



Sample: 2,538 US Adults  
Interviewing dates: November 9-17, 2022

**US NATIONAL SURVEY OF DEFENSE ATTITUDES  
ON BEHALF OF THE RONALD REAGAN FOUNDATION**

**FINAL TOPLINE RESULTS**

**MOOD OF THE COUNTRY**

1. Are you registered to vote?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Yes	88%	87%	96%	89%	91%
No	10	11	4	9	9
(Don't know)	2	2	*	1	*

2. Would you say things in the United States today are:

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Generally headed in the right direction	28%	33%	42%	40%	37%
Off in the wrong direction	62	59	51	53	54
(Don't know)	10	8	6	7	9

Please note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100% and "total" columns may be one point more or less than the sum of their parts.

BR #9663

**[SAMPLE B ONLY]**

3. What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today? **[OPEN ENDED, USE PRE-CODES FOR PHONE VERSION]**

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Inflation/gas prices/grocery prices	<b>15%</b>	4%	NA	NA	NA
Economy and jobs	<b>14</b>	16	15%	11%	8%
Corruption/Incompetent leaders	<b>14</b>	12	8	14	10
Trade/Tariffs	<b>7</b>	1	*	1	1
Politics/Partisanship	<b>6</b>	13	17	25	22
Systemic racism/white supremacy	<b>5</b>	5	7	NA	NA
Abortion	<b>4</b>	NA	NA	NA	NA
Health care	<b>4</b>	3	3	8	9
Crime/Safety	<b>3</b>	3	1	5	3
The environment/Climate change	<b>2</b>	7	3	6	2
Socialism	<b>2</b>	1	1	NA	NA
Immigration	<b>2</b>	5	3	8	12
Guns/gun policy	<b>2</b>	NA	NA	NA	NA
The federal deficit	<b>2</b>	2	1	1	2
Education/Schools	<b>2</b>	1	1	2	2
Coronavirus/COVID	<b>1</b>	12	29	NA	NA
Foreign policy	<b>1</b>	*	*	1	1
National defense	<b>1</b>	*	*	1	1
Terrorism	<b>1</b>	*	*	2	1
Energy/energy policy	<b>1</b>	NA	NA	NA	NA
Taxes	<b>*</b>	1	*	2	1
Domestic terrorism	<b>*</b>	*	1	NA	NA
Police brutality	<b>*</b>	*	-	NA	NA
Border security	<b>*</b>	3	*	3	2
Other	<b>11</b>	6	7	7	11
Don't know	<b>2</b>	2	2	3	4



## CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them? [RANDOMIZE. ASK ALL Q4, Q5-7 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q8-10 SAMPLE B ONLY]

		A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)	
4.	The military	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>
		Nov 2021	45%	33	11	10	2
		Feb 2021	56%	27	9	6	2
		Oct 2019	63%	23	8	5	1
		Nov 2018	70%	23	4	2	1
5.	Congress	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	6%	24	25	41	3
		Feb 2021	10%	24	21	43	2
		Oct 2019	8%	25	24	39	2
		Nov 2018	5%	34	26	32	3
6.	The Supreme Court	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	18%	36	21	21	4
		Feb 2021	23%	34	22	19	2
		Oct 2019	26%	36	20	14	3
		Nov 2018	27%	43	14	13	3
7.	The news media	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2</b>
		Nov 2021	10%	23	19	45	3
		Feb 2021	14%	22	18	45	1
		Oct 2019	15%	26	17	38	2
		Nov 2018	16%	26	14	42	1
8.	The Presidency	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>2</b>
		Nov 2021	19%	21	15	43	2
		Feb 2021	30%	20	12	35	2
		Oct 2019	27%	18	11	43	1
		Nov 2018	28%	16	9	45	1
9.	Police & law enforcement	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>1</b>
		Nov 2021	33%	33	16	16	2
		Feb 2021	39%	30	15	14	1
		Oct 2019	40%	34	14	10	1
		Nov 2018	50%	33	8	9	-
10.	Election administrators	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>20%</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>4</b>
		Feb 2021	26%	23	16	32	3



