# About the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Mode</strong></th>
<th>Combined telephone (n=1011) and online panel (n=1516) survey. Telephone interviews conducted by trained professionals calling landlines (46%) and cellphones (54%).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sample</strong></td>
<td>2,527 U.S. Adults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dates</strong></td>
<td>February 4-14, 2021.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Weights</strong></td>
<td>Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the U.S. population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Margin of Error</strong></td>
<td>±2% at the 95% confidence level for the entire sample. Most questions were split sampled (n≈1250, ±2.8%). The margin of error for subgroups is higher.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Research Partnership**

![SHAW Company Research](image1.png)  ![BEACON Research](image2.png)

**Note**

Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.
Views on country’s direction slightly improved but still negative; partisan outlook reversed post-election.

Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>37%</th>
<th>40%</th>
<th>42%</th>
<th>51%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Right Direction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrong Track</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Democrat 15%
Independent 28%
Republican 68%

Democrat 69%
Independent 28%
Republican 17%

Nov '18          Oct '19          Feb '21

Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are:
COVID is the top issue, followed by partisan division and the economy.

Q3. What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today? [OPEN END]

- Coronavirus / COVID: 29%
- Politics / Partisanship: 17%
- Economy and jobs: 15%
- Corruption / Incompetent leaders: 8%
- Systemic racism: 6%
- Immigration: 3%
- Health care: 3%
- The environment / Climate change: 3%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% are not shown.
VIEWS OF INSTITUTIONS
Military remains the most-trusted institution; media and Congress inspire little confidence.

Q4-Q12. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A Great Deal / Some Confidence</th>
<th>A little / Not Much Confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The military</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and law enforcement</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public health officials</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public schools</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presidency</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election administrators</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The news media</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Despite high marks, trust in the military declined for second consecutive year.

Q4-Q12. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them.
Confidence in military is down amongst all subgroups.

**The Military**

- **Overall**: 56% (change from 2018: -14)
- **Men**: 63% (change from 2018: -11)
- **Women**: 51% (change from 2018: -16)
- **Under age 30**: 38% (change from 2018: -15)
- **30-64**: 58% (change from 2018: -14)
- **65+**: 69% (change from 2018: -12)
- **Democrats**: 48% (change from 2018: -11)
- **Independents**: 47% (change from 2018: -19)
- **Republicans**: 70% (change from 2018: -17)
- **Active service households**: 63% (change from 2018: -18)
- **Veterans**: 66% (change from 2018: -15)

Q4. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them. The Military
A plurality think defense spending is about right; the rest split between too much and too little spending…

Q27. Do you think the U.S. spends too much on national defense, too little, or about the right amount?

- Too much: 26%
- Too little: 26%
- About right: 39%

Note: Remainder Don't know
...Yet three-quarters favor increased military spending.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Strongly</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total Favor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The military</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border security</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combatting systemic racism</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting freedom abroad</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign aid</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13-19. Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.
Increased military spending supported across party lines, though lower among youngest voters.

Q13. Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas. The military

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Favor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under age 30</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-64</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Military ranks behind healthcare and education as a spending priority.

Q20. Of all the areas I just mentioned, which one should be the highest priority for increased funding?

AND Q21: And which should be the next-highest priority?
Military funding is a notably low priority for young voters, Black voters, and Democrats.

Q20. Of all the areas I just mentioned, which one should be the highest priority for increased funding?

AND Q21: And which should be the next-highest priority?
US military seen as the best – or one of the best – overall and in key technical areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capability</th>
<th>Best in the world</th>
<th>One of the best</th>
<th>Not one of the best</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall capabilities</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space technology</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High speed cellular networks, like 5G</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artificial intelligence</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q22 – Q25. For each of the following, please tell us how you think the U.S. military is doing compared to the military in other countries. Are we the best in the world, one of the best, or are we not one of the best?
US seen as a leader, but not the best, in production of key national security technology.

Q28 – Q32. Thinking specifically about materials and technologies that are important for national security – how do you think the U.S. 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technology</th>
<th>Best in the world</th>
<th>One of the best</th>
<th>Not one of the best</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Satellites and rockets</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer and cellular technologies, like 5G</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical devices and personal protective equipment</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artificial intelligence, or AI</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robotics</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Majority believes US is too reliant on non-allies for key national security materials.

Q33. In general, when it comes to manufacturing the materials necessary for national security, do you think the U.S. relies too much on countries that are not our allies?

