



12

Transatlantic Trends



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

KEY FINDINGS 2012

Transatlantic Trends 2012 Partners



LUSO-AMERICAN
FOUNDATION

Fundación **BBVA**



**Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Sweden**



TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Executive Summary 2012</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Section One: Transatlantic Relations and Global Views</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Section Two: Economy and Eurocrisis</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Section Three: Obama’s First Term and the 2012 Elections</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Section Four: Transatlantic Security</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Section Five: Russia</i>	<i>43</i>



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Foreword

This year marks the eleventh anniversary of the *Transatlantic Trends* surveys, which started in 2002 as *World Views*. Over more than a decade, *Transatlantic Trends* has become the preeminent source of U.S. and European public opinion on a host of transatlantic issues, including common foreign policy challenges, support for NATO, the economy, and the rise of other world powers. The data provided by the surveys have become an invaluable tool for policymakers, the media, think tanks, and academics who have an impact on foreign policy decisions within their respective countries. In addition to producing original research, the survey's goal is also to foster debate on the strategic policy goals, objectives, and values of the United States and Europe as members of the transatlantic community.

The decade reflected by our polls has been a tumultuous one for both Europe and the United States, one that has been marred by a marked divide between the two sides of the Atlantic about the U.S. intervention in Iraq, the alliance's role in Afghanistan, and the global economic crisis. Nothing has been more emblematic of the transatlantic relationship than how Europeans related to the two U.S. presidents of this time. The low approval of George W. Bush's management of foreign policy quickly turned into euphoric optimism when Barack Obama was elected in 2008. This seemingly overnight change of public opinion toward the U.S. president demonstrated that the basics of transatlantic cooperation remained strong and had not eroded during Bush's presidency, despite his unpopularity among the European public.

Russia has been added to the *Transatlantic Trends* survey this year, and as you will see in the data, it makes a fascinating addition. It is the first non-Western country to be included in *Transatlantic Trends* and adds a new perspective and geographical diversity to the survey during a time of heightened interest in transatlantic relations in a globalized world.

Craig Kennedy
President, German Marshall Fund of the United States



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Executive Summary 2012

Over the past year, policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic have had to face grave economic and foreign policy challenges, heightened in a number of countries by the prospect of upcoming national elections. These challenges include the impact of half a decade of economic turmoil, concerns about the future of the political revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa, Iran's nuclear program, power transitions (or the lack thereof) in Asia and Russia, preparations for NATO winding down its mission in Afghanistan, and a looming civil war in Syria. *Transatlantic Trends* paints a picture of a complex relationship between the United States and Europe, and how they respond to global challenges.¹

In the context of mounting global challenges, the survey uncovered some remarkable findings. Among others, four stand out: EU respondents' steadfast support for the European Union (less so for the euro) in the midst of crisis, despite broad divergences of opinion across the EU; a broad disenchantment with domestic economic institutions and norms; Americans' renewed focus on Europe, despite the announced defense "pivot" to Asia; and the fact that the views of Russian respondents, included in *Transatlantic Trends* for the first time, differ from the perspectives of Americans and Europeans in some important ways.

Transatlantic relations: Majorities on both sides of the Atlantic continued to hold favorable views of each other and to feel that strong U.S. and EU leadership in world affairs was desirable. Two-in-three Americans and Europeans

agreed that both sides shared enough values and interests to enable cooperation on international problems. They also mirrored each other in the belief that the other side was more important for their national interest than the countries of Asia — unlike last year, when the U.S. respondents had shown a preference for Asia for the first time. Half of Americans and Europeans shared an unfavorable view of China, but they remained slightly divided about the opportunities and threats it presented. They shared a high and rising concern about Iran's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons, but disagreed markedly in their favorability toward Israel.

United States: Looking ahead to the November 2012 elections, a majority of U.S. respondents reported a favorable view of President Barack Obama, the incumbent Democratic candidate. A plurality reported an unfavorable view of the Republican challenger, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney. A majority said they approved of the government's handling of international policies.

European Union: The European crisis did not seem to have undermined faith in the EU as an economic community. The majority of those polled in the EU felt that EU membership had helped their country's economy, and a plurality also approved of the way the EU had handled the economic crisis. Nevertheless, a plurality or majority in every EU country surveyed, with the exception of Germany, were reluctant to give the EU more power over national budgets and finances. While the EU was seen fairly positively, the majority of EU respondents agreed that using the euro either had been or would be a bad thing for their country's economy. The euro was particularly unpopular in those countries surveyed outside the eurozone, while opinions within the eurozone varied. On average, half of

¹ This year's survey includes the United States, Turkey, Russia, and 12 EU countries: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. When the report refers to EU opinions, it is only meant to refer to the opinions of those in the 12 EU countries surveyed.

Europeans said they supported further decreases in spending. However, the spread of opinion across Europe was quite broad, with disapproval strongest in the troubled Southern European countries.

Leaders' approval: A majority of Americans and more than two-thirds of Europeans approved of U.S. President Barack Obama's handling of international policies. Still, his European approval ratings dropped substantially in some EU member countries, particularly in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, a majority of Europeans said they supported German Chancellor Angela Merkel's handling of the European economic crisis, but there was a clear North-South split in her ratings within the EU.

Government approval: Transatlantic majorities approved of their governments' handling of international policies — but mostly (with the exception of Germany and Sweden) disapproved of their handling of economic policy, again with disagreement sharpest in troubled Southern European countries.

Economic policy: *Transatlantic Trends* asked for the first time this year whether respondents felt that their economic system worked fairly for everybody or whether they believed that most of the benefits of the system went to a few. Large majorities on both sides of the Atlantic answered that most of the benefits went to a few.

Security policy: While a transatlantic opinion gap continues to exist on some security topics, the survey also revealed a convergence of EU-U.S. opinion on the best way forward. Large majorities in the United States and the EU wanted to reduce troop levels or withdraw all troops from Afghanistan. Despite an ongoing transatlantic debate about burden-sharing in the alliance, a solid majority in the EU reported that they continued to see NATO as essential for their security. U.S. support for NATO dropped somewhat, but was still expressed by a majority. Only minorities in the EU supported increases in defense spending because of the U.S. "pivot" to Asia. Pluralities in the EU and the United States said they would prefer to see their governments maintain current defense spending levels.

Intervention, responsibility to protect, and Syria: While Americans and Europeans continued to disagree about whether intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan had been right, a plurality of Europeans and Americans agreed that intervention in Libya had been the right thing to do. Two-in-three respondents on both sides of the Atlantic agreed on the principle of the "responsibility to protect" (under which governments are responsible for protecting civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government). However, transatlantic majorities felt that their countries should stay out of the Syria conflict.

Russia: Majorities on both sides of the Atlantic turned from favorable to unfavorable in their view of Russia. Yet half the Russians polled held a favorable view of the United States, while two-in-three thought favorably of the EU. At the same time, majorities or pluralities among the Russians felt that Asia was more important to their national interests than the United States or Europe, felt that U.S. and EU leadership on international problems was mostly undesirable, and took an unfavorable view of NATO. Still, pluralities or majorities thought that Russia, the United States, and Europe had enough common values and interests to be able to cooperate. On specific issues — such as China, Iran, intervention in Libya or Syria — however, Russian views were quite different from those polled in the United States and Europe. In particular, Russians said they would approve of a Russian UN Security Council veto on intervention in Syria. Russian views of their own institutions were very mixed. Two-in-three Russians (69%) expressed confidence in their president — more than in any other Russian institution.

Turkey: Although Turkish feelings for the EU and United States continued to warm somewhat over the past year, a majority of Turks still view the EU and the United States unfavorably. As in 2011, the plurality of Turks thought that working with Asia was more important to their national interests than working with the United States.

Sweden: Sweden's second year in the survey revealed that the country's public opinion stood apart from other EU countries on a number of issues. Compared to other European countries, Swedes were more likely to approve of their government's handling of foreign policies and less

likely to say that they were affected by the economic crisis. Moreover, the Swedes were also more willing to maintain troops in Afghanistan, more supportive of the intervention in Libya, and more likely to support intervention in Syria (particularly if mandated by the UN). Swedes were divided on the desirability of participating in NATO operations, but two-thirds of those who opposed a Syrian intervention said they would approve of Swedish participation if such an operation was mandated by the United Nations.

KEY FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

Transatlantic Relations and Global Views:

- A little more than half of EU citizens (52%) said it was desirable that the United States exert strong leadership in world affairs, representing little change from last year. Two-in-three Americans (63%) said it was desirable for the EU to exercise strong leadership as well, a trend that has also remained stable.
- Three-in-four Europeans (74%) continued to hold favorable views of the United States, but views across Europe varied widely. The United States' ratings in France saw a 23-point rise to 81%. On the lower end of the scale, only 34% of Turks viewed the United States with favor (but that number is slowly on the rise, from only 22% in 2009).
- Two-thirds of European respondents (and 57% of Americans) continue to think favorably of the EU; but in the U.K., for the first time, unfavorable views rose by 14 percentage points to a plurality of 49%. An EU majority of 58% displayed an unfavorable view of Greece.
- Nearly two-thirds of EU respondents (61%) said that the United States was more important for their countries' national interests than Asia. Similarly, 55% of Americans felt that Europe was more important than Asia.

Economy and the Eurocrisis

- People still felt hurt by the economy: 79% of the Americans and 65% of those in the EU reported being personally affected by the economic crisis, with numbers rising most sharply in the troubled Southern European economies.
- Transatlantic majorities (U.S.: 52%; EU: 56%) disapproved of their governments' handling of economic policy. Only in Sweden (74% approval) and Germany (68% approval) did supporters outweigh the critics.
- European respondents on average supported the spending cuts implemented by European governments in reaction to the economic crisis: half (50%) said they supported further decreases in spending. Fifty-eight percent of Americans also support further decreases in government spending.
- The majority of EU respondents (61%) considered membership in the EU to be a good thing for their countries' economies. On the other hand, the majority of Europeans (57%) thought that using the euro had been or would be a bad thing for their economies.
- When asked whether their country should leave the eurozone, one-in-four respondents in Spain (27%) and Germany (26%) agreed.
- A majority of Europeans (52%) said they approved of the way German Chancellor Angela Merkel had handled the economic crisis. However, there was a clear North-South split in her ratings.
- Fifty-four percent of EU respondents thought it acceptable that their countries contribute to the fund that aims to bail out member states with budgetary difficulties.
- Three-in-four (76%) European respondents felt that their economic system did not work fairly for everybody, and that most of its benefits went to a few; 64% of Americans agreed.

Obama's First Term and the 2012 Elections

- Despite a 12-point decline from 2009 (President Obama's first year in office), 71% of people in the 12 EU countries polled still approved of his handling of international policies.
- Central and Eastern European countries showed somewhat lower support for Obama compared with the EU average.
- Seventy-one percent of the EU respondents approved of Obama's efforts to fight international terrorism.
- A plurality of 49% of Americans reported an unfavorable view of Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney, compared to 44% who hold a favorable view.
- When Europeans were asked if their view of Mitt Romney was favorable or unfavorable, a remarkable 38% of respondents either said they did not know or refused to answer, while a plurality of 39% said their view was unfavorable. Twenty-three percent reported a favorable view.
- While 57% of Americans reported a favorable view of Democratic incumbent President Barack Obama, 82% of Europeans said they had a favorable opinion of the president.

Transatlantic Security

- Pluralities of Americans (34%) and Europeans (39%) felt that they should take a more independent approach within the transatlantic partnership in security and diplomatic affairs.
- NATO was seen as "still essential" by 58% of EU respondents. The number of Americans who agreed dropped by six points to 56%.
- The Swedes were evenly split about participating in NATO operations, with 47% supporting such operations and 50% against. However, when asked next how they felt if an operation was carried out with a

mandate from the United Nations, 67% of Swedes said they would be in favor.

- When asked about defense spending, majorities or pluralities in 11 of the 15 countries surveyed wanted to maintain current spending levels.
- Americans and Europeans disagreed on whether intervention in Iraq (in the United States, a plurality of 49% approved; in the EU, 54% disapproved) and Afghanistan (in the United States, 53% approved; in the EU, 50% disapproved) had been the right thing to do.
- However, in the case of Libya, pluralities in the United States (49%) and the EU (48%) agreed that intervention had been the right thing to do.
- More than two-thirds of U.S. (68%) and EU (75%) respondents agreed that troop levels should be reduced or troops should be withdrawn altogether from Afghanistan.
- Majorities on both sides of the Atlantic preferred using economic sanctions or incentives — as opposed to military options — to stop Iran's nuclear program. A plurality of Turks preferred to accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons.
- Two-in-three Americans (62%) and Europeans (67%) agreed that members of the international community (including their own country) are responsible for protecting civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government (the principle of "responsibility to protect").
- However, as far as the specific case of Syria was concerned, majorities in the EU (59%), the United States (55%), and Turkey (57%) said their countries should stay out of the Syria conflict completely.

Russia

- Views on Russia turned from favorable to unfavorable on both sides of the Atlantic this year.

- Fifty-two percent of Russians felt favorably toward Ukraine and 64% said the same about Belarus, but 60% expressed disfavor toward Georgia.
- Half of the Russian respondents (50%) had favorable views of the United States, while two-in-three (64%) thought favorably of the European Union.
- Seventy-one percent of Russians approved of their government's handling of international policies. However, they were split evenly (46%) on its economic policies. Fifty-eight percent of Russians said they had been affected by the economic crisis. Three-in-four Russians (75%) felt that their economic system benefitted only a few.
- Russians were evenly split on the principle of the "responsibility to protect," with 40% saying they agreed that this responsibility (to protect civilians in other countries from violence, including from their own governments) extended to Russia as well, while 41% thought it did not.
- When asked whether they would support or oppose a Russian government veto of an intervention in Syria in the United Nations Security Council, a majority of Russians polled (54%) said they would support such a veto.
- When respondents in this year's *Transatlantic Trends* were asked how much confidence they had that elections in Russia reflected the will of the voters, 75% of Europeans and 60% of Americans said they had little confidence.
- Meanwhile, a plurality of the Russians polled (46%) said they were not confident in their own elections; 43% said they were.
- As for Russians' confidence in their country's institutions, 69% said they had confidence in the president; only 37% felt confident in the national legislature.

Transatlantic Trends is a comprehensive annual survey of U.S. and European public opinion. Polling was conducted by TNS Opinion between June 2 and June 27, 2012, in the United States, Turkey, Russia, and 12 European Union member states: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The survey is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from the Fundação Luso-Americana, the BBVA Foundation, the Communitas Foundation, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Open Society Foundations.

The advisory committee for the survey included Pierangelo Isernia, Professor of Political Science, University of Siena (Italy); Philip Everts, Emeritus Director of the Institute of International Studies, University of Leiden (Netherlands); Richard Eichenberg, Associate Professor of Political Science, Tufts University (United States), and Nicoló Russo Perez, Program Manager, Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy). Zsolt Nyiri, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Montclair State University (United States) and former Director, *Transatlantic Trends*, led the advisory meeting. We wish to thank him here for his leadership of this important project since 2009.

The authors of the Key Findings Report were Constanze Stelzenmüller, Senior Transatlantic Fellow and project lead for *Transatlantic Trends*; Hamutal Bernstein, Program Officer and data management lead for *Transatlantic Trends*; and Josh Raisher, Program Assistant for *Transatlantic Trends*. The authors wish to acknowledge the invaluable help of Kaat Smets, Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Siena, as well as Shelley Marshall and Benjamin Ledwon, who played a major role in creating the accompanying charts and provided other essential help during the preparation of this report.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Section One: Transatlantic Relations and Global Views

The continuing economic crisis on both sides of the Atlantic has not affected the stability of the connections linking the transatlantic community. It has also reinforced appreciation of the need for both U.S. and European leadership in the face of difficult global policy questions, based on a sense of shared values and interests.

The United States remains popular internationally, buoyed by continued European support for President Obama, while Germany's leadership has earned admiration within the European Union. At the same time, the divergent responses of European countries that have been most affected by the crisis illustrate the growing tensions within Europe. Greece, in particular, having become the focus of intense discussions on the currency union's continued viability, finds itself increasingly seen in an unfavorable light.

Meanwhile, the rise of China presents the transatlantic community with a continued challenge. While the United States attempts to build a stronger regional presence as part of Obama's "pivot to Asia," there is little agreement on whether China presents a threat or an opportunity.

STATE OF TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS: GOOD OR MIXED, BUT NOT BAD

Across the board, perceptions of the general state of transatlantic relations remain similar across countries and mostly stable in the EU and the United States. In the United States, a slight plurality (44%) felt that relations are good, but are down 10 points from 54% in 2010. Forty-three percent said that relations were mixed. Respondents in the EU were evenly divided over whether relations were good (46%) or mixed (45%). The lowest favorable ratings in the EU were found in the U.K. (35%) and Poland (34%).

Nonetheless, very few people described the current state of relations between the two continents as "bad" — only 5% in the EU, and 7% in the United States said so.

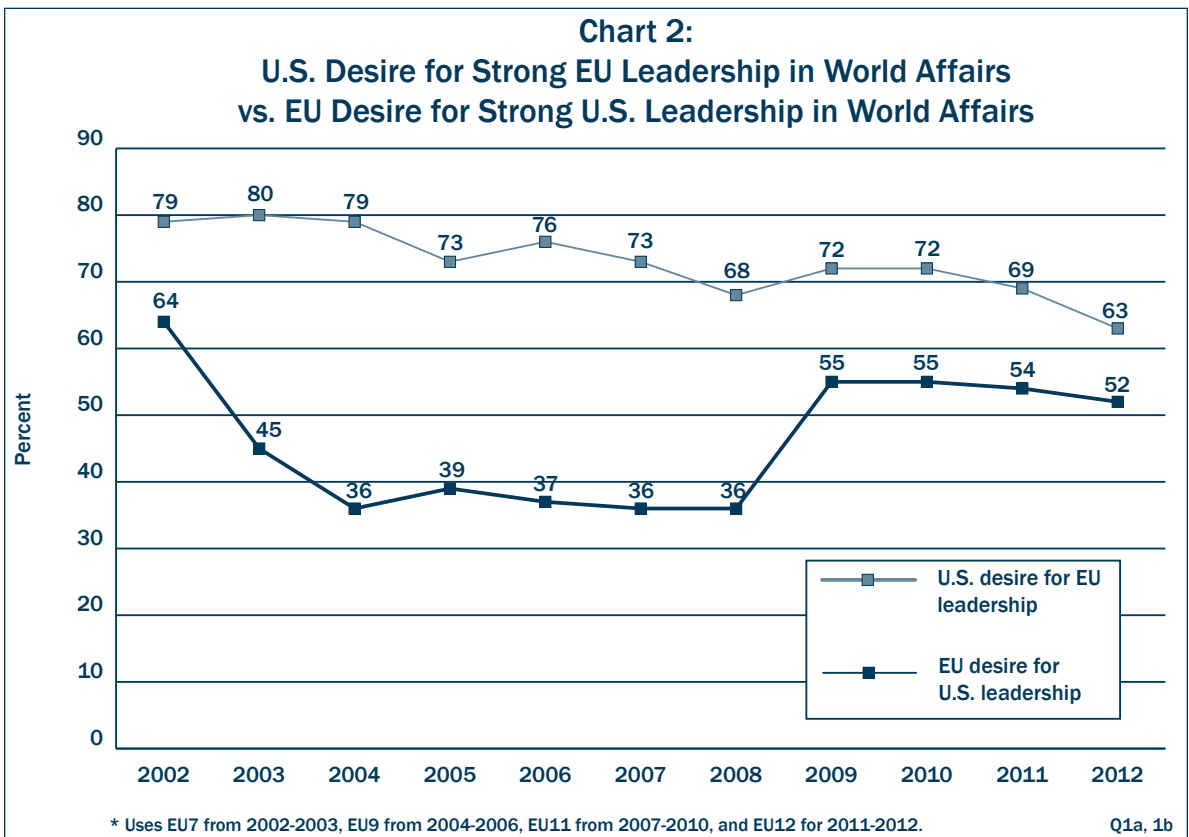
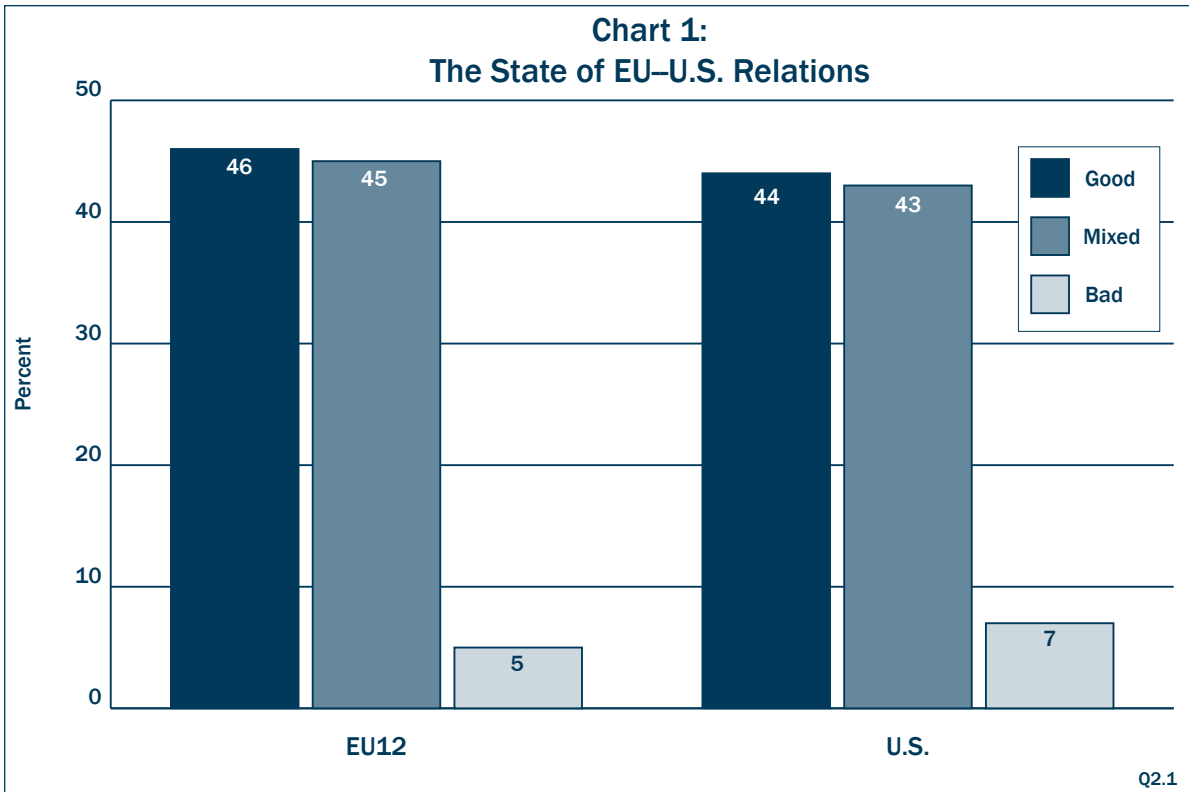
STABLE EU SUPPORT FOR STRONG U.S. LEADERSHIP IN WORLD AFFAIRS...

