Involvement or Restraint?

A representative survey on German attitudes to foreign policy commissioned by Körber Foundation

German Foreign Policy: Challenges, Partners and Priorities

How strongly are you interested in German foreign policy?

- Very strongly: 22% | 2018: 16% | 2017: 22%
- Strongly: 45% | 2018: 43% | 2017: 28%
- Less strongly: 26% | 2018: 30% | 2017: 24%
- Not at all: 28% | 2018: 19% | 2017: 30%

2018: no answer 1%

International responsibility: Should Germany become more strongly involved in international crises?

- Restraint: 55% | 2018: 52%
- Become more strongly involved: 41% | 2018: 43%

2018: don’t know 3%, no answer provided 1% | 2017: don’t know 3%, no answer provided 2%

What are the greatest challenges currently facing German foreign policy?

- Relations with the US/Trump: 28% | 2018: 19%
- Refugees and migration policy: 30% | 2018: 26%
- Relations with Turkey/Erdogan: 26% | 2018: 13%
- Relations with Russia/Putin: 10% | 2018: 8%
- Syria: 14% | 2018: 6%
- Cohesion in Europe/the EU: 5% | 2018: 4%

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German respondents:
Which country is Germany’s most or second most important partner?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

US respondents:
Which country is currently America’s most or second most important partner?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

German respondents:
Should Germany cooperate less or more with each of these countries in the future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cooperate less</th>
<th>Cooperate more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

US respondents:
Should the United States cooperate less or more with each of these countries in the future?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Cooperate less</th>
<th>Cooperate more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is your opinion of NATO?

- very positive: 30%
- somewhat positive: 34%
- somewhat negative: 14%
- very negative: 9%
- don’t know/no answer provided: 14%

German respondents:
Should Germany increase its defence spending?

- Increase spending: 43%
- Lower spending: 14%
- Maintain spending at the current level: 40%

US respondents:
Should Europe increase its defence spending?

- Increase spending: 39%
- Lower spending: 11%
- Maintain spending at the current level: 46%
The Value of Europe

The EU is often credited with the following achievements. Which is the most important to you?

- Preserving peace between the countries in Europe: 47%
- Securing values such as freedom of expression, the rule of law and democracy: 35%
- Increasing prosperity through the single market: 8%
- Personal benefits such as freedom of travel: 7%

Is the EU on the right track?

- 2017: Yes 59%, No 36%
- 2018: Yes 71%, No 24%

The elections to the European Parliament will take place in May 2019. Do you think that Eurosceptic parties will make significant gains at the elections?

- 2017: Yes 22%, No 74%
- 2018: Yes 36%, No 63%

Has cohesion between the EU member states recently…

- Tended to strengthen: 77%
- Tended to weaken: 16%
- Basically remained the same: 5%

Was EU Eastern enlargement in 2004 the right decision?

- Yes 47%
- No 46%

How should the EU shape its future relationship with Britain after Brexit?

- Britain should remain a privileged and special partner of the EU: 31%
- Britain should be treated no differently from any other non-EU member state: 65%

Poland and Hungary are being criticised for violating fundamental EU values such as the rule of law. Should Germany work to ensure that such EU member states are sanctioned, for example, by cutting the financial resources they receive from the EU budget?

- Yes 74%
- No 22%
- Don’t know 1%, No answer provided 1%

The Value of Europe 2018: don’t know 4%, no answer provided 1% | 2017: don’t know 5%
Has Germany done enough or not enough to end the war in Syria?

- 40% Done enough
- 48% Not done enough

Should Germany shape its relationship with Turkey in the future?

- 61% maintain its distance from Turkey
- 33% seek rapprochement with Turkey
- Neither nor 3%, don’t know 2%, no answer provided 1%

What is more important for Germany ...

- 38% having close relations with the US
- 20% spontaneous response: equally close relations with both countries
- 32% having close relations with Russia

Recently, there have been repeated tensions between Germany and Turkey. How should Germany shape its relationship with Turkey in the future?

- Should Germany ...?
  - 78% largely determine its own refugee policy
  - 40% actively coordinate its refugee policy together with its European partners
- don’t know 9%, no answer provided 1%

Transatlantic Relations

How would you rate the current relationship between Germany and the US?

- 63% very good
- 52% somewhat good
- 10% quite good
- 4% rather bad
- 1% very bad

Should US-Germany relations continue to stay as close as they have been in the past or should Germany develop its foreign policy more independently of the US?

- 72% Germany should develop its foreign policy more independently of the US
- 24% Relations should stay as close as they have been

The US has recently raised tariffs on goods from Germany and the EU. In response, Germany and the EU have also increased tariffs on goods from the US.

Do you agree or disagree with Germany and the EU raising tariffs against the US?

- 78% Agree
- 17% Disagree

Results from the US by 2018 | 2017

- US respondents:
  - 58% support
  - 44% oppose
  - 5% don’t know, no answer provided

- German respondents:
  - 78% agree
  - 17% disagree
  - 5% don’t know, no answer provided
The Future of Multilateralism

What is your view of China’s growing influence?

- Positive: 11%
- Negative: 13%
- Neutral: 46%
- 2018: don’t know 1%
- 2017: don’t know 1%, no answer provided 1%

Does free trade tend to provide you with more advantages or disadvantages?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>German respondents:</th>
<th>US respondents:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more disadvantages</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more advantages</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neither nor</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>don’t know, no answer provided 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14%, don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1%, no answer provided</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Results from the US by Pew Research Center

Artificial intelligence is a key future technology. Is Germany doing enough to compete internationally in this area?

- Yes: 22%
- No: 62%
- don’t know 12%, no answer provided 4%

The representative survey was commissioned by Körber Foundation and carried out by KANTAR PUBLIC Germany in September 2018. The results are representative: a representative random sample technique was used for the selection of respondents; 1,002 people were interviewed via phone. You can access all data and results on www.theberlinpulse.org.