- **We rely too much** on non-allies
  - Trump voters 65%
  - Biden voters 46%
  - Total 55%

- **We do not rely too much** on non-allies
  - 18%

Note: Remainder Depends, Don't know
FOREIGN POLICY / DEFENSE POSTURE
Steady majority support for US taking a leadership role in foreign affairs.

Q34. 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?

- February 2021: 51% more engaged and take the lead, 27% less engaged and react to events
- October 2019: 50% more engaged and take the lead, 33% less engaged and react to events

Note: Remainder Depends / Don't know
Support for engaged foreign policy is highest among postgraduates and Democrats.

Q34. 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>More Engaged and Take the Lead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncollege</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgrad</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biden voters</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump voters</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nearly two-thirds would prefer the US maintain overseas bases.

Q36. 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?

February 2021
- Democrats 63%
- Independents 56%
- Republicans 66%

October 2019
- Democrats 63%
- Independents 56%
- Republicans 66%

Note: Remainder Don't know
One-third thinks the military is often used in lieu of diplomacy.

Q35. Which of the following is closer to your view?

- The U.S. tries to **use the military in too many situations** where diplomacy would be better
  - Veterans 36%
  - Active service households 35%

- The U.S. **strikes the right balance** between the use of the military and diplomacy
  - Veterans 38%
  - Active service households 31%

- The U.S. **uses diplomacy in too many situations** where the military would be better
  - Veterans 23%
  - Active service households 30%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Majorities prefer a nonmilitary response to attacks on elections, freedom, and human rights.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Military Force</th>
<th>Economic Sanctions</th>
<th>Diplomatic Pressure</th>
<th>Should Not Respond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Emerging terrorist or military threats</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks on freedom</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human rights violations</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attacks on free and fair elections</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder All / Mix, Not sure

Q40-43. For each of the following situations that arise around the world, how should the U.S. primarily respond: with military force, with economic sanctions, with diplomatic pressure – or do you think the U.S. should not respond at all?
Q37. Do you support or oppose the U.S. reentering the Iran nuclear agreement?

- Support: 44%
- Oppose: 36%
- Not sure: 20%
Deep partisan divide on reentering JCPOA; active service households notably supportive.

Q37. Do you support or oppose the U.S. reentering the Iran nuclear agreement?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncollege</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College graduate</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgrad</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active service households</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Not sure
Majority support for rejoining Paris Agreement.

Q38. Do you support or oppose the U.S. reentering the Paris Agreement on climate change?

Support: 54%
Oppose: 33%
Not sure: 13%
Q38. Do you support or oppose the U.S. reentering the Paris Agreement on climate change?

Partisanship forms primary dividing line on Paris.

- Overall: 54% Support, 33% Oppose
- Under age 45: 60% Support, 23% Oppose
- 45+: 50% Support, 40% Oppose
- Noncollege: 47% Support, 36% Oppose
- College graduate: 61% Support, 30% Oppose
- Postgrad: 73% Support, 23% Oppose
- Democrats: 80% Support, 9% Oppose
- Independents: 48% Support, 32% Oppose
- Republicans: 24% Support, 62% Oppose

Note: Remainder Not sure
Narrow majority considers climate change a national security threat.

Q39. Do you consider climate change to be a national security threat?

- Yes: 51%
- No: 41%
- Not sure: 8%
CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
Widespread support for use of military on US soil in a variety of scenarios.

Q48 – Q54. For each of the following scenarios, please tell us if you believe deploying the military on U.S. soil would be appropriate or not.

- To help after natural disasters: 82%
- To help control a pandemic: 77%
- When government buildings are being attacked: 71%
- Responding to domestic terrorism committed by U.S. citizens: 66%
- To help secure the border: 64%
- When police are unable to control violent protests: 62%
- In the event of insurrection by U.S. citizens: 58%
Three-quarters prefer a recent military member as SecDef.

Would prefer the U.S. Secretary of Defense to be...

- A civilian: 18%
- Someone who was recently in the military: 73%

Prohibiting Recently Active Service Members in SecDef Role

- Good law: 39%
- Not a good law: 33%
- (Depends): 20%

Note: Remainder Not sure

Q44. Would you prefer the U.S. SecDef be a civilian or someone who recently served in the military? AND Q45. U.S. law requires that the SecDef be someone who has NOT been an active member of the armed forces within the past seven years. Would you say this is a good law, or not such a good law?
Half approve of waivers for Generals Mattis and Austin.