Just over half the EU respondents polled (52%) said it was desirable that the United States exercise strong leadership in world affairs.² This is a slight drop from the beginning of President Barack Obama's administration (it was 55% in 2009), but still much higher than it was during much of the Bush administration. The highest desirability rates for U.S. leadership were expressed in the Netherlands (65%), the U.K. (62%), and Germany (60%). The largest drop was in Poland (down 11 percentage points to 38% from 2011) — matched by a 13 percentage-point rise of Poles who find U.S. leadership "undesirable." An overwhelming 82% of Americans found strong U.S. leadership to be desirable.

... AND IN THE UNITED STATES FOR EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP

The majority of Americans (63%) also found it desirable that the EU exert strong leadership in world affairs. An even larger majority among the EU countries agreed with this (70%). Still, both numbers have declined slowly since this question was first asked (in 2006) from 76% in both the United States and the EU. Within the EU, Germans showed the most support for EU leadership (86%). Meanwhile, the largest rise in "undesirable" ratings was to be found among Italian (up 11 percentage points to 24%) and British (up 8 percentage points to 36%) respondents.

² Unless otherwise noted, approval rates are calculated by combining the percentage of respondents who approve "very much" and the percentage of those who approve "somewhat." The same is done for disapproval rates.



Only one-in-four Turks polled (26%) said U.S. leadership was desirable, whereas a slightly higher number (29%) said EU leadership was desirable.

COMMON VALUES AND INTERESTS SEEN BY MAJORITIES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

Two-thirds of Americans (63%) and Europeans (66%) said that the United States and the European Union have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems. French (77%) and German (75%) respondents felt most strongly about this, while those in the U.K. (57%) were more ambivalent.

Similarly, two-thirds of Americans (64%) and Europeans (67%) said that the United States and the European Union have enough common *interests* to enable such cooperation. More respondents agreed with this statement in France (75%) than anywhere else in the EU. Britain (54%) and Poland (59%) polled at the lower end of the scale.

In Turkey, pluralities thought that the United States and the European Union have enough common values (45%) or interests (47%) to enable international cooperation.

EU AND U.S. OPINIONS OF EACH OTHER SIMILAR, BUT VIEWS VARY GREATLY WITHIN EUROPE

Americans and EU residents polled by *Transatlantic Trends* in 2012 tended to have stable and comparable opinions of each other and of other countries in the world. Four-in-five Americans (84%), as in previous years, had a favorable opinion of their own country. A majority of Americans also had favorable views of Japan (68%), Germany (67%), Italy (63%), and Spain (53%). Majorities thought well of Israel (59%) and the European Union (57%). Americans looked less favorably on Greece (44%), Turkey (43%), Russia (42%), South Korea, and China (both 41%). Support was especially low for Iran (20%).

Respondents in the EU likewise had more favorable opinions of the United States (74%) and the EU (67%). The United States was seen especially favorably in Romania (84%) and France (81%, in another remarkable 23 percentage-point leap from last year). Russian respondents were divided about the United States, with 50% holding a favor-

able opinion and 41% saying their views were unfavorable. The lowest favorability of the United States was shown in Turkey (34%). On the other hand, the percentage of Turks favoring the United States has been increasing slowly but steadily since 2009 (22%).

The EU continued to be seen in the most favorable light by the newest members of the Union, Bulgaria (88%) and Romania (84%), who both joined in 2007. The next in line was Germany (75%). In all other EU member states, two-thirds majorities saw the EU favorably. The exception was the U.K., where favorable opinion dropped to 46% (from 58% in 2011), and unfavorable views rose by 14 percentage points to 49%. Sixty-four percent of Russians also held a favorable view of the EU — compared to only 36% of Turks, of whom a majority (53%) continued to hold an unfavorable view.

EU member states' opinions of each other varied more strongly. As for Greece, its ratings were significantly lower overall, with the highest favorability at 53% in Bulgaria. An EU majority of 58% held an unfavorable opinion of Greece, with highest disapproval in Slovakia (81%) and Germany (75%).

GERMANY TIED WITH THE UNITED STATES AS MOST POPULAR COUNTRY, NEGATIVE VIEWS ON TURKEY RISE

Germany, on the other hand, tied with the United States as the most favorably viewed country in the survey. It was rated favorably by 74% of EU respondents and 67% of Americans, as well as 71% of Russians. (Eighty-four percent of Germans rated themselves favorably.) Germany's highest ratings came among Dutch (90%), Bulgarian (88%), Romanian (86%), and French (83%) respondents. Its lowest ratings were found in Spain (60%), Portugal (55%), and Italy (53%) — still all majorities — but those polled in Portugal and Spain also showed the strongest disapproval of Germany (40% and 38%, respectively). In Turkey, a plurality of 48% held a favorable view of Germany, whereas 38% disapproved.

GERMANY IN THE WORLD

Germany tied with the United States as the most favorably viewed country in this year's *Transatlantic Trends*, but it was considerably less popular in the troubled southern periphery of Europe. Similarly, a majority in the EU (52%) approved of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's handling of the European economic crisis — but rates varied widely across Europe, dipping sharply in southern Europe.

Despite the European economic crisis, three-in-four Germans (73%) remained staunch supporters of their country's EU membership. Germans were, together with the Swedes, one of only two countries among the European countries surveyed where majorities approved of their own government's handling of economic policies (68% in Germany, 74% in Sweden). Germany was one of the few EU member states polled where a majority (53%) said membership in the euro had been beneficial to their economy. In absolute terms, only 26% of those polled wanted to leave the euro. On the European bailout fund, however, public opinion was neatly divided, with 49% approving and 48% rejecting the fund. Fifty-three percent of Germans polled were in favor of giving more power to the EU to manage national economic and fiscal policies — making Germany the only country among the EU member states polled where a majority did not disapprove of handing such authority to the EU.

Germans registered the highest approval rates in the survey (86%) for EU leadership in international affairs, but they were also among the strongest supporters (60%) of U.S. leadership in international politics, with three-in-four (75%) saying they felt the United States and Europe have enough common values to cooperate. Their take on the two U.S. presidential candidates was very different: President Obama's favorability (91%) as well as his approval rates for handling of international policies remained very high (79%) among Germans and a majority (51%) had an unfavorable view of Republican challenger Mitt Romney. If they could, 87% of Germans would vote for Obama in the November U.S. election.

Germans' pessimism regarding recent military interventions and the prospects for stability thereafter equaled and sometimes exceeded the European average. However, despite the fact that Germany's government had abstained from the UN Security Council vote on intervention in Libya and declined to participate in the subsequent NATO operation, 53% of Germans polled approved of the Libyan intervention. In general, 73% of polled Germans were content with their government's handling of international affairs.

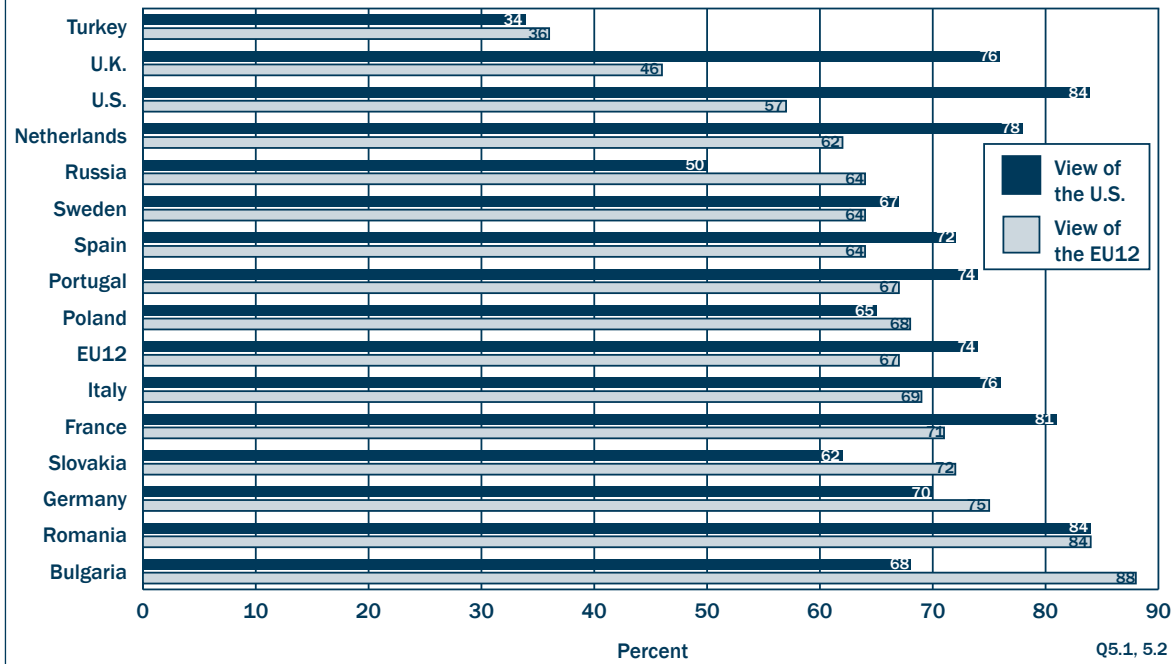
MARKED TRANSATLANTIC DIFFERENCES ON ISRAEL

In the case of Israel, there was a marked transatlantic split: 59% of Americans had a favorable opinion, compared to only 34% in the EU. (The unfavorability ratings were almost exactly reversed, with only 32% of Americans holding unfavorable views as opposed to 51% of EU respondents.) Favorable views in Europe were highest in Bulgaria (47%); unfavorable ratings were highest in Sweden (68%). Meanwhile, the favorable opinion of Israel was distinctly higher in Russia (48%) than in the EU, and lowest of all in Turkey (9%).

AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS HOLD EQUALLY NEGATIVE VIEWS ON CHINA

U.S. and European views on China moved into synch in 2012, with a majority in the United States (52%) and half of those polled in Europe (50%) holding unfavorable views on China. Forty-one percent of respondents on both sides of the Atlantic said they had a favorable view of China (down 6 percentage points in the EU, from 47% in 2011). Romania had the largest number of people with positive views of China in Europe (62%), in contrast to Germany (35%), Sweden (34%), and France (33%) at the lower end of the scale. A plurality of Turks (45%) held unfavorable views of China, whereas — in contrast — nearly two-thirds of the Russians polled (63%) said their opinions were positive.

**Chart 3:
Favorable Opinions of the EU and the U.S.**



U.S. AND EU: TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RELATIONSHIP WITH ASIA

When asked whether the countries of the European Union or the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan, and South Korea, were more important to their countries’ national interests, a majority (55%) in the United States indicated that the EU was more important than Asia — a shift of 17 percentage points over last year’s survey.

This shift represents a return to U.S. attitudes registered in 2004, when a majority of U.S. respondents (54%) viewed the countries of Europe as more important to their vital interests than the countries of Asia (29%).³

Meanwhile, 61% of the Europeans polled said that the United States is more important for Europe than the countries of Asia, up 9 percentage points from last year. However, there were some important differences within Europe on this question: German respondents were most emphatic in their support for the importance of the United States (68%), followed by Romania (67%), the U.K. (64%),

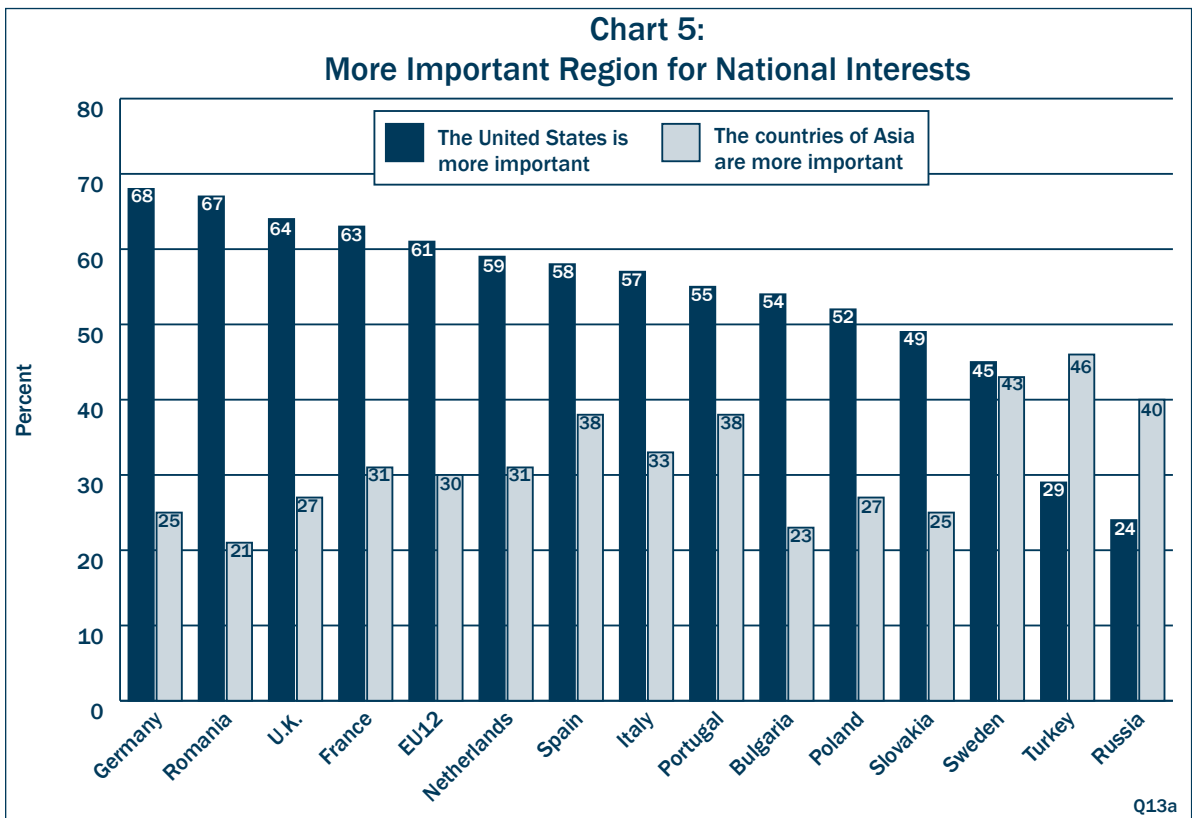
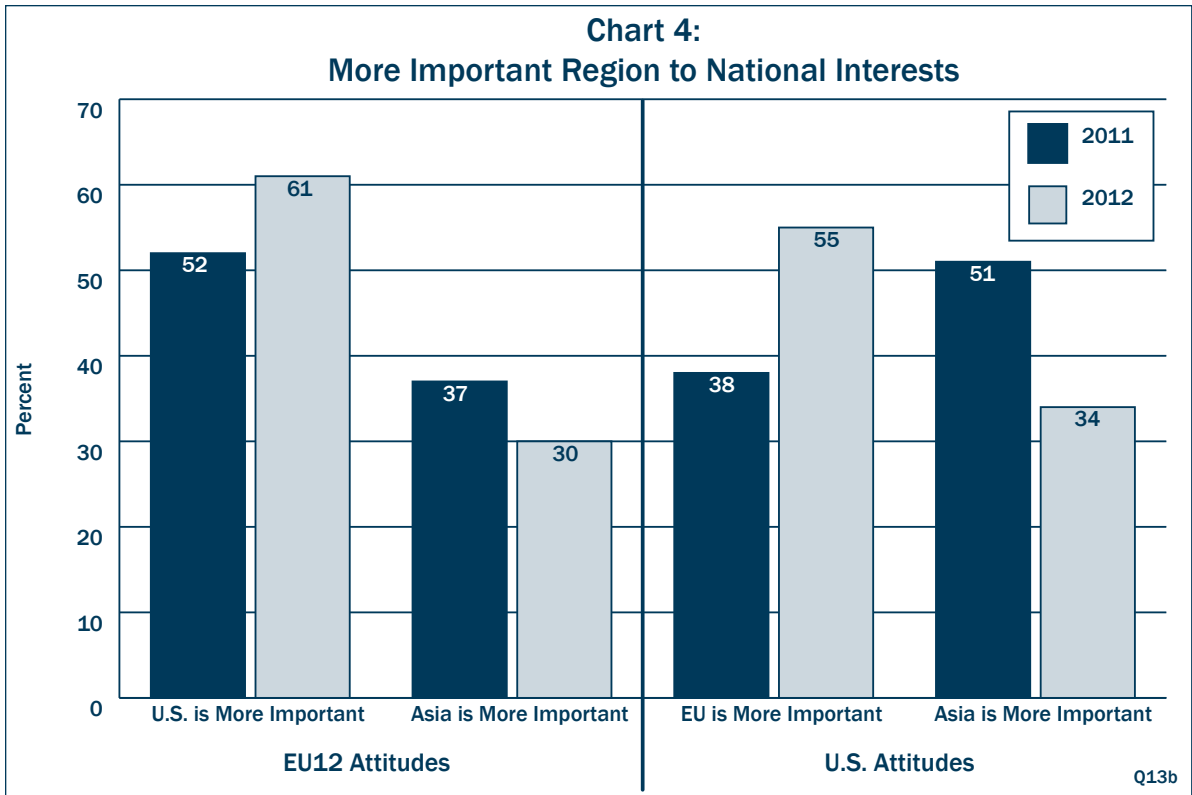
³ In 2004, the question inquired about “vital” interests, rather than the “national” interests referenced in 2012.

and France (63%, up 19 percentage points from the previous year). In contrast, Turks (46%) and Russians (40%) were most supportive of an orientation toward Asia.

AMERICANS SPLIT ON VALUES AND INTERESTS SHARED WITH CHINA; EUROPEANS SAY CHINA’S TOO DIFFERENT TO COOPERATE

Americans were evenly split on whether the United States and China share enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems, with 46% finding enough common values and 45% disagreeing. However, a majority of Europeans (55%) said that the EU and China had such different values that it was impossible to cooperate. Respondents in France (71%), Germany (63%), and Sweden (62%) were most likely to emphasize the values divide, while 56% of Russians and 54% of Romanians saw enough common values to work together.

Americans were similarly split on the question of whether the United States and China shared enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems, with 46% finding enough common interests and 47% disagreeing. Fifty-two percent of Europeans felt there



were not enough common interests to cooperate; only 39% thought there were. Disagreement on interests was strongest in France (66%) and Germany (59%), whereas nearly two-thirds of the Portuguese respondents (60%) thought there were enough common interests for their country to work together with China.

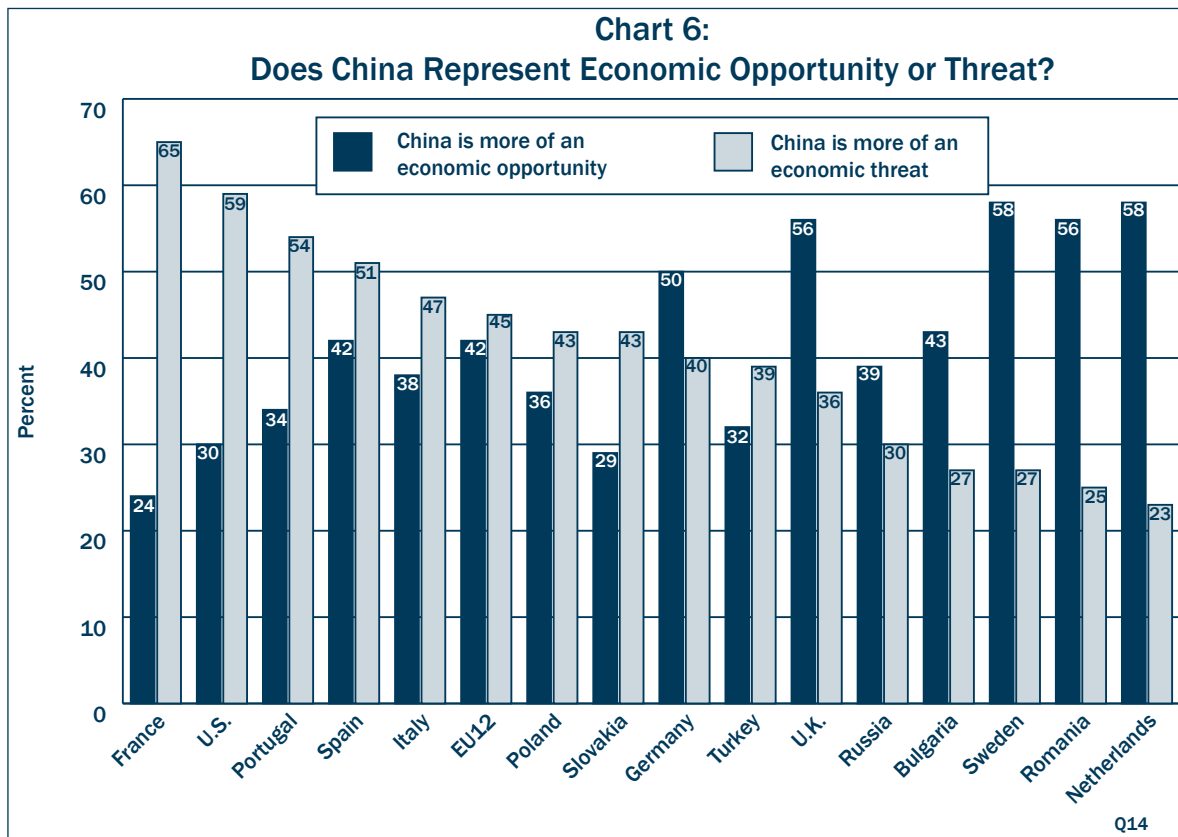
Russians were the most likely among all countries polled to perceive common interests with China (65%); Turks and French were the least likely (32%).

AMERICANS STILL MORE LIKELY THAN EUROPEANS TO SEE CHINA AS ECONOMIC, MILITARY THREAT

Nearly two-thirds of U.S. respondents (59%) thought that China is more of an economic threat, as opposed to only a third (30%) who saw it as an opportunity. Europeans

were more divided on China, with a plurality seeing it as an economic threat (45%) rather than as an opportunity (42%), in a reversal from the previous year. Respondents in the Netherlands and Sweden (58%), as well as in the U.K. (56%), were most likely to see opportunities in China, while the French agreed most strongly with the U.S. threat perception (65%), together with majorities in Portugal (54%) and Spain (51%).

While majorities in the United States saw China as a military threat (51%), majorities in Europe (53%) continued to disagree. Within the EU, France and the U.K. registered the highest concerns about China as a security threat (both 44%). Bulgaria (65%), Romania (61%), Germany, Italy, and Spain (all 56%) were least worried about a military threat from China.



U.S. SUPPORT FOR TRANSATLANTICISM DIVIDED ON PARTY LINE

While the transatlantic relationship still enjoyed firm U.S. support – 63% of Americans believed that the EU should play a leading role in international affairs, while the same number believed that the United States and EU have enough shared values to address international concerns – that support was less enthusiastic among those in the United States who identify with the Republican Party. When asked if they saw the EU favorably, 54% of self-identified Republicans did, compared to 70% of Democrats. Similarly, though less dramatically, 72% of Democrats preferred that the EU play a leading role in international affairs, compared to 66% of Republicans.

