Involvement or Restraint?

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

All US results by Pew Research Center

German Foreign Policy: Challenges, Partners and Priorities

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

- Restraint: 49%
- Become more strongly involved: 43%

2019: 5% don't know, 3% no answer
2018: 3% don't know, 1% no answer

What are the greatest challenges currently facing German foreign policy?

- Climate and Environment: 31%
- Refugees and Migration: 26%
- Relations with the US/Trump: 23%
- Conflict in the Middle East: 16%
- Relations with the UK/Brexit: 6%

What is your assessment of the international security situation facing Germany?

- Very safe: 18%
- Somewhat safe: 62%
- Somewhat threatening: 4%
- Very threatening: 14%

2019: 0% don't know, 0% no answer

Would you prefer for German foreign policy to remain anchored in the “West” or should it adopt a neutral foreign policy?

- Remain with the “West”: 55%
- Lean towards other states: 7%
- Adopt neutral foreign policy: 31%

2019: 0% don't know, 0% no answer
German respondents:
Which country is currently Germany’s most or second most important partner?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiple answers possible
2019: a different country 38 %, don't know 13 %, no answer 2 %
2018: a different country 7 %, don’t know/no answer 1 %

US respondents:
Which country is currently the most or second most important partner for the United States?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiple answers possible
2019: a different country 43 %, don’t know/no answer 27 %
2018: a different country 18 %, don’t know/no answer 25 %

Europe

Who bears the main responsibility for the present decline in EU cohesion?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The EU itself</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both the EU and populist governments</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Populist governments in member states</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2019: don’t know 8 %, no answer 2 %

Who has done more for the future of the EU?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angela Merkel</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emmanuel Macron</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2019: don’t know 6 %, no answer 2 %

Should the EU maintain its current mode of foreign policy decisions requiring unanimity, or adopt qualified majority voting?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>2019</th>
<th>2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prefer qualified majority voting</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer unanimity</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2019: don’t know 5 %, no answer 1 %

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>7%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2019: 47% 2018: 41%

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>Britain</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2019: 52% 2018: 58%
Should the EU have been more accommodating during the Brexit negotiations?

- Definitely: 7%
- Probably: 8%
- Probably not: 7%
- Definitely not: 1%

Concerning climate policy, do you see Germany as a forerunner or a laggard in the EU?

- Forerunner: 48%
- Laggard: 36%
- Both: 5%
- Neither: 7%

Transatlantic Relations

What would be the impact on German-US relations if President Trump were re-elected in 2020?

- Very positive: 1%
- Rather positive: 6%
- Rather negative: 4%
- Very negative: 41%

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

- Very good: 13%
- Somewhat good: 32%
- Somewhat bad: 23%
- Very bad: 10%

Should the US nuclear umbrella play a crucial role for German security? Should Germany...

- Continue to rely on the US: 22%
- Seek nuclear protection from France and the UK: 40%
- Develop its own nuclear weapons: 7%
- Forego nuclear protection: 31%

Should Europe increase its defence spending?

German respondents:

- Increase spending: 40%
- Lower spending: 43%
- Maintain spending at the current level: 41%

US respondents:

- Increase spending: 35%
- Lower spending: 9%
- Maintain spending at the current level: 50%
Should Germany strive for greater independence from the United States in defence matters, even if this meant more than doubling defence spending? 52% for, 41% against.

What is more important for Germany ...?
- Having close relations with the US: 39% (2018: 38%)
- Having close relations with Russia: 30% (2018: 20%)
- Spontaneous response: equidistance: 25% (2018: 32%)

What is more important for the United States ...?
- Having close relations with Germany: 61% (2018: 8%)
- Having close relations with Russia: 26% (2018: 28%)
- Spontaneous response: equidistance: 9% (2018: 17%)

Germany and the Asia-Pacific

What is your view of China's growing influence?
- Positive: 46% (2018: 42%)
- Negative: 46% (2018: 42%)
- Neutral: 42% (2018: 46%)
- Very positive: 0% (2018: 9%)
- Very negative: 9% (2018: 0%)
- Rather positive: 3% (2018: 18%)
- Rather negative: 5% (2018: 44%)
- Neither: 2% (2018: 30%)
- Don't know / No answer: 4% (2018: 20%)

How do you assess the Chinese model of state capitalism with strong economic growth and authoritarian rule?
- Positive: 44% (2018: 38%)
- Negative: 43% (2018: 37%)
- Neutral: 20% (2018: 26%)
- Very positive: 0% (2018: 9%)
- Very negative: 9% (2018: 0%)
- Rather positive: 3% (2018: 17%)
- Rather negative: 7% (2018: 43%)
- Neither: 2% (2018: 30%)
- Don't know / No answer: 2% (2018: 2%)

The United States currently operates several military bases in Germany with ~35,000 troops. How important are these for the national security of your country?
- Very important: 56% (2018: 53%)
- Somewhat important: 37% (2018: 37%)
- Not too important: 29% (2018: 30%)
- Not important at all: 15% (2018: 14%)

2019: don't know 3%, no answer 2%

2019: don't know 5%, no answer 1%
The US has adopted a tougher trade policy towards China. Should Germany and Europe follow suit?

- **Yes**: 38%
- **No**: 54%

2019: don’t know 6%, no answer 2%

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**Should Germany take part in naval missions to protect freedom of navigation and maritime trade routes?**

- **Yes**: 49%
- **No**: 43%

2019: don’t know 6%, no answer 2%

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**In dealing with China, should Germany defend its political interests more strongly, even if doing so might harm its economic interests?**

- **Yes**: 76%
- **No**: 19%

2019: don’t know 3%, no answer 2%

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**How likely is the possibility that the current Sino-US confrontation turns into a Cold War?**

- Very unlikely: 8%
- Somewhat likely: 35%
- Somewhat unlikely: 48%
- Very likely: 7%

2019: don’t know 2%

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This survey was commissioned by Körber-Stiftung and carried out by KANTAR PUBLIC Germany in September 2019. Telephone interviews conducted with a representative random sample of 1,000 participants. (Margin of error: <1.4 percent for unit values of 5 percent; <3.1 percent for unit values of 50 percent). All data and results available at www.theberlinpulse.org.