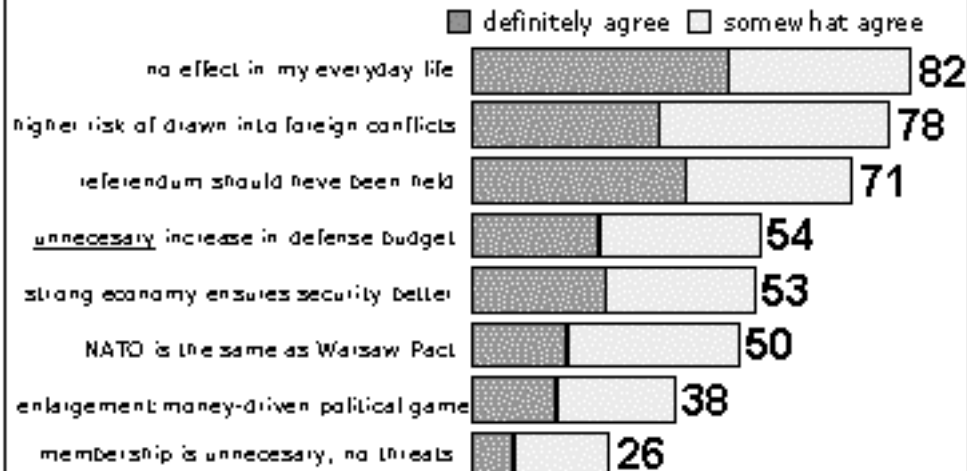
THERE IS ALSO A CONSENSUS REGARDING THE PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF MEMBERSHIP

Perception that individuals have a low level of influence in affecting important security issues (a shortage of democracy in the security realm)

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PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF NATO MEMBERSHIP

in %



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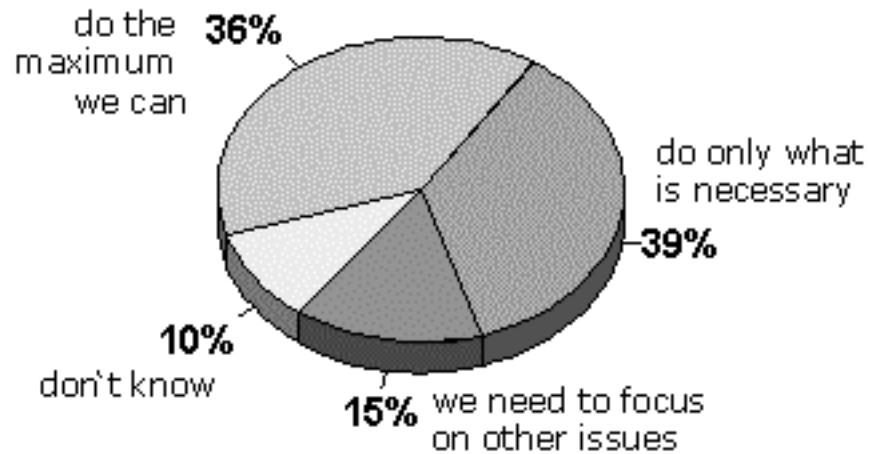
Different level of identification with NATO

signifies

different level of willingness toward participation in NATO collective operations