Seventy-four percent of Democrats believed the United States and the EU share enough values to work together to address international concerns, compared with only 60% of Republicans. Twenty-six percent of Democrats disagreed, as did 40% of Republicans. Further, when asked if relations should become closer, remain the same, or tend toward further independence, a plurality of Democrats (36%) said that Europe and the United States should become closer, while a plurality of Republicans (45%) said the United States should take a more independent approach to foreign policy.

The partisan divide was largely absent, however, when asked about defense cooperation: majorities of both Democrats and Republicans believe NATO is still essential (63% and 59%, respectively).



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

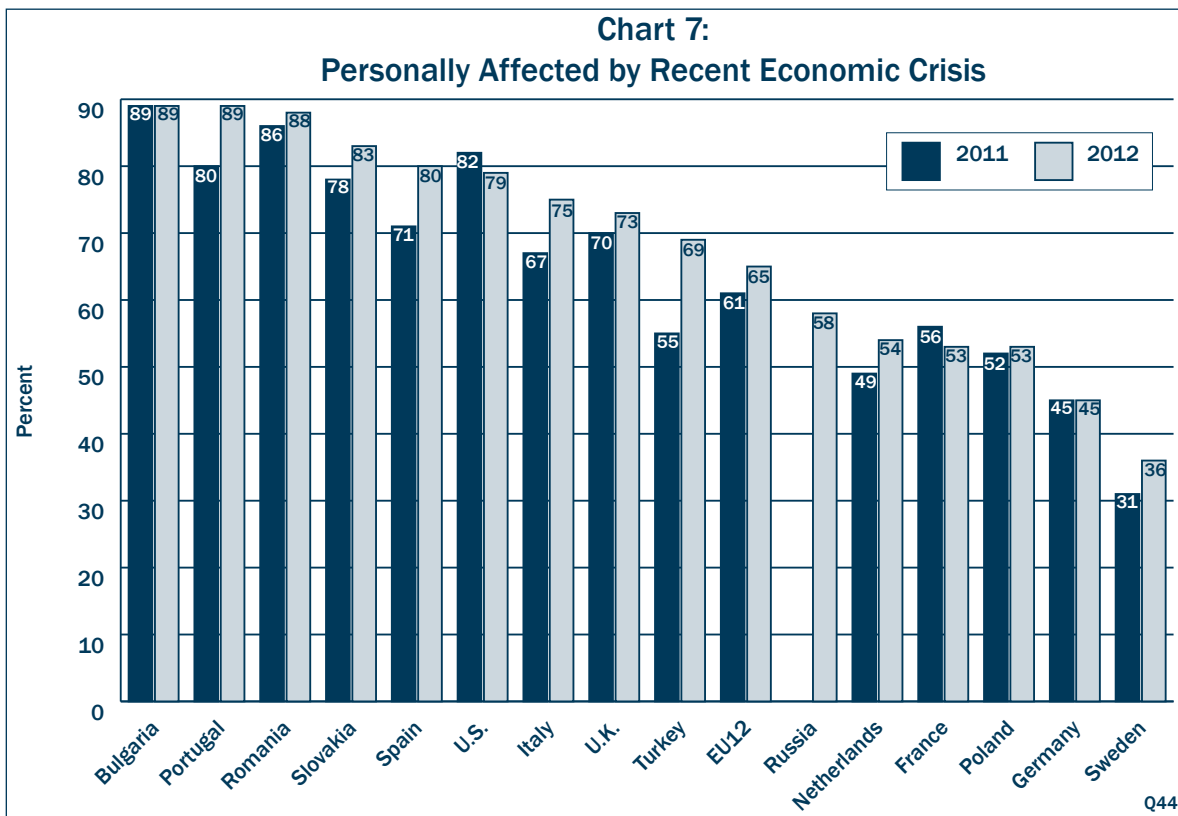
Section Two: Economy and Eurocrisis

The period since the last Transatlantic Trends survey in 2011 has been a turbulent one for the eurozone and for the global economy in general. Since European Commission President José Manuel Barroso warned last August that the sovereign debt crisis might spread beyond the periphery of Europe, no corner of the transatlantic community has remained unaffected. Greece, the most commonly cited epicenter of the emergency, had to accept painful reforms as the price of continued support, while both Italy and Spain show signs of trouble. Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, the U.S. economy — despite some signs of a mounting recovery — seems stalled, unable to substantially reduce unemployment or generate significant growth.

MORE PEOPLE AFFECTED BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

While some economies in Europe have begun to recover after the implementation of strict austerity regimes, the number of respondents who claimed that their family’s financial situation had been affected greatly or somewhat by the financial crisis has been steadily rising in most countries polled by Transatlantic Trends since the question was first asked in 2009.

In the United States, 79% of respondents (down very slightly from 82% in the previous year, a three-year high) said that they had been personally affected by the financial

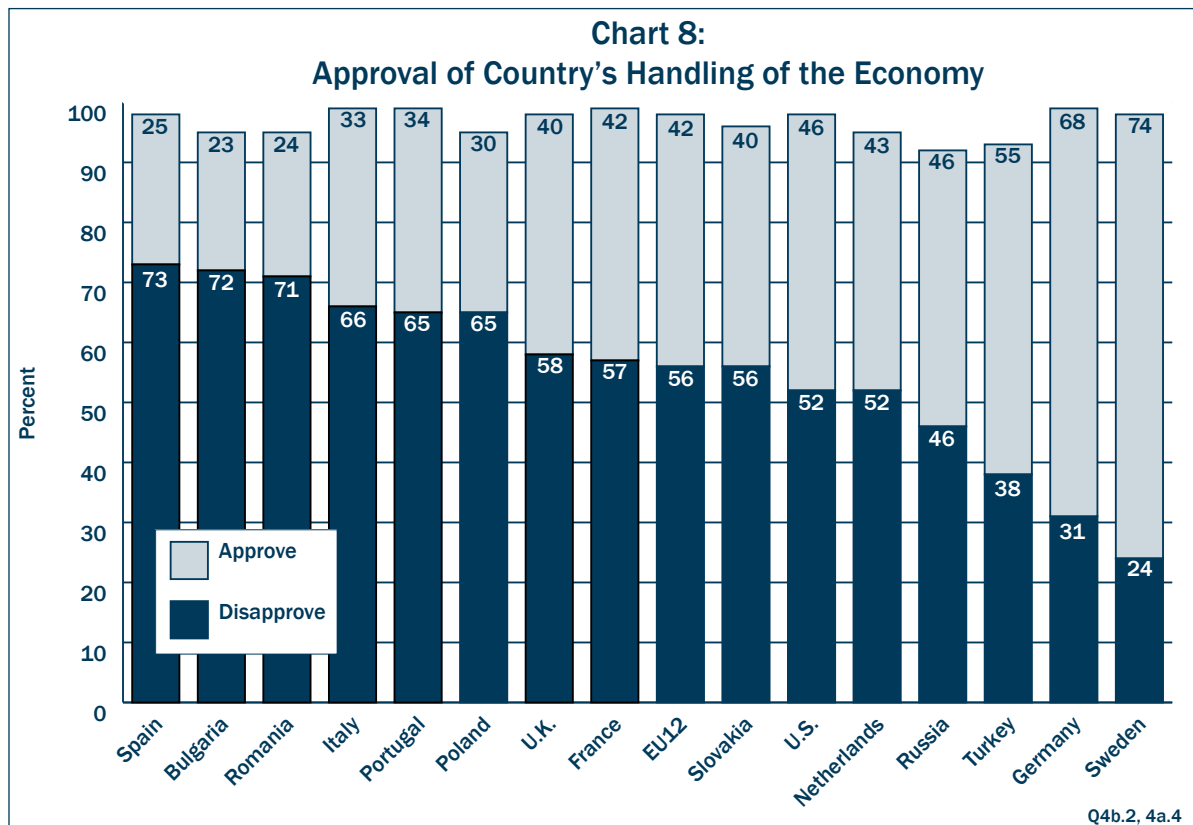


crisis, while the percentage of EU respondents stating that they had been affected rose by ten percentage points to 65% since 2009. For many of the EU member states, the numbers remained high, sometimes even increasing over last year: Bulgaria (stable at 89%), Portugal (89%, up by 9 points), Romania (almost stable at 88%), Slovakia (83%, up by 5 points), Spain (80%, up by 9 points), Italy (75%, up by 8 points), and the United Kingdom (73%, up by seven points). The numbers even rose in countries much less affected by the crisis, such as the Netherlands (up 5 points to 54%) and Sweden (up 5 points to 36%). In Turkey, where the numbers had dropped by 21% last year, they jumped upwards by 14 points to 69%.

Meanwhile, the numbers of those affected by the economic crisis remained more or less stable in France (53%, down by 3 points), in Poland (almost unchanged at 53%), and in Germany (unchanged at 45%).

TRANSATLANTIC MAJORITIES DISAPPROVE OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS' HANDLING OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Asked whether they approved or disapproved of the way President Barack Obama had been handling the U.S. economy, a majority (52%) of U.S. respondents disapproved, whereas 46% approved. Fifty-six percent of EU respondents disapproved when asked whether they agreed with their own governments' handling of the economy, whereas 42% said they approved. Approval rates were highest among Swedes (74%) and Germans (68%), the only two countries in the EU where supporters outweighed critics. Disapproval of European governments' economic policies registered most sharply in the troubled periphery economies of Europe: Spain (73%), Bulgaria (72%), Romania (71%), Italy (66%), and Portugal (65%). In the U.K., struggling economically as well, 58% disapproved of the David Cameron government's policies. Even in Poland, which had escaped the crisis better than most other EU member states participating in the survey — except perhaps Germany — 65% of respondents objected to their government's handling of the economy.



ITALIANS SOUR ON THE EUROPEAN UNION

In a tumultuous year following Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's resignation and the appointment of a technocratic government led by economist Mario Monti, the Italian public showed growing uneasiness and disapproval, not only of its own political leaders, but also of the leadership of the European Union. Showing the lowest level of confidence among all Europeans, 62% of Italians were not confident that elections reflect the will of voters. They were among the most pessimistic in Europe about the equity of their economic system, with 89% saying that most benefits of their system go to a few (second only to Portugal at 90%). They were not happy with their government's treatment of economic affairs, with 66% disapproving of how their government was handling the economy.

Their view of the EU has also soured. The highest discontent with EU membership was expressed by Italians, with 40% saying that EU membership had been a bad thing for their economy — a significant increase from 23% in the previous year — and a majority of 51% saying the euro had been bad for the Italian economy. In a similar pattern, 22% of Italian respondents strongly disapproved of how the EU had handled the economic crisis (a plurality of 48% disapproved overall). This was second only to Spanish (26%) and British (23%) strong disapproval, and far above the European average of 15%. Similar to respondents in Spain (63%) and Portugal (61%) and notably distinct from other European views, 63% of Italian respondents disapproved of how German Chancellor Angela Merkel had been handling the economic crisis in Europe. The overall favorability of the EU dropped among Italian respondents (69%, down eight points from 2011).

Russians — three-in-four of whom agreed with their government's international policies (71%) — were evenly split on its handling of economic issues (46% approved, while 46% disapproved). Meanwhile, a majority of Turks (55%) approved of the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan government's economic policies.

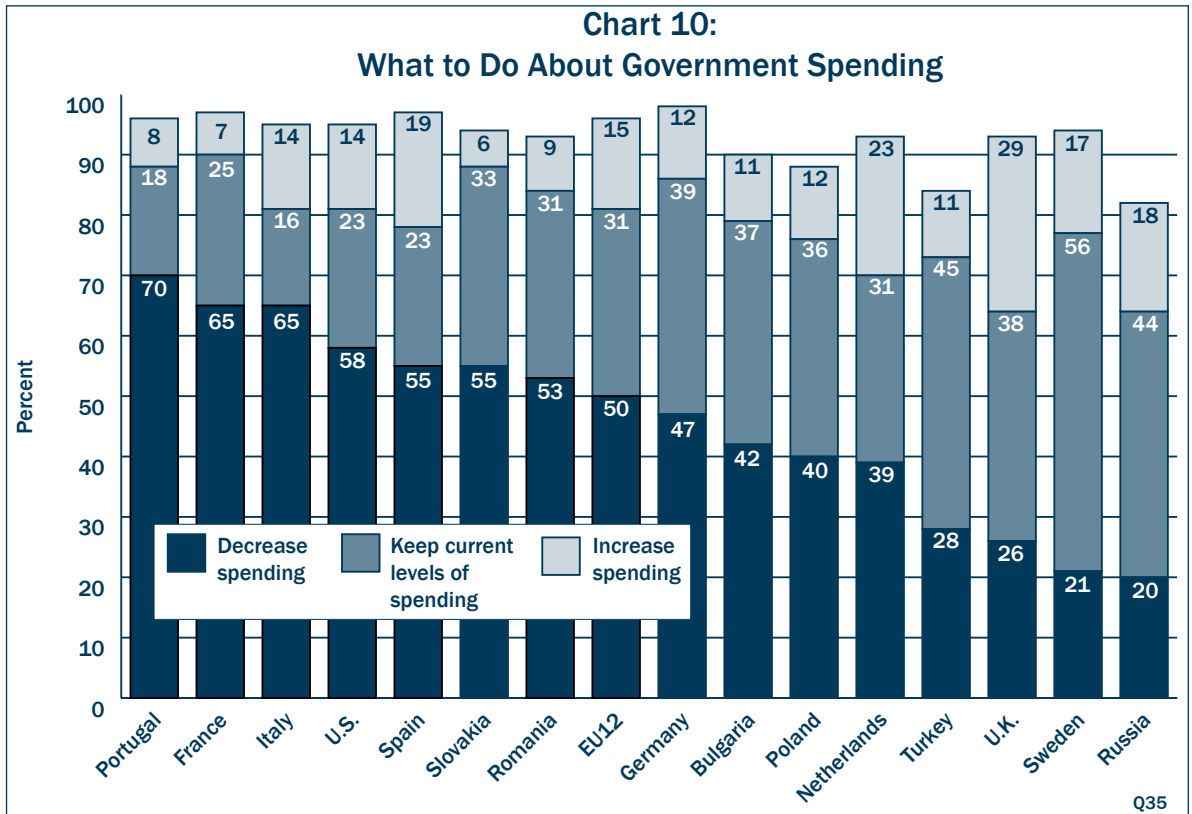
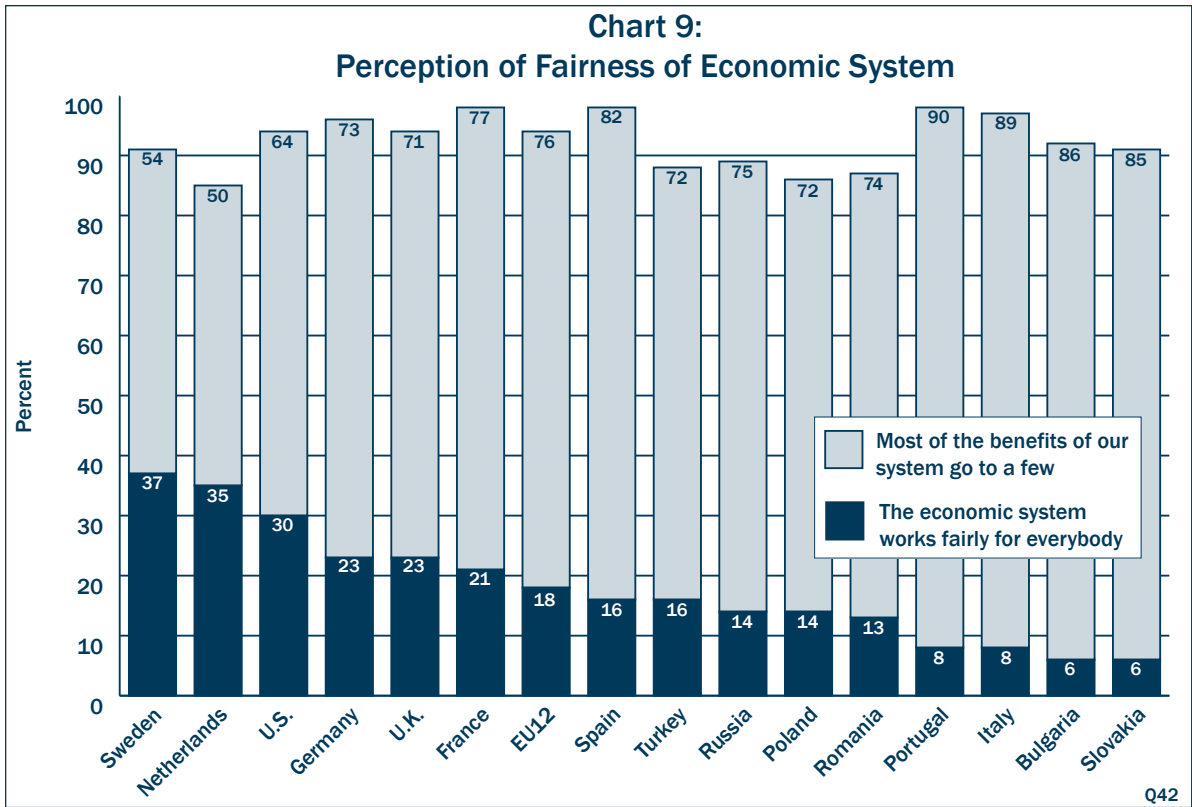
LARGE MAJORITIES ON BOTH SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC SAY THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS UNFAIR

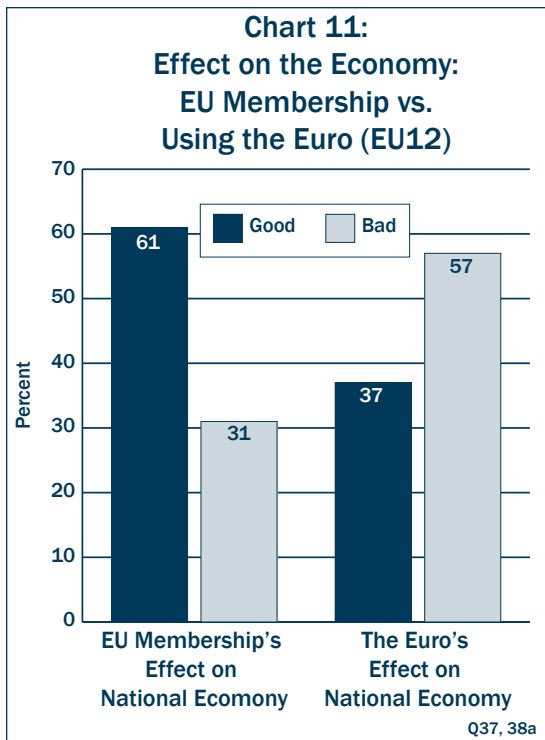
When respondents were asked whether they felt that their economic system worked fairly for everybody or whether they believed that most of the benefits of their system went to a few, three-in-four (76%) of those polled in Europe said most of the benefits go to a few; 64% of Americans agreed. Even in those countries where there was more optimism, approval rates were low, with the highest ratings in Sweden (37%), the Netherlands (35%), and the United States (30%). In Portugal, Italy, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom, between 70% and 90% thought that most of the benefits go to a few.

EU OPINION VARIES GREATLY ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING

An increasing number of European governments have reacted to the crisis by implementing austerity measures. On average, respondents in European countries supported these measures. Asked whether they would prefer to decrease government spending, maintain current levels, or increase government spending, half of the respondents in the EU (50%) said they approved of further decreases in spending — the same number as in the previous year. However, there were notable differences across countries. The highest support for further spending cuts was registered in Portugal (70%), Italy, and France (both 65% — a 16 percentage-point jump in the case of Italy). Support for decreases was lowest in the U.K. (26%) and Sweden (21%).

The Swedes (56%) and the Germans (a plurality of 39%) were most likely to want to keep spending at current levels. The British were the most divided, with approximately one-third of respondents wanting to either decrease (26%) or increase (29%) spending, and a plurality (38%) wanting to keep it at current levels.





ECONOMIC IMPACT OF EU MEMBERSHIP AND EURO ARE CRITICIZED...

Despite another difficult year for most economies in the European Union, nearly two-thirds of Europeans still considered membership in the EU to be a good thing for their economies. However, that number went down six percentage points to 61% from 67% in 2011.

With what still remains the strongest economy in the EU, Germans (73%) were the most likely of all the respondents to say that their membership in the EU had been beneficial so far. This is noteworthy because of Germany's prominent role in bailing out other member countries with financial problems. Germans' belief that the EU had been good for their economy was closely followed by that of the French and the Portuguese (both 69%). The Bulgarians (47%) and the British (40%, down from 46%) were least likely to say that EU membership has had a positive effect on their economies. Italy (40%, up 17 percentage points from 2011) and Spain (38%, up 12 percentage points from 2011) saw a marked rise in those who felt EU membership had been bad. In Turkey, a plurality of respondents (44%) said that EU membership would be good for their economy.

...BUT FEW WANT TO LEAVE COMMON CURRENCY

Despite these still-high ratings for EU membership, the euro did not enjoy the same support. Only 37% of those polled in EU countries thought that using the euro *had been* (to those in the eurozone) or *would be* (to those outside the eurozone) a good thing for their country's economy, and a majority of 57% (up four percentage points from the previous year) thought it had been or would be a bad thing.

Germany (53%, up five percentage points), Slovakia (54%), and the Netherlands (47%), were the only countries where a

SPANISH AT ODDS WITH EUROPE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

Spain has been one of the EU member states hardest hit by the financial crisis, with dramatic rates of youth unemployment. This is reflected in three-in-four Spanish respondents disapproving of their government's handling of economic policies — the highest such rate in Europe.

And while a majority of Spanish respondents (58%) continued to think that their country's membership in the EU has been good for their country, that majority has declined significantly from last year's (68%). A majority (57%) said that membership in the eurozone had been bad for Spain, and one-in-four respondents (27%) said their country should leave the eurozone.

Disapproval of the EU's handling of the economic crisis was higher than anywhere else in Europe (66%), and Spain tied with Italy as the country with the highest disapproval rates for German Chancellor Angela Merkel (63%). Four-in-five Spanish respondents were pessimistic about the equity of their economic system, with 82% saying that most benefits go to a few.