**[SAMPLE A ONLY]**

How much trust and confidence do you have in the US military’s ability to... **[RANDOMIZE]**

			A <u>great deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A little</u>	Not <u>much at all</u>	(Don’t <u>know</u> )
11.	Keep the country safe	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>50%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>
		Nov 2021	57%	26	8	6	2
12.	Win a war overseas	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	42%	30	13	10	5
13.	Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>35%</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	40%	31	12	13	4
14.	Deter foreign aggression	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>
		Nov 2021	42%	31	12	9	6

**[SAMPLE B ONLY]**

To what extent, if at all, have each of the following decreased your confidence in the military?

**[RANDOMIZE]**

			A <u>great deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A little</u>	Not <u>much at all</u>	(Don’t <u>know</u> )
15.	So-called “woke” practices undermining military effectiveness		30%	20	18	18	14
16.	So-called far-right or extremist individuals serving in the military		23%	23	23	23	9
17.	Military leadership becoming overly politicized		34%	28	17	14	6
18.	The performance and competence of the military’s civilian leadership—meaning the Secretary of Defense and civilian leadership at the Department of Defense		27%	28	21	16	8
19.	The performance and competence of uniformed military leaders		21%	31	24	19	7
20.	The performance and competence of presidents, as the Commanders-in-Chief		34%	25	16	20	5
21.	The military’s performance in Iraq and Afghanistan		22%	25	23	23	7
22.	The military’s ability to win a potential future war		24%	28	19	22	7



**POLICY PRIORITIES**

**[Q23-27 SAMPLE A ONLY]**

Thinking now about the different areas in which the federal government spends money...  
 Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.  
**[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE: Is that strongly or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?] [RANDOMIZE]**

		-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----					
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongly	(DK)		
23.	The military	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	
		Feb 2021	74%	47	28	22	14	8	3	
		Oct 2019	76%	46	30	23	15	8	2	
		Nov 2018	75%	48	27	23	12	11	2	
24.	Border security	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	
		Feb 2021	69%	43	25	28	18	9	4	
		Oct 2019	64%	39	25	34	20	14	2	
		Nov 2018	62%	40	22	36	18	18	3	
25.	Foreign aid	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>3</b>	
		Feb 2021	41%	13	28	53	22	31	7	
		Oct 2019	48%	13	35	49	29	20	3	
		Nov 2018	47%	13	34	49	25	24	4	
26.	Promoting freedom abroad	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	
		Feb 2021	55%	22	33	35	19	16	9	
27.	How concerned are you about the possibility that high inflation means the military cannot purchase as much equipment as it might need, leading to reduced military capabilities?									
	TOTAL CONCERNED								63%	
	TOTAL NOT CONCERNED								33	
	Extremely concerned								29%	
	Somewhat concerned								34	
	Not very concerned								19	
	Not at all concerned								15	
	(Don't know)								3	



How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?  
**[RANDOMIZE. Q28-35 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q36-42 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----			(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>	Extre- mely	Some- what	<u>TOTAL</u>	Not very	Not at all	
28. Thermo-nuclear war	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>
	Nov 2021	61%	26	35	35	25	10	4
	Feb 2021	62%	30	31	33	23	10	5
	Oct 2019	58%	24	34	38	25	13	3
	Nov 2018	60%	24	36	38	24	14	2
29. An attack on our space assets, such as satellites	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>66%</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	61%	24	37	34	24	10	4
	Feb 2021	60%	24	36	36	25	10	4
	Oct 2019	62%	25	37	35	25	10	3
	Nov 2018	64%	23	41	33	21	12	2
30. Terrorist attacks on the homeland	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	82%	45	37	15	11	4	3
	Feb 2021	83%	43	39	15	12	3	2
	Oct 2019	84%	42	42	15	11	4	1
	Nov 2018	85%	48	37	14	10	4	1
31. Political divisions in the United States leading to violence	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>*</b>
	Nov 2021	85%	55	30	11	8	3	4
	Feb 2021	88%	63	25	9	6	3	3
	Oct 2019	84%	51	33	13	9	4	2
32. Global pandemics	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	81%	46	35	16	11	5	3
	Feb 2021	82%	51	31	16	10	6	2
33. The use of surveillance technology to suppress human rights	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	80%	48	32	14	10	5	6
	Feb 2021	80%	50	29	16	12	4	4
34. War between the US and China	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	71%	33	37	25	18	7	4
35. Expansion of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>