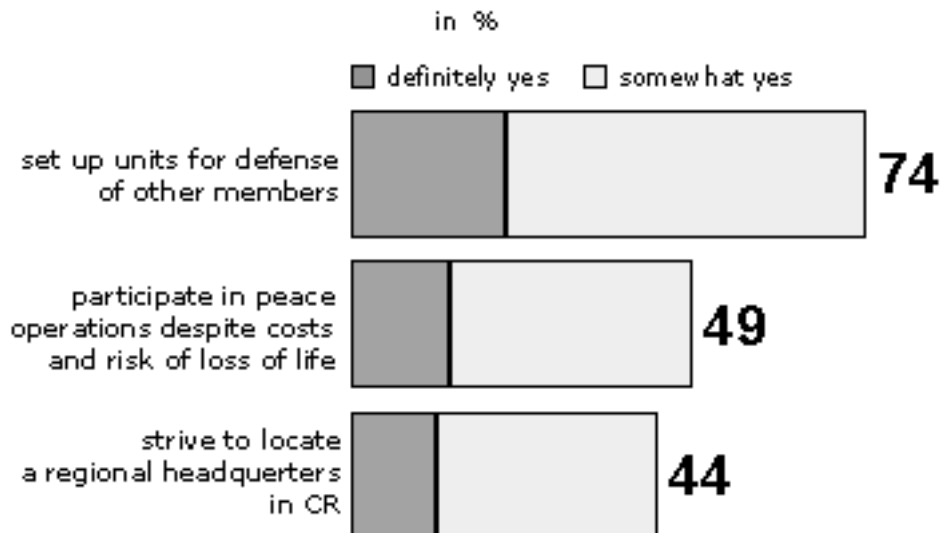
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HOW ACTIVE SHOULD THE CZECHS BE AS NATO MEMBERS?



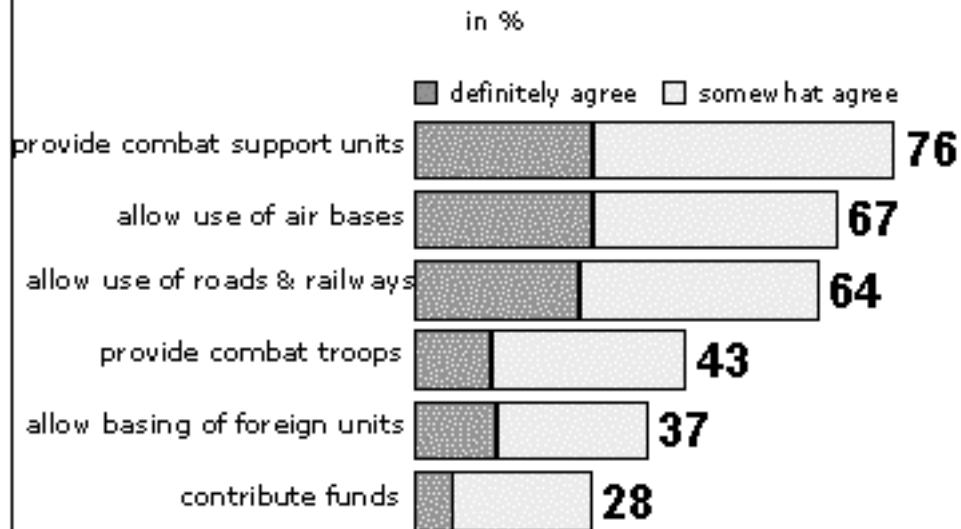
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WHAT ACTIONS SHOULD CR UNDERTAKE AS A NATO MEMBER?



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HOW SHOULD WE PARTICIPATE IN NATO OPERATIONS?