Chart 12:
Perception of Negative Effect of the Euro on the National Economy

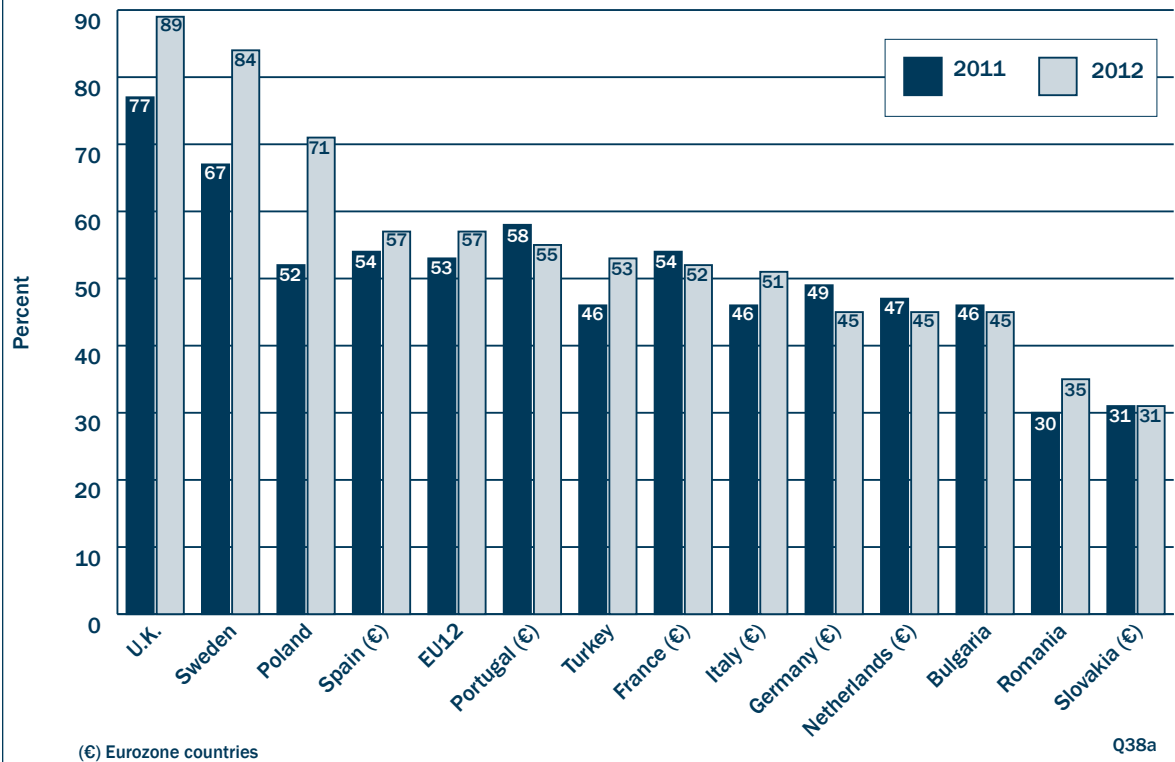
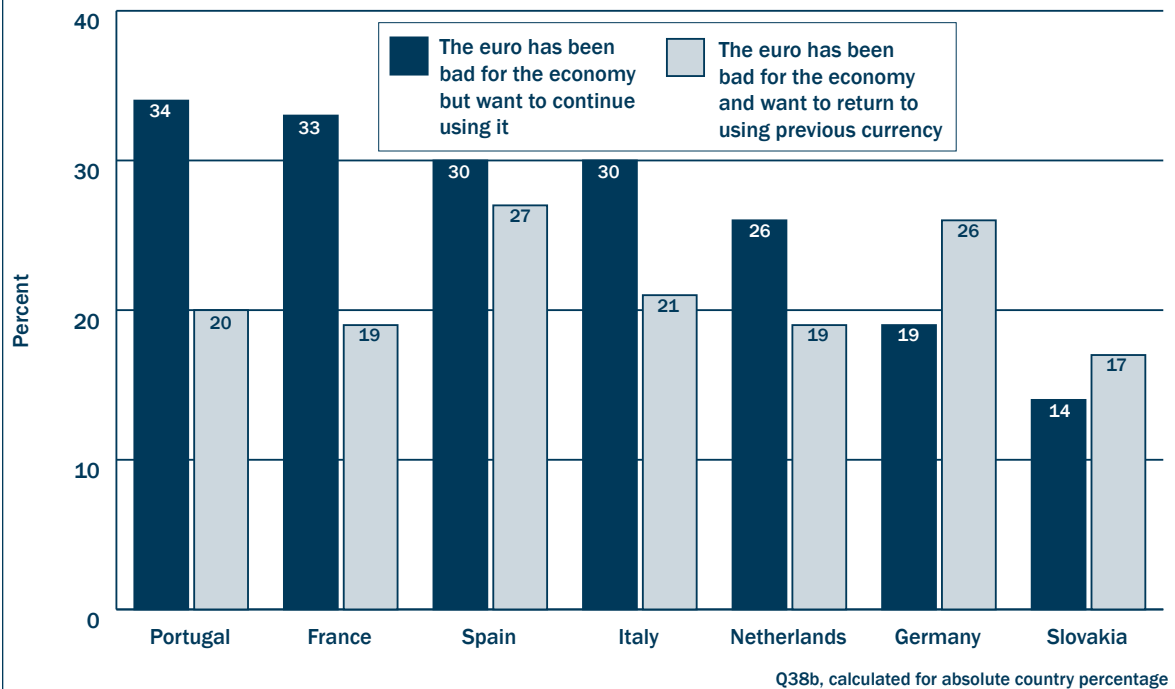


Chart 13:
Leave or Stay in the Eurozone?



majority or plurality of those polled said the effect of using the euro had been beneficial to their economies.

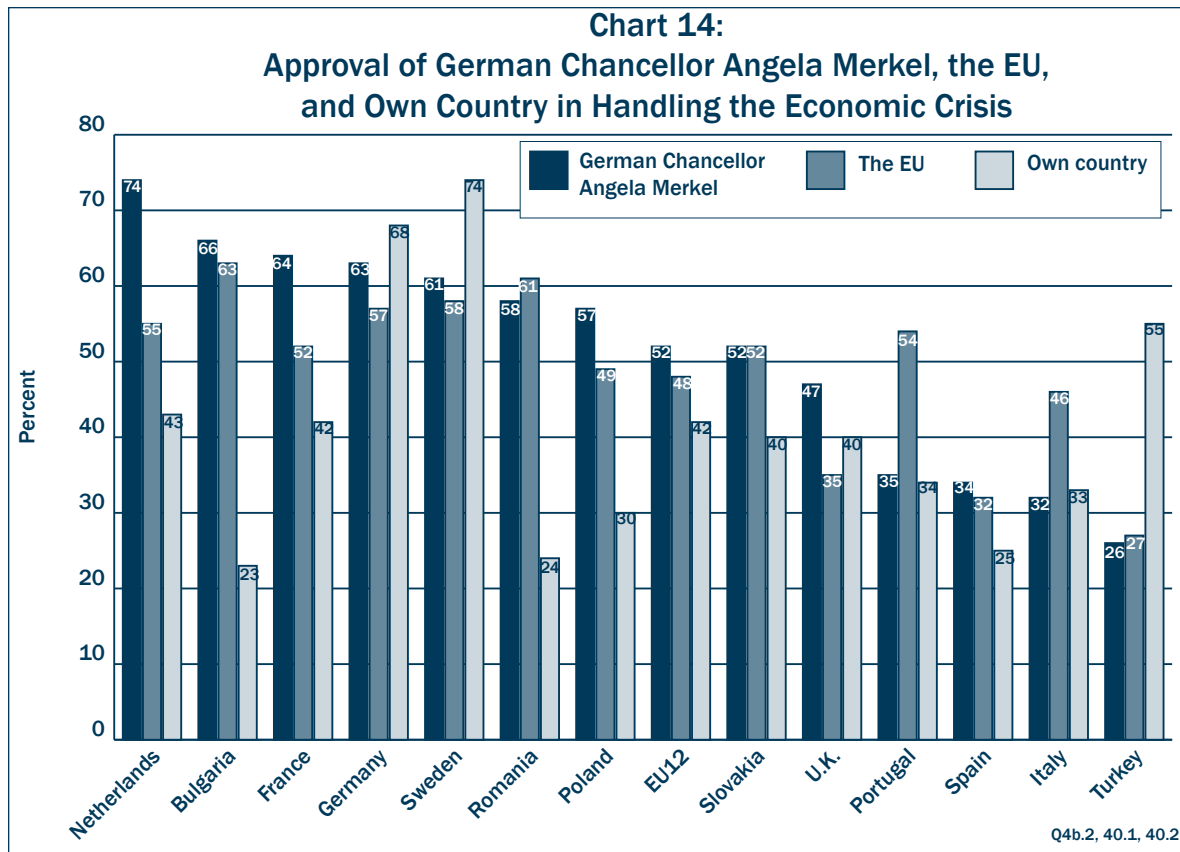
More than half of the Spanish (57%), the Portuguese (55%), the French (52%), and the Italians (51%) said that the euro had been a bad thing for their economies. With the exception of Romania, where a plurality of respondents (42%) continued to think the euro would be good for their economy, respondents outside the eurozone were increasingly likely to think it would be bad for them: the U.K. (89%, up 12 points), Sweden (84%, up 17 points), Poland (71%, up 19 points), and Bulgaria (a plurality of 45%, down 1 point).

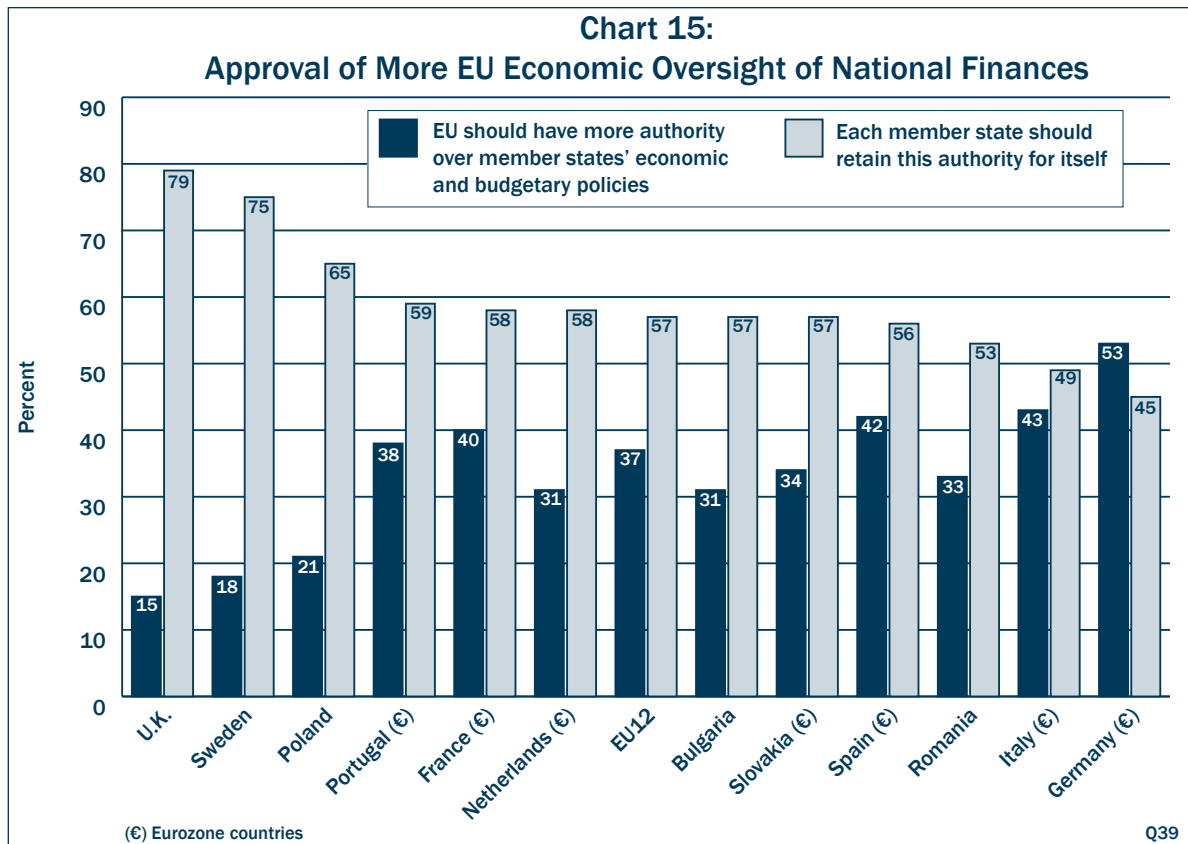
Fifty-eight percent of those dissatisfied with the euro in Germany and 56% of those dissatisfied with the euro in Slovakia would like to leave the euro entirely, representing absolute percentages of 26% and 17%, respectively. Those countries most in favor of leaving the euro in absolute terms were Spain (27%), Germany (26%), Italy (21%), and Portugal (20%).

HANDLING OF ECONOMIC CRISIS BY EU, MERKEL: APPROVAL IN EUROPE IS MIXED

A plurality of Europeans (48%) approved of the way the European Union had been handling the economic crisis in Europe. Almost two-thirds of respondents approved in Bulgaria (63%) and Romania (61%). Majorities approved in Sweden (58%) and Germany (57%). Majorities disapproved, however, in Spain (66%) and the U.K. (56%).

Meanwhile, when Europeans were asked whether they approved of the way German Chancellor Angela Merkel had handled the economic crisis, a majority (52%) said they approved of her actions. Her approval ratings were highest in the Netherlands (74%), Bulgaria (66%), France (64%), Germany (63%), and Sweden (61%). Disapproval rates, on the other hand, were highest in Italy and Spain (both 63%) and Portugal (61%), three of the countries hardest hit by the economic crisis. However, a majority in Poland (57%) and Slovakia (52%), and a plurality in the United Kingdom (47%) also supported her.





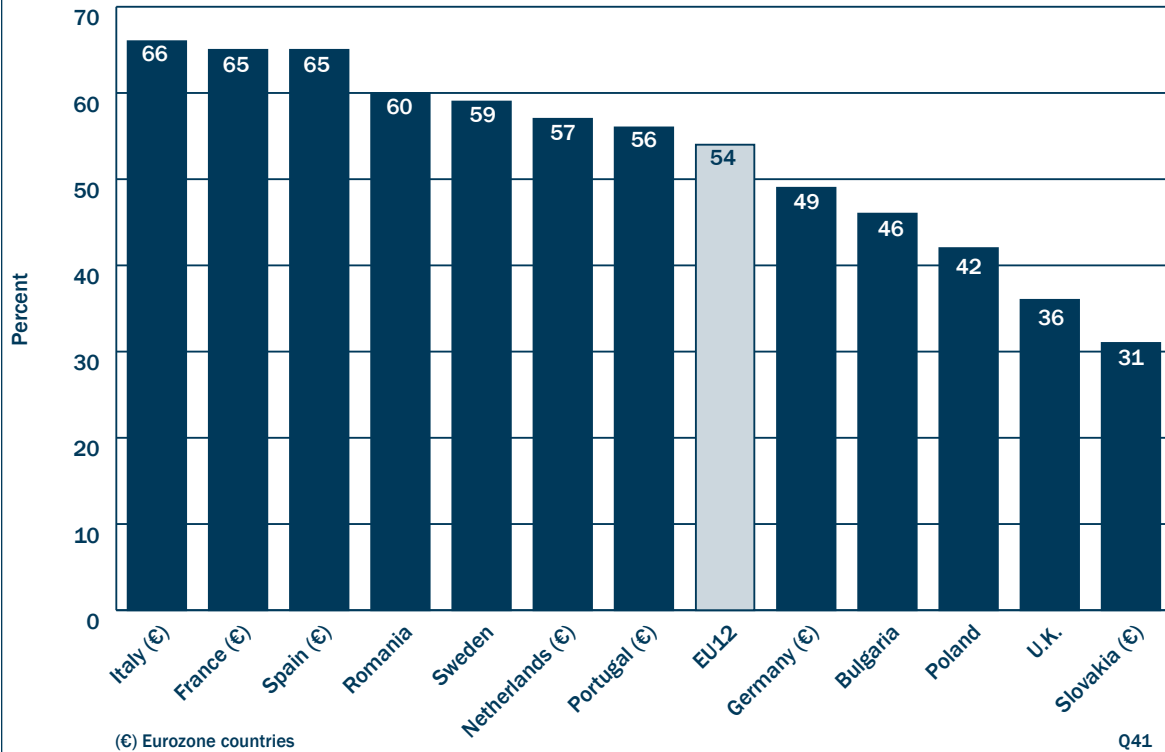
EU CONTROL OVER NATIONAL BUDGETS REMAINS UNPOPULAR

Some have suggested that the EU should have more authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies — which is already a prerequisite for bailouts from Brussels. An average of 57% of respondents from all EU member countries surveyed preferred, however, that each member state retain authority over its own economic and budgetary policies. The only exception was Germany, where a majority (53%) said that the EU should have greater authority on these questions. People in the U.K. (79%) and Sweden (75%) were the most likely to say that their countries should retain full control over national economic and budgetary policies.

CONTRIBUTING TO STABILITY FUND STILL SEEN POSITIVELY, BUT LESS SO

When Europeans were asked whether they approved of their country making contributions to a fund to assist member states that find themselves in budgetary difficulties, a majority of respondents (54%, down 6 percentage points from last year) approved of their country making contributions to such a fund, while 42% disapproved. The majority of respondents approved of this in all countries except for Poland (respondents were equally divided, with 42% in favor and 42% against), Slovakia (31%), and the U.K. (36%, both down 7 points compared to the previous year). In Germany, the biggest potential contributor to such a fund, respondents were equally divided, with 49% approving and 48% disapproving of a national contribution to the fund.

Chart 16:
Support for Contributing to a Special Assistance Fund
for Countries with Budgetary Difficulties



BRITONS INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL OF THE EU, AND WEARY OF INTERVENTION

Anti-European sentiment was visibly on the rise in the U.K. this year. The number of British respondents with an unfavorable view of the EU rose by 14 points to 49%. Only 40% of British respondents believed that EU membership was good for the domestic economy, with 52% saying membership was bad. The U.K. was also more likely than most other EU member countries polled to see economic opportunities in China (56%, as opposed to an EU average of 42%). However, 44% of those polled saw China as a potential military threat (five points over the European average).

Seventy-three percent of Britons said the economic crisis had affected them personally. Fifty-eight percent disapproved of their government's handling of economic policies, a rate close to that of some of Europe's most troubled economies. The U.K. was one of two European countries where majorities disapproved of their country making a contribution to the European bailout fund. (The other was Slovakia; the Polish respondents were evenly split.) It was also the country where respondents insisted most strongly on retaining full control over the national budget (79%).

Despite their economic difficulties, 51% of those polled in the U.K. said they would approve of keeping military spending at current levels; two-in-three agreed (64%, the highest rate of agreement in Europe) that war is sometimes necessary to achieve justice. Only 37% of Britons otherwise opposed to military intervention as a means to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons said they would support military action if all other means had failed (nine points below the European average of 46%). On the question of whether recent military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan had been right and contributed to stability in those countries, Britons were as skeptical as the European average. Nor was there any appetite for intervention in Syria (59% said the U.K. should stay out completely). Despite the fact that their government had led the 2011 Libya intervention together with France, only half (50%) of the Britons polled felt that the intervention in Libya had been the right thing to do.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

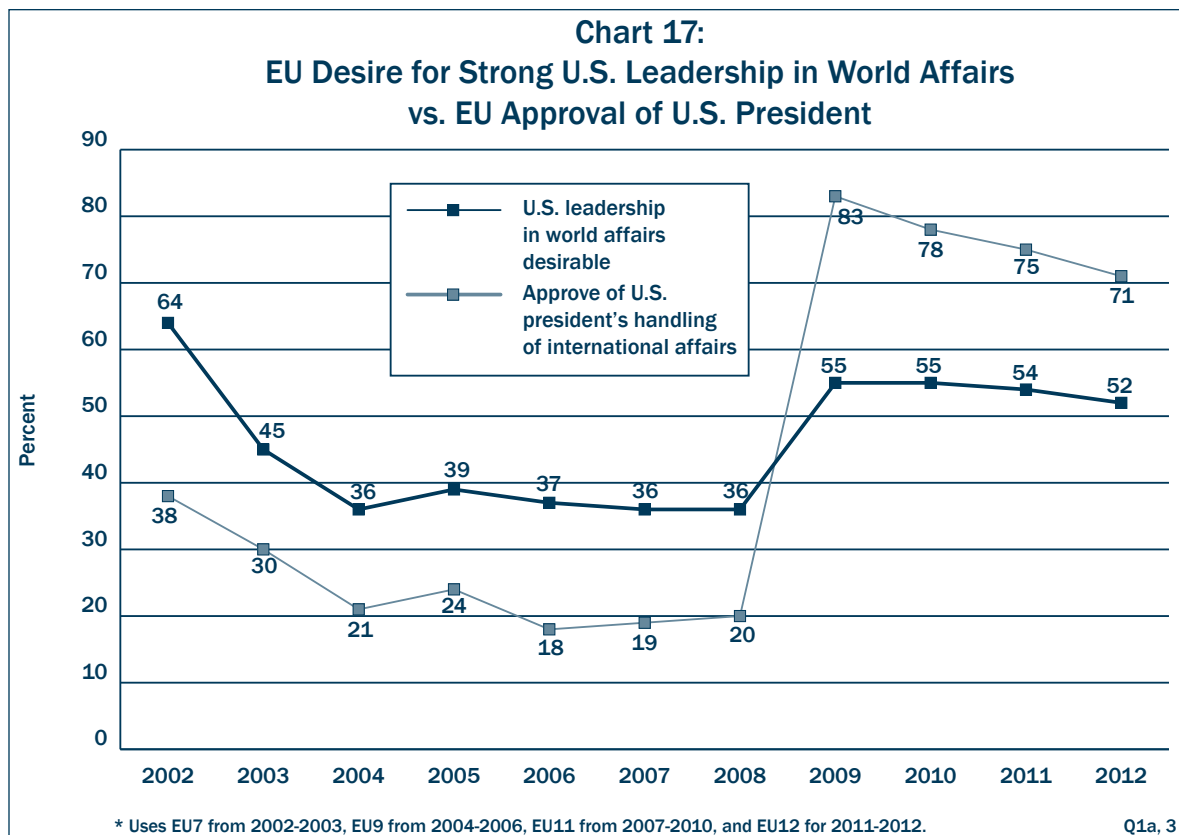
Section Three: Obama's First Term and the 2012 Elections

Beginning in earnest with the first Republican debate in May 2011, the 2012 presidential election has been vigorously contested for many months now, with neither side making any clear progress among a largely polarized electorate. The contest for the Republican nomination, fought by candidates representing very different visions for the party's future, ended effectively on April 10, 2012, when Rick Santorum's suspension of his campaign left the path to the nomination open to Mitt Romney. President Obama, meanwhile, struggled to right a troubled economy that has increasingly come to define his first term in office, an economy that reached a nadir in August 2011 when pro-

longed negotiations on the future of America's debt resulted in the downgrade of the United States' credit rating.

TRANSATLANTIC MAJORITIES STILL APPROVE OF OBAMA'S POLICIES, BUT FAVORABILITY CONTINUES TO DECREASE AMONG SOME EUROPEAN ALLIES

According to the findings of this year's *Transatlantic Trends* survey, approval of U.S. President Barack Obama's international role remained stable in the United States, with a majority of 54% saying that they approved of his handling of international policies. His ratings dropped somewhat in Europe, though he is still very popular — and considerably



more so than in the United States. On average, 71% of the population of the 12 EU member countries polled approved of his handling of international policies.

