



# Russians Say Their Country Is A Rising Military Power

## *And a Growing Percentage of Americans View Russia as a Threat*

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US-Russia relations have been at odds since Russia annexed Crimea in 2014, and this current period of tensions is arguably the longest on record since the end of the Cold War.<sup>1</sup> With potential links between the Trump administration and Russian interference in the 2016 elections looming in the background, the American public is not ready to forgive and forget. At the same time, Russians say their country is once again a force to be reckoned with and view chilled relations with the United States as a cost of increased international influence.

### **Key Highlights from February 2019 Chicago Council and Levada Center surveys:<sup>2</sup>**

- Large majorities of Russians (85%) and Americans (78%) say the United States and Russia are more rivals than partners.
- In Russia, majorities believe that their country's recent foreign policy has worsened relations with the United States (78%), Russia's economic situation (58%), and Russian living standards (64%). But majorities also think it has improved the state of their military (83%) and their country's influence abroad (62%).
- In the United States, public perceptions that Russia is a threat to US security have risen (from 18% in 2017 to 39% in 2019). Slightly more Americans now

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<sup>1</sup> Robert E. Hamilton, "The Reset that Wasn't: The Permanent Crisis of US-Russia Relations," Geopoliticus, Foreign Policy Research Institute, December 14, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> This brief is based on coordinated surveys conducted by Dina Smeltz and Lily Wojtowicz of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and Denis Volkov and Stepan Goncharov of the Levada Analytical Center in Moscow. The joint project on US-Russian public opinion about foreign policy issues was generously funded by the Carnegie Corporation.

than two years ago believe that Russia tried to influence the 2016 US presidential election (66%, 61% in 2017).

- Russians continue to support the annexation of Crimea, saying it has brought more benefits (62%) than harm (16%) to Russia. For their part, a majority of Americans think the US response to Russian actions has been about right (49%) or not gone far enough (36%).

### **Continuing Freeze on US-Russian Relations**

This past February, Russian President Vladimir Putin ratcheted up Russian-American tension in his state of the nation speech. Responding to the Trump administration's withdrawal from the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. Putin claimed that Russia is prepared for the next Cuban missile crisis.<sup>3</sup> Despite Donald Trump's conciliatory gestures toward Putin, the US government has expanded sanctions against Moscow and expelled diplomats—triggering retaliatory moves from Moscow.<sup>4</sup> The two countries' withdrawal from the INF treaty is only the latest casualty in the relationship.

Publics in Russia and the United States agree that bilateral relations are in a poor state. A large majority of Russians believe the United States and Russia are mostly rivals (85%) rather than partners (8%). Americans feel similarly, with eight in ten Americans describing Russia as a rival (78%, 18% partner).

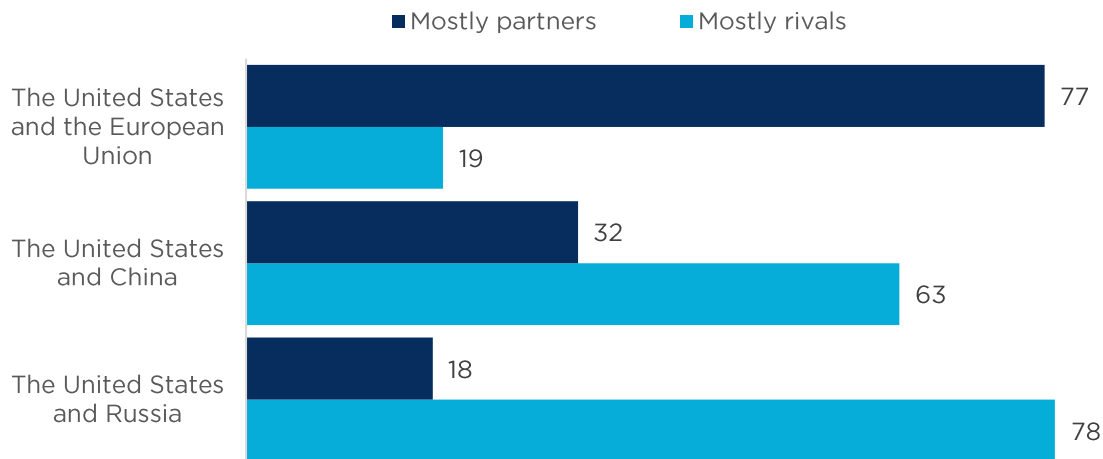
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<sup>3</sup> Andrew Osborn, "Putin to US: I'm ready for another Cuban Missile-style Crisis if you want one," Reuters, February 21 2019, <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-russia-putin/putin-to-us-im-ready-for-another-cuban-missile-style-crisis-if-you-want-one-idUSKCN1QA1A3>.

