## About the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Combined telephone (n=998) and online panel (n=1525) survey. Telephone interviews conducted by trained professionals calling landlines (49%) and cellphones (51%).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>2,523 U.S. Adults.</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>±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>
<tr>
<td>Research Partnership</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="SHAW logo" />, <img src="image" alt="BEACON logo" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note</td>
<td>Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Political Environment
Just one-third think U.S. is headed in right direction.

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

- Right Direction
- Wrong Track

Note: Remainder Don't know

Democrat 15%
Independent 28%
Republican 68%

Democrat 69%
Independent 28%
Republican 17%

Democrat 59%
Independent 23%
Republican 12%

Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are:
On balance, support for increased spending on infrastructure, education, healthcare, and border security.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Too much</th>
<th>Too little</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure, such as roads, bridges and ports</td>
<td>-10%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-13%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care</td>
<td>-14%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border security</td>
<td>-19%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The military</td>
<td>-26%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting freedom abroad</td>
<td>-30%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign aid</td>
<td>-51%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder About the right amount / Don’t know

Q16-22. Do you think the U.S. government spends too much, too little, or about the right amount on each of the following?
Deep concern about a wide variety of threats, with cyberattacks and political violence atop the list.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Extremely concerned</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political divisions in the U.S. leading to violence</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising authoritarianism around the world</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War between the U.S. and China</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q57 – Q69. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
Partisans share similar concerns about most threats—save a few concerns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Concerned</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political divisions in the U.S. leading to violence</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising authoritarianism around the world</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War between the U.S. and China</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q57 – Q69. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY
Military remains the most-trusted institution; media and Congress inspire little confidence.

Q4-Q10. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them.

- **The military**: A Great Deal / Some: 45%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 33%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 11%, Don't know: 10%
- **Police and law enforcement**: A Great Deal / Some: 33%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 33%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 16%, Don't know: 16%
- **Public health officials**: A Great Deal / Some: 26%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 30%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 17%, Don't know: 26%
- **The Supreme Court**: A Great Deal / Some: 18%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 36%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 21%, Don't know: 21%
- **The Presidency**: A Great Deal / Some: 19%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 21%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 15%, Don't know: 43%
- **The news media**: A Great Deal / Some: 10%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 23%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 19%, Don't know: 45%
- **Congress**: A Great Deal / Some: 6%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 24%, A little / Not Much Confidence: 25%, Don't know: 41%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Confidence in the military down for third consecutive year.

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

Confidence in military among subgroups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>A great deal of confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under age 30</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Change from Feb '21:
- Overall: -11
- Men: -14
- Women: -9
- Under age 30: -5
- 30-44: -14
- 45-64: -12
- 65+: -13
- White: -12
- Black: -3
- Hispanic: -14
- Democrats: -6
- Independents: -9
- Republicans: -17
Confidence in military by views on Afghanistan

**The Military**

- **Overall**
  - A great deal of confidence: 45%

- **In Afghanistan, U.S.**
  - Should have withdrawn all troops: 45%
  - Should not have: 46%

- **Approve of handling of withdrawal**
  - Approve: 50%
  - Disapprove: 43%

- **War in Afghanistan mostly success**
  - Mostly success: 60%
  - Mostly failure: 38%

Q4. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them: The Military
Q11. Thinking about the U.S. military, what would you say is the main reason you have the level of confidence that you have

- Servicemembers / Enlisted personnel: 29%
- Protection / Keep us safe: 15%
- Equipment / Weapons / Technology: 11%
- Leadership / Officers / Generals: 8%
- Personal experience / Veteran: 8%
- Experience / Tradition: 8%
- Political leadership: 3%
- Responsive / Gets the job done: 3%
- Other: 9%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% are not shown.
Reasons for low confidence in military

Among those with a little / not much confidence

- Political leadership: 13%
- Servicemembers / Enlisted personnel: 9%
- Scandals / Sexual assault / Cover-ups: 9%
- Leadership / Officers / Generals: 8%
- Too expensive / Wrong priorities: 8%
- Protection / Keep us safe: 5%
- Equipment / Weapons / Technology: 5%
- Poor decision-making: 5%
- Lost in Iraq / Afghanistan: 3%
- Lack of trust: 3%
- Personal experience / Veteran: 2%
- Experience / Tradition: 2%
- Too many woke leaders: 2%
- Too ideological / partisan: 2%
- Other: 15%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% are not shown.