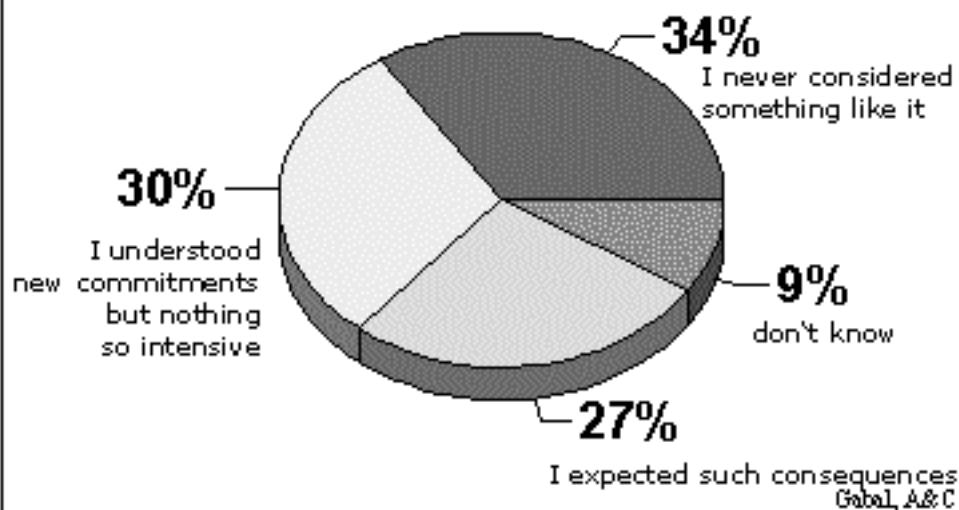


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Low level of self-identification
with NATO
leads to low level of acceptance
of responsibility for collective actions

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DID YOU EXPECT SUCH CONSEQUENCES AS THE BOMBING OF YUGOSLAVIA?



NATO: NEW OR OLD?

→ There is still a controversy about NATO's mission:

„NATO should guarantee international security“ (80%)

The issue is how to carry out this mission:

- engage in “out of area operations” (62%)
- concentrate only on European security (53%)
- concentrate only on security of member states (62%)

For those who agree with “out of area operations,” NATO has transformed sufficiently. (33%)

Those opposed believe that NATO has transformed only partially and continues its old patterns. (39%)

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CR AND ITS NEW ALLIES

Who deserves credit
for CR joining NATO?

⇒ Entry into NATO is seen more due to allies' efforts rather than the efforts of candidate countries

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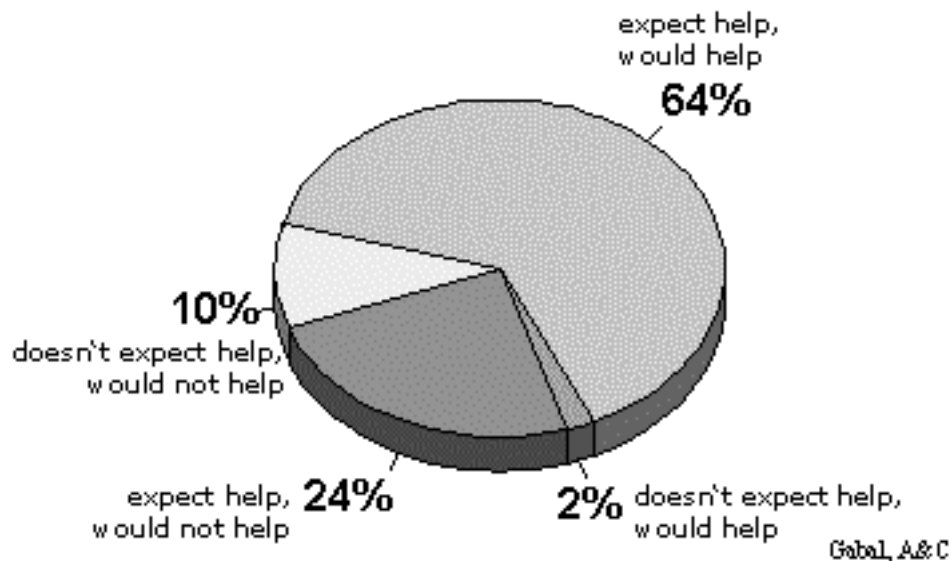
CZECHS DO NOT SEE THEMSELVES AS "FREE RIDERS"

⇒ Dominant belief that allies will come to assist in case of crisis (83%)

⇒ Czech willingness to help other allies is related to that belief, though it is lower (60%)

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**DO YOU EXPECT ALLIES TO HELP IN CASE OF A CRISIS?
ARE YOU WILLING TO ASSIST OTHER ALLIES?**