<sup>4</sup> Katie Rogers and Eileen Sullivan, "Trump and Western Allies Expel Scores of Russians in Sweeping Rebuke over UK Poisoning," *The New York Times*, March 26 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/26/world/europe/trump-russia-diplomats-expulsion.html>; Lucien Kim, "Russia retaliates against US action and expels US officials," March 30 2018, <https://www.npr.org/2018/03/30/598192119/russia-retaliates-against-u-s-action-and-expels-u-s-officials>.

## The View from the United States: Rivals or Partners?

*At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? (%)*



February 22-25, 2019 | n=1016

CHICAGO COUNCIL SURVEYS

### Russians See China as Ally, Americans Now More Likely to See China as Rival

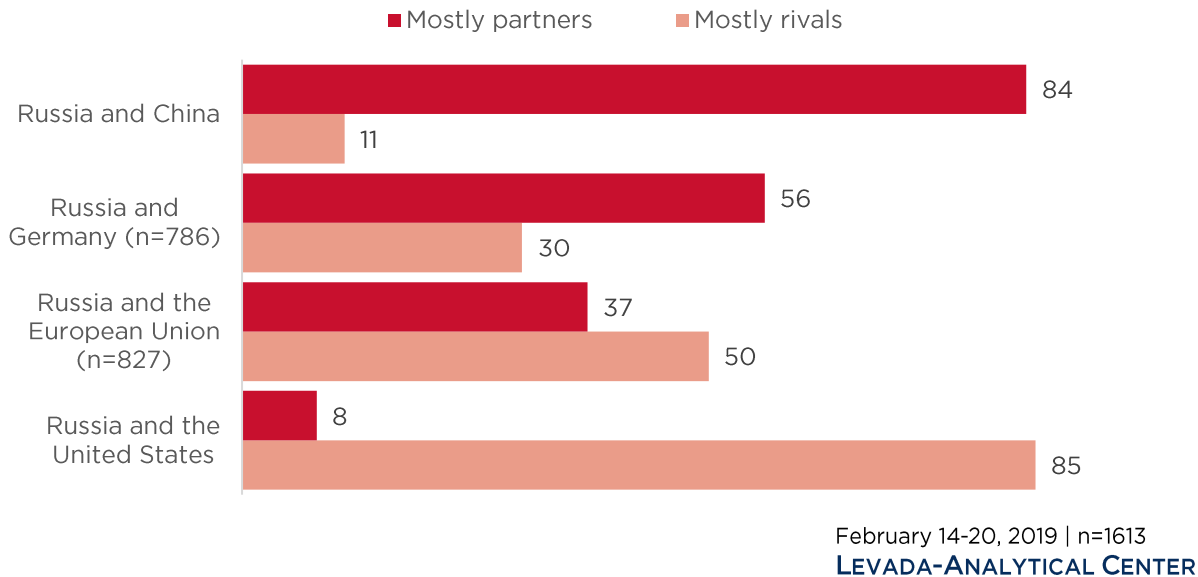
Unlike their perceptions of the United States, Russians consider China to be more of a partner to Russia (84%, 11% rival). Perhaps reflecting recent US-China clashes on trade, Americans are more likely to view China as a rival (63%, 32% partner). This is up 14 percent from 2018 (49%).

On the other hand, Americans describe the European Union as more of a partner to the United States (77%, 19% rival), while Russians see the EU as more of a rival to Russia (50%, 37% partner).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> In contrast to their views on the EU, the majority of Russians see Germany as more a partner than a rival (56%, 30% rival).

