## About the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Combined telephone ((n=984)) and online panel ((n=1554)) survey. Telephone interviews conducted by trained professionals calling landlines ((38%)) and cellphones ((62%)).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>2,538 US Adults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>November 9 – November 17, 2022.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weights</td>
<td>Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the US 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≈1,250, ±2.8%)). The margin of error for subgroups is higher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Partnership</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="SHAW Company" /> <img src="image" alt="BEACON Research" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note</td>
<td>Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
POLITICAL environment
Increasing pessimism about the direction of the country.

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

- Right direction
- Wrong track

Democrat 49%
Independent 21%
Republican 13%
Wide majorities favor increased spending on military and border security.

Q23-26. Thinking now about the different areas in which the federal government spends money...

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Strongly / Somewhat favor</th>
<th>Somewhat / Strongly oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The military</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border security</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promoting freedom abroad</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign aid</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know

△ from Feb ‘21

+2  +2  +7  +12
Support for increasing foreign aid, by subgroup.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subgroup</th>
<th>Total Favor</th>
<th>∆ from Feb '21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>+12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncollege</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>+15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>+9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate degree</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>+19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>+21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q25. Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending on: foreign aid.
Nearly two-thirds concerned inflation will harm military procurement and lead to reduced capabilities.

Q27. How concerned are you about the possibility that high inflation means the military cannot purchase as much equipment as it might need, leading to reduced military capabilities?

- Extremely concerned: 29%
- Somewhat concerned: 34%
- Not very concerned: 19%
- Not at all concerned: 15%

Concerned 63%
- Democrat 50%
- Independent 60%
- Republican 79%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Top threats and concerns: political violence, cyberattacks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total concerned</th>
<th>Change from Nov '21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political divisions in the US leading to violence</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyberattacks</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising authoritarianism around the world</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion of conflict between Russia &amp; Ukraine</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
Items seen as less threatening still a concern for more than two-thirds of Americans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total Concerned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Biological attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China invading Taiwan</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War between the US and China</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
Partisans have similar evaluations of most—but not all—threats.

Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?

<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 US leading to violence</td>
<td></td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber-attacks</td>
<td></td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising authoritarianism around the world</td>
<td></td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights</td>
<td></td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td></td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expansion of conflict between Russia &amp; Ukraine</td>
<td></td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td></td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biological attacks on the homeland</td>
<td></td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td></td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China invading Taiwan</td>
<td></td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War between the US and China</td>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermo-nuclear war</td>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td></td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td></td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conventional military attacks</td>
<td></td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Areas of partisan agreement (concern within 10 points).</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total Concerned**
- Political divisions in the US leading to violence: 88%
- Cyber-attacks: 88%
- Rising authoritarianism around the world: 84%
- Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights: 79%
- Expansion of conflict between Russia & Ukraine: 82%
- Biological attacks on the homeland: 71%
- China invading Taiwan: 69%
- Thermo-nuclear war: 67%
- Conventional military attacks: 55%

**Democrats**
- Political divisions in the US leading to violence: 88%
- Cyber-attacks: 88%
- Rising authoritarianism around the world: 84%
- Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights: 79%
- Expansion of conflict between Russia & Ukraine: 82%
- Biological attacks on the homeland: 71%
- China invading Taiwan: 69%
- Thermo-nuclear war: 67%
- Conventional military attacks: 55%

**Republicans**
- Political divisions in the US leading to violence: 85%
- Cyber-attacks: 86%
- Rising authoritarianism around the world: 80%
- Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights: 81%
- Expansion of conflict between Russia & Ukraine: 76%
- Biological attacks on the homeland: 78%
- China invading Taiwan: 75%
- Thermo-nuclear war: 71%
- Conventional military attacks: 61%

Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
### Areas of partisan disagreement.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Concerned</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Climate change</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic terrorist attacks</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Global pandemics</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An attack on our space assets, such as satellites</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the homeland</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War between the US and China</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q28-42. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>A great deal / Some</th>
<th>A little / Not much confidence</th>
<th>Don't know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The military</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and law enforcement</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Supreme Court</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Election administrators</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Presidency</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The news media</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q4-10. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them.
Confidence in military stable after a three-year decline.