		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----			(DK)
		TOTAL	Extre- mely	Some- what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	
36. Conventional military attacks	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>
	Nov 2021	55%	20	35	41	28	13	4
	Feb 2021	56%	21	35	39	27	12	5
	Oct 2019	56%	20	36	42	31	11	3
	Nov 2018	50%	16	34	47	29	18	3
37. Cyber-attacks	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>85%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>
<i>Wording before 2021: Cyber-attacks on government computers and the grid</i>	Nov 2021	88%	56	32	9	6	2	4
	Feb 2021	88%	57	30	9	6	3	3
	Oct 2019	89%	57	32	10	8	2	1
	Nov 2018	92%	66	26	7	4	3	1
38. Biological attacks on the homeland	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>
	Nov 2021	78%	40	38	19	13	6	3
	Feb 2021	79%	43	36	18	12	5	4
39. Domestic terrorist attacks – meaning terrorism committed by American citizens	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	79%	43	35	17	12	5	4
	Feb 2021	82%	50	33	15	9	6	3
40. Climate change	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>1</b>
	Nov 2021	65%	41	25	30	14	16	4
	Feb 2021	66%	40	26	31	13	18	3
41. Rising authoritarianism around the world	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>81%</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>
	Nov 2021	75%	39	37	16	13	3	9
	Feb 2021	76%	40	36	17	12	4	7
42. China invading Taiwan	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>



## ASSESSMENTS OF MILITARY CAPABILITIES AND DEFENSE POSTURE

The rest of this survey will focus on your views about the US military, national defense, and foreign policy. [Q43-49 SAMPLE B ONLY]

For each of the following, please tell us how you think the US military is doing compared to the military in other countries. Is it the best in the world, one of the best, or not one of the best?

[ASK OVERALL CAPABILITIES FIRST, THEN RANDOMIZE]

		Best in <u>the world</u>	One <u>of the best</u>	Not one <u>of the best</u>	(Don't <u>know</u> )
43. Overall capabilities	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>40%</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>
	Nov 2021	43%	45	7	5
	Feb 2021	39%	47	8	6
	Oct 2019	36%	52	6	5
44. Conventional weaponry, such as tanks, battleships, and airplanes	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>
	Nov 2021	45%	42	7	7
45. Traditional manpower, such as enlisted servicemembers	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>30%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>
	Nov 2021	36%	46	11	7
46. Military leadership, such as officers and generals	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>7</b>
	Nov 2021	33%	42	17	8
47. Cyber-technology, cyber-security, and cyber-warfare	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>
	Nov 2021	27%	46	16	10
48. High-tech weaponry, such as artificial intelligence and missile technology	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>
	Nov 2021	39%	45	8	8





**[SKIP AND CODE AS US IF BEST IN THE WORLD IN Q43]**

49. Which country do you think has the best overall military capabilities? **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>
US	<b>65%</b>	69%
China	<b>15</b>	17
Russia	<b>4</b>	5
Israel	<b>2</b>	2
North Korea	<b>1</b>	1
Japan	<b>1</b>	NA
Ukraine	<b>1</b>	NA
None	<b>1</b>	NA
Other	<b>3</b>	2
Not sure/refused	<b>8</b>	13

**[Q50-55 SAMPLE A ONLY]**

50. Do you think the US would win a war with a nuclear power?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Yes	<b>53%</b>	53%	57%	65%
No	<b>22</b>	22	28	25
(Don't know)	<b>24</b>	24	15	9

51. When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
More engaged and take the lead	<b>40%</b>	42%	51%	50%
Less engaged and react to events	<b>32</b>	30	27	33
(Depends)	<b>24</b>	22	19	11
(Don't know)	<b>4</b>	6	3	5

52. As you may know, the United States assists people living in authoritarian countries who advocate for their governments to move toward democracy. Should the US increase these activities, keep them at the same level, or stop doing this?