Q46. To confirm Trump's pick for SecDef, Congress voted to waive the civilian requirement for General Jim Mattis. Do you approve or disapprove?

- Approve: 48%
- Disapprove: 32%

Democrats 43%
Independents 43%
Republicans 57%

Q47. To confirm Biden's pick for SecDef, Congress voted to waive the civilian requirement for General Lloyd Austin. Do you approve or disapprove?

- Approve: 50%
- Disapprove: 31%

Democrats 64%
Independents 39%
Republicans 37%

Note: Remainder Not sure
VIEWS OF THREATS
Deep concern about a wide variety of threats, with political violence and cyberattacks atop the list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total concerned</th>
<th>Δ from ‘19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political divisions in the U.S. leading to violence</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks on personal computers</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks on gov’t computers and the grid</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising authoritarianism around the world</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Partisans share similar concerns about most threats – save climate change and pandemics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Total Concerned</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political divisions in the U.S. leading to violence</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks on personal computers</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks on gov’t computers and the grid</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td></td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td></td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>76%</td>
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<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising authoritarianism around the world</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td></td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td></td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td></td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td></td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td></td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q86 – Q98. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
Voters see threats to the US as equally likely to come from within the country as from outside.

Q81. Do you think the greatest threats to the U.S. come from outside of the country or from within the country?

- From outside: 35%
- From within: 36%
- Both equally: 25%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Republicans, White voters more likely see external threats.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>From outside</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>From within</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biden voters</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trump voters</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active service households</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veterans</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q81. Do you think the greatest threats to the U.S. come from outside of the country or from within the country?

Note: Remainder Don't know
East Asia overtakes the Middle East as area US should focus military forces.

Q55. 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?

- **East Asia**, such as China, Japan and South Korea: 28% (February 2021), 16% (October 2019), 24% (November 2018)
- **The Middle East**, such as Iran and Syria*: 21% (February 2021), 27% (October 2019), 37% (November 2018)
- **Europe**, including Russia*: 8% (February 2021), 9% (October 2019), 5% (November 2018)
- **South Asia**, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan: 7% (February 2021), 7% (October 2019), 15% (November 2018)
- **Central America**: 4% (February 2021), 4% (October 2019), 4% (November 2018)
- **South America**: 3% (February 2021), 3% (October 2019), 3% (November 2018)
- **Africa**: 2% (February 2021), 1% (October 2019), 3% (November 2018)

*2018 survey did not specify “including Russia” and “such as Iran and Syria”

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Men, older voters, independents, and Republicans show greatest increase in viewing East Asia as key arena.

**Q55.** 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?

- **East Asia**, such as China, Japan and South Korea: 28% (February 2021), 16% (October 2019), 24% (November 2018)
- **The Middle East**, such as Iran and Syria*: 21% (February 2021), 8% (October 2019), 9% (November 2018)
- **Europe**, including Russia*: 5% (February 2021), 8% (October 2019), 5% (November 2018)
- **South Asia**, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan: 15% (February 2021), 7% (October 2019), 7% (November 2018)
- **Central America**: 4% (February 2021), 4% (October 2019), 4% (November 2018)
- **South America**: 3% (February 2021), 3% (October 2019), 3% (November 2018)
- **Africa**: 2% (February 2021), 1% (October 2019), 3% (November 2018)

**Key changes from 2019**
- Men: +15
- Over age 65: +16
- Independents: +15
- Republicans: +16

*2018 survey did not specify “including Russia” and “such as Iran and Syria”

Note: Remainder: Don’t know
Decrease in prioritization of Middle East greatest among White voters, independents, active duty HHs.

Q55. 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?

- East Asia, such as China, Japan and South Korea
- The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria*
- Europe, including Russia*
- South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan
- Central America
- South America
- Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>February 2021</th>
<th>October 2019</th>
<th>November 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Asia, China</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan, South Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td>21%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Middle East, Iran</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td></td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe, Russia</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia, India</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan, Afghanistan</td>
<td></td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key changes from 2019:
- White: -19
- Independents: -22
- Active service HHs: -20

*2018 survey did not specify “including Russia” and “such as Iran and Syria”

Note: Remainder Don't know
ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES AND ENEMIES
Q56 – Q79: 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
Allies: Canada, Australia, European powers top the list; Americans are less sure of allies compared to last year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strong / Somewhat of an ally</th>
<th>Somewhat / Strong enemy</th>
<th>Δ Ally from ‘19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q56 – Q79: 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?
## Mixed views of partners in the Middle East / South Asia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strong / Somewhat of an ally</th>
<th>Somewhat / Strong enemy</th>
<th>Δ Ally from ‘19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q56 – Q79: 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?
Views of Ukraine and Venezuela notably worse than a year ago.

