US NATIONAL SURVEY OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES
ON BEHALF OF THE RONALD REAGAN INSTITUTE

INITIAL TOPLINE RESULTS

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

	Yes	No	(DK)
Nov 2025	**91%**	**8**	**1**
June 2025	92%	7	1
Nov 2024	92%	7	1
May 2024	89%	10	1
Nov 2023	88%	11	1
June 2023	88%	11	1
Nov 2022	88%	10	2
Nov 2021	87%	11	2
Feb 2021	96%	4	*
Oct 2019	89%	9	1
Nov 2018	91%	9	*

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

	Generally headed in the right direction	Off in the wrong direction	(Don't know)
Nov 2025	**38%**	**58**	**4**
June 2025	43%	51	6
Nov 2024	37%	56	8
May 2024	29%	66	5
Nov 2023	25%	70	6
June 2023	25%	69	6
Nov 2022	28%	62	10
Nov 2021	33%	59	8
Feb 2021	42%	51	6
Oct 2019	40%	53	7
Nov 2018	37%	54	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 #9906

How important are each of the following issues facing the country today? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		More important			Less important			
		TOTAL	Extremely	Somewhat	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	(DK)
3. Foreign policy and national defense	**Nov 2025**	**87%**	**50**	**37**	**12**	**9**	**3**	**1**
	Nov 2024	89%	55	34	9	7	2	1
4. Border security and immigration policy	**Nov 2025**	**79%**	**47**	**32**	**20**	**14**	**6**	**1**
	Nov 2024	85%	54	31	14	10	4	1
5. The economy	**Nov 2025**	**95%**	**75**	**20**	**5**	**4**	**2**	*****
	*Nov 2024	94%	74	21	6	4	2	*
6. Crime and public safety	**Nov 2025**	**89%**	**60**	**30**	**10**	**8**	**2**	*****
7. Health care	**Nov 2025**	**93%**	**68**	**26**	**7**	**5**	**2**	*****
	Nov 2024	94%	62	32	5	4	1	*
8. Climate change	**Nov 2025**	**71%**	**41**	**30**	**28**	**14**	**14**	**1**
	Nov 2024	72%	42	30	28	14	14	1
9. Political polarization	**Nov 2025**	**82%**	**51**	**31**	**14**	**10**	**4**	**4**

Note: 2024 specified "inflation and the economy"

CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITARY

For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them. **[RANDOMIZE] [ASK ALL Q10. Q11-13 SAMPLE A, Q14-16 SAMPLE B]**

		A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
10. The military	**Nov 2025**	**49%**	**28**	**14**	**8**	**1**
	Nov 2024	51%	31	11	6	2
	Nov 2023	46%	32	12	8	1
	Nov 2022	48%	33	10	8	2
	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
11. The Presidency	**Nov 2025**	**26%**	**18**	**10**	**46**	**1**
	Nov 2024	22%	23	14	37	3
	Nov 2023	16%	20	17	47	1
	Nov 2022	16%	24	13	45	2
	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

			A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
12.	Congress	**Nov 2025**	**11%**	**19**	**24**	**46**	**1**
		Nov 2024	9%	30	27	32	2
		Nov 2023	5%	21	28	43	2
		Nov 2022	9%	24	25	39	3
		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
13.	The Supreme Court	**Nov 2025**	**19%**	**28**	**22**	**31**	**1**
		Nov 2024	21%	27	19	31	2
		Nov 2023	16%	30	23	29	2
		Nov 2022	16%	29	21	30	3
		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
14.	The news media	**Nov 2025**	**14%**	**28**	**24**	**33**	**1**
		Nov 2024	10%	23	23	43	1
		Nov 2023	8%	25	22	43	1
		Nov 2022	9%	26	20	43	2
		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
15.	Police and law enforcement	**Nov 2025**	**32%**	**39**	**16**	**13**	*****
		Nov 2024	34%	33	16	17	1
		Nov 2023	27%	37	19	17	1
		Nov 2022	33%	37	14	15	1
		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	-
16.	The tech industry	**Nov 2025**	**19%**	**40**	**24**	**17**	**1**

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

			A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
17.	Keep the country safe	**Nov 2025**	**54%**	**27**	**11**	**8**	*****
		Nov 2022	50%	29	11	9	1
		Nov 2021	57%	26	8	6	2
18.	Win a war overseas	**Nov 2025**	**49%**	**29**	**11**	**10**	**2**
		Nov 2022	44%	29	12	12	3
		Nov 2021	42%	30	13	10	5
19.	Prevent a cyber-attack from another country	**Nov 2025**	**29%**	**35**	**19**	**16**	**2**
20.	Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner	**Nov 2025**	**38%**	**29**	**16**	**16**	**1**
		Nov 2022	35%	32	15	15	3
		Nov 2021	40%	31	12	13	4
21.	Deter foreign aggression	**Nov 2025**	**45%**	**31**	**13**	**9**	**2**
		Nov 2022	42%	29	14	11	4
		Nov 2021	42%	31	12	9	6