## The View from Russia: Rivals or Partners?

At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners? (%)



### Russians Say Moscow's Foreign Policy Increases Influence, Hurts US Relations and Economy

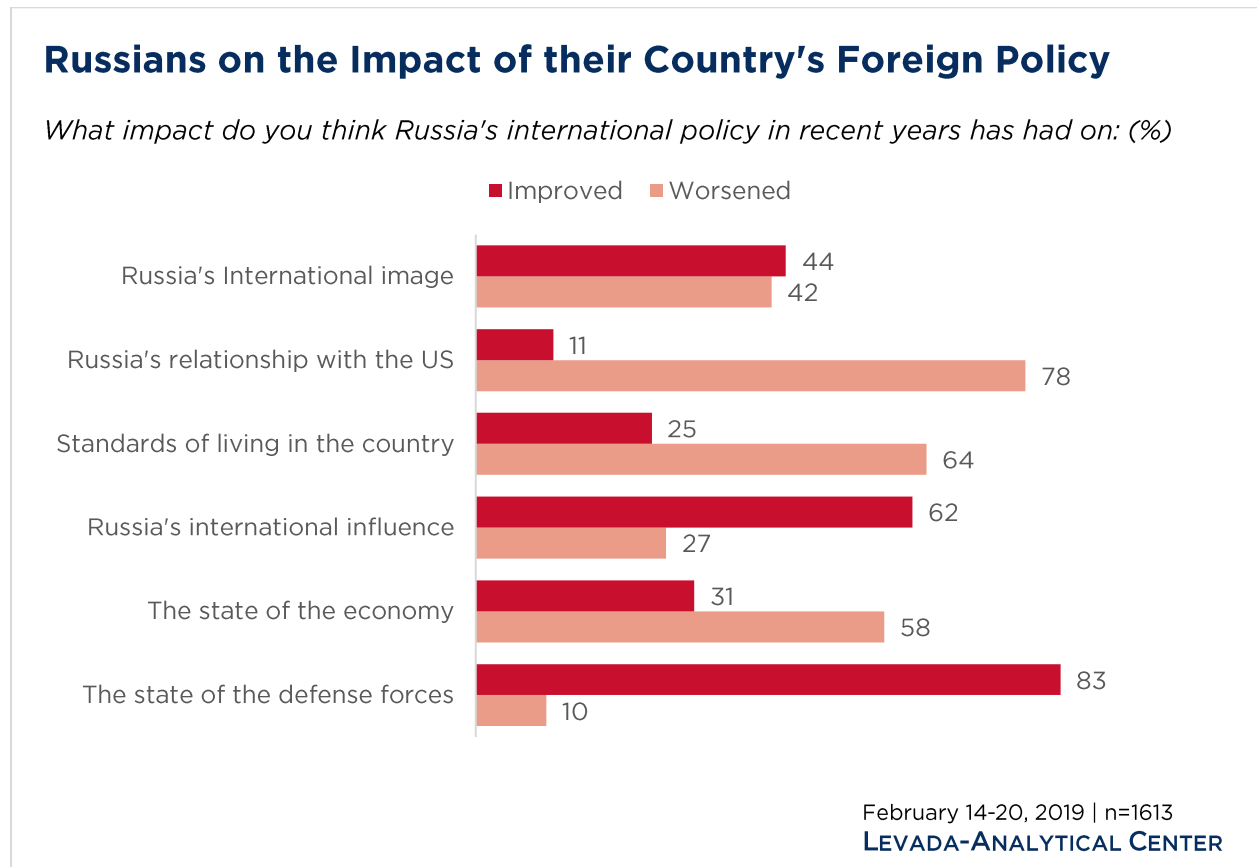
Standing up to the United States might be seen as a source of pride, even as many in Russia contend that they have more at stake in the bilateral relationship. Russians tend to believe that Russia (47%) rather than the United States (8%) has a greater interest in improving the bilateral relationship, and they acknowledge that their country's foreign policy has rankled ties with the United States.<sup>6</sup> Eight in ten Russians believe that their country's international policy in recent years has had a negative impact on relations with the United States (78%). They also believe it has had a negative impact on the country's economy (58% worsened, 31% improved) and standards of living (64% worsened, 25% improved).

Although Russian opinion is divided on the effect of the Kremlin's foreign policy on Russia's image abroad (44% improved, 42% worsened), a majority are convinced it has improved the country's international influence (62%). And 7 in 10 say that Russia should play an active role in world affairs (70%).

Moreover, large majorities in Russia say their recent foreign policy has improved the state of their country's military forces (83%). They also describe their country as a rising (83%) rather than declining (4%) military power, higher than China (77% rising) and the United States (63%). That said, Russians are quite divided on whether

<sup>6</sup> 31 percent say that neither country has a greater interest.