Q56 – Q79: 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strong / Somewhat of an ally</th>
<th>Somewhat / Strong enemy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Enemies: North Korea and Iran top the list, suspicion of China on the rise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strong / Somewhat of an ally</th>
<th>Somewhat / Strong enemy</th>
<th>Δ Enemy from ‘19</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q56 – Q79: 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?
China by far seen as the greatest threat (open-ended) – though partisan differences abound.

Q80: Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.?

- China: 37% (Democrats 20%, Republicans 55%)
- Russia: 16% (Democrats 28%, Republicans 6%)
- North Korea: 15%
- Iran: 8%
- Iraq: 3%
- USA/Ourselves: 3%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% are not shown. Note: Remainder Not sure / Refused
UK is the foremost top-of-mind ally; with notable partisan differences on some allies.

Q82. Which country do you see as the most important ally to the U.S.?

- United Kingdom: 38%
- Canada: 13%
- Israel: 7%
- China: 6%
- Germany: 5%
- France: 4%
- Japan: 4%
- Russia: 4%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% are not shown. Note: Remainder Not sure / Refused

Democrats 3%, Republicans 12%
Democrats 8%, Republicans 2%
Favorable views of NATO holding steady.

Q83. Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also known as NATO?

Favorable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov '18</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct '19</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb '21</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfavorable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nov '18</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct '19</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb '21</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
Majority wants NATO allies to do more – though some erosion in that view.

**Q84. Do you think our NATO allies do their fair share or should they do more?**

- **Do their fair share**
  - Nov '18: 26%
  - Oct '19: 27%
  - Feb '21: 29%

- **Should do more**
  - Nov '18: 61%
  - Oct '19: 58%
  - Feb '21: 55%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Half think Pacific Rim allies should do more.

Q85. Do you think our allies on the Pacific Rim, including Australia, Japan, and South Korea do their fair share or should they do more?

- February 2021:
  - Do their fair share: 35%
  - Should do more: 48%

- October 2019:
  - Do their fair share: 34%
  - Should do more: 51%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Eight-in-ten would work with allies and use force to prevent a North Korean attack.

Q99. If the U.S. suspected that North Korea was going to launch an attack against the U.S. and its allies, South Korea and Japan, which of the following options would you prefer?

- Work with our allies to prevent an attack from North Korea, using force if necessary: 78% February 2021, 84% October 2019
- Wait until the attack is actually launched and then counter-attack: 17% February 2021, 11% October 2019

Note: Remainder Don't know
Declining confidence US would win a war with a nuclear power.

Q100. Do you think the U.S. would win a war with a nuclear power?

- Yes: 53% (February 2021) 57% (October 2019) 65% (November 2018)
- No: 22% (February 2021) 28% (October 2019) 25% (November 2018)

Note: Remainder Don't know
China
Top concerns with China: human rights violations, technology theft/trade, ownership of US debt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concern</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total concerned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human rights violations</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology theft</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China holding $1.2 trillion in US government debt</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfair trade practices</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese military build-up overall</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese development of artificial intelligence capabilities</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s treatment of Hong Kong</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China overtaking the US as the world’s number one superpower</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China surpassing the United States as the world’s biggest economy</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s treatment of the Uyghur ethnic group</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The isolation of Taiwan</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q103 – Q113. Thinking specifically about China, how concerned are you about each of the following?
China seen as more of an economic threat than a military one – though a third think it is both.

Q114. Do you view China as more of an economic threat to the United States or more of a military threat?

- Economic threat: 43%
- Military threat: 15%
- Both: 34%

Note: Remainder Neither / Don't know
Democrats, more educated/affluent more likely to think of China as primarily an economic threat.

Q114. Do you view China as more of an economic threat to the United States or more of a military threat?