[SAMPLE A ONLY]
22. Do you think the US military is: **[ROTATE 1 AND 3]**

	Nov 2025	Nov 2023
Too focused on social issues at the expense of a focus on warfighting	**25%**	23%
Appropriately balancing a focus on warfighting and social issues	**41**	39
Too focused on warfighting at the expense of a focus on social issues	**23**	24
(Don't know)	**12**	15

Do you approve or disapprove of each of the following actions or policies by the Pentagon? **[IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE: Is that strongly (approve/disapprove), or only somewhat?]** **[RANDOMIZE]**

	-------Approve-------			-------Disapprove-------			(Don't know)
	TOTAL	Strongly	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strongly	
23. Changing the name of US Department of Defense to the US Department of War.	36%	18	18	59	17	42	5
24. **[A]** The directive to restore a "warrior ethos" across the force.	47%	25	23	40	18	22	13
25. **[B]** Deploying active-duty troops or federalized National Guard to support border security along the US-Mexico border.	61%	35	26	38	14	23	2

		Approve			Disapprove		
	TOTAL	Strongly	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strongly	(Don't know)
26. **[A]** Directing the National Guard to support local police during major civil disturbances and to address violent crime.	55%	34	21	43	13	30	2
27. **[B]** Eliminating DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) programs and "DEI-focused" training across the Pentagon.	47%	29	18	48	15	33	5
28. **[A]** The US military's targeted airstrike against Iran's nuclear facilities this past summer.	60%	34	25	36	19	17	4
29. **[B]** Using military force against suspected drug traffickers in Latin America and the Caribbean.	62%	36	26	36	16	20	2
30. **[A]** Ending reimbursement for abortion travel and related leave for servicemembers.	45%	26	18	48	16	32	7
31. **[B]** Reinstating restrictions on transgender military service, including halting treatments related to gender transition in the military health system.	50%	32	18	45	16	30	5
32. **[A]** Issuing gender-neutral, job-based fitness standards for combat jobs, meaning one standard for both men and women.	62%	34	28	33	17	17	5

[SAMPLE B ONLY]

33. If a close friend or family member were considering joining the military, would you encourage them or discourage them?

	Nov 2025	Nov 2023
Encourage	**59%**	51%
Discourage	**27**	33
(Don't know)	**13**	16

DEFENSE / FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE

On another topic…

[Q34-35 SAMPLE A ONLY]

34.   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? **[IF MORE ENGAGED/LESS ENGAGED:** Do you strongly believe that, or only somewhat?**]**

| | ----More engaged---- | | | ----Less engaged ---- | | | | |
	TOTAL	Strongly	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strongly	Depends	(DK)
Nov 2025	**64%**	**32**	**31**	**33**	**24**	**9**	**1**	**3**
June 2025	64%	39	25	23	16	8	9	3
Nov 2024	57%	35	23	32	21	10	8	3
May 2024	54%	31	23	33	20	12	10	3
Nov 2023	42%	NA	NA	32	NA	NA	23	3
Nov 2022	40%	NA	NA	32	NA	NA	24	4
Nov 2021	42%	NA	NA	30	NA	NA	22	6
Feb 2021	51%	NA	NA	27	NA	NA	19	3

35.   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]**

	Nov 2025	Nov 2024	Nov 2023	Nov 2022	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
East Asia, such as China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea	**24%**	27%	25%	31%	37%	28%	16%	24%
The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria	**23**	25	31	11	17	21	37	27
Europe, including Russia	**18**	18	19	18	5	8	9	5
Central America	**6**	4	3	5	4	5	4	4
South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan	**4**	4	2	6	9	7	7	15
South America	**4**	2	2	3	1	3	3	3
Africa	**1**	2	2	2	1	2	1	3
(Don't know)	**20**	19	16	25	25	27	22	19

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

[SAMPLE B ONLY]

36. Do you favor or oppose the US government shifting a major portion of its global military presence and resources away from Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, and refocusing those resources on the Western Hemisphere, meaning North and South America? **[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL FAVOR	49%
TOTAL OPPOSE	40
Strongly favor	20%
Somewhat favor	29
Somewhat oppose	21
Strongly oppose	18
(Don't know)	11

37. How powerful do you think the United States military is compared to other major powers?

TOTAL MORE POWERFUL	80%
By far the most powerful	40%
Somewhat more powerful	39
About as powerful	15
Not as powerful	4
(Don't know)	1

38. How important is it to you that the United States has the most powerful military in the world?

TOTAL IMPORTANT	87%
TOTAL NOT IMPORTANT	12
Extremely	57%
Somewhat	30
Not very	9
Not at all	4
(Don't know)	1