A Great Deal of Confidence

**The military**
- Nov '18: 70%
- Oct '19: 63%
- Feb '21: 56%
- Nov '21: 45%
- Nov '22: 48%

**Police and law enforcement**
- Nov '18: 50%
- Oct '19: 40%
- Feb '21: 39%
- Nov '21: 45%
- Nov '22: 48%

**The Presidency**
- Nov '18: 28%
- Oct '19: 27%
- Feb '21: 30%
- Nov '21: 33%
- Nov '22: 33%

**Supreme Court**
- Nov '18: 27%
- Oct '19: 26%
- Feb '21: 23%
- Nov '21: 19%
- Nov '22: 16%

**News media**
- Nov '18: 16%
- Oct '19: 15%
- Feb '21: 14%
- Nov '21: 18%
- Nov '22: 16%

**Congress**
- Nov '18: 5%
- Oct '19: 8%
- Feb '21: 10%
- Nov '21: 10%
- Nov '22: 9%

Q4-10. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them.
Confidence in military among subgroups.

**The military**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>A great deal of confidence</th>
<th>△ from Nov ‘21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under age 30</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>+1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>+7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News source: Network TV</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cable TV</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 acting professionally/nonpolitically lags confidence in other abilities.

Overall confidence in military

- A great deal / Some: 48%
- A little / Not much at all: 33%
- Overall: 10%
- Don't know: 8%

Keep the country safe

- A great deal / Some: 50%
- A little / Not much at all: 29%
- Overall: 11%
- Don't know: 9%

Win a war overseas

- A great deal / Some: 44%
- A little / Not much at all: 29%
- Overall: 12%
- Don't know: 12%

Deter foreign aggression

- A great deal / Some: 42%
- A little / Not much at all: 29%
- Overall: 14%
- Don't know: 11%

Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner

- A great deal / Some: 35%
- A little / Not much at all: 32%
- Overall: 15%
- Don't know: 15%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Q11-14. How much trust and confidence do you have in the US military's ability to...
Declines in confidence military can keep country safe, act nonpolitically.

Q11-14. How much trust and confidence do you have in the US military’s ability to...

- Keep the country safe: November 2022 - 50%, November 2021 - 57%
- Win a war overseas: November 2022 - 44%, November 2021 - 42%
- Deter foreign aggression: November 2022 - 42%, November 2021 - 42%
- Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner: November 2022 - 35%, November 2021 - 40%

Overall:
- Keep the country safe: -7
- Win a war overseas: -9
- Deter foreign aggression: -5
- Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner: -8

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Overall:
- Keep the country safe: -7
- Win a war overseas: -9
- Deter foreign aggression: -5
- Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner: -8

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Factors decreasing confidence in military.

Q15-22. To what extent, if at all, have each of the following decreased your confidence in the military?

- The performance and competence of presidents, as the Commanders-in-Chief: 34%
- Military leadership becoming overly politicized: 34%
- So-called “woke” practices undermining military effectiveness: 30%
- The performance and competence of the military’s civilian leadership: 27%
- The military’s ability to win a potential future war: 24%
- So-called far-right or extremist individuals serving in the military: 23%
- The military’s performance in Iraq and Afghanistan: 22%
- The performance and competence of uniformed military leaders: 21%
### Factors decreasing confidence, by party identification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The performance and competence of presidents, as the Commanders-in-Chief</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military leadership becoming overly politicized</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-called “woke” practices undermining military effectiveness</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The performance and competence of the military’s civilian leadership</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The military’s ability to win a potential future war</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-called far-right or extremist individuals serving in the military</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The military’s performance in Iraq and Afghanistan</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The performance and competence of uniformed military leaders</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q15-22. To what extent, if at all, have each of the following decreased your confidence in the military?
Evaluations of U.S. military capabilities.