- Overall: 43% Economic, 34% Both, 15% Military
- Noncollege: 38% Economic, 35% Both, 16% Military
- College graduates: 48% Economic, 34% Both, 15% Military
- Postgrad: 55% Economic, 29% Both, 12% Military
- Income under $50k: 35% Economic, 38% Both, 16% Military
- $50-100k: 47% Economic, 33% Both, 15% Military
- $100k+: 54% Economic, 28% Both, 14% Military
- Democrats: 46% Economic, 30% Both, 15% Military
- Independents: 43% Economic, 33% Both, 12% Military
- Republicans: 39% Economic, 39% Both, 16% Military

Note: Remainder Neither / Don’t know
Few Americans feel knowledgeable of key China issues.

Knowledge about...

- China’s treatment of Hong Kong
  - Quite a bit / Some: 21%
  - Not much / Nothing at all: 17%

- Chinese military buildup in the South China Sea
  - Quite a bit / Some: 15%
  - Not much / Nothing at all: 20%

- Chinese government policies to achieve superiority in artificial intelligence
  - Quite a bit / Some: 16%
  - Not much / Nothing at all: 19%

- China’s treatment of the Uyghur ethnic minority group
  - Quite a bit / Some: 17%
  - Not much / Nothing at all: 27%

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q115, 117, 120, 122. How much do you know about [ISSUE]?
Seven-in-ten support backing pro-democracy forces in Hong Kong.

Q119. 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: 72%
- Support the Chinese government, even if it means abandoning a pro-democracy movement: 8%

Note: Remainder Don't know

+4 change in support from 2019
As you may know, China recently imposed a series of laws outlawing political dissent in Hong Kong, arresting hundreds of pro-democracy activists and effectively ending Hong Kong’s status as an autonomous territory. The Chinese government claims this is an internal matter and has blamed foreign governments for the situation.

**Q118. Knowing this, how concerned are you with these actions by China?**

- Extremely / Somewhat Concerned: 45% (Before) / 50% (After)
- Not very / Not at all: 31% (Before) / 31% (After)
- Note: Remainder Don’t know: 8% (Before) / 8% (After), 5% (Before) / 5% (After)
As you may know, 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 in the region.

Q116. Knowing this, how concerned are you with these actions by China?

- Extremely / Somewhat Concerned
- Not very / Not at all

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>October 2019</th>
<th>37%</th>
<th>45%</th>
<th>10%</th>
<th>3%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>February 2021</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
As you may know, the Chinese government has a policy designed to achieve technological supremacy over the U.S. when it comes to artificial intelligence, and recent estimates suggest China could achieve superiority in artificial intelligence as soon as 2022.

Q123. Knowing this, how concerned are you about the possibility of the U.S. falling behind China technologically?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extremely / Somewhat Concerned</th>
<th>Not very / Not at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before additional information</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
Voters are very concerned over treatment of Uyghurs, once they learn of the situation.

China has imprisoned at least one million members of the Uyghur ethnic group, sent several million more to reeducation camps, and has placed much of the group under intense surveillance. Reports suggest hundreds of thousands of Uyghur have been killed or forcibly sterilized. The Chinese government claims the actions are necessary for internal security and are part of a broader anti-terrorism campaign.

Q121. Knowing this, how concerned are you with China's treatment of the Uyghur people?

Before additional information:
- Extremely / Somewhat Concerned: 40%
- Not very / Not at all: 10%

After additional information:
- Extremely / Somewhat Concerned: 61%
- Not very / Not at all: 6%

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q121. Knowing this, how concerned are you with China's treatment of the Uyghur people?
Most voters hold unfavorable views of the CCP, Chinese political system.

Q101. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the Chinese political system? AND Q102. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable view of the Chinese Communist Party?

- Chinese Political System
  - Favorable: 12%
  - Unfavorable: 75%

- Chinese Communist Party
  - Favorable: 14%
  - Unfavorable: 74%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Russia
Three-quarters find a variety of Russian activity concerning.

Q125-Q130. Thinking specifically about Russia, how concerned are you about each of the following?

- **Russia sponsoring cyberattacks against the US**: 52% Extremely, 30% Somewhat, Total 82%
- **Poisoning of opposition leaders and the suppression of dissent**: 46% Extremely, 31% Somewhat, Total 77%
- **Russian aid to Iran and other rogue regimes**: 44% Extremely, 32% Somewhat, Total 76%
- **Russia invading other former Soviet republics**: 37% Extremely, 36% Somewhat, Total 73%
- **Russia interfering in our elections**: 46% Extremely, 27% Somewhat, Total 73%
- **Russia launching a thermo-nuclear attack against the US**: 32% Extremely, 28% Somewhat, Total 60%
When forced to prioritize Russian threats, cyberattacks top the list of concerns.