Increase support for democracy advocates abroad	<b>24%</b>
Keep support the same level	<b>48</b>
Stop supporting democracy advocates abroad	<b>18</b>
(Don't know)	<b>10</b>



53. In general, do you think it is better for the US to maintain military bases around the world to deter attacks and respond quickly if something happens, or do you think the US should reduce our military presence overseas and only deploy troops in response to aggression?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
Maintain bases	<b>65%</b>	65%	63%	65%
Reduce presence overseas	<b>27</b>	27	31	28
(Don't know)	<b>7</b>	9	6	7

54. In your view, how much of a security threat is illegal immigration across our southern border?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
A major threat	<b>42%</b>	41%	40%
A minor threat	<b>36</b>	35	29
Not a threat	<b>16</b>	21	29
(Don't know)	<b>5</b>	3	2

55. Do you support or oppose the US military using part of its budget to address climate change?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>
Support	<b>47%</b>	50%
Oppose	<b>39</b>	39
(Don't know)	<b>13</b>	11

**[Q56-57 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

How concerned are you that, in the next ten years, countries will fight wars over each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>-----Concerned-----</u>			<u>-----Not concerned-----</u>			
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Extre- mely</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
56. Access to oil, coal, or other energy sources	81%	44	37	17	12	5	2
57. Access to semiconductors and other advanced technologies	68%	25	42	28	21	7	4



## ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES, ENEMIES, AND THREATS

### [Q58-59 SAMPLE A ONLY]

58. Thinking about American interests and the threats that exist in the world today, where do you think the US should focus its military forces? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Europe, including Russia	<b>18%</b>	5%	8%	9%	5%
Central America	<b>5</b>	4	5	4	4
South America	<b>3</b>	1	3	3	3
Africa	<b>2</b>	1	2	1	3
The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria	<b>11</b>	17	21	37	27
South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan	<b>6</b>	9	7	7	15
East Asia, such as China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea	<b>31</b>	37	28	16	24
(Don't know)	<b>25</b>	25	27	22	19

*\*Note: 2018 survey did not specify "including Russia" and "such as Iran and Syria"*

59. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the US? **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
China	<b>43%</b>	52%	37%	28%	21%
Russia	<b>31</b>	14	16	25	30
North Korea	<b>7</b>	12	15	14	18
USA/ourselves	<b>3</b>	3	3	4	4
Iran	<b>2</b>	4	8	9	7
Mexico	<b>1</b>	*	1	*	1
Iraq	<b>1</b>	2	3	5	2
Ukraine	<b>1</b>	NA	NA	NA	NA
Afghanistan	<b>1</b>	5	1	3	2
All / Too many	<b>1</b>	NA	NA	NA	NA
Other	<b>4</b>	2	3	2	1
None	<b>2</b>	2	3	1	1
Not sure / Refused	<b>5</b>	9	8	5	5



**[Q60-69 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----			Strong (DK)	
		TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong		
60.	Australia	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>9</b>
		Nov 2021	84%	47	36	4	3	1	13
		Feb 2021	84%	54	30	5	4	1	12
		Oct 2019	93%	54	39	5	4	1	2
61.	China	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>6</b>
		Nov 2021	23%	7	16	65	32	33	12
		Feb 2021	21%	5	16	67	30	38	11
		Oct 2019	36%	7	29	60	40	20	3
		Nov 2018	38%	5	33	55	37	18	7
62.	Finland	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>16</b>
63.	North Korea	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>6</b>
		Nov 2021	10%	3	7	78	26	52	11
		Feb 2021	13%	5	8	76	22	55	11
		Oct 2019	14%	4	10	83	30	53	3
		Nov 2018	8%	1	7	86	26	60	5
64.	Russia	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>5</b>
		Nov 2021	20%	5	15	65	36	29	15
		Feb 2021	19%	6	13	69	35	35	12
		Oct 2019	28%	5	23	71	38	33	2
		Nov 2018	19%	3	16	73	37	36	7
65.	Saudi Arabia	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>
		Nov 2021	40%	6	33	40	27	13	20
		Feb 2021	45%	8	37	39	28	11	15
		Oct 2019	47%	9	38	48	34	14	5
		Nov 2018	38%	5	33	53	37	16	10
66.	Taiwan	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>15</b>
		Nov 2021	62%	21	41	14	11	2	24
		Feb 2021	60%	22	38	16	11	5	24
		Oct 2019	73%	21	52	17	14	3	9
		Nov 2018	71%	21	50	11	9	2	18
67.	Ukraine	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>
		Feb 2021	49%	11	38	26	20	7	24
		Oct 2019	61%	10	51	29	25	4	9