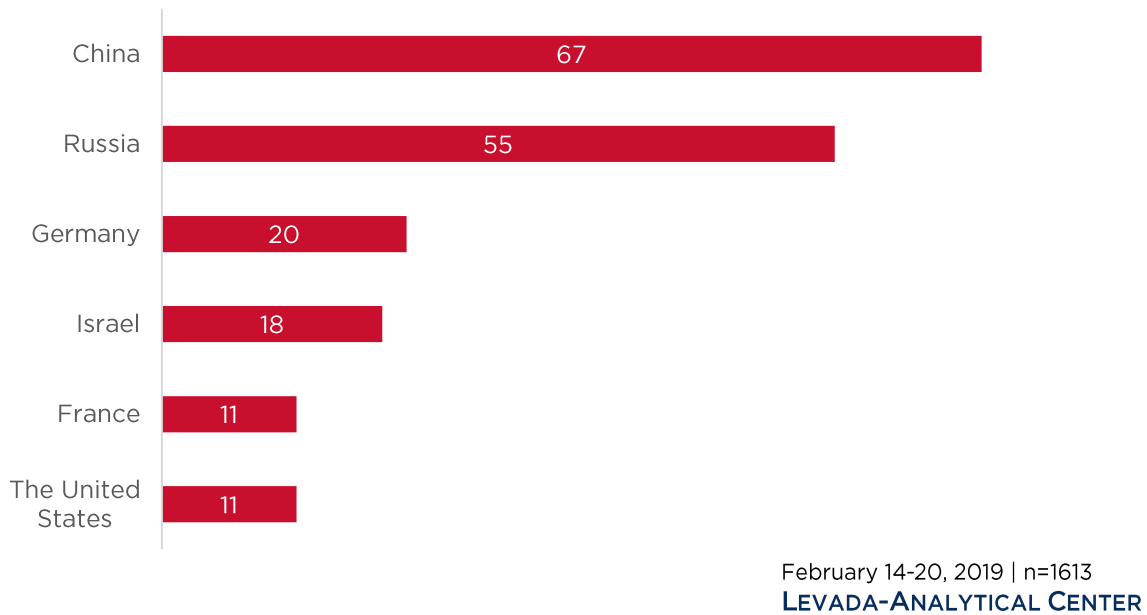
economic strength (48%) or military strength (45%) is more important for international influence.



A majority of Russians also say that Russia is more respected now (55%) than it was 10 years ago, placing it closer to the ranks of China (67% more respected) than to the United States (only 11% more respected). However, those who view Putin favorably are much more likely to say that Russia is more respected now (65%) than those who view him unfavorably (36%).

## Respect today versus ten years ago

*Do you think that the following countries are respected more than, less than, or about the same as they were ten years ago? (% respected more)*



### Americans Now See Russia As Country Most Threatening to US Security

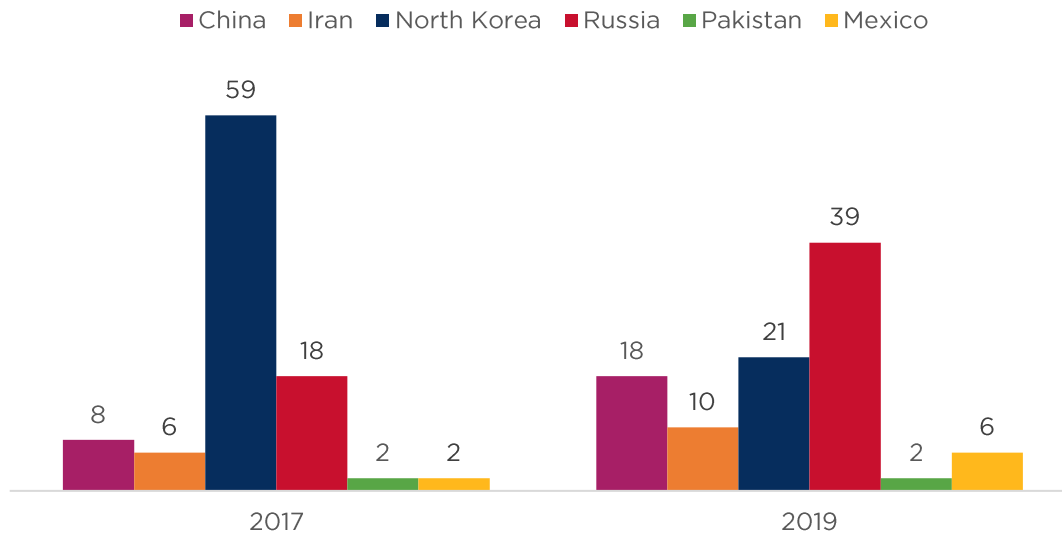
In the United States, similar percentages among the public today (50%) as in 2016 (55%) say that US-Russia relations are worsening, and two-thirds of Americans now believe that the Russian government tried to influence the 2016 US presidential election (66%, up from 61% in 2017). While self-described Democrats are still far more convinced than Republicans of Russian interference (90% vs. 35%), majorities among both view Russia as a rival (73% Republican vs. 83% Democrat).