39. Do you agree or disagree that the world is more likely to achieve peace when the US has the world's strongest military? **[IF AGREE/DISAGREE:** Is that strongly (agree/disagree), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL AGREE	71%
TOTAL DISAGREE	24
Strongly agree	41%
Somewhat agree	30
Somewhat disagree	15
Strongly disagree	9
(Don't know)	5

[Q40-41 SAMPLE B ONLY]
40. How large do you think the US military should be? **[ROTATE ORDER OF ANSWER OPTIONS (1-5, 5-1)]**

	Nov 2025	Nov 2024
Large enough to win separate wars against China and Russia at the same time	**44%**	41%
Large enough to win separate wars against China and a smaller country, like Iran or North Korea, at the same time	**20**	20
Large enough to win a war against China, but not a second war at the same time	**10**	12
Large enough to fight China to a draw	**6**	5
Only large enough to defend our borders	**11**	12
(Smaller than these options) **[OMITTED ONLINE]**	*****	1
(Don't know)	**9**	10

41. Would you support or oppose a major increase in US government spending to develop the Golden Dome missile defense system that would be designed to protect the US homeland against long-range missiles? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	68%
TOTAL OPPOSE	26
Strongly support	36%
Somewhat support	32
Somewhat oppose	14
Strongly oppose	11
(Don't know)	6

[Q42-45 SAMPLE B ONLY]
Thinking specifically about materials and technologies that are important for national security – how do you think the US is doing when it comes to developing and producing each of the following? Is the US the best in the world, one of the best, or not one of the best? **[RANDOMIZE]**

			Best in the world	One of the best	Not one of the best	(Don't know)
42.	Satellites and rockets	**Nov 2025**	**34%**	**50**	**12**	**4**
		Nov 2024	34%	50	11	6
		Nov 2023	28%	52	12	8
		Feb 2021	30%	50	11	9
43.	Robotics	**Nov 2025**	**18%**	**54**	**21**	**7**
		Nov 2024	17%	55	20	8
		Nov 2023	14%	55	21	11
		Feb 2021	14%	51	22	13
44.	Artificial intelligence, or AI	**Nov 2025**	**24%**	**52**	**18**	**6**
		Nov 2024	24%	54	15	7
		Nov 2023	16%	52	20	12
		Feb 2021	17%	51	18	14
45.	Semiconductors and computing chips	**Nov 2025**	**19%**	**48**	**25**	**8**

[Q46-50 SAMPLE A ONLY]
46. Do you support or oppose the US government taking an ownership stake in companies that produce products deemed important to national security, like semiconductors? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	56%
TOTAL OPPOSE	35
Strongly support	24%
Somewhat support	32
Somewhat oppose	18
Strongly oppose	17
(Don't know)	9

47. Do you support or oppose the US government strictly limiting American companies from selling the most advanced artificial intelligence (AI) computer chips to China? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	65%
TOTAL OPPOSE	31
Strongly support	40%
Somewhat support	25
Somewhat oppose	15
Strongly oppose	15
(Don't know)	5

48. When it comes to US trade policy for semiconductors, which should be a higher priority for policymakers: **[ROTATE]** Ensuring American companies can sell their technology in other countries *or* preventing China's military from developing advanced AI?

Ensuring American companies can sell their technology in other countries	36%
Preventing China's military from developing advanced AI	55
(Don't know)	10

49. How concerned are you about the US relying on China for rare earth minerals, which are used to produce batteries, semiconductor chips for electronics, and military hardware?

TOTAL MORE CONCERNED	80%
TOTAL LESS CONCERNED	19
Extremely	36%
Somewhat	44
Not very	15
Not at all	4
(Don't know)	1

50. As you may know, nearly 70% of all rare earth minerals imported into the US came from China. Knowing this, how concerned are you about the US relying on China for rare earth minerals?

TOTAL MORE CONCERNED	84%
TOTAL LESS CONCERNED	15
Extremely	42%
Somewhat	42
Not very	12
Not at all	4
(Don't know)	1

[Q51-53 SAMPLE B ONLY]

51.   In general, do you think more integration of AI into our military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

	Nov 2025	Nov 2023
Good idea	27%	20%
Bad idea	24	27
Too soon to say	47	49
(Don't know)	2	4

52.   Military experts say incorporating AI into US military systems can provide a strategic advantage over China. Knowing this, do you think more integration of AI into military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

	Nov 2025	Nov 2023
Good idea	38%	29%
Bad idea	20	19
Too soon to say	39	47
(Don't know)	2	5

53.   US military policy around artificial intelligence often requires safeguards, such as ensuring that human decision-makers retain oversight over AI systems to prevent uncontrolled actions, especially in lethal situations. Knowing this, do you think more integration of AI into military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

	Nov 2025	Nov 2023
Good idea	39%	28%
Bad idea	21	21
Too soon to say	38	47
(Don't know)	3	4

ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES AND ENEMIES

Moving on…

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

	Nov 2025	Nov 2024	Nov 2023	Nov 2022	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
China	**48%**	49%	51%	43%	52%	37%	28%	21%
Russia	**26**	26	24	31	14	16	25	30
USA / Ourselves	**6**	3	4	3	3	3	4	4
North Korea	**4**	9	3	7	12	15	14	18
China / Russia	**3**	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Iran	**3**	6	5	2	4	8	9	7
Israel	**2**	*	1	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Ukraine	*****	*	*	1	NA	NA	NA	NA
Afghanistan	*****	-	*	1	5	1	3	2
Mexico	*****	1	*	1	*	1	*	1
Iraq	*****	-	*	1	2	3	5	2
Venezuela	*****	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
All / Too many	**1**	*	*	1	NA	NA	NA	NA
None	**2**	1	2	2	2	3	1	1
Other	**2**	1	4	4	2	3	2	1
Not sure / Refused	*****	3	4	5	9	8	5	5

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

55. Do you think the greatest threats to the US come from **[ROTATE:** outside of the country OR from within the country**]**?

From outside	45%
From within	49
(Both equally)	2
(Don't know)	4

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] [SAMPLE A Q56-63 ONLY, Q64-70 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

		------Ally------			------Enemy------			
		TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong	(DK)
56. China	**Nov 2025**	**20%**	**6**	**13**	**76**	**43**	**33**	**5**
	Nov 2024	18%	6	12	75	37	38	7
	Nov 2023	15%	4	12	77	36	41	8
	Nov 2022	19%	5	14	75	37	38	6
	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

| | | | ------Ally------ | | | ------Enemy------ | | | |
			TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong	(DK)
57.	Taiwan	**Nov 2025**	**67%**	**28**	**38**	**17**	**14**	**3**	**16**
		Nov 2024	67%	31	36	16	12	4	17
		Nov 2023	64%	27	37	15	12	3	21
		Nov 2022	69%	26	43	16	13	4	15
		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
58.	United Kingdom	**Nov 2025**	**86%**	**53**	**33**	**10**	**7**	**3**	**5**
		Nov 2024	87%	60	27	6	5	2	7
		Nov 2023	85%	56	29	6	4	2	9
		Nov 2022	86%	58	28	8	6	2	7
		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
59.	Israel	**Nov 2025**	**66%**	**35**	**30**	**27**	**18**	**9**	**7**
		Nov 2024	72%	40	32	19	13	5	9
		Nov 2023	71%	41	30	18	11	7	11
		Nov 2021	66%	38	28	17	12	5	17
		Feb 2021	70%	43	27	16	10	6	14
		Oct 2019	78%	43	35	19	14	5	4
		Nov 2018	80%	49	31	13	9	4	7
60.	Canada	**Nov 2025**	**84%**	**45**	**39**	**13**	**11**	**2**	**3**
		Feb 2021	86%	61	25	7	5	2	7
61.	Japan	**Nov 2025**	**74%**	**40**	**35**	**19**	**14**	**5**	**7**
		Nov 2024	73%	41	32	17	12	5	10
		Nov 2021	70%	38	32	14	10	4	16
		Feb 2021	73%	40	33	14	10	4	14
		Oct 2019	83%	41	42	15	12	3	3
		Nov 2018	86%	48	38	9	6	3	5
62.	Argentina	**Nov 2025**	**55%**	**14**	**41**	**25**	**20**	**5**	**20**
63.	Finland	**Nov 2025**	**75%**	**29**	**46**	**9**	**7**	**2**	**16**
		Nov 2023	75%	33	42	7	5	1	18
		Nov 2022	74%	28	46	10	8	2	16

			------Ally------			------Enemy------		
			TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong	(DK)
64.	Venezuela	**Nov 2025**	**28%**	**7**	**21**	**54**	**38**	**16**	**18**
		Feb 2021	31%	7	24	44	30	13	25
		Oct 2019	41%	6	35	49	36	13	10
		Nov 2018	35%	4	31	46	32	14	19
65.	Russia	**Nov 2025**	**17%**	**6**	**11**	**79**	**32**	**47**	**4**
		Nov 2024	14%	5	9	80	34	46	6
		Nov 2023	9%	3	6	82	28	54	8
		Nov 2022	13%	3	10	82	31	51	5
		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
66.	Ukraine	**Nov 2025**	**75%**	**30**	**45**	**19**	**14**	**5**	**6**
		Nov 2024	75%	33	42	18	13	5	8
		Nov 2023	74%	28	46	16	11	5	10
		Nov 2022	76%	32	44	16	11	5	8
		Feb 2021	49%	11	38	26	20	7	24
		Oct 2019	61%	10	51	29	25	4	9
67.	Iran	**Nov 2025**	**17%**	**7**	**11**	**77**	**34**	**43**	**5**
		Nov 2024	15%	5	10	76	30	46	8
		Nov 2023	13%	4	9	76	29	47	11
		Feb 2021	11%	4	8	75	28	48	13
		Oct 2019	13%	3	10	82	37	45	5
		Nov 2018	10%	1	9	82	35	47	8
68.	Mexico	**Nov 2025**	**66%**	**21**	**45**	**27**	**22**	**6**	**7**
		Nov 2023	63%	14	49	24	18	6	13
		Feb 2021	70%	27	43	17	13	4	13
		Oct 2019	77%	23	54	21	17	4	2
		Nov 2018	74%	24	50	21	17	4	6
69.	Poland	**Nov 2025**	**74%**	**33**	**41**	**11**	**9**	**3**	**15**
		Feb 2021	68%	24	44	11	8	4	21
		Oct 2019	82%	27	55	10	8	2	8
		Nov 2018	80%	30	50	5	4	1	14
70.	Lithuania	**Nov 2025**	**50%**	**15**	**35**	**15**	**11**	**4**	**35**