		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----				
			Some-	thing		Some-	Strong (DK)		
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>thing</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>thing</u>	<u>Strong (DK)</u>		
68.	United Kingdom	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>86%</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>
		Nov 2021	86%	62	25	4	3	*	10
		Feb 2021	84%	61	23	6	4	1	10
		Oct 2019	93%	61	32	5	4	1	2
		Nov 2018	92%	67	25	4	2	2	4

69. Do you think the greatest threats to the US come from outside of the country or from within the country?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>
From outside	<b>28%</b>	25%	35%
From within	<b>40</b>	41	36
(Both equally)	<b>30</b>	30	25
(Don't know)	<b>2</b>	4	4

**[Q70-73 SAMPLE A ONLY]**

70. Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also known as NATO?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
TOTAL FAVORABLE	<b>60%</b>	60%	62%	59%
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	<b>23</b>	22	22	24
Very favorable	<b>29%</b>	26%	25%	26%
Somewhat favorable	<b>31</b>	34	37	33
Somewhat unfavorable	<b>15</b>	15	14	15
Very unfavorable	<b>8</b>	7	8	9
(Don't know)	<b>17</b>	18	16	16

71. As you may know, Finland and Sweden are in the process of joining NATO. Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to add these two countries to the alliance?

Approve	71%
Disapprove	12
(Don't know)	17

72. As you may know, all NATO members are required to respond if one country in the alliance is attacked. Knowing this, would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if Russia attacked a NATO ally in Europe?

Support	72%
Oppose	14
(Don't know)	14



73. Ukraine has applied for NATO membership. Would you support or oppose adding Ukraine to NATO?

Support	61%
Oppose	22
(Don't know)	17

## CHINA

### [Q74-85 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking now about China...

74. Which of the following most concerns you about China? [RANDOMIZE]

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>
Chinese economic practices, including technology theft and its trade relationships with other countries	<b>22%</b>	20%
Chinese military buildup, including naval activity in the South China Sea	<b>18</b>	19
Chinese human rights abuses, including the treatment of Hong Kong and the Uyghur ethnic group	<b>17</b>	17
China invading Taiwan	<b>13</b>	7
Chinese foreign policy, including efforts to expand its influence throughout South Asia, Africa and South America	<b>11</b>	13
(All / Mix)	<b>7</b>	10
(Don't know)	<b>12</b>	14

75. Do you think the US has a clear strategy for managing its relationship with China?

Yes	27%
No	54
(Don't know)	20

76. Do you support or oppose efforts to reduce the amount of trade between the US and China?

Support	54%
Oppose	28
(Don't know)	17

As you may know, although official Chinese policy is that Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan has operated relatively independently for decades. If China invaded Taiwan, please tell me if you would support or oppose the United States coming to Taiwan's defense in each of the following ways.