Q11. Thinking about the U.S. military, what would you say is the main reason you have the level of confidence that you have
Higher degree of confidence in military’s ability to keep country safe.

**Q12-15. How much trust and confidence do you have in the U.S. military’s ability to...**

- **Keep the country safe**: 57% A Great Deal / Some, 26% A little / Not Much Confidence, 6% Remainder Don’t know
- **Deter foreign aggression**: 42% A Great Deal / Some, 31% A little / Not Much Confidence, 12% A little / Not Much Confidence, 13% Remainder Don’t know
- **Win a war overseas**: 42% A Great Deal / Some, 30% A little / Not Much Confidence, 13% A little / Not Much Confidence, 10% Remainder Don’t know
- **Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner**: 40% A Great Deal / Some, 31% A little / Not Much Confidence, 12% A little / Not Much Confidence, 9% Remainder Don’t know

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Evaluations of U.S. military capabilities

Q26-31. For each of the following, please tell us how you think the U.S. military is doing compared to the military in other countries.

Overall capabilities
- Best in the world: 43%
- One of the best: 45%
- Total: 88%

Conventional weaponry, such as tanks, battleships, and airplanes
- Best in the world: 45%
- One of the best: 42%
- Total: 87%

High-tech weaponry, such as AI and missile technology
- Best in the world: 39%
- One of the best: 45%
- Total: 84%

Traditional manpower, such as enlisted servicemembers
- Best in the world: 36%
- One of the best: 46%
- Total: 82%

Military leadership, such as officers and generals
- Best in the world: 33%
- One of the best: 42%
- Total: 75%

Cyber-technology, cyber-security, and cyber-warfare
- Best in the world: 27%
- One of the best: 46%
- Total: 73%

Feb ’21 39%
Oct ’19 36%
When pushed to choose, six-in-ten believe U.S. has best overall capabilities.

Q32. Which country do you think has the best overall military capabilities? [RECORD VERBATIM]

- United States: 62%
  - Men 76%, Women 63%
  - Democrat 74%, Independent 63%, Republican 68%

- China: 17%

- Russia: 5%

- Israel: 2%

- North Korea: 1%

- United Kingdom: 1%

Note: Remainder Other / Not sure

Great deal of confidence 84%
A little / not much 52%

Great deal of confidence 10%
A little / not much 28%
INTERNATIONAL POSTURE
Decrease in support for an engaged U.S. foreign policy.

Q33. 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></th>
<th>More engaged and take the lead</th>
<th>Less engaged and react to events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2021</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2021</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2019</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Depends / Don't know

November 2021

Q33. 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?
Q33. 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?

Change in support for engaged foreign policy, by subgroup

- **Overall**: 42% (Change from Feb ’21: -9)
  - Under age 30: 41% (Change: -3)
  - 30-44: 39% (Change: -16)
  - 45-64: 39% (Change: -8)
  - 65+: 54% (Change: -6)
- **Noncollege**: 40% (Change: -4)
- **College+**: 46% (Change: -17)
- **Democrats**: 46% (Change: -13)
- **Independents**: 31% (Change: -8)
- **Republicans**: 46% (Change: 0)

Great deal of confidence in military
- **Great deal of confidence**: 49% (Change: -7)
- **Some confidence**: 39% (Change: -8)
- **A little / not much confidence**: 32% (Change: -6)
Steady, bipartisan support for maintaining bases overseas.

Q35. 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?