Q43-48. For each of the following, please tell us how you think the US military is doing compared to the military in other countries.

Overall capabilities
- Best in the world: 40%
- One of the best: 49%
- Total: 89%

Conventional weaponry, such as tanks, battleships, and airplanes
- Best in the world: 43%
- One of the best: 44%
- Total: 87%

High-tech weaponry, such as AI and missile technology
- Best in the world: 37%
- One of the best: 47%
- Total: 84%

Traditional manpower, such as enlisted servicemembers
- Best in the world: 30%
- One of the best: 48%
- Total: 78%

Military leadership, such as officers and generals
- Best in the world: 25%
- One of the best: 49%
- Total: 74%

Cyber-technology, cyber-security, and cyber-warfare
- Best in the world: 25%
- One of the best: 48%
- Total: 73%

Nov ‘21 43%
Feb ‘21 39%
Oct ‘19 36%
Perceived US edge on leadership and manpower eroded slightly.

Q43-48. For each of the following, please tell us how you think the US military is doing compared to the military in other countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>November 2022</th>
<th>November 2021</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conventional weaponry</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-tech weaponry</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional manpower</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military leadership</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyber technology</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Best in the World

- Conventional weaponry: November 2022 (43%), November 2021 (45%)
- High-tech weaponry: November 2022 (37%), November 2021 (39%)
- Traditional manpower: November 2022 (30%), November 2021 (36%)
- Military leadership: November 2022 (25%), November 2021 (33%)
- Cyber technology: November 2022 (25%), November 2021 (27%)

Overall:
- Democrat: November 2022 (10), November 2021 (12)
- Republican: November 2022 (7), November 2021 (9)

Overall:
- Democrat: November 2022 (10), November 2021 (12)
- Republican: November 2022 (7), November 2021 (9)
When pushed to choose, two-thirds think US has best overall capabilities.

Q49. Which country do you think has the best overall military capabilities? [RECORD VERBATIM]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Δ from Nov ‘21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Other / Not sure / Refused - 4

Democrat 67%, Republican 66%
Democrat 12%, Republican 17%
Belief in ability to win a nuclear war is unchanged.

Q50. Do you think the US would win a war with a nuclear power?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2022</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2021</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2019</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2018</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know

November 2022
November 2018
One-in-ten under age 30 very willing to serve in US military.

[IF AGE 18-29 AND NOT SERVICE MEMBER OR VETERAN] Q132. How willing would you, personally, be to serve in the US military?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Military confidence: great deal</th>
<th>Extremely / Very Willing to Serve</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military confidence: some</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less confident</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Narrow plurality prefers an engaged US foreign policy.

Q51. 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>Date</th>
<th>More engaged and take the lead</th>
<th>Less engaged and react to events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct '19</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb '21</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov '21</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov '22</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Depends / Don't know
Q51. 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?
Declining preference for engaged posture a bipartisan phenomenon.

Q51. 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

- Democrat
- Republican

Oct '19 58% 48%
Feb '21 59% 46%
Nov '21 46% 46%
Nov '22 43% 39%

Note: Remainder Depends / Don't know
Q53. 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?
East Asia remains top theater of focus; sharp increase in attention on Europe as Middle East fades.

Q58. Thinking about American interests and the threats that exist in the world today, where do you think the US should focus its military forces?

Top 4 answers shown

- East Asia: 37%
- Middle East: 37%
- Europe: 31%
- South Asia: 18%

US Military Focus

- Nov '18: Middle East 27%, East Asia 24%
- Oct '19: Middle East 21%, East Asia 16%
- Feb '21: Middle East 17%, South Asia 9%
- Nov '21: Middle East 11%, Europe 5%
- Nov '22: Middle East 5%
Russia joins China as greatest perceived threats.

Greatest threat to US

- 31% Russia
- 21% China
- 18% North Korea
- 14% Iran
- 4% Ourselves

Note: Responses under 2% not shown

Q59. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the US? [RECORD VERBATIM]
Republicans remain focused on China as primary threat; Democrats split between Russia and China.