### [DO NOT RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
77. Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>73%</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>
	Nov 2021	71%	10	19
	Oct 2019	76%	11	13



		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
78.	Imposing economic sanctions against China	<b>Nov 2022</b> 60%	<b>23</b>	<b>17</b>
		Nov 2021 66%	15	19
		Oct 2019 64%	23	13
79.	Sending more military equipment to Taiwan, like the US is currently sending to Ukraine	<b>Nov 2022</b> 56%	<b>26</b>	<b>18</b>
80.	Moving US military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region	<b>Nov 2022</b> 52%	<b>29</b>	<b>19</b>
		Nov 2021 55%	24	21
		Oct 2019 55%	32	13
81.	Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes	<b>Nov 2022</b> 46%	<b>34</b>	<b>20</b>
		Nov 2021 50%	25	25
		Oct 2019 42%	42	16
82.	Committing US ground troops to the defense of Taiwan	<b>Nov 2022</b> 43%	<b>36</b>	<b>21</b>
		Nov 2021 40%	35	25
		Oct 2019 39%	45	16
83.	As you may know, Taiwan has a democratically-elected government. It is also a major manufacturer of electronics and is the world's largest producer of advanced semiconductors—components used in computers, cellphones, cars, and other devices. Does hearing this make you more or less likely to support committing US forces to the defense of Taiwan if China invades, or does it have no effect? <b>[IF MORE / LESS LIKELY: Is that much (more/less) likely, or only somewhat?]</b>			
	TOTAL LIKELY	46%		
	TOTAL LESS LIKELY	6		
	Much more likely to support	21%		
	Somewhat more likely to support	25		
	No difference	40		
	Somewhat less likely to support	4		
	Much less likely to support	2		
	(Don't know)	9		

In an attempt to discourage China from invading Taiwan, do you support or oppose each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
84.	Increasing US military presence near Taiwan	61%	26	14
85.	Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan	58%	26	16



## RUSSIA, UKRAINE

### [Q86-100 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking specifically about Russia, how concerned are you about each of the following?

### [RANDOMIZE]

		----Concerned----			----Not concerned----			(DK)	
		TOTAL	Extre- mely	Some- what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all		
86.	Russian aid to Iran and other rogue regimes	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>79%</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>
		Nov 2021	77%	44	32	16	11	5	7
87.	Russia sponsoring cyberattacks against the US	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>84%</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>
		Nov 2021	82%	52	30	13	8	5	5
88.	Russia launching a thermo- nuclear attack against the US	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>
		Nov 2021	60%	32	28	34	22	12	6
89.	Russia invading other former Soviet republics, including Ukraine*	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>83%</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>
		Nov 2021	72%	37	36	20	14	7	7
90.	Russia interfering in our elections	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	73%	46	27	22	13	9	5
91.	The poisoning of opposition leaders and the suppression of dissent within Russia	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>
		Nov 2021	77%	46	31	16	10	5	7

\*Note: 2021 survey did not specify "including Ukraine"

92. Do you think the US has sent too much military aid to Ukraine, too little, or about the right amount of military aid?

Too much	24%
Too little	25
About right	39
(Don't know)	12





Regarding the war in Ukraine, how concerned are you about each of the following occurring?  
**[RANDOMIZE]**

		----Concerned----			----Not concerned----			(DK <sub>2</sub> )
		<u>TOTAL</u>	Extre- <u>mely</u>	Some- <u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	Not <u>very</u>	Not <u>at all</u>	
93.	Russia using a nuclear weapon	77%	45	32	21	14	7	2
94.	Russian victory in the war	67%	34	33	29	16	13	4
95.	The Russian invasion of Ukraine inspiring other authoritarian countries to invade their democratic neighbors	71%	37	35	25	18	8	3
96.	The war expanding to NATO countries in Eastern Europe, forcing the US to get directly involved	74%	35	39	22	15	7	3
97.	US military aid to Ukraine causing the US to deplete its weapons stockpile	59%	29	30	37	23	14	4
98.	American focus on Ukraine distracting policymakers from the threat posed by China	70%	29	41	25	17	8	5
99.	With regard to US aid to Ukraine—meaning military equipment and financial assistance—which of these positions is closer to your own?							

America must continue to stand with the people of Ukraine and oppose Russian aggression in order to protect a friendly democracy and prevent future Russian threats to Europe.	57%
America has enough problems at home and cannot afford to spend more on the conflict and risk further provoking Russia.	33
(Neither / Don't know)	10

100. Who or what do you blame for the war in Ukraine? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Russia	68%
The United States	7
NATO expansion	6
Ukraine	3
Expansion of the European Union	3
(Don't know)	13

## GREATER MIDDLE EAST

### [Q101-106 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Turning now to Afghanistan and the withdrawal of US forces there last year...