In addition, a plurality of Americans now consider Russia the greatest threat to US security (39% from a series of countries; see figure below). This percentage has risen significantly since 2017 when the US public was more focused on a threat from North Korea (59%, 18% Russia).<sup>7</sup> Similarly, another February 2018 Council survey found that an increasing percentage of Americans said that Russia's territorial ambitions are a critical threat (47%), up significantly from 30 percent in 2016 (and the highest percentage since this question was first asked in 2014).

<sup>7</sup> In 2017, this question was asked in December just months after US and North Korean leaders traded a series of alarming barbs over nuclear weapons and before the leaders met in Singapore for the first time in June of 2018.

## Threats to US National Security

Which one of the following countries poses the greatest threat to US security? (%)



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## Americans and Russians Generally Back Official Positions in Response to Ukraine, Election Meddling

Russians generally back their government’s policies toward Ukraine and western sanctions. They remain steadfast in their view that the annexation of Crimea has brought more benefits (62%) than harm (16%) to Russia, similar to views since August 2015. A majority are unconvinced that their country tried to influence the 2016 US presidential election (71%), according to a Spring 2019 Pew survey.<sup>8</sup> In 2017, when asked in a Chicago Council survey, Russians generally opposed making concessions toward lifting the sanctions, such as reversing the annexation of Crimea and withdrawing support for rebel forces in eastern Ukraine.<sup>9</sup>

For their part, Americans support the sanctions against Russia though they are unclear how effective they have been in curbing Russian behavior abroad. In the February 2019 Council survey, a majority say that US actions to date, including sanctions and the expulsion of 60 diplomats from the United States, have been about right (49%) or have not gone far enough (36%) in responding to Russia’s recent aggressive behavior. As in past surveys, Republicans tend to say that the scale of

<sup>8</sup> Jacob Poushter, “Russians Say Their Government Did Not Try to Influence US Presidential Election,” August 21 2018, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2018/08/21/russians-say-their-government-did-not-try-to-influence-u-s-presidential-election/>.

<sup>9</sup> Dina Smeltz, Lily Wojtowicz, and Stepan Goncharov, “American and Russian opinion at a Standoff on Crimea Sanctions,” January 24 2018, <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/american-and-russian-opinion-standoff-crimea-sanctions>.

sanctions are about right (71%), while a plurality of Democrats say they do not go far enough (49%, 37% about right). When last asked in December 2017, a majority of Americans favored maintaining (39%) or increasing (38%) sanctions on Russia “in response to its actions in Ukraine and its interference in the 2016 presidential election.”<sup>10</sup>

However, majorities of Americans do not think that US isolation of Russia will effectively prevent Russia from taking aggressive actions against individuals or its neighbors. Six in ten think the US response will be somewhat or very ineffective in preventing Russia from using chemical agents to assassinate citizens of other countries (61%), aiding separatist groups in other countries (58%), using aggressive tactics against its neighbors (57%), violating international agreements (56%), conducting cyber-espionage against other countries (60%), interfering in other countries’ domestic politics (58%), or developing new, higher speed missiles (59%).

### **Publics in the United States and Russia Prefer Containment**

Given these mutual suspicions, publics tend to think efforts should be made to limit the influence of the other country. A slim majority of Russians think Moscow should try to limit the international influence and power of the United States (53%) rather than cooperate (38%), though views are less strident than they were in 2016 (when 68% of Russians said Russia should limit US power). Likewise, Americans believe that Washington should try to limit Russia’s power (55%) rather than try to cooperate (41%), similar to 2017 results but a reversal from 2016 results (when 56% of Americans preferred to cooperate and just 39% to limit Russia’s power).