71. How concerned are you about increased cooperation between China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea?

	Nov 2025	Nov 2024
TOTAL MORE CONCERNED	**87%**	86%
TOTAL LESS CONCERNED	**11**	12
Extremely	**50%**	50%
Somewhat	**38**	35
Not very	**8**	8
Not at all	**3**	4
(Don't know)	**2**	3

NATO

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

	Nov 2025	June 2025	May 2024	Nov 2022	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
TOTAL FAVORABLE	**68%**	62%	62%	60%	60%	62%	59%
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	**22**	24	26	23	22	22	24
Very favorable	**33%**	33%	26%	29%	26%	25%	26%
Somewhat favorable	**36**	29	35	31	34	37	33
Somewhat unfavorable	**16**	16	17	15	15	14	15
Very unfavorable	**7**	8	8	8	7	8	9
(Don't know)	**9**	14	13	17	18	16	16

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

	Nov 2025	June 2025
Support	**76%**	71%
Oppose	**15**	17
(Don't know)	**9**	11

74. Would you support or oppose withdrawing the United States from NATO? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

	Nov 2025	June 2025
TOTAL SUPPORT	**34%**	33%
TOTAL OPPOSE	**59**	55
Strongly support	**14%**	15%
Somewhat support	**20**	18
Somewhat oppose	**20**	17
Strongly oppose	**39**	38
(Don't know)	**7**	12

[AMONG SUPPORTERS OF WITHDRAWAL] [N=849]

75. As you may know, NATO members recently committed to more than doubling their spending from 2% to 5% of their GDP on defense by 2030. Knowing this, do you support or oppose the United States withdrawing from NATO? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	78%
TOTAL OPPOSE	18
Strongly support	36%
Somewhat support	41
Somewhat oppose	13
Strongly oppose	5
(Don't know)	4

CHINA

Moving on to the topic of China specifically…

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

	Nov 2025	Nov 2024	Nov 2023	Nov 2022	Nov 2021
Chinese economic practices, including technology theft and its trade relationships with other countries	**24%**	19%	15%	22%	20%
Chinese military buildup, including naval activity in the South China Sea	**23**	28	20	18	19
Chinese foreign policy, including efforts to expand its influence throughout South Asia, Africa and South America	**19**	16	17	11	13
Chinese human rights abuses, including the treatment of Hong Kong and the Uyghur ethnic group	**15**	13	20	17	17
China invading Taiwan	**11**	11	10	13	7
(All / Mix) **[OMITTED ONLINE]**	**3**	6	8	7	10
(Don't know)	**6**	7	10	12	14

77. How important is it for the US military to defend Taiwan against Chinese aggression?

TOTAL MORE IMPORTANT	77%
TOTAL LESS IMPORTANT	17
Extremely	35%
Somewhat	42
Not very	12
Not at all	5
(Don't know)	6

[IF IMPORTANT] [N=1,954]
78. Why do you think it is important to defend Taiwan? **[OPEN-END]**

Taiwan is an ally / Commitment to allies / Key strategic partner	23%
Defending democracy / Sovereignty / Standing up to authoritarianism	16
Economic reasons / Global economy / Supply chains	14
Stopping Chinese Expansion / Check on China's power	14
Moral obligation / Ethical duty / Only the US can do it	14
Regional stability	3
Humanitarian concerns	3
Avoid a larger war / Prevent further escalation	2
General support	2
Historical lessons	1
Other	3
Don't know	6

Note: Response add to over 100% due to multiple responses being accepted.