Maintain bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>November 2021</th>
<th>February 2021</th>
<th>October 2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

November 2021: 65%
February 2021: 63%
October 2019: 65%
East Asia overtakes the Middle East as area US should focus its military forces.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>November 2021</th>
<th>February 2021</th>
<th>October 2019</th>
<th>November 2018</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Asia, such as China, Japan and South Korea</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria*</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe, including Russia*</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

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

Q41. 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?
After a sharp uptick, the majority sees China as the greatest threat.

Q42. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.? [RECORD VERBATIM]
Bipartisan agreement on China as greatest threat; particular increase in concern among Democrats.

Q42. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.? [RECORD VERBATIM]

- **Overall**
  - China: 52%
  - Russia: 14%
  - North Korea: 12%
  - Afghanistan: 5%
  - Iran: 4%

- **Democrats**
  - China: 44% (+24 since Feb '21)
  - Russia: 22%
  - North Korea: 14%
  - Afghanistan: 5%
  - Iran: 3%

- **Republicans**
  - China: 64% (+9 since Feb '21)
  - Russia: 7%
  - North Korea: 7%
  - Afghanistan: 6%
  - Iran: 5%

Note: Responses under 4% not shown
Four-in-ten see the UK as greatest ally.

Q43. Which country do you see as the greatest ally to the U.S.? [RECORD VERBATIM]

Overall
- United Kingdom: 39%
- European Union: 14%
- Canada: 9%
- Israel: 7%

Democrats
- United Kingdom: 43%
- European Union: 15%
- Canada: 12%
- Israel: 3%

Republicans
- United Kingdom: 40%
- European Union: 12%
- Canada: 7%
- Israel: 11%

Note: Responses under 4% not shown

+9 since Feb ’21
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Ally</th>
<th>Enemy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q44 – Q55. Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?
Q44 – Q55. Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?

**Shifts in Views toward Allies and Enemies**

**Change in Net Rating (Ally-Enemy) From Feb ‘21**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Increasingly negative</th>
<th>Increasingly positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>-3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Increasingly negative to Increasingly positive.
China
Diverse range of concerns over China.

- **Chinese economic practices**, including technology theft and trade relationships: 20% (Democrat 17%, Republican 23%)
- **Chinese military buildup**, including naval activity in the South China Sea: 19% (Democrat 22%, Republican 12%)
- **Chinese human rights abuses**, including the treatment of Hong Kong and the Uyghur ethnic group: 17%
- **Chinese foreign policy**, including expanding influence in South Asia, Africa and S. America: 13%
- **China invading Taiwan**: 7%

Q71. Which of the following most concerns you about China?
Widespread concern about technological gap with China.

Q78. How concerned are you about the possibility of the U.S. falling behind China technologically?

- Extremely concerned: 38%
- Somewhat: 35%
- Not very: 15%
- Not at all: 6%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q79. Thinking about China's progress in various areas of technology, which of the following areas concerns you most?

- Artificial intelligence: 23%
- Supply-chain vulnerability: 23%
- Satellite technology: 16%
- Telecommunications technology: 12%
- Manufacturing capacity: 12%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Little change in views on Taiwan contingencies since 2019.

Q72-Q77. 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/oppose the United States coming to Taiwan’s defense in each of the following ways.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Support 2021</th>
<th>Support 2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imposing economic sanctions against China</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramatically increasing arms sales to Taiwan</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving U.S. military assets into the region</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing a no-fly zone over the area</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committing U.S. ground troops to the defense of Taiwan</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

November 2021
October 2019
Six-in-ten support relocating the Winter Olympics; half back a boycott.

Q80-Q83. As you may know, China will host the next Winter Olympics. State Department reports accuse China of human rights abuses, including genocide against the Uyghurs. Many are calling for a boycott. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of the following.

- **A business boycott**, where U.S. corporations refuse to sponsor / advertise during it: 60% support
- The IOC **delaying and relocating** the games: 60% support
- **A U.S. diplomatic boycott**, where U.S. athletes would still compete: 48% support
- **A full boycott** by the U.S. Olympic team and its athletes: 47% support
Three-quarters think a lab leak as the origin of COVID-19 is at least somewhat likely.

