# About the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Telephone survey conducted by trained professional interviewers from a central, monitored location. Respondents interviewed on landlines (50%) and cellphones (50%).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>1,003 U.S. Adults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>October 24-30, 2019.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weights</td>
<td>Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the U.S. population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margin of Error</td>
<td>±3% at the 95% confidence level for the entire sample; the margin of error for subgroups is higher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Partnership</td>
<td><img src="https://example.com/research-logos.png" alt="Research Partner Logos: SHAW and Beacon Research" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note</td>
<td>Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

- Views Toward the Military ................................................................. 3
- U.S. Leadership and Alliances .......................................................... 9
- Freedom and Democracy ................................................................. 14
- China ............................................................................................... 18
- Russia ............................................................................................... 26
- Middle East ....................................................................................... 29
- Presidents ........................................................................................ 33
- Executive Memorandum ................................................................. 34
VIEWS TOWARDS THE MILITARY
The military is more trusted than other institutions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Great / Some confidence</th>
<th>A little / Not much confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The military</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and law</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enforcement</td>
<td></td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public schools</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presidency</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The news media</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q4 – Q10: For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them?
Loss in confidence in military largest among young people, communities of color.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total Confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 18 – 29</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 – 45</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45+</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonwhite</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veteran</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-veteran</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q8: For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them? The military.
Though 76% of Americans support increasing defense spending, health care and education are higher priorities.

Q24: Of all the areas I just mentioned, which one should be the highest priority for increased funding? And Q25: And which should be the next-highest priority?

- **Health care**: 31% Top priority, 30% 2nd priority
- **Education**: 30% Top priority, 31% 2nd priority
- **The military**: 10% Top priority, 24% 2nd priority
- **Border security**: 20% Top priority, 12% 2nd priority
- **Foreign aid**: 3%
Older Americans and Republicans are most in favor of increasing government spending on the military.

- **Total Favor**
  - Overall: 76%
  - Age 18 – 29: 60%
  - 30 – 45: 74%
  - 45+: 81%
  - White: 78%
  - Black: 62%
  - Latino: 77%
  - Democrat: 64%
  - Independent: 74%
  - Republican: 88%

- **See China as:**
  - Economic threat: 75%
  - Military threat: 83%

Q19: Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas. The military.
Americans are extremely concerned about the threat of cyber-attacks.

Q59 – Q65: How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total concerned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks on government and the grid</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks on personal computers</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. political divisions leading to violence</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks on space assets</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
U.S. LEADERSHIP AND ALLIANCES
Americans want the U.S. to be more engaged and take the lead in international events.

Q54A: 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?

More engaged and take the lead: 50%

Less engaged and react to events: 33%

Note: Remainder Depends / Don't know
Americans strongly support maintaining an overseas military base presence.

Q55: In general, do you think it is better for the U.S. to maintain military bases around the world to deter attacks and respond quickly if something happens, or do you think the U.S. should reduce our military presence overseas and only deploy troops in response to aggression?

- Maintain bases: 65%
- Reduce presence: 28%

Party Affiliation:
- Democrat 64%
- Independent 62%
- Republican 66%

Age:
- 18 - 29: 53%
- 30 - 44: 61%
- 45+: 70%

Note: Remainder Don't know
While Americans support alliances, majorities think NATO and Indo-Pacific allies should do more.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NATO allies</th>
<th>Indo-Pacific allies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They do their fair share</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They should do more</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q90: Do you think our NATO allies do their fair share or should they do more? AND
Q91: Do you think our allies on the Pacific Rim, including Australia, Japan, and South Korea do their fair share or should they do more?

Note: Remainder Don't know
Overview of Allies and Enemies

Q31 – Q53: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Large majorities support a U.S. military role in deterring aggression and defending freedom.

Q56 – Q58: In general, how likely are you to support the use of the U.S. military in each of the following situations?

- **Eliminating potential threats** to the U.S. before they strike
  - Extremely: 61%
  - Somewhat: 25%
  - Total support: 86%

- **Preventing human rights violations** in other countries
  - Extremely: 34%
  - Somewhat: 42%
  - Total support: 76%

- **Defending freedom** in other countries
  - Extremely: 29%
  - Somewhat: 47%
  - Total support: 76%
Bipartisan majorities support democracy in Hong Kong, even at the expense of relations with China.

Q74: Which of the following is closer to your view about what the U.S. should do with regard to the situation in Hong Kong?

- Support the pro-democracy movement, even if it angers China: 68%
  - Democrat 70%
  - Republican 72%

- Support the Chinese government, even if it means abandoning a pro-democracy movement: 14%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Americans agree with the NDS: our strategic competitors are the countries that pose the greatest threat to the U.S.

Q54: Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.?

- China: 28%
- Russia: 25%
- North Korea: 14%
- Iran: 9%
- Iraq: 5%
- USA / Ourselves: 4%
- Afghanistan: 3%
- Syria: 3%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% are not shown. Note: Remainder Not sure / Refused.
China
Majority of Americans view China as an enemy, but young people are split.