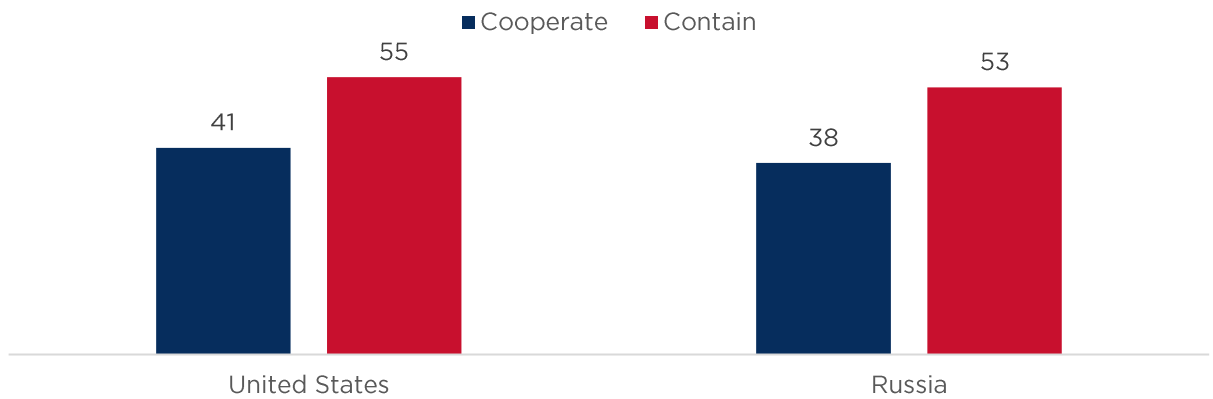
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<sup>10</sup> Dina Smeltz, Lily Wojtowicz, and Stepan Goncharov, “American and Russian opinion at a Standoff on Crimea Sanctions,” January 24 2018, <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/american-and-russian-opinion-standoff-crimea-sanctions>.



## Cooperation or Containment?

*In dealing with Russia/the United States, do you think the United States/Russia should:*



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February 14-20, 2019 | n=1613

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Russian interference in the 2016 US election has clearly impacted how Democrats view the US relationship with Russia. The summer before the 2016 election, 62 percent of Democrats thought the United States should undertake friendly cooperation with Russia. However, three years after the election, the reverse is true. Two-thirds of Democrats would now prefer the United States to actively work to limit Russia's power (66%). Republicans are as favorable towards friendly cooperation with Russia since 2016, though down from 2017 (50% in 2016, 56% in 2017, 49% in 2019).

Among both publics, containment is broadly seen as a retaliation in kind. At least eight in ten among both publics (77% of Americans and 83% of Russians) think that the other country is trying to limit the influence of their own.

## Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on data from a joint Chicago Council-Levada Analytical Center survey on Russian and American Attitudes conducted in February 2019.

The US survey was conducted by Ipsos Public Affairs using their national online omnibus service, KnowledgePanel™, between February 22-24, 2019 among a weighted national sample of approximately 1,016 American adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 US states and the District of Columbia. The margin of error is ±3 percentage points.

The Russia survey was conducted between February 14-20, 2019 by the Levada-Center (Levada Analytical Center) with face-to-face interviews conducted among a representative sample of 1,613 persons aged 18 years and older, living in eight federal districts of the Russian Federation. Inside each district, the sample is distributed among five strata of settlements proportionally to the number of population living in them, 18 years of age or older. The margin of error is ±3.4 percentage points.

The 2019 and 2017 Chicago Council-Levada Analytical Center Joint Surveys on Russian and American Attitudes are made possible by the generous support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

## About the Chicago Council on Global Affairs

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs is an independent, nonpartisan organization that provides insight – and influences the public discourse – on critical global issues. We convene leading global voices and conduct independent research to bring clarity and offer solutions to challenges and opportunities across the globe. Ranked [No. 1 Think Tank to Watch](#) worldwide, the Council on Global Affairs is committed to engaging the public and raising global awareness of issues that transcend borders and transform how people, business and governments engage the world. Learn more at [thechicagocouncil.org](http://thechicagocouncil.org) and follow [@ChicagoCouncil](#).

## About the Levada-Center

The Levada-Center is one of the leading research organizations in Russia that conducts public opinion surveys, expert and elite surveys, in-depth interviews, focus groups, and other survey methods. The Center brings together experts in the fields of sociology, political science, economics, psychology, market research, and public opinion polls. The Center's research and experts have been cited in national and international media such as *Kommersant*, *Vedomosti*, *RBC*, *The Economist*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The New York Times*, *Reuters*, *BBC Radio*, *Radio Liberty*, and others. Learn more at [levada.ru](http://levada.ru) and follow [@levada\\_ru](#) or on [Facebook](#).