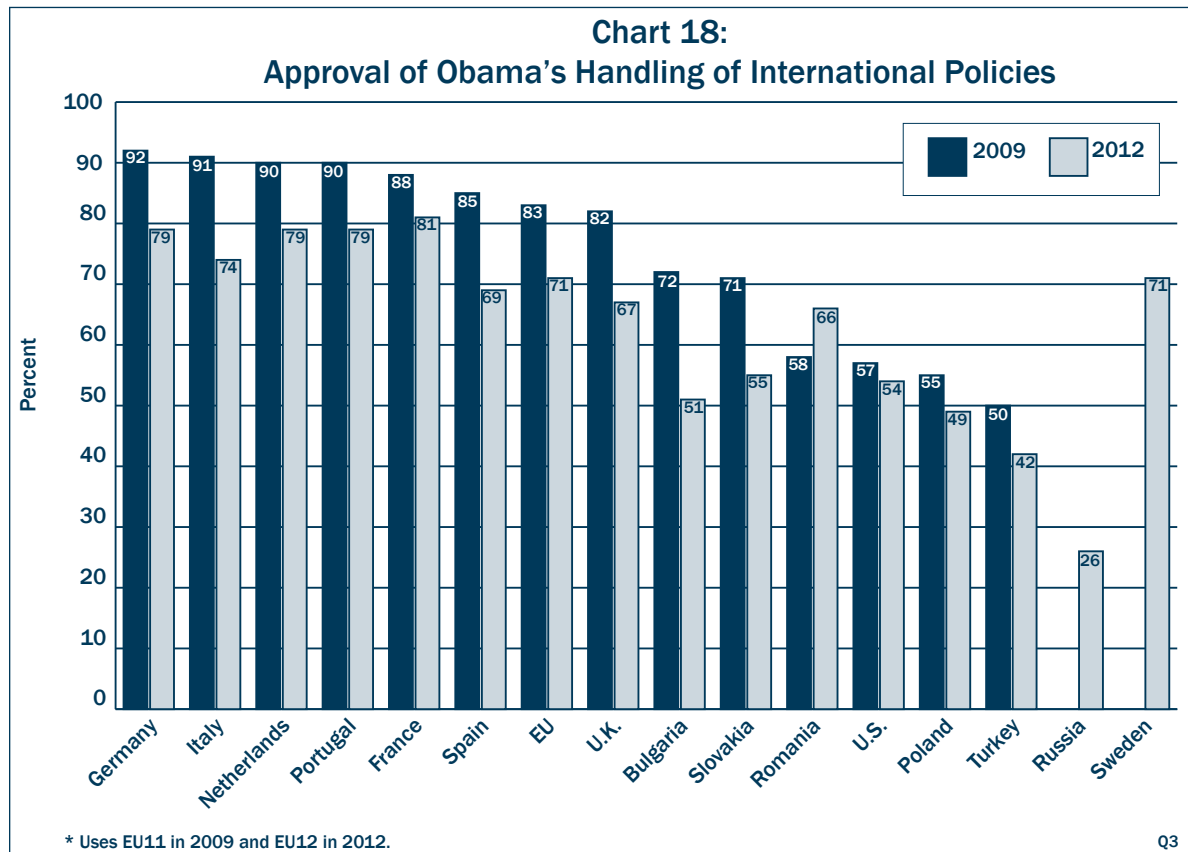
Nevertheless, in some countries, Obama's approval rating was not nearly as high as it was immediately following his election. From 2009, for example, the approval rate for Obama's international policies dropped only three percentage points in the United States (from 57%). But it dipped by 21 percentage points in Bulgaria (now 51%), 17 points in Italy (74%), 16 points in Slovakia (55%) and Spain (69%), 15 points in the U.K. (67%), 13 points in Germany (79%), and 11 points in the Netherlands and Portugal (both 79%). His policies were least popular in Russia (26%) and Turkey (42%), the only two countries where pluralities (48% and 43%, respectively) actually disapproved of his handling international policies. Still, these approval ratings are much higher than those accorded George W. Bush in 2008: about seven times as high in France and Germany, five times

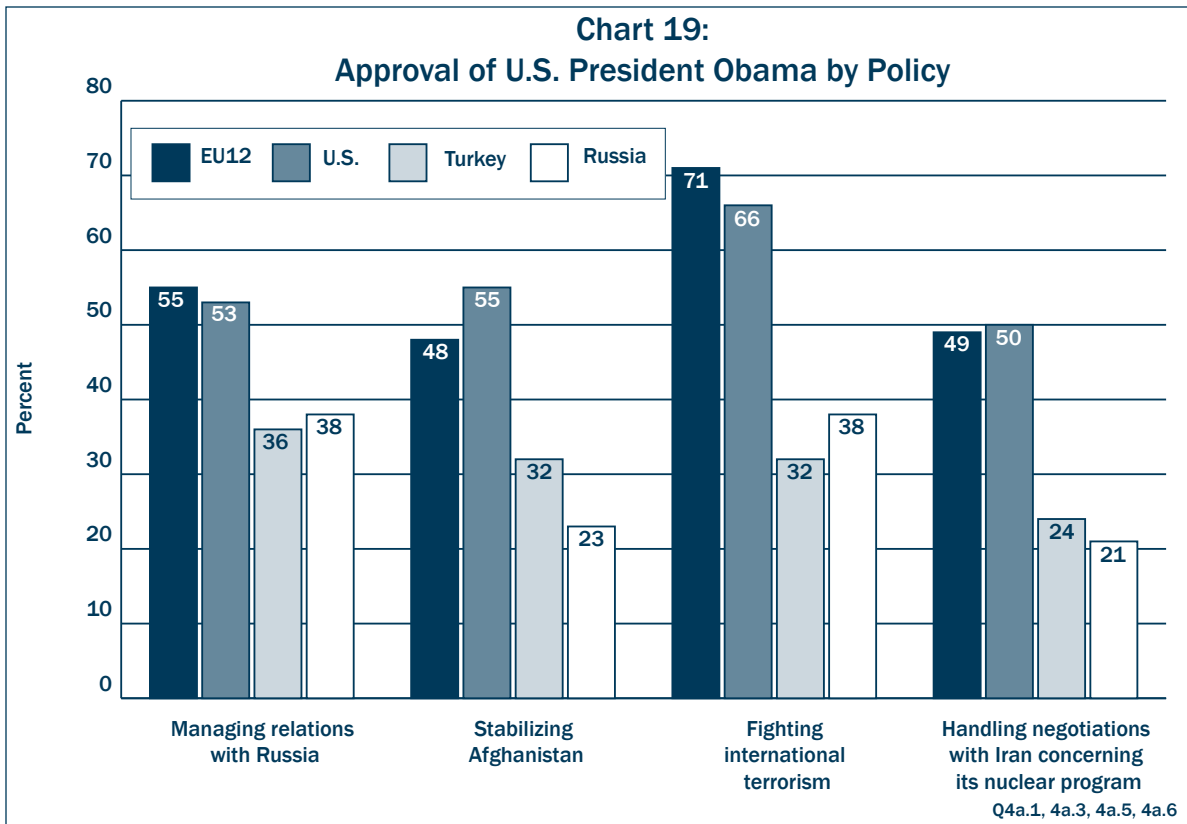
as high in Turkey, and four times as high in the United Kingdom.

Central and Eastern European countries showed somewhat lower support compared with the EU average, including Romania (66%), Slovakia (55%), and Bulgaria (51%). In Poland, public approval dropped by a marked 16 percentage points since last year to 49%.

OBAMA'S POLICIES AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM RECEIVED HIGHEST APPROVAL

Beyond general approval of Barack Obama's handling of international relations, the data showed that Americans' approval of specific international policies did not differ much from the 54% overall foreign policy approval rate, whether on handling nuclear negotiations with Iran (50%), managing relations with Russia (53%), or stabilizing Afghanistan (55%) — the sole exception being his policies on international terrorism, of which two-thirds of respon-





dents (66%) approved. On average in the EU, 71% approved of the U.S. president's fighting of international terrorism; this might be explained by his administration's success in eliminating al Qaeda leaders, such as Osama bin Laden.

Turks and Russians were more critical, however, of Obama's specific foreign policies than respondents in the EU. One-in-three Turks (32%) and fewer than one-in-four Russians (23%) approved of Obama's efforts to stabilize Afghanistan. One-in-four Turks (24%), and only one-in-five Russians (21%), approved of his handling of the situation in Iran. Thirty-eight percent of Russians and 36% of Turks approved of the U.S. president's management of relations with Russia. Thirty-eight percent of Russians and 32% of Turks approved of his fight against international terrorism.

MITT ROMNEY SEEN UNFAVORABLY IN THE UNITED STATES; IN EUROPE, HE IS UNKNOWN TO ONE-IN-THREE

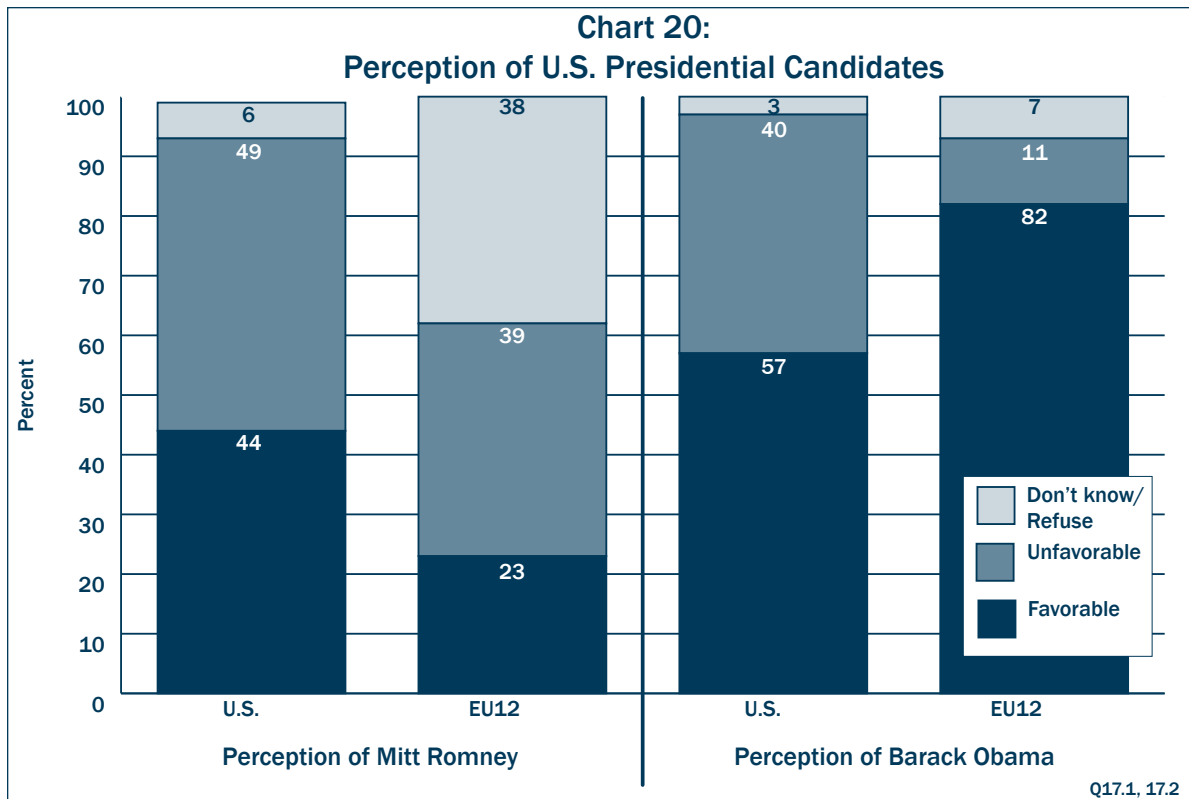
Asked to what extent their view of either of the two candidates for the U.S. presidential election in November was

favorable or unfavorable, a plurality of 49% of Americans said that their view of Mitt Romney was unfavorable; 44% reported a favorable view. In Europe, by contrast, only 23% said they held a favorable view, while 39% said their opinion of Romney was unfavorable. A remarkable 38% of respondents in the EU (with a high in Poland at 66%),⁴ as well as in Turkey (49%) and Russia (59%) either said they did not know or refused to answer, compared to 24% of respondents who did not know John McCain and 14% who did not know Barack Obama in 2008. French (52%) and German (51%) respondents registered their unfavorable views most strongly, followed by the Swedes (49%) and the Dutch (47%).

BARACK OBAMA SEEN SOMEWHAT FAVORABLY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND VERY MUCH SO IN EUROPE

As for the incumbent presidential candidate, a majority (57%) of Americans said their view of Barack Obama was favorable; 40% reported an unfavorable view. In Europe, by

⁴ The survey was conducted before Mitt Romney's trip to Europe in late July 2012.



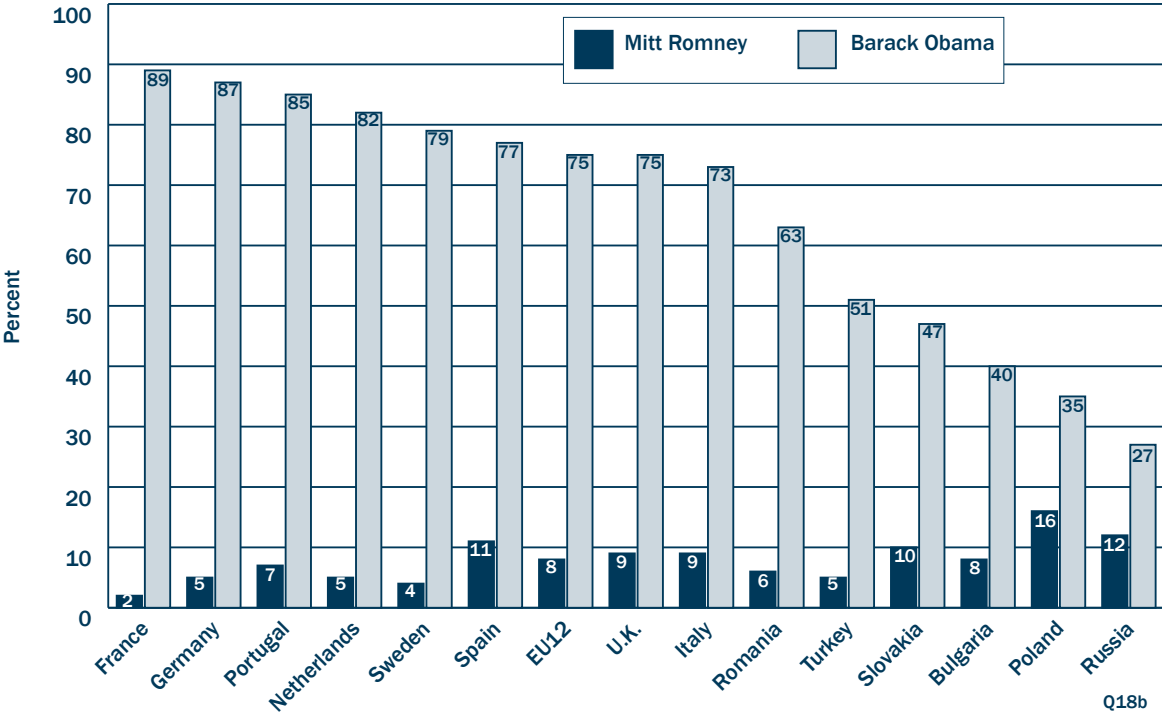
contrast, 82% said their opinion of Obama was favorable, with only 11% saying they disapproved. Enthusiasm for the president ran particularly high in France (93%), Germany (91%), and Sweden (90%); it was lowest in Poland (54%). Turks' feelings were lukewarm (50%), whereas only one-in-three Russians (36%) thought favorably of Obama.

IF EUROPEANS COULD VOTE, THEY WOULD VOTE FOR OBAMA

An overwhelming majority of Europeans (75%) said they would vote for Barack Obama if they were allowed to vote in the U.S. elections in November. Only 8% said they would

vote for Mitt Romney if they could. Within the EU, Romney got the most votes in Poland (16%), and the fewest in France (2%). Barack Obama's supporters were strongest in France (89%) and Germany (87%) and weakest in Bulgaria (40%) and Poland (35%). Despite their lukewarm feelings, 51% of Turks said they would vote for Obama while 5% responded they would cast their vote for Romney. Forty-five percent said they did not know, or refused to answer. Among the Russians, 27% preferred Obama, 12% would cast their vote for Romney, and 62% said they did not know or refused to answer.

Chart 21:
If Europeans Could Vote for the U.S. President...





TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

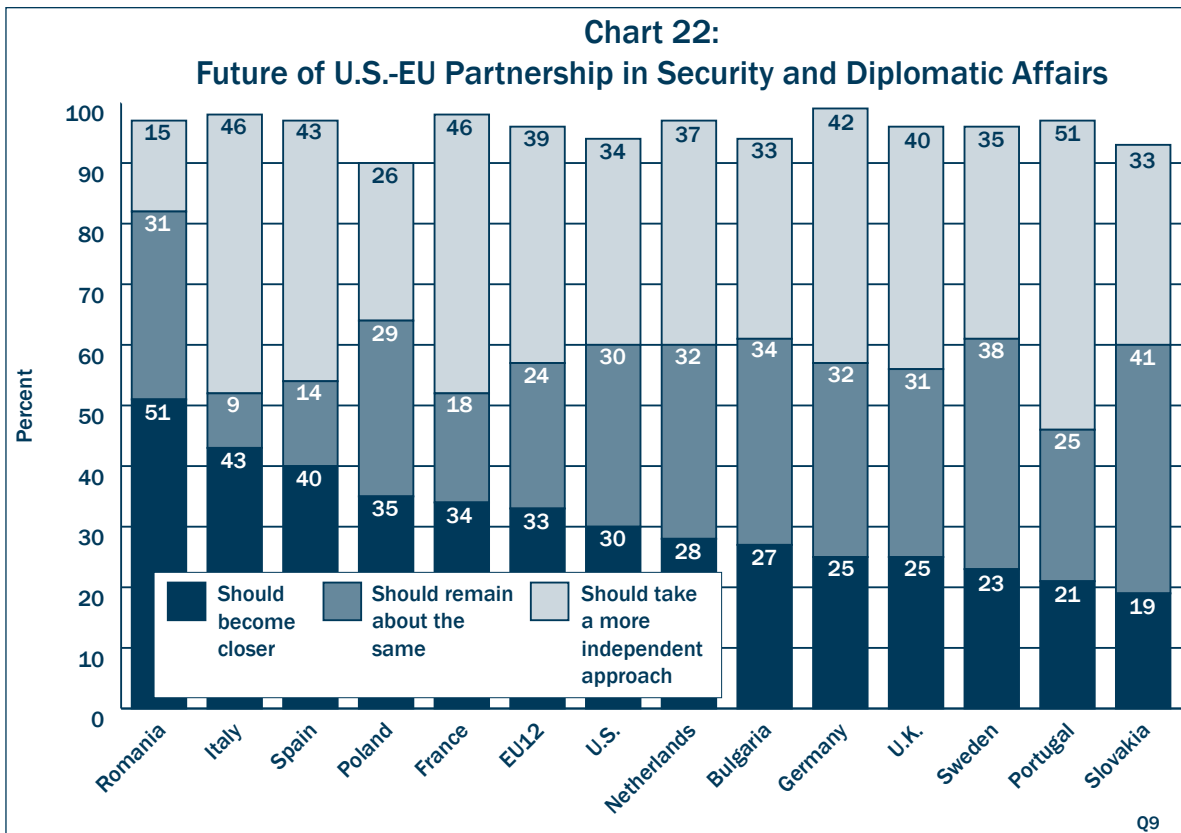
Section Four: Transatlantic Security

The past year has been one of mixed progress for transatlantic security. The death of Muammar Gaddafi last October concluded one of NATO’s most successful out-of-area operations to date, one that ended without the mission creep, costs, or death tolls of which many had been wary. At the same time, this mission was by no means a unified effort, as a number of traditional allies — most notably Germany — declined to participate, while many that did showed a discomfiting lack of preparedness for any sort of sustained military operation. Last December also saw the official end of the war in Iraq, as the last troops and trainers left in accordance with the Status of Forces Agreement

negotiated in late 2008. Despite the NATO Summit in Chicago, allies continue to debate the future of the military alliance, as well as the necessary extent of burden-sharing between allies. Finally, as the Arab uprisings proceed and Syria appears to be increasingly embroiled in civil war, Western nations find themselves with very limited options.

OPINION ON THE SECURITY PARTNERSHIP REMAINS MIXED

As in earlier years, *Transatlantic Trends* asked whether the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union should become



closer, remain about the same, or whether the respondents' side should take a more independent approach. Although opinion is closely divided, pluralities of both Europeans (39%) and Americans (34%) stated that their own side should take a more independent approach. The largest change was a six-point drop to 33% in the percentage of Europeans who felt the two sides should become closer. That was about the same as the U.S. response of 30% — which represents a 30-point drop since that question was first asked of them in 2004. The number of Europeans who felt relations should stay about the same increased correspondingly by three points, to 24%.

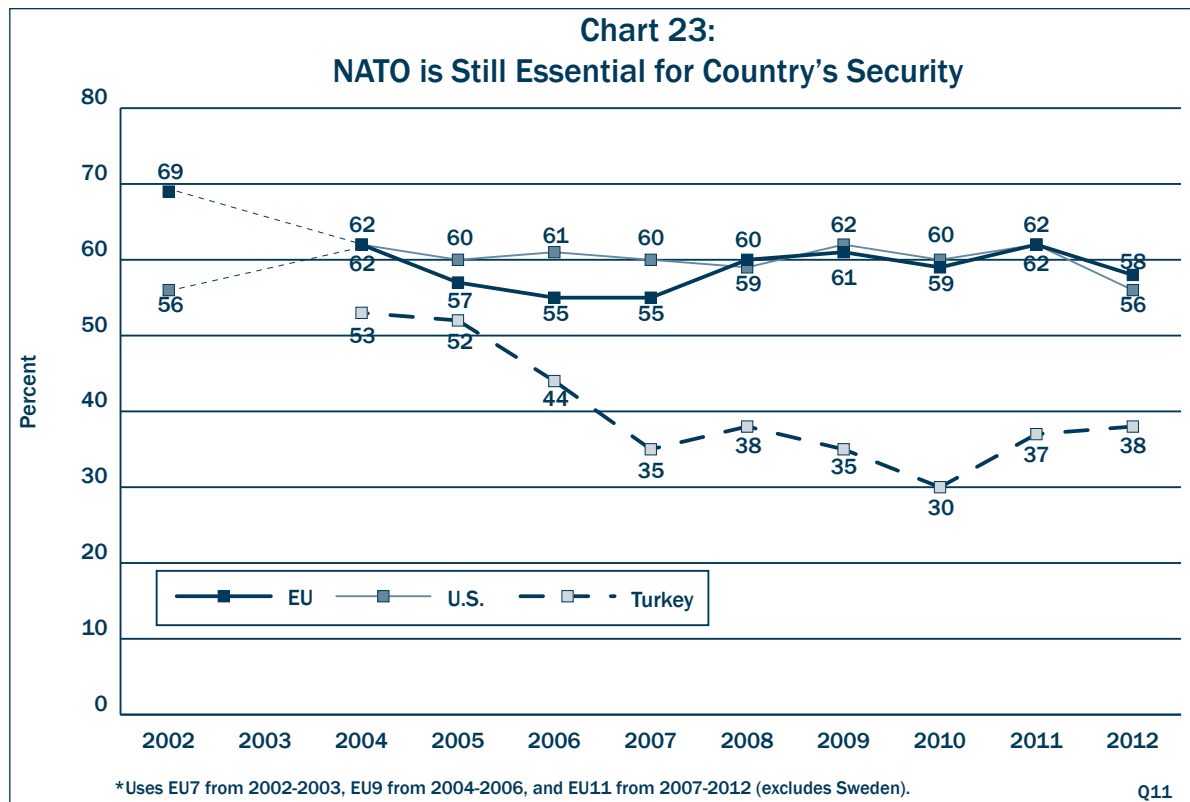
Among those who felt that their side should take a more independent approach, the highest percentages came from the Portuguese (51%), the French and Italians (both 46%), the Spanish (43%), and the Germans (42%). Romanians (15%) and Poles (26%) were least likely to approve of this option. As for those who wanted their side to move closer to its transatlantic partners, the highest percentages were registered in Romania (51%), Italy (43%), and Spain (40%). Respondents least interested in moving closer were

the Slovaks (19%), the Portuguese (21%), and the Swedes (23%). The Slovaks (41%) and the Swedes (38%) were the most likely to say that things should stay just as they were.