Q46 Please tell us whether you see China as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?

Overall:
- Ally: 36%
- Enemy: 60%

Age 18-29:
- Ally: 48%
- Enemy: 49%

30-45:
- Ally: 44%
- Enemy: 53%

45+:
- Ally: 29%
- Enemy: 68%

Democrat:
- Ally: 40%
- Enemy: 56%

Independent:
- Ally: 40%
- Enemy: 55%

Republican:
- Ally: 30%
- Enemy: 67%
Americans see China as more of an economic threat than a military threat.

Q69: Do you view China as more of an economic threat to the United States or more of a military threat?

- **Economic threat**: Democrat 65%, Independent 57%, Republican 65% (64%)
- **Military threat**: 15%
- **(Both)**: 15%

Note: Remainder Neither / Don't know
Biggest concerns with China center on economics and trade.

Q68: Thinking now about China, which of the following most concerns you about U.S. relations with China?

- China holding $1.2 trillion in U.S. government debt: 33%
- China over-taking the U.S. as the world’s #1 super power: 17%
- Technology theft: 14%
- Unfair trade practices: 13%
- Chinese military build-up: 10%
- The isolation of Taiwan: 3%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Americans are split along party lines on the trade war.

Q70: Do you support or oppose the trade war the United States is currently engaged in with China?

Support
- Democrat 27%
- Independent 43%
- Republican 74%

Oppose
- Democrat 68%
- Independent 51%
- Republican 22%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Many are concerned with Chinese military buildup in the South China Sea…

Q72: How concerned are you with Chinese military buildup in the South China Sea?

- Concerned: 71%
  - Extremely / Somewhat: 48%
  - Not at all / Not very: 23%

- Not concerned: 24%
  - 6%
  - 18%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
... And concern increases as voters learn more about Chinese actions.

One-third of the world’s ocean-based trade goes through the South China Sea, and there are disputes between several countries about who controls the area and its natural resources. Since 2013, China has built a series of naval and military bases in the region and moved to claim territory.

Q73: Knowing this, how concerned are you with these actions by China?

- Extremely / Somewhat: 37% Concerned, 45% Not at all / Not very
- Not concerned: 3% 10% 13%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Support for diplomatic and economic pressure if China invades Taiwan; uncertainty about military options.

Q77 – Q82: Although official Chinese policy is that Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan has operated as a relatively independent state for the last forty years. 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:

- Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country: 76% Support, 11% Oppose
- Imposing economic sanctions against China: 64% Support, 23% Oppose
- Moving U.S. military assets into the region: 55% Support, 32% Oppose
- Dramatically increasing arms sales to Taiwan: 44% Support, 37% Oppose
- Establishing a no-fly zone, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes: 42% Support, 42% Oppose
- Committing US ground troops to the defense of Taiwan: 39% Support, 45% Oppose

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Even more Americans view Russia as an enemy than China.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ally</th>
<th>Enemy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump: Very favorable</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump: Very unfavorable</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q51: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? Russia
Biggest concerns with Russia center on cyber-attacks, election interference, and aid to rogue regimes.

Q83: Which of the following most concerns you about Russia?

- Sponsoring cyber-attacks on the U.S. 24%
- Aiding Iran and other rogue regimes 21%
- Interfering in our elections 20%
- Launching a thermo-nuclear attack on the U.S. 16%
- Invading other former Soviet republics 11%

Note: Remainder Don't know
MIDDLE EAST
Despite concerns about Russia and China, Americans think the U.S. should focus its military forces in the Middle East.

Q30: Thinking about American interests and the threats that exist in the world today, where do you think the U.S. should focus its military forces?

- **The Middle East**, such as Iran and Syria: 37%
- **East Asia**, such as China, Japan and South Korea: 16%
- **Europe**, including Russia: 9%
- **South Asia**, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan: 7%
- **Central America**: 4%
- **South America**: 3%
- **Africa**: 1%

Note: Remainder Don't know
A narrow majority approves of the decision to withdraw from Syria...

Q84: The U.S. recently announced it would withdraw its troops from Syria. Do you approve or disapprove of the U.S. troop withdrawal from Syria?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Strongly / Somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>Strongly / Somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
... But majorities would punish Turkish aggression in Syria with sanctions or military support for the Kurds.

Q85 AND Q86: As you may know, the Turkish military has advanced into Syria and attacked Kurdish forces who helped the United States fight ISIS. Do you favor or oppose each of the following potential responses to Turkey from the United States?

- **Imposing economic sanctions on Turkey**
  - Favor: 72%
  - Oppose: 24%

- **Responding with U.S. military support to defend the Kurds**
  - Favor: 60%
  - Oppose: 34%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Reagan viewed most favorably among recent presidents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Very / Somewhat favorable</th>
<th>Somewhat / Very unfavorable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Reagan</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H.W. Bush</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Clinton</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Bush</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q92 – Q97: 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.