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.
[RANDOMIZE] [Q79-81 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q82-84 SAMPLE B ONLY]

			Support	Oppose	(DK)
79.	Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country	**Nov 2025**	**79%**	**13**	**8**
		Nov 2024	73%	16	12
		Nov 2023	72%	15	13
		Nov 2022	73%	11	15
		Nov 2021	71%	10	19
		Oct 2019	76%	11	13
80.	Moving US military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region	**Nov 2025**	**70%**	**20**	**10**
		Nov 2024	58%	30	12
		Nov 2023	58%	28	14
		Nov 2022	52%	29	19
		Nov 2021	55%	24	21
		Oct 2019	55%	32	13

			Support	Oppose	(DK)
81.	Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes	**Nov 2025**	**62%**	**26**	**13**
		Nov 2024	51%	33	16
		Nov 2023	53%	30	17
		Nov 2022	46%	34	20
		Nov 2021	50%	25	25
		Oct 2019	42%	42	16
82.	Imposing economic sanctions against China	**Nov 2025**	**74%**	**17**	**9**
		Nov 2024	66%	22	12
		Nov 2023	69%	16	15
		Nov 2022	60%	23	17
		Nov 2021	66%	15	19
		Oct 2019	64%	23	13
83.	Sending more military equipment to Taiwan	**Nov 2025**	**71%**	**18**	**10**
		Nov 2024	56%	32	12
		Nov 2023	56%	28	16
		Nov 2022	56%	26	18
84.	Committing US forces to the defense of Taiwan	**Nov 2025**	**60%**	**27**	**13**
		*Nov 2024	48%	37	15
		Nov 2023	46%	35	19
		Nov 2022	43%	36	21
		Nov 2021	40%	35	25
		Oct 2019	39%	45	16

Previous wording: Committing US ground troops…

In each of the following areas, do you think the US has superiority over China, are the two countries about equal, or does China have superiority over the US? **[RANDOMIZE] [ASK ALL Q85-86. Q87-90 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q91-94 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

		US has superiority	About equal	China has superiority	(Don't know)
85. Overall military strength	**Nov 2025**	**55%**	**29**	**12**	**4**
	Nov 2024	51%	28	17	5
	Nov 2023	50%	28	15	7
86. Economic strength	**Nov 2025**	**42%**	**29**	**24**	**4**
	Nov 2024	41%	31	23	4
	Nov 2023	34%	30	28	7
87. Diplomatic influence	**Nov 2025**	**48%**	**32**	**15**	**5**
	Nov 2024	49%	30	13	7
	Nov 2023	44%	31	15	10

		US has superiority	About equal	China has superiority	(Don't know)
88. Ground forces	**Nov 2025**	**43%**	**28**	**23**	**6**
	Nov 2024	41%	23	28	8
	Nov 2023	40%	24	26	10
89. Space forces and capabilities	**Nov 2025**	**56%**	**26**	**11**	**7**
	Nov 2024	59%	22	9	10
	Nov 2023	52%	25	11	12
90. Artificial intelligence	**Nov 2025**	**30%**	**33**	**29**	**8**
	Nov 2024	34%	32	25	10
	Nov 2023	26%	30	29	15
91. Air forces	**Nov 2025**	**68%**	**21**	**7**	**4**
	Nov 2024	66%	20	6	7
	Nov 2023	65%	18	6	11
92. Naval forces	**Nov 2025**	**58%**	**25**	**10**	**6**
	Nov 2024	61%	20	10	9
	Nov 2023	57%	22	10	11
93. Cyber capabilities	**Nov 2025**	**27%**	**35**	**32**	**6**
	Nov 2024	27%	32	33	8
	Nov 2023	24%	32	33	11
94. Autonomous capabilities, like certain kinds of drones and other weapons, that can operate without human guidance	**Nov 2025**	**40%**	**35**	**18**	**7**
	Nov 2024	40%	31	21	9
	Nov 2023	36%	31	22	11

95. How concerned are you about China pre-positioning cyber-attack capabilities inside US critical infrastructure, such as power grids, water systems, and communication networks?

TOTAL MORE CONCERNED	86%
TOTAL LESS CONCERNED	13
Extremely	48%
Somewhat	38
Not very	10
Not at all	3
(Don't know)	1

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

96. Do you support or oppose a federal program to remove and replace Chinese made networking technology from all US utilities and transportation systems, including water systems, ports, and trains? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	75%
TOTAL OPPOSE	19
Strongly support	42%
Somewhat support	32
Somewhat oppose	13
Strongly oppose	6
(Don't know)	7

[SAMPLE B ONLY]

97. Navy analysts calculate China can provide over two hundred ships for every one ship that the US can produce. Knowing this, do you think the US needs more manufacturing capacity? **[IF YES:** Is that a lot more or only a little more?**]**

Yes, a lot more	62%
Yes, a little more	26
No	8
(Too much) **[OMIT ONLINE]**	-
(Don't know)	4

RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

Next…

98. Who do you want to win the war between Russia and Ukraine?

	Nov 2025	June 2025	May 2024
Russia	**11%**	7%	7%
Ukraine	**62**	58	59
(Neither)	**19**	24	21
(Don't know)	**7**	10	13

99. Overall, do you support or oppose sending US weapons to Ukraine?

	Nov 2025	Nov 2024	May 2024	Nov 2023	June 2023
Support	**64%**	55%	57%	59%	59%
Oppose	**26**	35	32	30	30
(Don't know)	**9**	10	11	11	11