VIEWS ON NATO STABLE IN EUROPE, BUT THE UNITED STATES GROWS MORE SKEPTICAL

Despite growing pessimism about the ultimate success of the NATO mission in Afghanistan and continued debate about European contributions to allied burden-sharing, the institution was seen as “still essential” by majorities in all countries surveyed except for Turkey. Fifty-eight percent of EU respondents in NATO member countries felt this way, but the number of Americans who agreed dropped six percentage points to 56%.

There were considerable differences between countries, however. Figures ranged from a high of 71% in the Netherlands and the U.K. to a low of 45% in Poland (down by six points from the previous year). As in past years, Turkey was the NATO member with the lowest public support, with only 38% saying that NATO is still essential.



POLAND INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL OF TRADITIONAL ALLIANCES

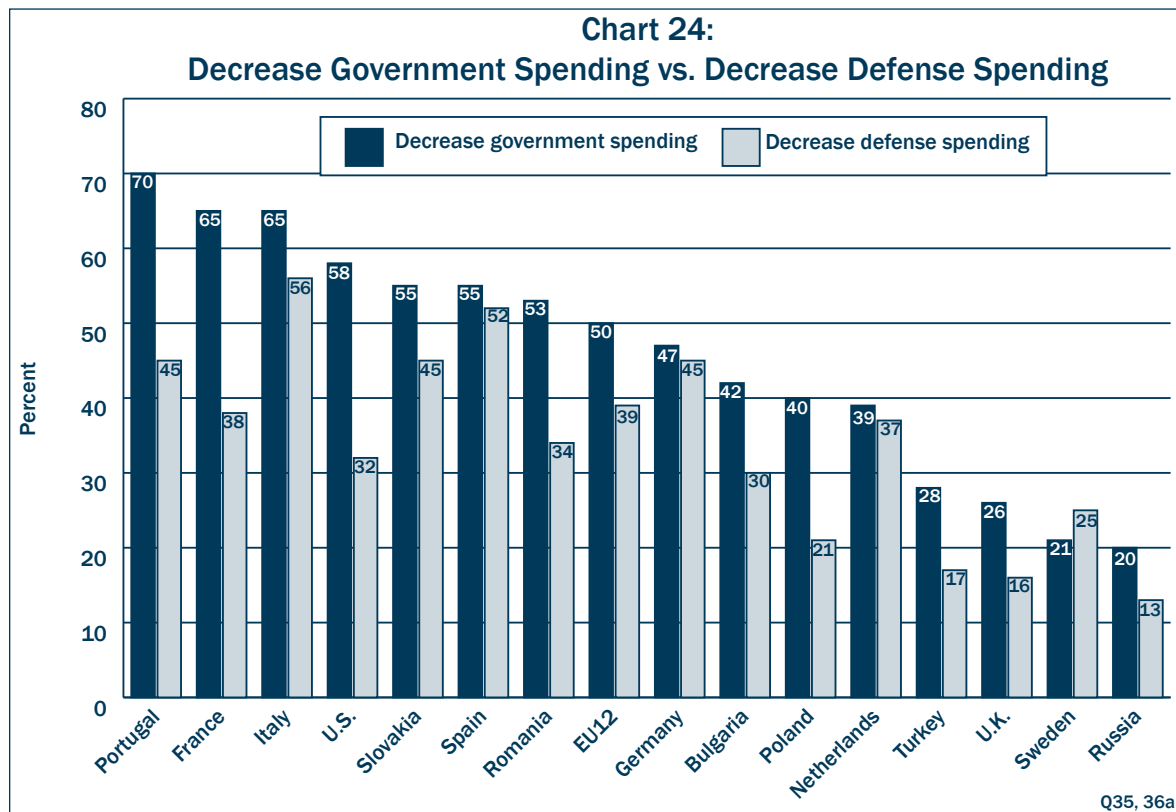
Though a member of NATO since 1999 and an active participant in the military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, Poles grew increasingly dubious of both NATO and the United Nations this year. Asked whether NATO is still essential to their security, only 45% responded that it is – the lowest number in Europe, and a six percentage point drop from last year. Forty percent said that it is no longer essential, the second highest number in Europe (after Spain). This coincides with an overwhelming negativity about past interventions. Asked if the intervention in Iraq was the right thing to do, 55% said that it was not while only 26% said that it was, the latter representing the lowest number in Europe. Much the same held true when the Poles were asked about Afghanistan (55% disapproved; 27% approved).

This same sentiment extends to future interventions. Asked if nations had the responsibility to protect civilians from violence committed by their own governments – a responsibility endorsed by the UN – 42% of Poles, the lowest number in Europe, said that they did; 35%, the highest number in Europe, said that they did not. This conviction held true in practice, as 67% of Poles said that their country should not intervene in Syria. Of those, 71% maintained their position even in the case of a hypothetical UN mandate.

PUBLIC LESS LIKELY TO CUT DEFENSE SPENDING THAN GOVERNMENT SPENDING IN GENERAL

When asked whether their government should increase, maintain current levels, or reduce spending in general, most respondents chose either to maintain or reduce spending in

general. In fact, in 11 of the 15 countries surveyed, majorities or pluralities wanted to reduce government spending. However, when asked about *defense* spending in particular, in 11 of the 15 countries, majorities or pluralities wanted to maintain current levels of military outlays.



On average, 50% of those in the EU countries surveyed wanted to decrease government spending, 31% wanted to keep current levels, and 15% wanted to increase spending. But when asked about defense spending, 39% wanted to decrease spending, 46% wanted to keep current levels, and only 11% wanted to increase. However, majorities in Italy (56%) and Spain (52%) wanted to decrease defense spending.

A fairly similar pattern applied in the United States. Fifty-eight percent of Americans wanted to decrease government spending, 23% wanted to maintain current levels, and 14% wanted to increase spending. But when it came to defense spending, only 32% wanted to decrease, while 45% wanted to maintain current levels, and 20% wanted to increase defense spending.

NO CHANGE IN DEFENSE SPENDING IN REACTION TO U.S. “PIVOT” TO ASIA

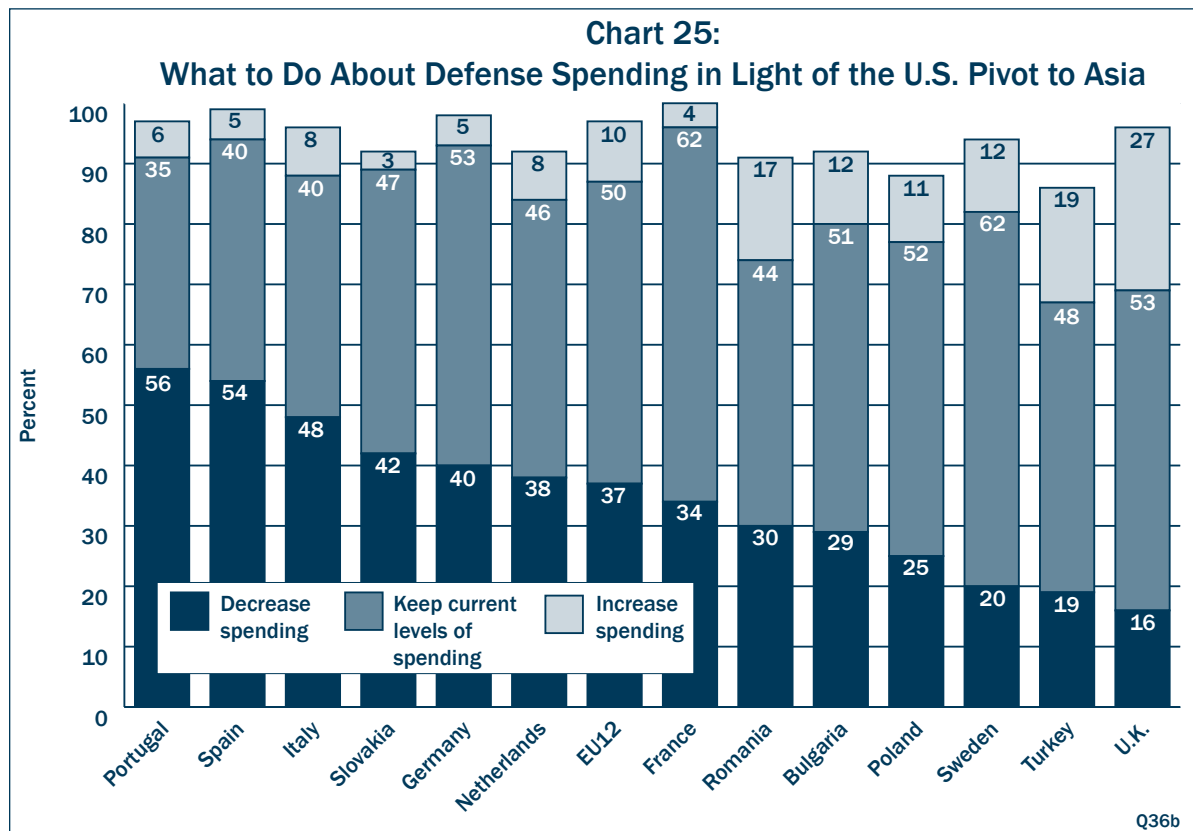
Transatlantic Trends asked half of each country’s respondents whether their government should increase defense

spending, maintain current levels, or reduce spending, in light of the recent U.S. government decision to increase military spending in East Asia and reduce U.S. troops in Europe. Despite this reminder, 50% of the EU respondents chose to maintain spending in general; 37% said it should be reduced.

AMERICANS, EUROPEANS DISAGREE SLIGHTLY ON IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN, BUT AGREE LIBYA INTERVENTION WAS RIGHT

Respondents were asked whether, taking everything into consideration, intervention in three cases — Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya — had been the right thing or not.

In the case of Iraq (where a U.S.-led coalition intervened from 2003 to 2012), a plurality in the United States said intervention had been the right thing to do (49% vs. 45%), while a majority in the EU (54% vs. 38%) disagreed. Sweden (56%) and Bulgaria (55%) were the only countries among the 12 EU member states surveyed where majorities on balance approved of intervention in Iraq. Disapproval was



highest in Russia (64%), Spain (59%), Germany (58%), and Turkey (56%).

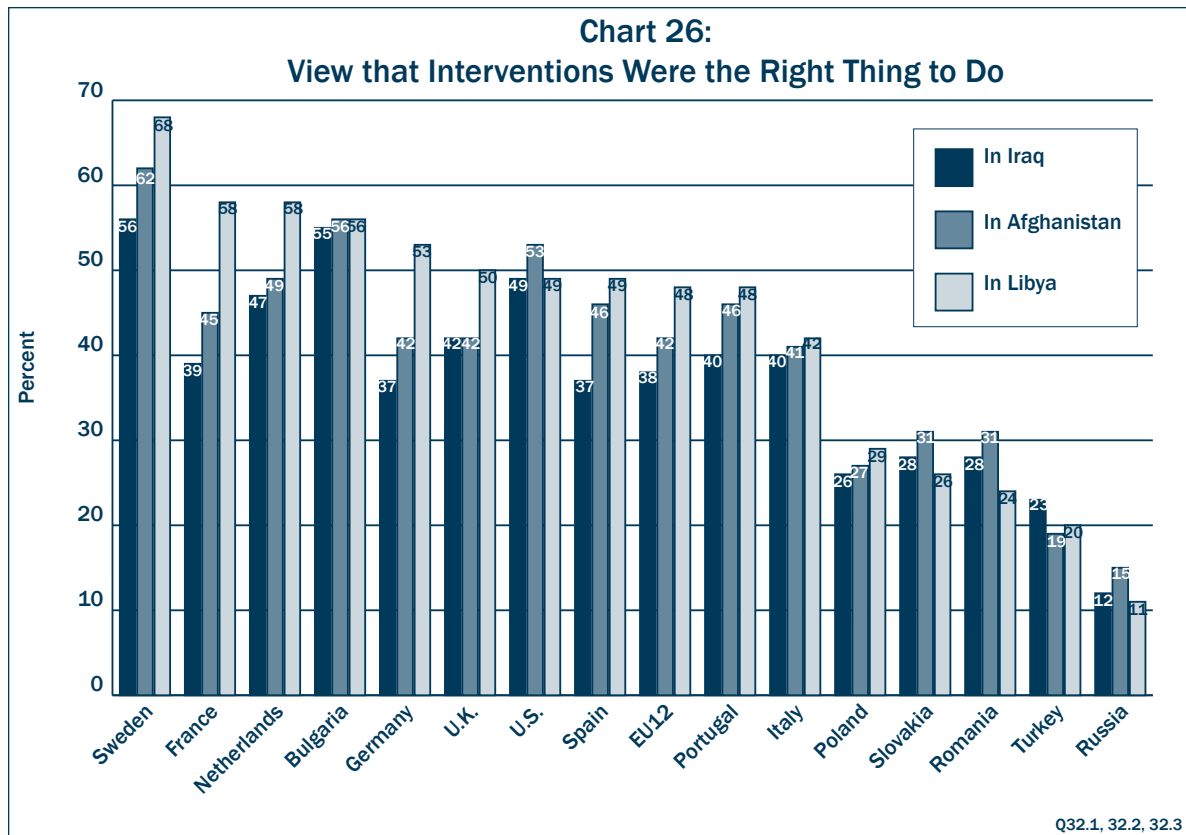
As for Afghanistan (where Western intervention began with an operation to remove the Taliban from power in 2001, and from which NATO troops are scheduled to withdraw by 2014), a majority in the United States said intervention had been the right thing to do (53%), while half of the EU respondents (50%) said it had not. Again, Sweden (62%) and Bulgaria (56%) were the only countries among the 12 EU member states surveyed where majorities on balance felt that intervention in Afghanistan had been the right thing to do. Disapproval was highest in Russia (62%), Turkey (57%), Poland (55%), Germany (53%), and the U.K. (52%).

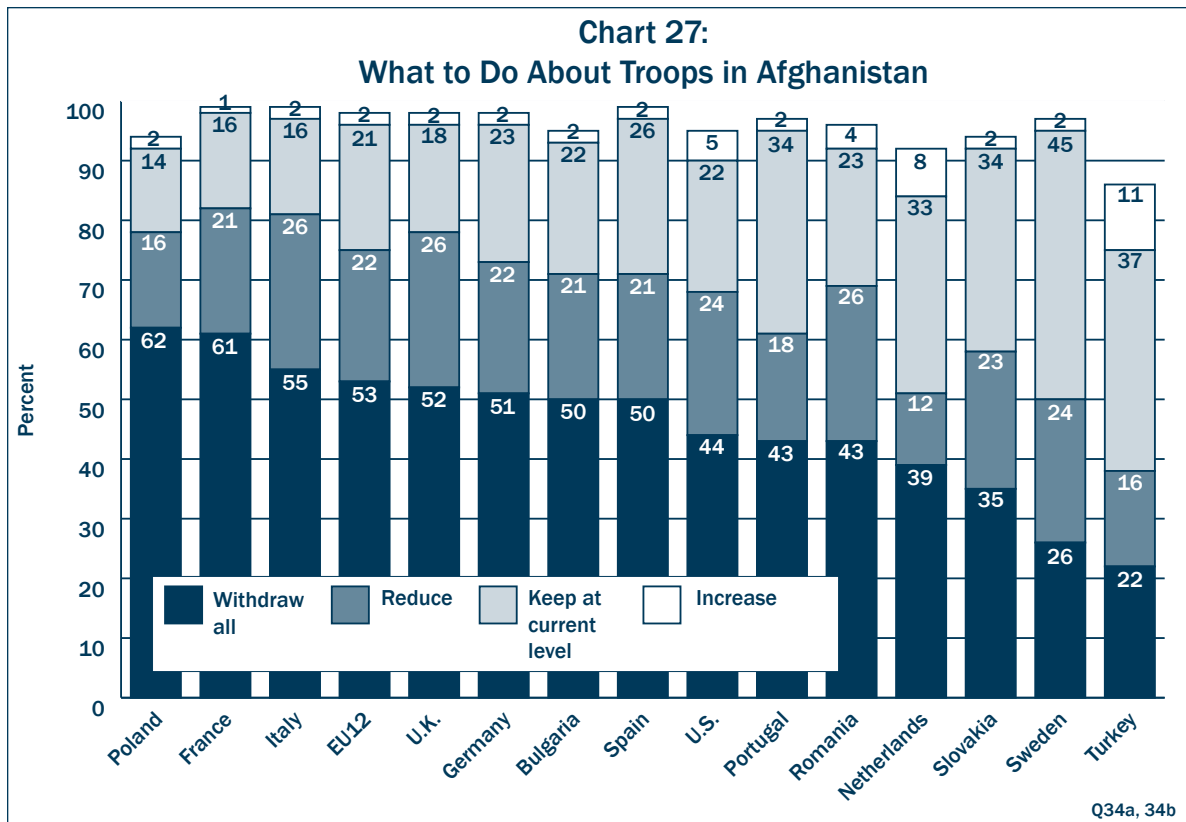
Finally, in the case of Libya, where a Western coalition led by the U.K. and France intervened amid much dispute over several months in 2011, pluralities in the United States (49%) and in the EU (48%) said intervention had been the right thing to do. Approval of the Libyan intervention ran highest in Sweden (68%), France, and the Netherlands

(both 58%). Conversely, 53% of the Germans polled approved of the Libyan intervention as well, despite the fact that their government had abstained from the UN Security Council resolution authorizing the intervention and had subsequently refused to participate in the mission. In the United Kingdom, only half of respondents (50%) felt that the intervention had been right, while the lowest rates of approval registered in Poland (29%), Slovakia (26%), and Romania (24%), none of which had participated militarily. Only in Russia (61%) and Turkey (54%) did majorities disapprove of the Libya intervention — with Turks disapproving despite the fact that their government had joined the military operations.

AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS INCREASINGLY WANT TROOPS TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN

With pessimism about the success of the NATO operation in Afghanistan on the rise and the announcement of a 2014 withdrawal, the transatlantic divide on withdrawing troops appears to be shrinking. More than half of EU respondents





(53%) wanted to withdraw all troops, with an increasing number of Americans (44%, up from 35% in 2011) in agreement. Three-out-of-four European respondents (75%) polled supported either total withdrawal or troop reduction, nearly the same as the Americans polled (68%).

The number of Americans who preferred increasing troop levels in Afghanistan shrank from 30% in 2009 to only 5% this year, and those who wanted to keep the same number of troops the same decreased from 32% in 2009 to 22% this year. Meanwhile, the number of Americans who wanted to reduce the number of troops in Afghanistan dropped seven percentage points to 24%, and the portion of those who wanted to withdraw all troops increased by nine points since 2011 to 44%.

The majority of European respondents (53%) thought that their government should withdraw all troops, 22% thought troop levels should be reduced, 21% thought troop levels should remain the same, and very few (2%) thought their government should commit more troops.

Individual countries in Europe mostly reflected these EU averages, with a solid majority in each country preferring to reduce or withdraw troops. The top six European NATO members supplying troops in Afghanistan all had majorities preferring complete withdrawal: Germany (51%), the U.K. (52%), Italy (55%), France (61%), and Poland (62%). On the other end of the spectrum was Sweden, where 45% preferred to maintain troop levels. Of the respondents in the Netherlands, which has police trainers in Afghanistan, a total of 51% wanted to withdraw or reduce the trainers. The number of respondents who preferred complete withdrawal rose by 15 percentage points since 2011 to a plurality of 39%, whereas those who wanted to reduce their numbers dropped by 19 points to 12%.

**LITTLE OPTIMISM REGARDING STABILITY IN
AFGHANISTAN, LIBYA, IRAQ, EGYPT, AND SYRIA**

On the question of prospects for stability in Afghanistan, last year's poll showed a reversal in U.S. optimism. This year, too, a majority of Americans (56%) remained pessimistic, whereas 38% were optimistic. (In 2009, when this

question was first asked by *Transatlantic Trends*, 56% were optimistic and 39% were pessimistic.) On the other hand, a solid majority of the EU public (70%) has been unenthusiastic about the situation in Afghanistan ever since the survey first asked this question in 2009 (63%). French (84%) and German (81%) respondents registered the highest levels of pessimism.

As for prospects for stability in Iraq, two-thirds of the Europeans (64%) and half of the Americans (50%) polled expressed a negative view. Pessimism ran highest in Germany (76%), Spain (75%), and France (72%). Even in the U.K., which had been the United States' principal ally in the Iraq operation, 57% of respondents said they saw little prospect for stability.