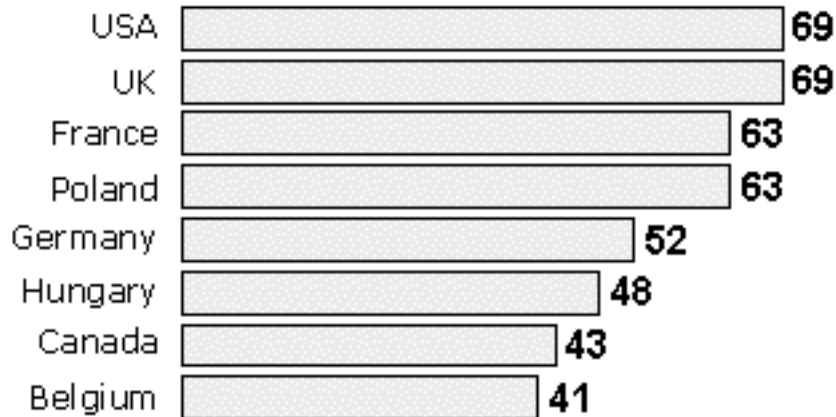


Willingness to help
and expectation of help
are strongest among supporters
of an active Czech role in NATO
and a proactive NATO role
in "out of area operations"

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WHICH ALLIES DO CZECHS RELY ON THE MOST?

in %



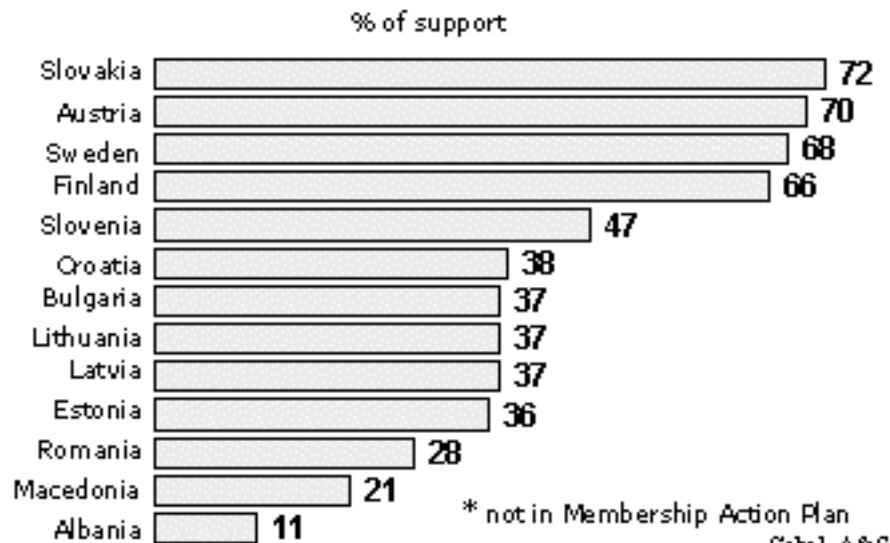
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FURTHER ENLARGEMENT OF NATO

- ⇒ Majority supports (64%),
of those only 16% strongly support
- ⇒ 21% is against
- ⇒ 15% is undecided
- ⇒ Significant differences
in evaluation of specific candidate countries

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WHICH COUNTRIES ARE GOOD CANDIDATES TO JOIN NATO?



CONCLUSIONS

- Czechs value and support the security that NATO membership means
- 2/3 recognize that effective membership entails a well-performing Czech military that is fully integrated into NATO
 - the public understands the military's shortcomings and is ready to support fundamental military reform
 - 1/5 of males feels personal responsibility for defending the country
- Strong support for NATO membership, though meaning of membership is not yet fully internalized
 - Consequently, low level of acceptance of responsibility for collective actions
- 80% feels that public impact in the security decisionmaking process has been insufficient
- Widespread trust in all aspects of Article 5 guarantees and commitments
- 64% supports further NATO enlargement

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