100. Which approach to resolving the conflict between Russia and Ukraine do you think the US should push for? **[ROTATE]**

Supporting Ukraine's defense of its full territorial sovereignty until all Russian-occupied territory is liberated.	45%
Ukraine conceding territory to Russia in exchange for a longstanding ceasefire with security guarantees from Western countries to prevent future Russian aggression.	23
Enacting a temporary ceasefire along current front lines, without formally recognizing Russian control of annexed territories.	22
(Don't know)	10

101. How much trust do you have that Russia would honor the terms of any peace agreement with Ukraine?

TOTAL TRUST	28%
TOTAL DISTRUST	70
A great deal of trust	9%
Some trust	19
Not much trust	32
No trust at all	38
(Don't know)	2

Would you support or oppose each of the following proposals related to US commitments to Ukraine? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]** **[RANDOMIZE] [Q102-103 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q104-105 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

		-------Support-------			-------Oppose-------			
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strongly	(DK)
102.	Shifting the financial burden of the war by selling American-made weapons to European allies, who would then be responsible for providing those weapons to Ukraine.	68%	31	37	24	17	7	8
103.	Providing Ukraine with a collective defense commitment, which would obligate the US and European allies to respond with military force if Ukraine is attacked again, like the US commitment to NATO members.	69%	34	35	27	18	9	5
104.	Supporting the creation of an international force to police a demilitarized zone between Ukraine and Russia. This force would consist of European troops on the ground, backed by US air power.	74%	33	41	20	13	7	7

| | | ------Support------ | | ------Oppose------ | | | |
	TOTAL	Strongly	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strongly	(DK)
105. Sending long-range cruise missiles, like Tomahawks, to Ukraine, which would give them the ability to strike deep inside Russian territory.	65%	34	31	30	18	12	5

MIDDLE EAST / ISRAEL / IRAN

Turning now to the Middle East…

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

106. How confident are you that the negotiated ceasefire between Israel and Hamas will hold?

TOTAL CONFIDENT	36%
TOTAL NOT CONFIDENT	62
Extremely	8%
Somewhat	28
Not very	32
Not at all	30
(Don't know)	2

107. Do you support or oppose the US sending weapons to Israel? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE: Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?]**

	Nov 2025	June 2025	Nov 2024	May 2024
TOTAL SUPPORT	**50%**	49%	54%	56%
TOTAL OPPOSE	**45**	41	39	35
Strongly support	**28%**	26%	30%	31%
Somewhat support	**22**	23	24	25
Somewhat oppose	**20**	20	20	16
Strongly oppose	**25**	20	19	18
(Don't know)	**6**	10	7	9

[SAMPLE B ONLY]

108.   If Hamas does not give up their weapons and demilitarize the Gaza Strip, would you support or oppose further military actions by Israel against them? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE:** Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?**]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	54%
TOTAL OPPOSE	34
Strongly support	28%
Somewhat support	27
Somewhat oppose	16
Strongly oppose	18
(Don't know)	11

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

			Support	Oppose	(Don't know)
109.	Using US military force	**Nov 2025**	**54%**	**36**	**9**
		Nov 2022	47%	37	16
110.	Using US cyber capabilities	**Nov 2025**	**70%**	**21**	**10**
		Nov 2022	69%	15	16
111.	Instituting economic sanctions	**Nov 2025**	**73%**	**18**	**9**
		Nov 2022	65%	17	18
112.	Renegotiating the Iran nuclear agreement	**Nov 2025**	**66%**	**23**	**11**
		Nov 2022	53%	28	18
113.	Supporting Israeli airstrikes against Iran's nuclear sites	**Nov 2025**	**54%**	**34**	**12**

EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

[Q114-121 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---- | | |
			TOTAL	Very	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Very	(DK)
114.	Jimmy Carter	**Nov 2025**	**63%**	**31**	**32**	**28**	**17**	**11**	**9**
		Nov 2024	58%	26	32	26	14	12	15
		Nov 2023	57%	21	35	27	16	11	16
		Nov 2022	57%	26	31	31	19	12	13
		Nov 2021	50%	20	30	34	19	15	15
		Feb 2021	57%	23	33	31	18	13	13
115.	Ronald Reagan	**Nov 2025**	**66%**	**36**	**31**	**29**	**18**	**11**	**4**
		Nov 2024	68%	37	31	25	14	11	7
		Nov 2023	65%	36	29	27	16	11	8
		Nov 2022	67%	35	32	26	17	9	7
		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
116.	George H. W. Bush	**Nov 2025**	**59%**	**20**	**40**	**38**	**26**	**12**	**3**
		Nov 2024	60%	18	41	34	21	13	6
		Nov 2023	59%	17	42	35	21	14	6
		Nov 2022	60%	20	39	35	24	12	5
		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
117.	Bill Clinton	**Nov 2025**	**58%**	**23**	**35**	**40**	**23**	**17**	**2**
		Nov 2024	59%	25	34	37	21	17	4
		Nov 2023	55%	20	35	40	23	17	5
		Nov 2022	55%	20	34	41	24	17	5
		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