Regarding prospects for stability in Libya, a majority of Europeans (55%) and a plurality of Americans (47%) remained pessimistic. The highest levels of optimism about stabilizing Libya were to be found in Sweden (48%, though down from 59% in 2011) and Italy (46%). Meanwhile, the

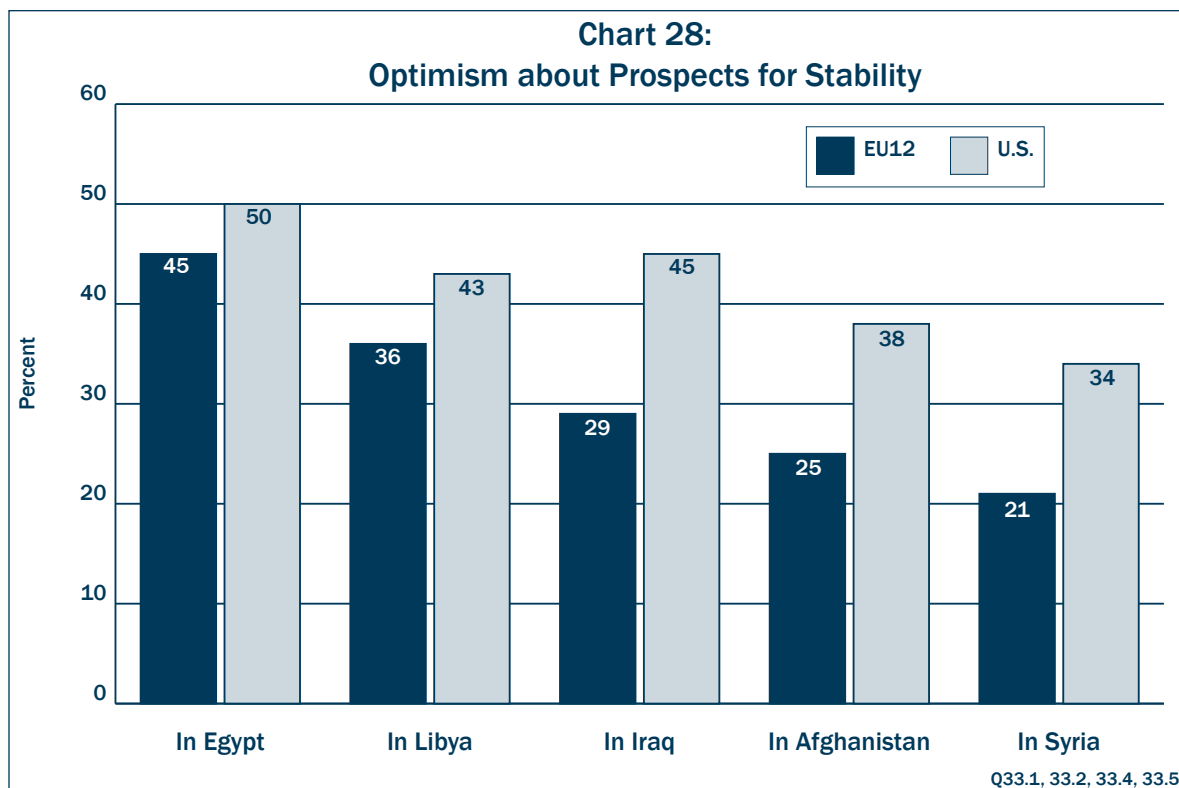
most pessimistic responses came from France (69%), Spain (65%), and Germany (61%).

On the prospects for stability in Egypt, half of the Americans (50%) polled expressed optimism, while Europeans were evenly divided (45% optimistic, 46% pessimistic). Swedes (55%) were the most optimistic on Egypt, while the French (55%) and Slovaks (54%) registered the greatest pessimism.

Meanwhile, pessimism ran much higher on Syria. A majority in the United States (55%) and two-thirds in Europe (69%) said their take on the prospects for stability in Syria was pessimistic. Romanians were the most optimistic (but at a low level of 38%), while the French (84%) and the Germans (79%) were the most deeply pessimistic on Syria.

FOUR-IN-FIVE AMERICANS, EUROPEANS CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Four-in-five Europeans (80%, up five points from the previous year) and Americans (79%, up three points) said they are concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons.



In Russia, 61% of respondents also said they were concerned about Iran. As in past years, Turkey was the least worried about Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon. Only 48% of Turks were troubled by this possibility — but this still represented a ten-point increase over the previous year.

EU AND UNITED STATES PREFER SANCTIONS TO MILITARY ACTION IN IRAN

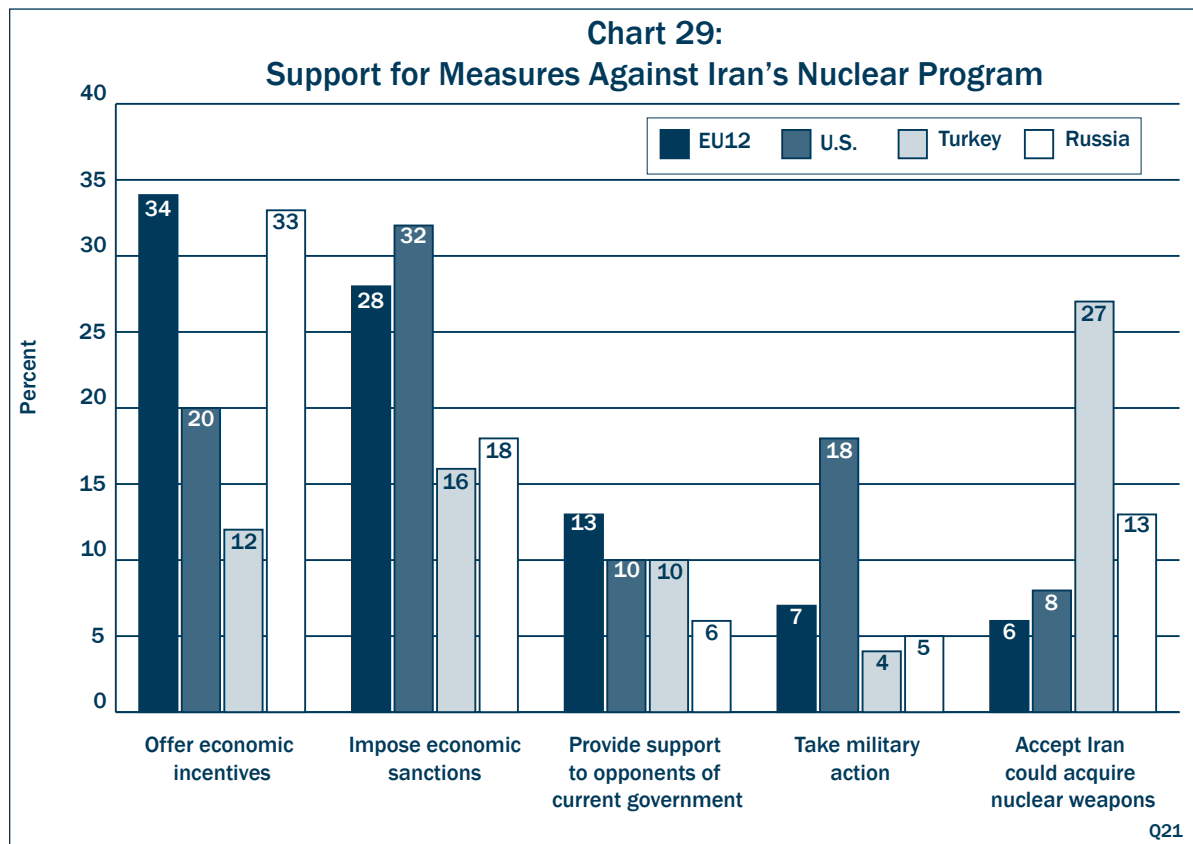
Despite similar high levels of concern in the United States and the EU, opinions differed about how best to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. A plurality of those in the EU (34%) preferred offering economic incentives, while a plurality of Americans (32%) preferred imposing economic sanctions. The majority of EU and U.S. respondents chose one of those two options and were often fairly divided over which one was preferable. The percentage of Americans who preferred supporting the Iranian opposition dropped from 25% in 2010 to 10% in 2012 — matching EU levels of support (13%) for the same option.

There was little support in the EU countries polled (6%) or in the United States (8%) for simply accepting that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons while other options were on the table. A quarter of Turks, a plurality, said that accepting a nuclear Iran (27%) was the best option. Very few people in the EU (7%) and Turkey (4%) preferred military action over all other options.

In Russia, a plurality of respondents (33%) preferred economic incentives; the next largest group preferred sanctions (18%). Thirteen percent were willing to accept a nuclear Iran.

FORCE IN IRAN IF NOTHING ELSE WORKS?

However, while very few U.S. and EU respondents favored military action as their choice among many policy options, changing the context of the situation led to much different results. The respondents who chose a non-military option for dealing with Iran were next asked to imagine that all non-military options had been exhausted. They were then



TURKS REMAIN UNIMPRESSED BY WESTERN POLICIES

A high approval rate (55%) for the Erdoğan government's economic policies contrasted starkly with the generally high disapproval rates found in other EU member states. Nonetheless, Turks were increasingly likely to say that they felt affected by the economic crisis (69%); that number dropped by 21 points in 2011, and it jumped again this year by 14 points. Turkish respondents were also more supportive than any other country in the survey (surpassing even Russia) in saying that Asia was more important than the United States for their national interest (46%).

In contrast to other polled countries, Turkish respondents showed relatively low levels of approval of their own government's international policies (51%, higher only than those of Poland and Spain). Turkish respondents were also unimpressed by the Obama administration's handling of international policies (only 42% approved). Still, 51% of Turkish respondents said they would vote for Obama if they could, while only 5% would vote for Romney.

The civil war in Syria is a first-order security risk for Turkey. In June 2012, when the poll was conducted, only one-in-three Turks (32%) felt their country ought to intervene in Syria, while 57% thought their country should stay out completely. Turkish support for NATO remains the lowest of all countries polled, with only 38% saying it was essential. Turkey was also the country least worried about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons, though 48% expressed concern, an increase of ten points over 2011. Only 4% of Turks preferred military action over other possible solutions. If all non-military means failed to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, 50% of those who opposed military action said they would accept a nuclear Iran rather than undertake military action.

given the choice between accepting a nuclear Iran or taking military action. In this scenario, a plurality of Europeans (46%) and a majority of Americans (57%) favored the use of force. In Germany (54%), Turkey (50%), Russia and the U.K. (both 49%), the Netherlands (43%), and Poland (42%), majorities or pluralities of respondents said they would accept a nuclear Iran over military action under these circumstances. However, this question also elicited very high refusal and "don't know" rates, which even formed a plurality in Bulgaria (39%).

Respondents *who approved of military action* were then asked whether they would approve of using their own country's aircraft to conduct airstrikes against Iran, or of sending their own country's ground troops. Of those who approved military action against Iran, 84% of Americans and 52% of Europeans said they would approve of the use of their own country's aircraft. Opinions in the EU differed widely, however, with high approval rates in the U.K. (71%), the Netherlands (63%), and Sweden (60%). In Russia, 64% approved as well. Disapproval rates were highest in Bulgaria (62%), Germany (59%), Poland (57%), Slovakia, and Turkey (both 55%).

As for the option of using ground troops, a majority (56%) *of those Americans who approved of military action* were willing to approve of sending their own country's troops to conduct military action against Iran. Meanwhile, a majority of Europeans who approved of military action (55%) disapproved. Here, too, the range of feelings in Europe was very broad. The highest approval rates were registered in the U.K. (57% approval) and the Netherlands (51%). The highest rates of disapproval were found in Germany (65%), Bulgaria and Romania (both 59%), as well as France and Poland (both 57%). In Turkey and Russia, majorities (52%) of those supporting military action approved of sending their own countries' troops.

HIGH TRANSATLANTIC APPROVAL FOR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

In this question, respondents were told that the United Nations had resolved that members of the international community (including their own country) had the responsibility to protect civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government, and asked whether they agreed or disagreed with this principle. On both sides of the Atlantic, two-in-three agreed,

with slightly higher approval in the EU (67%) than in the United States (62%). Agreement was particularly high in Sweden (81%), France (76%), Portugal (75%), Italy (72%), and Spain (71%), and lowest in Poland (42%). Turks (42% vs. 39%) and Russians (40% vs. 41%) were about evenly split on whether they approve or disapprove of the responsibility to protect.

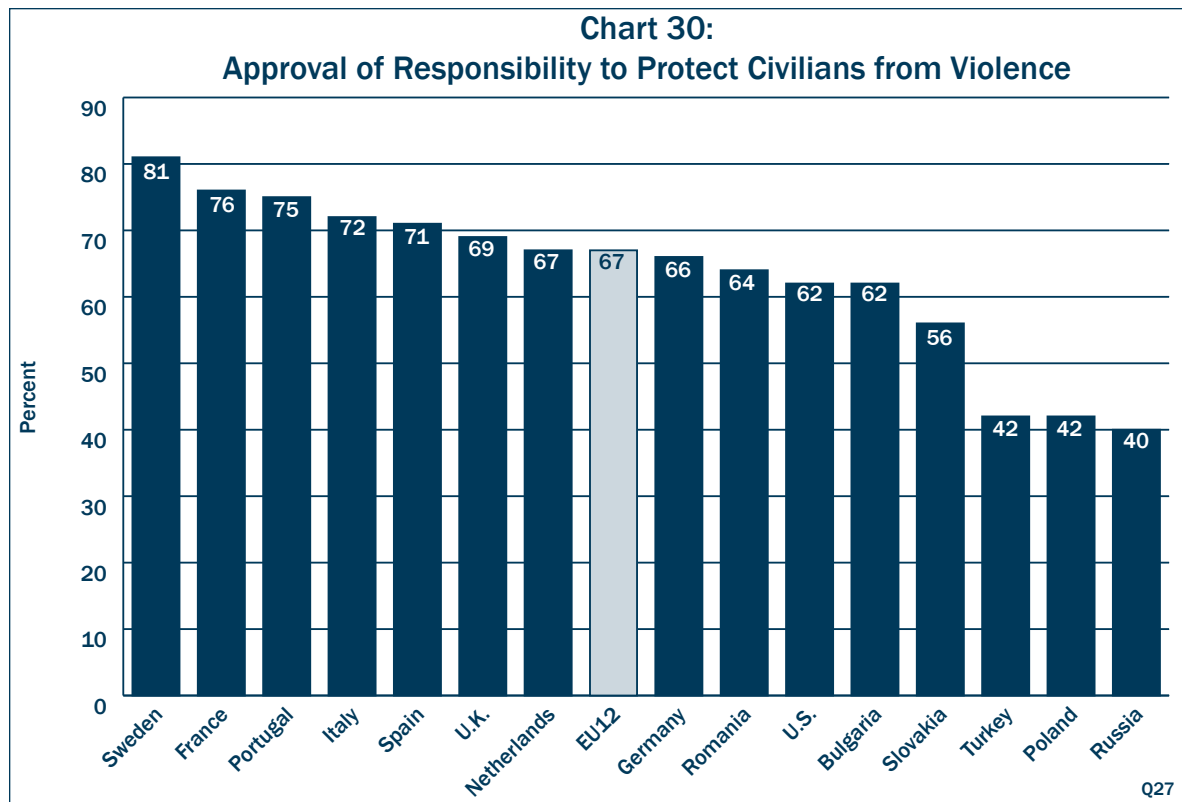
NO TRANSATLANTIC APPETITE FOR INTERVENTION IN SYRIA ...

On this question, *Transatlantic Trends* found a notable difference between theory and practice. Asked whether their country should intervene in the Syrian conflict or stay out completely, majorities in the EU (59%), the United States (55%), and Turkey (57%) said their own countries should stay out of the conflict completely. Only one-in-three respondents in the EU (33%), the United States (35%), and Turkey (32%) felt their countries ought to intervene. In this group, the highest approval rates were registered in France (45%) and Sweden (44%).⁵

...BUT WITH A UN MANDATE, AMERICANS AND SWEDES CHANGE THEIR MINDS

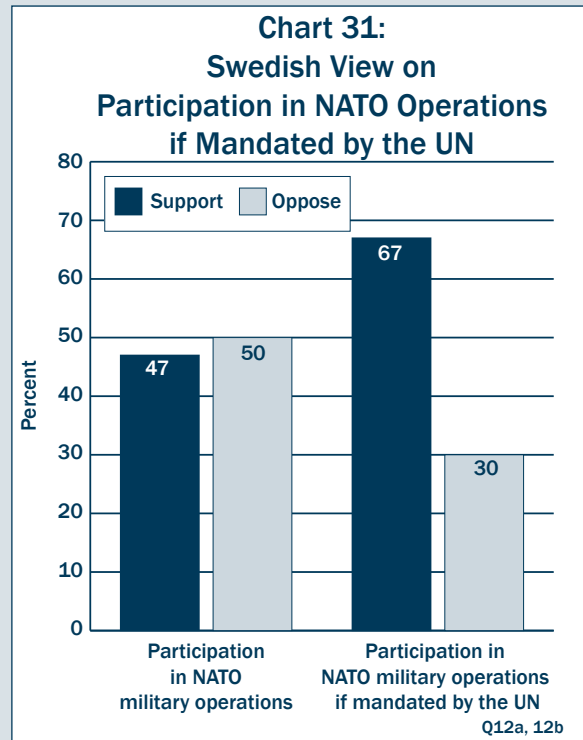
However, when respondents who opted to stay out of Syria were also asked whether they would change their minds if intervention in Syria were endorsed by the United Nations, half of the U.S. respondents (51%) who previously opposed intervention changed their minds. Seventy-one percent of Swedes previously opposed agreed. Among Europeans in general, however, 59% of those who had been against intervention remained unmoved by a UN mandate. Those against intervention in the U.K. were evenly split between approval (46%) and disapproval (47%) with the support of the UN; the same was true of Portugal (47%). Seventy-six percent of Turks who disapproved of intervention held to their previously stated position. So did 73% of Bulgarians, 71% of Poles, 79% of Romanians, 70% of Slovaks, and 65% of Germans.

⁵ This and the following question were not asked in Russia.



STRONG SUPPORT IN SWEDEN FOR INTERVENTION — ESPECIALLY WITH A UNITED NATIONS MANDATE

Sweden has long been known for its policy of military nonalignment. As the only European non-NATO member in the survey, respondents in Sweden were asked if they supported or opposed the participation of their country in military operations carried out by NATO. Despite the nation's history of being a "virtual" ally, there was no broad consensus



on the issue. The Swedes were almost evenly split, with 47% supporting and 50% opposing Swedish participation in NATO operations. However, among those asked about military operations in the context of a mandate from the United Nations, 67% of all Swedish respondents said they would be in favor of taking part in such an operation, whereas only 30% would oppose participation. Even so, 69% of Swedes opposed joining NATO, with only 24% in support.

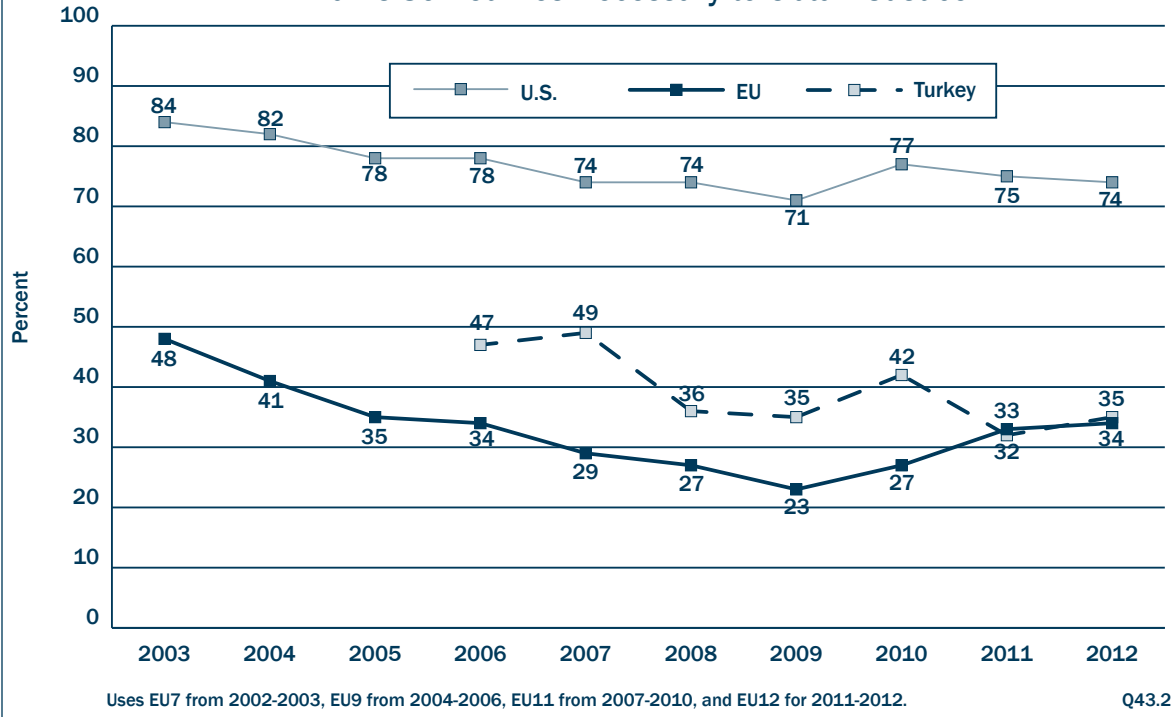
Swedes were also among the most likely to support intervention in Syria (44%, second only to France's 45%). Among those who were against intervention, 71% changed their minds when presented with a hypothetical UN mandate. Further, Swedes continued to believe that past interventions were "the right thing to do" — 56% said that about Iraq, 62% about Afghanistan, and 68% about Libya. Swedes were also the most likely to approve of their government's handling of foreign policy (74%) for the second year in a row.

THE USE OF FORCE: TRANSATLANTIC DIVIDE IN PRINCIPLE, CONVERGENCE IN POLICY

For a long time, the United States and Europe have not seen eye to eye on the use of force. Repeated surveys have shown that this difference in values is deeply held and unlikely to change despite day-to-day events and changing security environments. In 2012, there was a 40 percentage-point difference between those in the EU (34%) who felt war is sometimes necessary to obtain justice and those in the United States (74%) who felt so. The U.K., with 64% agreeing that war is sometimes necessary, was the only European country that looked more like the United States than like the rest of the EU.

However, despite these differences when it comes to justifying war, there are a number of security policies on which U.S. and European opinions seem to be moving closer together. Even on approval for the contentious international intervention in Libya, pluralities in the United States (49%) and Europe (48%) agreed that this was the right thing to do. These findings seem to suggest that although Americans and Europeans report vastly different opinions about whether war can be used to obtain justice in the abstract, when presented with actual security issues, they might share a common perspective.

**Chart 32:
War is Sometimes Necessary to Obtain Justice**





TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Section Five: Russia

Vladimir Putin's campaign to reclaim the Russian presidency following Dmitry Medvedev's four-year term drew international attention to Russia. Though he was generally predicted to win the March 4 elections, Putin's victory came after months of allegations of electoral irregularities following a poor United Russia Party showing in Duma elections last December, and questions regarding procedural transparency have prompted domestic and international discussion.

At the same time, Russia, together with China, has continued to oppose sanctions targeting the Syrian regime in the United Nations Security Council, a position that has engendered significant friction with other voting members.

This year's *Transatlantic Trends* survey, the first to include Russia, shows both how Russia differs from other countries making up the transatlantic community, and how it is similar in other respects. It also shows how it is perceived by other countries in the survey.

VIEWS ON RUSSIA DROP ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, BUT MORE IN EUROPE

Within the series of questions where respondents were asked how favorably they felt about certain countries, the most pronounced drop in favorable opinion showed up in transatlantic views on Russia. U.S. majority opinion flipped from favorable to unfavorable for the first time, as Americans were six percentage points less likely to hold favorable views of Russia than in the previous year (42%, down from 48% in 2011 and 51% in 2010). European opinion reversed itself even further, by 13 percentage points (37% favorable toward Russia, down from 50% in 2011). Unfavorable opinion in Europe rose even more starkly, by 16 percentage points (to 55% from 39% in 2011). Within

Europe, majorities holding a favorable opinion of Russia were found only in Bulgaria (78%) and Slovakia (64%). Unfavorable ratings were highest in Sweden (68%), France (64%), and Germany (63%). In Turkey, too, majorities held unfavorable views of Russia (53%). Asked whether they favored strong Russian leadership in world affairs, 67% of Europeans disagreed (as opposed to 25% who agreed). Americans were nearly evenly split on this question, with 45% saying they were favorable, and 43% saying they were not. (69% of Russians polled thought a strong Russian leadership was desirable, while 20% disagreed.)