Q124. Which of the following most concerns you about Russia?

- Sponsoring cyber-attacks on the US: 27% (+3)
- Aiding Iran and other rogue regimes: 18% (-3)
- Launching a thermo-nuclear attack on the US: 17% (+1)
- Interfering in our elections: 12% (-8)
- Poising of opposition leaders and the suppression of dissent: 10% (NA)
- Invading other former Soviet republics: 6% (-5)

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Biden, Trump voters tend agree on the best way to respond to election interference.

Q131. If a country interferes in U.S. elections, do you think the U.S. should respond:

- With military force: 9% (Biden voters 9%, Trump voters 10%)
- With economic sanctions: 35% (Biden voters 37%, Trump voters 37%)
- With diplomatic pressure: 18% (Biden voters 17%, Trump voters 18%)
- US should not respond at all: 5% (Biden voters 3%, Trump voters 6%)

Note: Remainder Mix of Responses / Depends / Don’t know
Middle East / South Asia
Little appetite for increasing troop levels in Afghanistan.

Q132. In Afghanistan, would you prefer that the U.S.:

- Increase troop levels: 15%
- Decrease troop levels: 39%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 35%
- Remainder Don't know

February 2021:
- Increase troop levels: 11%
- Decrease troop levels: 35%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 45%

November 2018:
- Increase troop levels: 15%
- Decrease troop levels: 35%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 45%

Note: Remainder Don't know
More see failure than success in Afghanistan.

Q133. Do you think the war in Afghanistan has been mostly a success or mostly a failure?

- February 2021:
  - Mostly a success: 32%
  - Mostly a failure: 50%

- November 2018:
  - Mostly a success: 38%
  - Mostly a failure: 49%

Democrats 34%, Republicans 35%

Confidence in military:
- Great deal: 39%
- Some: 26%
- Less: 19%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Just two-in-ten thinks a troop level increase in Iraq is warranted.

Q134. In Iraq, would you prefer that the U.S.:

- Increase troop levels: 19%
- Decrease troop levels: 29%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 41%

Note: Remainder Don't know.
Just over a third see the Iraq War as a success.

Q135. Do you think the war in Iraq was mostly a success or mostly a failure?

- February 2021:
  - Mostly a success: 36%
  - Mostly a failure: 46%

- November 2018:
  - Mostly a success: 40%
  - Mostly a failure: 51%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Slightly less support for decreasing troop levels in Iraq than Afghanistan.

Q132. In Afghanistan, would you prefer that the U.S.:
- Increase troop levels: 15%
- Decrease troop levels: 39%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 35%

Q134. In Iraq, would you prefer that the U.S.:
- Increase troop levels: 19%
- Decrease troop levels: 29%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 41%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Assessments of both wars are negative, though views of Iraq efforts slightly better.

Q133. Do you think the war in Afghanistan has been mostly a success or mostly a failure? AND Q135. Do you think the war in Iraq was mostly a success or mostly a failure?

In Afghanistan:
- Mostly a success: 32%
- Mostly a failure: 50%

In Iraq:
- Mostly a success: 36%
- Mostly a failure: 46%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Half want a more aggressive approach to Iran, with Republicans particularly hawkish.

Q136. When it comes to Iran, would you prefer that the Biden administration be more aggressive, less aggressive, or keep things about the same?

- More aggressive: 46%
- Less aggressive: 17%
- About the same: 24%

Democrats 37%
Independents 37%
Republicans 61%

Active service HH 59%
Veterans 62%

Note: Remainder Not sure
EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS
Reagan viewed most favorably among recent presidents.

Q137-Q144. 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.

**Very / Somewhat favorable**
- Ronald Reagan: 42%
- George H.W. Bush: 19%
- George W. Bush: 20%
- Barack Obama: 39%
- Bill Clinton: 24%
- Jimmy Carter: 23%
- Joe Biden: 32%
- Donald Trump: 32%

**Somewhat / Very unfavorable**
- Ronald Reagan: 12%
- George H.W. Bush: 20%
- George W. Bush: 22%
- Barack Obama: 25%
- Bill Clinton: 18%
- Jimmy Carter: 18%
- Joe Biden: 30%
- Donald Trump: 41%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Reagan viewed favorably by a majority of voters in both parties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Total Favorable</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ronald Reagan</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H.W. Bush</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Bush</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Clinton</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Carter</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Biden</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q137-Q144. 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.