			----Favorable----			----Unfavorable----		
				Some-			Some-		
		TOTAL	Very	what	TOTAL	what	Very	(DK)
118.	George W. Bush	**Nov 2025**	**57%**	**19**	**38**	**41**	**25**	**16**	**2**
		Nov 2024	56%	17	39	38	23	15	5
		Nov 2023	55%	16	39	40	23	17	5
		Nov 2022	57%	18	39	39	25	14	4
		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
119.	Barack Obama	**Nov 2025**	**62%**	**40**	**22**	**37**	**14**	**23**	**1**
		Nov 2024	61%	40	20	38	14	24	2
		Nov 2023	61%	36	24	38	14	24	2
		Nov 2022	60%	39	21	37	14	23	3
		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
120.	Donald Trump	**Nov 2025**	**43%**	**27**	**16**	**55**	**11**	**45**	**2**
		Nov 2024	51%	35	16	47	8	39	2
		Nov 2023	47%	29	18	50	9	42	2
		Nov 2022	48%	28	20	49	10	39	3
		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
121.	Joe Biden	**Nov 2025**	**43%**	**17**	**27**	**56**	**16**	**39**	**1**
		Nov 2024	43%	18	26	55	14	41	2
		Nov 2023	38%	16	23	59	15	45	2
		Nov 2022	43%	17	26	54	14	40	3
		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.

122. What is your age?

18-29	18%
30-44	25
45-54	19
55-64	19
65 and up	19
(Refused)	-

123. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	71%
Black or African-American	13
Hispanic or Latino	8
Asian or Asian-American	3
Native American	1
Middle Eastern	*
Mixed Race	3
Other **[RECORD VERBATIM]**	*
(Refused)	1

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]
124. Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?

Yes	13%
No	86
(Don't know / Refused)	1

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

Did not graduate from high school	3%
High school degree	23
Some college/2-year college degree	34
4-year college degree	25
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	15
(Don't know)	*

126. In the recent presidential election, did you vote for **[ROTATE 1-2]** Donald Trump, Kamala Harris, for another candidate, or did you not vote?

Donald Trump	41%
Kamala Harris	39
Other	3
Didn't vote	15
(Don't know / Refused)	2

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

Yes	34%
No	63
(Don't know)	3

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

A Democrat	31%
A Republican	35
An independent	31
(Don't know)	3

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)] [N=851]

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

Democrats	28%
Republican	21
Neither way	48
(Don't know)	4

[IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN] [N=1046]

130. Do you consider yourself a supporter of the Make America Great Again, or MAGA, movement?

Yes	72%
No	26
(Don't know / Refused)	2

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

TOTAL LIBERAL	30%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	34
Very liberal	13%
Somewhat liberal	17
Moderate	34
Somewhat conservative	18
Very conservative	16
(Don't know)	3

132. Which of the following is your primary source of news about foreign policy?
[RANDOMIZE 1-6]

Newspapers (print or online)	8%
Network TV (ABC, NBC, CBS, etc.)	21
Cable TV (Fox News, CNN, MSNBC, etc.)	25
Podcasts	4
Social media	18
Online internet searches (Google, MS Bing, DuckDuckGo, etc.)	13
Another source	4
Or, do you not follow news about foreign policy	4
(Don't know / Refused)	2

[IF CABLE TV] [N=636]
133. Is your primary source of cable TV news…

Fox News	48%
MSNBC	19
CNN	23
Or, another channel	8
(Don't know / Refused)	3

[IF SOCIAL MEDIA] [N=451]
134. Is your primary source of news on social media …

Facebook	31%
Instagram	17
Twitter/X	13
TikTok	19
YouTube	17
Reddit	1
Or, another social media platform	2
(Don't know / Refused)	*

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

Yes, service member	4%
Not	95
(Don't know)	1

[CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]
136. Is anyone in your household currently a member of the armed services?

Yes, service member household	9%
Not	90
(Don't know)	1

[CODE AS NOT IF SERVICE MEMBER]

137.   Are you a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran	7%
Not	92
(Don't know)	1

[CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

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

Yes, veteran household	21%
Not	78
(Don't know)	1

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

Under $25,000	16%
$25,000-$50,000	22
$50,000-$75,000	20
$75,000-$100,000	15
$100,000-$150,000	14
Over $150,000	10
(Don't know / Refused)	2

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

Male	47%
Female	53
Non-binary **[ONLINE ONLY]**	1
I'd rather not say **[ONLINE ONLY]**	*

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

New England	5%
Mid-Atlantic	13
Upper Mid-East	14
Upper Mid-West	7
South Atlantic	20
East South Central	6
West South Central	12
Mountain	7
Pacific	16

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

East	18%
Midwest	21
South	38
West	24