RUSSIANS LIKE UKRAINE AND BELARUS, BUT NOT GEORGIA

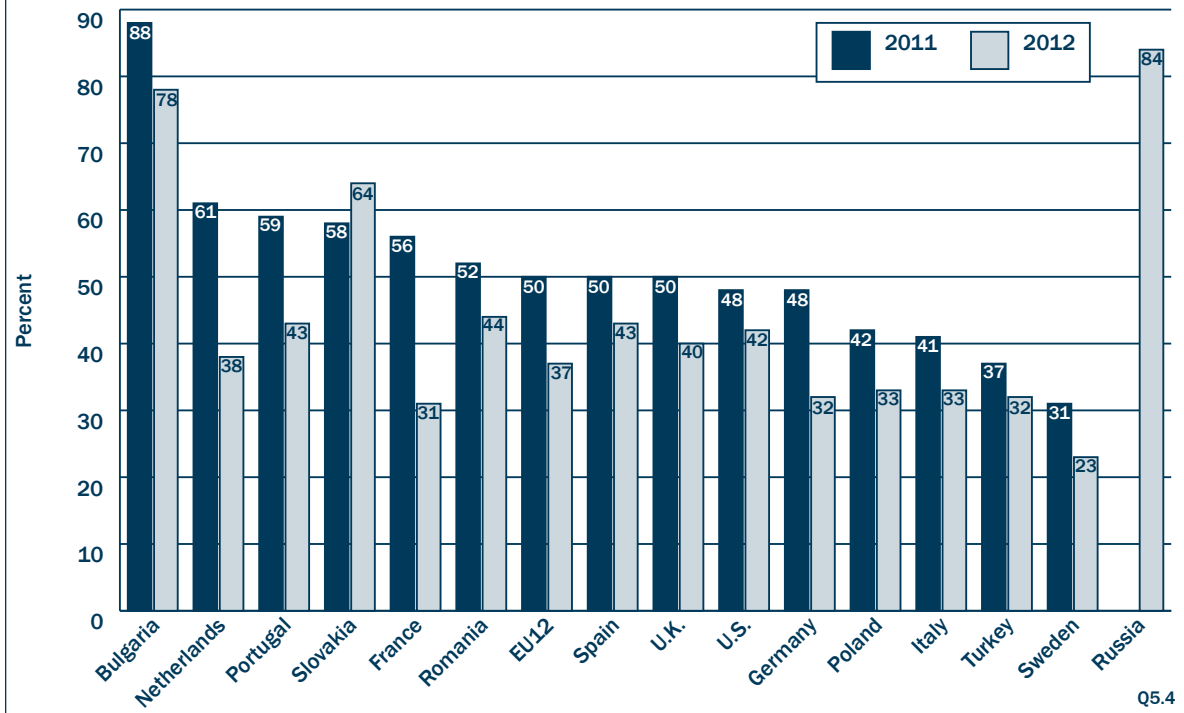
When Russians were asked their views of Ukraine, 52% said they felt favorably toward it; 39% disagreed. On Belarus, 64% felt favorably, with 27% disagreeing. This relationship was reversed in the case of Georgia, toward which 27% of Russians polled expressed favorable views, and 60% expressed disfavor.⁶

RUSSIANS PREFER EU AND CHINA TO THE UNITED STATES, BUT LIKE GERMANY MOST OF ALL

When Russians were asked their views of other countries, these tended to stand out compared with views in Europe and in the United States. Half of the Russian respondents (50%) had favorable views of the United States (as opposed to three-fourths, 74%, of those polled in the EU), while two-in-three (64%) thought favorably of the European Union. Sixty-three percent of Russians polled said they felt favorably toward China (as opposed to 41% of Europeans and Americans). Sixty-one percent thought favorably of Turkey (as opposed to 42% of Europeans and 43% of

⁶ The questions about Russia's neighbors were only asked in Russia.

**Chart 33:
Favorable Opinions of Russia**



Americans). Thirty-seven percent of Russians held favorable views of Iran, whereas only 12% of Europeans and 20% of Americans did so. In their degree of favorability toward Israel (48%), Russians lay in the middle between Europeans (34%) and Americans (59%). In their favorability toward Germany (71%), they fit right in with the EU average (74%; United States: 67%). And two-out-of-three Russians (65%) agreed with Europeans (66%) and Americans (68%) in their approval of Japan.

RUSSIANS DO NOT LIKE U.S. LEADERSHIP, BUT SEE ENOUGH SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS

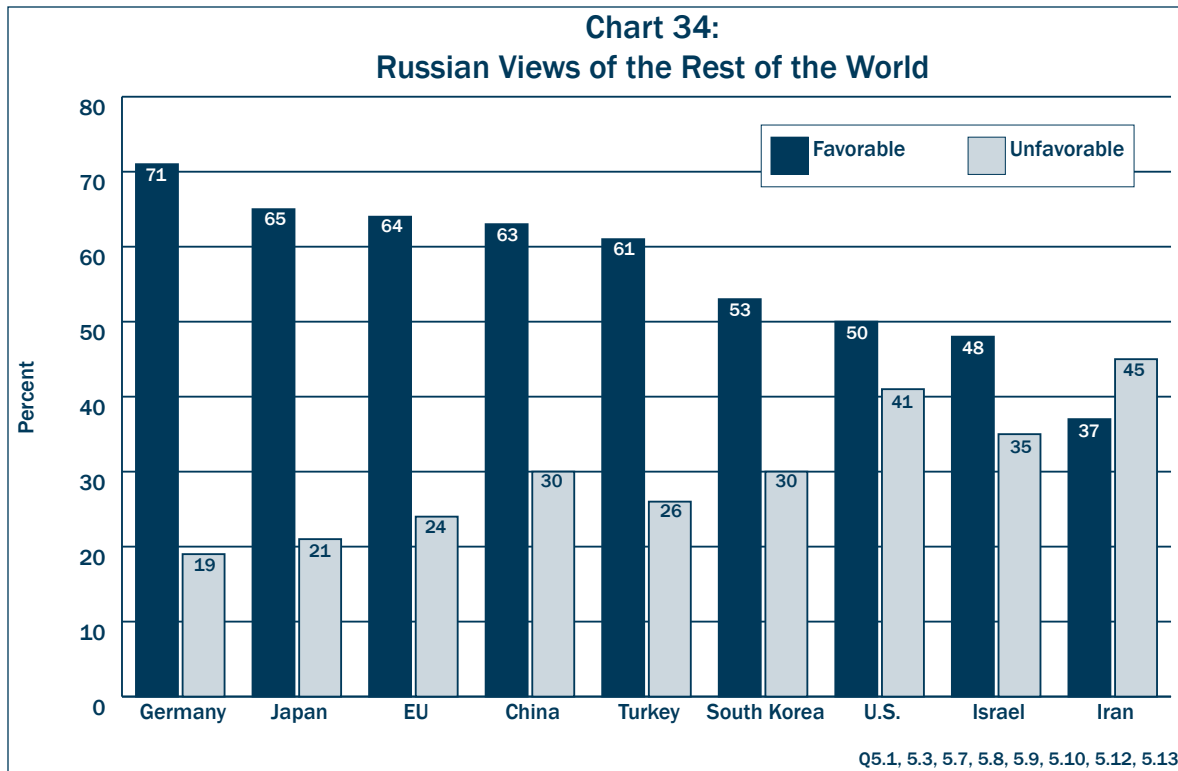
Two-thirds of Russians (64%) polled feel U.S. leadership in world affairs is undesirable. Still, nearly half the Russians polled (45%) said that the United States and Russia have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems. Thirty-nine percent, however, said that the values of the United States and Russia were so different as to make cooperation impossible. (Seventeen percent said they did not know or refused to answer.) Similarly, more than half of the Russians surveyed (52%) said that the

United States and Russia have enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems. Thirty-eight percent disagreed, while only 11% responded that they did not know or refused to answer.

Asked whether they felt that the upcoming U.S. elections would change relations between the United States and Russia, a plurality (31%) thought things would stay the same if Mitt Romney won (notably, 48% of respondents said they didn't know or refused to answer) — and a majority (51%) said that would be the case if Barack Obama won.

RUSSIANS HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT EU LEADERSHIP, BUT SEE MORE SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS THAN WITH THE UNITED STATES

Russians' feelings about EU leadership in world affairs were more mixed, with 44% expressing disapproval and 37% saying they approved. Sixty percent of Russians said the EU and Russia have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems; only 22% disagreed. (Eighteen percent said they did not know or refused to



answer.) Similarly, nearly two-in-three Russians (63%) said that the EU and Russia have enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems.

RUSSIANS SEE BOTH OPPORTUNITY AND THREAT IN CHINA, BUT ALSO BROAD BASIS FOR COOPERATION

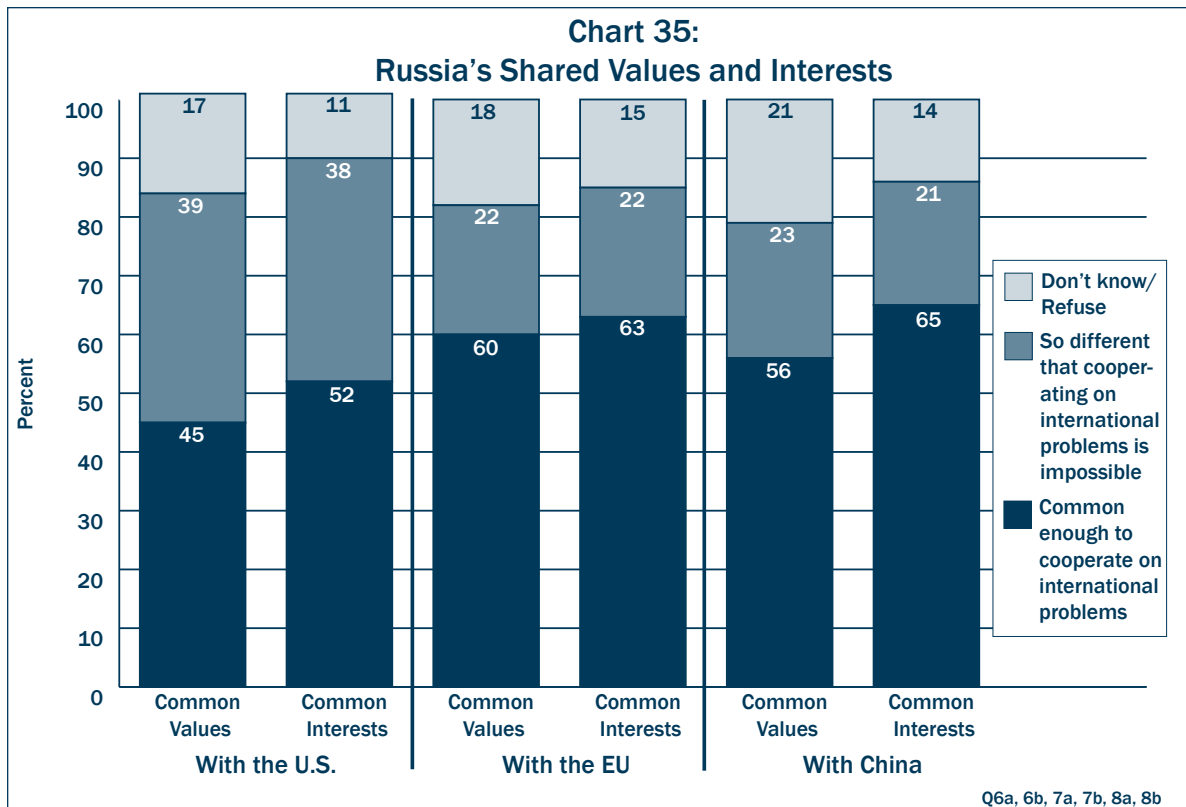
Unlike the Europeans (30%) in this survey, a plurality of Russian respondents (40%) said that the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan, or South Korea, were more important to Russia than the United States. Twenty-four percent said the United States was more important (a very high 36% responded, however, that they did not know or refused to answer).

Much like the European average, a plurality of Russians (39%) felt that China represents more of an economic opportunity than an economic threat; but 30% saw more of a threat than an opportunity. A plurality of Russians thought that China did not represent a military threat (46%); 33% disagreed. More than half the Russians polled (56%) said that China and Russia have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems.

Twenty-three percent, however, said that their values were so different as to make cooperation impossible. (Twenty-one percent said they did not know or refused to answer.) Two-in-three Russians (65%) said that China and Russia have enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems. Twenty-one percent disagreed, while 14% responded that they did not know or refused to answer.

RUSSIANS HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT NATO

Here *Transatlantic Trends* asked respondents how much they favored NATO. Fifty-seven percent of Russians answered that their views of the military arm of the transatlantic alliance was unfavorable. Twenty-one percent answered that they held favorable views of NATO. (Twenty-two percent answered “don’t know” or refused to answer.) Russians were also asked whether the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between Russia and NATO should become closer, should remain about the same, or whether Russia should take a more independent approach. A plurality of Russian respondents (36%) stated that their country should take a more independent approach. Thirty



percent felt that relations should stay about the same, while 21% felt they should become closer.

RUSSIANS LESS CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN; NEARLY HALF WOULD ACCEPT NUCLEAR IRAN IF OTHER OPTIONS EXHAUSTED

Nearly two-thirds of the Russians polled (61%) said that they were concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons — substantially fewer than in the United States and the EU, where four-in-five respondents were concerned. Thirty-three percent of Russians said they would support economic incentives, whereas only 18% would endorse sanctions. When those who favored using non-military means were asked whether they would support military action assuming all other options had been exhausted, nearly half (49%) responded that they would accept an Iran with nuclear weapons. Sixty-five percent of Russian respondents said they would disapprove of Israel taking military action against Iran.

RUSSIANS SKEPTICAL ON INTERVENTIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, BUT ARE SPLIT ON “RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT”

Fifty-nine percent of Russians said they disagreed with the thesis that war is sometimes necessary to obtain justice. On past Western military interventions, 64% of Russians polled said the intervention in Iraq had not been the right thing to do, and 56% said they doubted prospects for stability there. Sixty-two percent said the same thing about Afghanistan, and 58% felt pessimistic about its future stability. Sixty-one percent concurred about Libya, with 53% feeling pessimistic about Libya’s stability. Forty-one percent of Russians felt that the relationship between Russia and the countries of the Arab uprisings will stay the same. Twenty-one percent believed the relationship will get worse, and only 11% believed it would improve. Russians were evenly split on the principle of a “responsibility to protect,” with 40% saying they agreed that this responsibility extended to Russia as well, while 41% thought it did not.

RUSSIANS WOULD SUPPORT A VETO ON SYRIA

When asked whether they would support or oppose a Russian government veto of an intervention in Syria in the United Nations Security Council, a clear majority of Russians polled (54%) said they would support a veto. Twenty-one percent said they would oppose it, and 26% said they did not know or refused to answer.

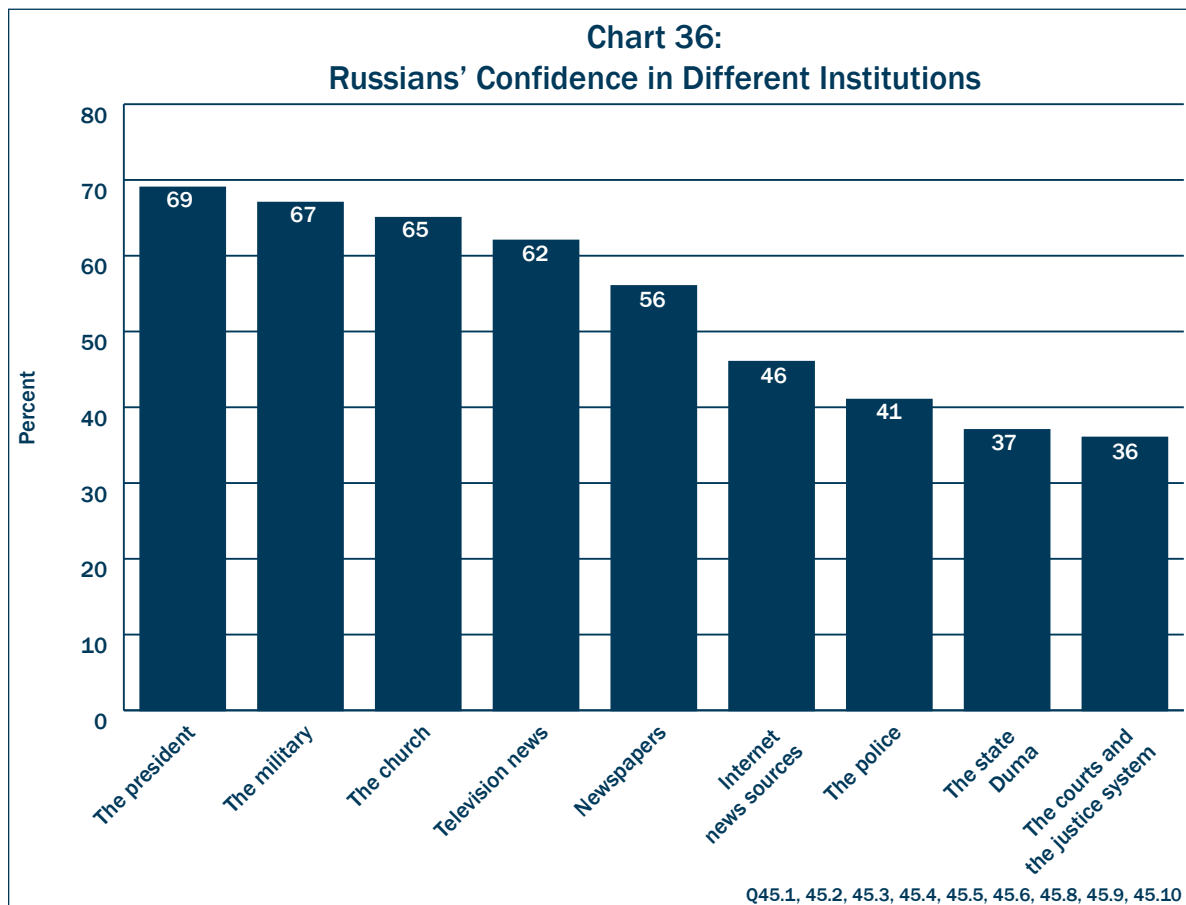
RUSSIANS APPROVE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF INTERNATIONAL POLICIES, BUT SPLIT ABOUT ITS ECONOMIC POLICY

Seventy-one percent of Russians approved of their own government's handling of international policies. However, they were split evenly (46%) on their government's economic policies. Fifty-eight percent of Russians said they had been affected by the economic crisis; 38% said they had not. A plurality of Russians (44%) said they approved of current levels of government spending. Twenty percent would have

preferred a decrease in spending, and 18% an increase. Forty-three percent said they wanted defense spending kept at current levels, whereas 34% would support an increase in defense spending, and only 13% were in favor of decreasing defense spending, compared to a European average of 39%. Three-in-four Russians (75%) felt that their economic system benefitted only a few.

LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN RUSSIAN ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OR EU; RUSSIANS MORE CONFIDENT IN U.S. ELECTIONS THAN IN THEIR OWN

When respondents in this year's *Transatlantic Trends* were asked how much confidence they had that elections in Russia reflected the will of the voters, three-out-of-four Europeans (75%) said they had little confidence, as opposed to 60% of Americans who expressed the same view. When Russians were asked how much confidence they had that U.S. elections reflected the views of U.S. voters, a plurality



of 47% said they felt confident, whereas 31% said they were not confident in the outcome. Asked the same question about elections in their own country, a plurality of the Russians polled (46%) said they were not confident, while 43% answered that they felt their elections did reflect the will of Russian voters. However, majorities or pluralities in much of Southern and South Eastern Europe concurred that their own elections did not reflect the will of the voters: Italy (62%), Spain (54%), Romania (51%), and Bulgaria (49%).

MIXED CONFIDENCE IN RUSSIAN INSTITUTIONS

Transatlantic Trends asked Russians how much confidence they had in certain Russian institutions. Sixty-nine percent

said they had confidence in the president (27% disagreed). Sixty-seven percent said they had confidence in the military (29% disagreed). Sixty-five percent said they had confidence in the Orthodox church (27% disagreed). Sixty-two percent felt confident in television news (34% disagreed). Fifty-six percent felt confident in newspapers (36% disagreed). Forty-six percent felt confident in internet news sources (29% disagreed, 25% said they did not know or refused to answer). Thirty-seven percent felt confident in the national legislature, the State Duma (57% disagreed). And only 36% felt confident in the court system (59% disagreed).



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Methodology

TNS Opinion was commissioned to conduct the survey using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews in all countries except Bulgaria, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Russia, and Turkey, where lower telephone penetration necessitated the use of face-to-face interviews. Both landline and mobile phone numbers were included in countries with a high concentration of exclusively mobile phone users: Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the United States.

In all countries, a random sample of approximately 1,000 men and women, 18 years of age and older, was interviewed.¹ Interviews were conducted between June 2 and June 27, 2012.

For results based on the national samples in each of the 15 countries surveyed, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus three percentage points. For results based on the total European sample, the margin of error is plus or minus one percentage point. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can also introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

For trended questions first asked before 2010, averages were weighted on the basis of the size of the adult population in each country to maintain consistency with previous years' reports. For questions that started in 2010 or later, the results were also weighted so that the sample matches certain population characteristics, including age, gender, education, and region.²

When processing is complete, data from the survey are deposited with the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan (ICPSR), the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut, and the GESIS-Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences and are available to scholars and other interested parties.

For more detailed methodology and topline data, please visit www.transatlantictrends.org.

Note on European Averages

Over time, additional European countries have been added to the survey. While the addition of new countries has affected the Europe-wide average, the impact has usually not been statistically significant. Therefore, for ease of presentation, we have treated several different averages as if they were part of one average. When the EU average is reported for previous years, this is based on the EU7 average from 2002-2003, the EU9 average from 2004-2006, the EU11 average from 2007-2010, and the EU12 average for 2011 and 2012.

European Averages Reported

EU7	2002-2003	U.K., France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Poland, and (2003) Portugal
EU9	2004-2006	EU7 countries plus Slovakia and Spain
EU11	2007-2010	EU9 countries plus Bulgaria and Romania
EU12	2011-2012	EU11 countries plus Sweden

Total Coverage

Year	Total Coverage	European Coverage
2002	U.S. + E6	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K.
2003	U.S. + E7	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal
2004-2005	U.S. + E10	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain
2006-2010	U.S. + E12	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Bulgaria, Romania
2011	U.S. + E13	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Bulgaria, Romania, Sweden
2012	U.S. + E13 + Russia	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Bulgaria, Romania, Sweden

¹ A larger sample of 1,500 was collected in Russia.

² Questions asked before 2010: 1a, 1b, 3, 5.1, 5.2, 6a, 9, 11, 14, 15, 22, 33.1, 34a, 43.1, 43.2, 44. Questions not asked before 2010: 1c, 2, 4, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33.2, 33.3, 33.4, 33.5, 34b, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

www.transatlantictrends.org

A project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from Fundação Luso-Americana, the BBVA Foundation, the Communitas Foundation, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Open Society Foundations.