101. Do you think the war in Afghanistan was mostly a success or mostly a failure?

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Mostly a success	<b>26%</b>	23%	32%	38%
Mostly a failure	<b>54</b>	59	50	49
(Don't know)	<b>21</b>	18	18	13



102. Which of the following is closer to your view when it comes to terrorist activities in Afghanistan? **[ROTATE]**

	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>
The US can effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups through intelligence gathering and drone strikes from outside Afghanistan	<b>48%</b>	47%
The US needs military forces on the ground to effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups	<b>32</b>	37
(Don't know)	<b>19</b>	16

Changing topics now to Iran...

Do you support or oppose each of the following approaches to preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
103. Using US military force	47%	37	16
104. Using US cyber capabilities	69%	15	16
105. Instituting economic sanctions	65%	17	18
106. Renegotiating the Iran nuclear agreement	53%	28	18

## DISINFORMATION

**[Q107-108 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

107. What is your primary source of news and information? **[OPEN ENDED, USE PRE-CODES FOR PHONE VERSION. PROBE FOR CLARITY IF RESPONDENT OFFERS GENERAL CATEGORY: Any (TV channels/social media platforms) in particular?]**

Cable TV news, like Fox News, MSNBC, CNN	28%
Network TV news, like ABC, CBS, NBC	24
Online news sites	23
Print newspapers and magazines	5
Other social media	4
Facebook	2
Word of mouth	2
Twitter	2
Podcasts	1
TikTok	1
Instagram	*
Email newsletters	-
Other	5
(Don't know)	4



108. To what extent do you believe that information operations conducted by foreign governments influence opinions and attitudes in the United States?

A great deal	27%
Some	38
A little	18
Not much at all	9
(Don't know)	7

## EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

### [Q109-116 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each one I mention.

**[DO NOT RANDOMIZE]**

		---Favorable---			---Unfavorable---			(DK)
		TOTAL	Very	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Very	
109. Jimmy Carter	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>13</b>
	Nov 2021	50%	20	30	34	19	15	15
	Feb 2021	57%	23	33	31	18	13	13
110. Ronald Reagan	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>
	Nov 2021	69%	42	27	22	12	10	9
	Feb 2021	71%	42	28	22	12	10	7
	Oct 2019	76%	46	30	20	13	7	4
	Nov 2018	77%	44	33	19	12	7	4
111. George H. W. Bush	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>
	Nov 2021	62%	21	41	31	20	11	7
	Feb 2021	63%	19	44	31	20	11	6
	Oct 2019	71%	23	48	25	17	8	3
	Nov 2018	65%	18	47	31	21	10	4
112. Bill Clinton	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>
	Nov 2021	55%	23	33	38	22	16	6
	Feb 2021	56%	24	32	39	21	18	5
	Oct 2019	60%	21	39	39	19	20	2
	Nov 2018	63%	24	39	35	19	16	2
113. George W. Bush	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>
	Nov 2021	57%	18	39	38	23	15	5
	Feb 2021	62%	20	42	33	22	12	5
	Oct 2019	63%	18	45	35	21	14	2
	Nov 2018	57%	13	44	41	24	17	2



		---Favorable---			---Unfavorable---			(DK)	
		TOTAL	Very	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Very		
114.	Barack Obama	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>60%</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	59%	36	23	37	14	23	4
		Feb 2021	60%	39	21	37	12	25	3
		Oct 2019	60%	40	20	39	12	27	1
		Nov 2018	60%	40	20	39	14	25	1
115.	Donald Trump	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	50%	32	18	46	9	37	4
		Feb 2021	46%	32	14	51	10	41	2
		Oct 2019	46%	29	17	52	9	43	2
		Nov 2018	44%	25	19	55	7	48	2
116.	Joe Biden	<b>Nov 2022</b>	<b>43%</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>3</b>
		Nov 2021	44%	19	25	51	13	38	5
		Feb 2021	53%	32	21	41	12	30	6

## DEMOGRAPHICS

We're almost done. Now we just have a few basic questions for statistical purposes.