## Appendix 1: US Topline\*

**Q. At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners?**

### The United States and Russia

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>
Republican	73	24	3
Democrat	83	14	3
Independent	77	18	5

### The United States and China

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>4</b>
Republican	65	32	3
Democrat	64	33	3
Independent	61	34	5

### The United States and the European Union

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>4</b>
Republican	14	83	3
Democrat	22	74	4
Independent	20	76	4

**Q. In your opinion, are relations of the U.S. with the following countries improving, worsening or staying about the same?**

### Russia

	Improving (%)	Worsening (%)	Staying about the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>2</b>
Republican	20	31	49	<0
Democrat	5	62	31	1
Independent	9	50	38	3

\* Due to rounding, totals may not add up to 100%; for Republicans n=237, Democrats n=338, and independents n=372.

## China

	Improving (%)	Worsening (%)	Staying about the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2</b>
Republican	39	26	35	-
Democrat	6	64	28	1
Independent	15	44	38	3

## The European Union as a whole

	Improving (%)	Worsening (%)	Staying about the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>2</b>
Republican	26	20	54	-
Democrat	4	64	31	1
Independent	10	47	40	3

## Q. To what extent do you think the Russian government tried to influence the 2016 presidential election?

	A great deal/fair amount (%)	A great deal (%)	A fair amount (%)	Not very much/not at all (%)	Not very much (%)	Not at all (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>
Republican	35	8	27	62	41	21	3
Democrat	90	67	22	7	3	4	3
Independent	64	30	34	33	21	12	3

## Q. Which of the following countries poses the greatest threat to US security?

	China (%)	Iran (%)	North Korea (%)	Russia (%)	Pakistan (%)	Mexico (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>
Republican	28	19	17	22	3	11	1
Democrat	11	5	21	56	2	3	2
Independent	19	9	24	34	3	7	4

**Q. Do you think that the US actions to date to isolate Russia—including sanctions, the expulsion of 60 Russian diplomats from the United States, and confiscation of Russian compounds in the United States—have gone too far, are about right, or have not gone far enough in responding to Russia’s recent aggressive behavior?**

	Too far (%)	About right (%)	Not far enough (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	7	71	18	4
Democrat	11	37	49	4
Independent	11	50	34	5

**Q. And how effective do you think US isolation of Russia will be in preventing Russia from taking the following actions in future:**

**Using chemical agents to assassinate citizens of other countries**

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	41	9	31	55	38	16	5
Democrat	34	6	29	62	36	27	4
Independent	31	5	26	64	38	26	5

**Aiding separatist groups in other countries**

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	42	6	37	53	41	12	5
Democrat	40	4	36	55	37	18	4
Independent	31	4	27	64	44	20	5

**Using aggressive tactics against its neighbors**

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	45	6	39	50	37	13	4
Democrat	39	6	33	57	33	25	4
Independent	34	6	28	60	41	19	6

### Violating international agreements

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	47	6	41	49	35	14	5
Democrat	36	7	29	60	38	22	4
Independent	36	4	31	59	38	21	5

### Conducting cyber-espionage on other countries

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	42	7	35	53	39	14	5
Democrat	37	7	30	59	29	29	4
Independent	31	6	25	64	39	24	6

### Interfering in other countries' domestic politics

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	45	5	40	51	38	13	5
Democrat	37	5	32	60	38	22	4
Independent	33	6	27	62	39	23	5

### Developing new, higher-speed missile systems

	NET effective (%)	Very effective (%)	Somewhat effective (%)	NET ineffective (%)	Somewhat ineffective (%)	Very ineffective (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	44	9	36	51	38	13	4
Democrat	34	6	28	62	39	23	4
Independent	35	5	30	60	37	23	5

**Q. In dealing with Russia, do you think the United States should:**

	Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with Russia (%)	Actively work to limit Russia's power (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>4</b>
Republican	49	46	5
Democrat	31	66	3
Independent	47	50	4

**Q. And do you think that generally Russia is:**

	Trying to undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with the United States (%)	Actively working to undermine US international power and influence (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>5</b>
Republican	22	72	6
Democrat	10	87	3
Independent	23	73	5

## Appendix 2: Russian Topline\*

**Q. At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners?**

### Russia and the United States

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>7</b>
Approve of Putin	85	8	7
Do not approve of Putin	86	8	7