**Question frame:** Some believe the coronavirus was developed by scientists working at a Wuhan lab, but accidentally leaked, and the Chinese government then hid and lied about the leak to international public health officials.

- **Likelihood this occurred**
  - Very: 42%
  - Somewhat: 30%
  - Not very: 13%
  - Not at all: 6%

- **Support for reparations if proven**
  - Yes: 76%
  - No: 13%

Q84. How likely is it that this occurred? AND Q85. If proven, do you think China should pay reparations to other nations as a penalty?
AFGHANISTAN
Nearly half think U.S. should have withdrawn all troops from Afghanistan.

**Should U.S. Have Withdrawn Troops?**
- Should have withdrawn all troops: 47%
- Should not have: 40%

**Rather than Withdrawing, Should the U.S. Have:**
(Among those who think troops should not have been withdrawn)
- Increased troop levels: 24%
- Left troop levels the same: 69%

Q87. Do you think the U.S. should have withdrawn all American troops from Afghanistan, or not? AND [IF SHOULD NOT] Q88. Rather than withdrawing all troops from Afghanistan, do you think the U.S. should have:
Nearly half thinks U.S. should have withdrawn all troops from Afghanistan…

Q87. Do you think the U.S. should have withdrawn all American troops from Afghanistan, or not?
AND [IF SHOULD NOT] Q88. Rather than withdrawing all troops from Afghanistan, do you think the U.S. should have:

- Withdrawn all troops: 47%
- Left troop levels the same: 27%
- Increased troop levels: 10%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Democrat 67%, Republican 30%
Active service HH 55%, Veteran HH 47%

Democrat 11%, Republican 47%
...but six-in-ten disapprove of how withdrawal was handled, and Biden gets lion’s share of blame.

Q89. Regardless of how you feel about the decision to withdraw troops, do you approve or disapprove of the way the withdrawal was handled? AND
Q90. Do you believe the problems associated with the U.S. troop withdrawal from Afghanistan were mostly the fault of:

Handling of Withdrawal
- Approve: 27%
- Disapprove: 62%

Blame for Problems with Withdrawal
- President Biden’s poor judgement: 49%
- Poor military planning: 20%
- The actions of the Taliban: 20%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Democrat 42%, Independent 60%, Republican 83%
Withdrawal is seen as weakening U.S. on balance; most think Taliban control poses a threat.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect of Withdrawal</th>
<th>Threat to US from Taliban Control</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strengthens U.S.</td>
<td>Major threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much difference</td>
<td>Minor threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weakens U.S.</td>
<td>No threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
Fewer see war in Afghanistan as a success.

Q92. Do you think the war in Afghanistan has been mostly a success or mostly a failure?

November 2021: 23% Mostly a success, 59% Mostly a failure
February 2021: 32% Mostly a success, 50% Mostly a failure
November 2018: 38% Mostly a success, 49% Mostly a failure

Note: Remainder Don't know
Nearly half think U.S. can disrupt terrorist activity in Afghanistan from afar.

Q93. Which of the following is closer to your view when it comes to terrorist activities in Afghanistan?

- U.S. can effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups through intelligence gathering and drone strikes from outside Afghanistan: 47%
  - Democrat 60%
  - Independent 44%
  - Republican 30%
  - Service member HH 56%
  - Veteran HH 49%

- U.S. needs military forces on the ground to effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups: 37%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Human rights top the list of concerns about Afghanistan.

Q94-Q96. Moving forward, how concerned are you about each of the following in Afghanistan?

- Human rights violations and the repression of women’s rights: 63% Extremely concerned, 25% Somewhat concerned, 88% total concern.
- Possible terrorist plots or terrorist training facilities: 54% Extremely concerned, 33% Somewhat concerned, 87% total concern.
- The production and trafficking of opium and other drugs: 39% Extremely concerned, 35% Somewhat concerned, 74% total concern.
Reagan viewed most favorably among recent presidents.

**Q99-Q106. 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.**

<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>42%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Trump</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bill Clinton</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George H.W. Bush</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Carter</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joe Biden</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George W. Bush</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
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