### [ASK ALL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS OF ALL RESPONDENTS]

117. What is your age? [CODE TO RANGE]

18-29	17%
30-44	25
45-64	38
65 and up	19
(Refused)	*

118. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	76%
Black or African-American	13
Hispanic or Latino	4
Asian or Asian-American	3
Native American	*
Middle Eastern	*
Mixed Race	2
Other [RECORD VERBATIM]	*
(Refused)	2

### [SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]

119. Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?

Yes	8%
No	86
(Don't know / Refused)	6



120. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Did not graduate from high school	4%
High school degree	21
Some college/2-year college degree	33
4-year college degree	25
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	15
(Not sure)	2

121. Thinking back to last year, which of the following best characterizes your family income?

Under \$25,000	16%
\$25,000-\$50,000	20
\$50,000-\$75,000	18
\$75,000-\$100,000	15
\$100,000-\$150,000	12
Over \$150,000	10
(Don't know / Refused)	9

122. Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?

Yes	34%
No	55
(Don't know)	11

123. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a... **[ROTATE 1-2]**

Democrat	29%
Republican	30
Independent	32
(Don't know)	9

**[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)]**

124. Do you lean more to the **[ROTATE FIRST TWO OPTIONS]** Democrats, to the Republicans, or don't lean either way?

Democrats	23%
Republican	23
Neither way	41
(Don't know)	14



**[IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN]**

125. How likely are you to vote in the Republican presidential primary, to pick the Republican nominee for president in 2024? Will you...

TOTAL WILL VOTE	88%
TOTAL WILL NOT VOTE	8
Definitely vote in the primary	71%
Probably vote	17
Probably not vote	6
Definitely not vote in the primary	2
(Don't know)	4

**[IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN]**

126. Would you like to see Donald Trump run for president again in 2024?

Yes	57%
No	31
(Don't know)	12

127. In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?

TOTAL LIBERAL	26%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	33
Very liberal	9%
Somewhat liberal	16
Moderate	31
Somewhat conservative	19
Very conservative	14
(Don't know)	10

128. Are you currently a member of the armed services?

Yes, service member	5%
Not	90
(Don't know)	5

**[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]**

129. Is anyone in your household currently a member of the armed services?

Yes, service member household	14%
Not	81
(Don't know)	5



**[SKIP AND CODE AS NOT IF SERVICE MEMBER]**

130. Are you a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran	10%
Not	85
(Don't know)	5

**[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]**

131. Is anyone in your household a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran household	28%
Not	67
(Don't know)	5

**[IF AGE 18-29 ONLY. SKIP IF SERVICE MEMBER OR VETERAN]**

132. How willing would you, personally, be to serve in the US military?

Extremely willing	6%
Very willing	7
Somewhat willing	25
Not very willing	20
Not willing at all	26
(Depends)	8
(Don't know)	7

133. Thinking about the 2020 presidential elections, did you vote for **[ROTATE]** Donald Trump, Joe Biden, for another candidate, or did you not vote?

Donald Trump	36%
Joe Biden	35
Other	6
Didn't vote	14
(Not sure / Refused)	8

134. In the recent election for Congress, did you vote for **[ROTATE]** the Democratic candidate in your district or the Republican candidate in your district, or did you not vote in that election?

Democrat	34%
Republican	36
Did not vote	19
(Other)	5
(Don't know)	6



135. **SEX [BASED ON OBSERVATION ON PHONE]**

Male	46%
Female	52
Non-binary	1
I'd rather not say	1

136. **REGION1 [BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]**

New England	5%
Mid-Atlantic	14
Upper Mid-East	15
Upper Mid-West	7
Deep South	27
Border South	11
Rocky Mountain West	7
Pacific	14

137. **REGION2 [BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]**

East	19%
Midwest	22
South	38
West	21