### Russia and China

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>5</b>
Approve of Putin	10	86	4
Do not approve of Putin	14	79	7

### Russia and the European Union (split with question below, n=827)

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>13</b>
Approve of Putin	48	40	12
Do not approve of Putin	55	32	13

### Russia and Germany (split with question above, n=786)

	Mostly rivals (%)	Mostly partners (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>14</b>
Approve of Putin	28	61	11
Do not approve of Putin	33	48	19

**Q. In your opinion, which country today has the greatest interest in improving relations between Russia and the United States?**

	US (%)	Russia (%)	Neither (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>13</b>
Approve of Putin	9	51	28	13

\* Due to rounding, totals may not add up to 100%; Russians were asked “All-in-all, do you approve of the job Vladimir Putin is doing as President of Russia?” for those who approve of Putin n=1037, for those who do not approve n=564.



Do not approve of Putin	8	41	39	12
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**Q. What impact do you think Russia's international policy in recent years has had on the following factors:**

**Russia's relationship with the US**

	Improved (%)	Worsened (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>11</b>
Approve of Putin	14	73	13
Do not approve of Putin	6	85	9

**Russia's international influence**

	Improved (%)	Worsened (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>12</b>
Approve of Putin	70	19	11
Do not approve of Putin	47	42	12

**Russia's international image**

	Improved (%)	Worsened (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>14</b>
Approve of Putin	51	35	14
Do not approve of Putin	31	56	13

**The states of the defense forces**

	Improved (%)	Worsened (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>
Approve of Putin	89	6	5
Do not approve of Putin	72	18	10

**The state of the economy**

	Improved (%)	Worsened (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>12</b>
Approve of Putin	40	46	14
Do not approve of Putin	14	79	7

### Standards of living in the country

	Improved (%)	Worsened (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>10</b>
Approve of Putin	35	53	13
Do not approve of Putin	8	85	7

**Q. For each of the following countries, do you think it is a rising military power, a declining military power, or is it staying about the same relative to other countries?**

#### Russia

	Rising (%)	Declining (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3</b>
Approve of Putin	88	2	8	2
Do not approve of Putin	75	8	14	3

#### China

	Rising (%)	Declining (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>
Approve of Putin	77	2	12	8
Do not approve of Putin	76	4	13	7

#### The United States

	Rising (%)	Declining (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>8</b>
Approve of Putin	63	8	21	8
Do not approve of Putin	62	9	21	8

**Q. Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country's overall power and influence in the world?**

	Economic strength (%)	Military strength (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>7</b>
Approve of Putin	46	47	7
Do not approve of Putin	52	41	7

**Q. Do you think that the following countries are respected more in the world today than they were ten years ago, respected less, or are respected about as much now as ten years ago?**

**Russia**

	Respected more (%)	Respected less (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>5</b>
Approve of Putin	65	12	19	3
Do not approve of Putin	36	34	23	7

**China**

	Respected more (%)	Respected less (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>6</b>
Approve of Putin	69	5	21	6
Do not approve of Putin	65	7	21	7

**The United States**

	Respected more (%)	Respected less (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>8</b>
Approve of Putin	10	57	27	6
Do not approve of Putin	14	46	30	10

**Germany**

	Respected more (%)	Respected less (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>9</b>
Approve of Putin	21	28	44	8
Do not approve of Putin	19	25	46	10

**Israel**

	Respected more (%)	Respected less (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>17</b>
Approve of Putin	17	21	45	16
Do not approve of Putin	18	19	45	18

## France

	Respected more (%)	Respected less (%)	About the same (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>12</b>
Approve of Putin	11	36	43	11
Do not approve of Putin	13	30	44	13

**Q. In your opinion has the annexation of Crimea brought Russia more good or more harm on the whole?**

	More good (%)	More harm (%)	Neither (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>5</b>
Approve of Putin	73	11	12	4
Do not approve of Putin	43	25	25	8

**Q. Do you think, Russia:**

	Should be open for cooperation with the United States (%)	Should try to limit the international influence and power of the United States (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>9</b>
Approve of Putin	38	53	9
Do not approve of Putin	38	54	8

**Q. Do you think, the USA:**

	The USA is currently trying to cooperate with Russia (%)	The USA is trying to limit the international influence and power of Russia (%)	NR (%)
<b>Overall</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>8</b>
Approve of Putin	8	85	7
Do not approve of Putin	9	81	10