Q59. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the US? [RECORD VERBATIM]

**Overall**

- China: 43%
- Russia: 31%
- North Korea: 7%
- Ourselves: 3%
- Iran: 2%

**Democrats**

- China: 32% (-12 from Nov '21)
- Russia: 42% (+20 from Nov '21)
- North Korea: 8%
- Ourselves: 4%
- Iran: 1%

**Republicans**

- China: 56% (-8 from Nov '21)
- Russia: 19% (+12 from Nov '21)
- North Korea: 6%
- Ourselves: 2%
- Iran: 3%

Note: Overall responses under 2% not shown.
Q60-68. Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?

- United Kingdom: 86% Ally, 8% Enemy
- Australia: 84% Ally, 7% Enemy
- Ukraine: 76% Ally, 16% Enemy
- Finland: 74% Ally, 10% Enemy
- Taiwan: 69% Ally, 16% Enemy
- Saudi Arabia: 33% Ally, 54% Enemy
- China: 19% Ally, 75% Enemy
- North Korea: 14% Ally, 79% Enemy
- Russia: 13% Ally, 82% Enemy

Note: Remainder Don't know
Four-in-ten think greatest threats are internal.

Q69. Do you think the greatest threats to the US come from outside of the country or from within the country?

- **November 2022**
  - From outside: 28%
  - From within: 30%
  - Both equally: 40%
  - Democrats 43%, Republicans 41%

- **November 2021**
  - From outside: 25%
  - From within: 30%
  - Both equally: 41%

- **February 2021**
  - From outside: 35%
  - From within: 36%
  - Both equally: 25%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Just two-in-ten want to reduce support for democracy abroad.

Q52. As you may know, the United States assists people living in authoritarian countries who advocate for their governments to move toward democracy. Should the US increase these activities, keep them at the same level, or stop doing this?

- Increase support for democracy advocates abroad: 24%
- Keep support the same level: 48%
- Stop supporting democracy advocates abroad: 18%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Eight-in-ten see illegal immigration as a security threat.

Q54. In your view, how much of a security threat is illegal immigration across our southern border?

- November 2022: 42% Major threat, 36% Minor threat, 16% Not a threat
- October 2019: 41% Major threat, 35% Minor threat, 21% Not a threat
- November 2018: 40% Major threat, 29% Minor threat, 29% Not a threat

Note: Remainder Don't know
RUSSIA & UKRAINE
Views of NATO favorable and stable.

Q70. Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also known as NATO?

Favorable

Unfavorable

Note: Remainder Don't know

Democrat 78%
Independent 43%
Republican 50%

Nov '18 62%
Oct '19 62%
Nov '21 60%
Nov '22 60%

24% 22% 22% 23%
Wide majorities support adding Finland/Sweden to NATO, would respond if Russia attacked an ally.

- **Would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if Russia attacked a NATO ally in Europe?**
  - **Support / Approve**: 72%
  - Democrat 81%, Republican 67%

- **Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to add Finland and Sweden to NATO?**
  - **Support / Approve**: 71%
  - Democrat 79%, Republican 67%

- **Would you support or oppose adding Ukraine to NATO?**
  - **Support / Approve**: 61%
  - Democrat 72%, Republican 56%

Q71-73. Do you support or oppose...
Concern about Russian belligerence, nuclear attack up notably since last year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Extremely</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Total concerned</th>
<th>Δ from Nov ‘21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia sponsoring cyberattacks against the US</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia invading other former Soviet republics, including Ukraine</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian aid to Iran and other rogue regimes</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The poisoning of opposition leaders and the suppression of dissent within Russia</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia launching a thermo-nuclear attack against US</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia interfering in our elections</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q86-91. Thinking specifically about Russia, how concerned are you about each of the following?
On balance, Americans think aid to Ukraine about right.

Q92. Do you think the US has sent too much military aid to Ukraine, too little, or about the right amount of military aid?

- Too much: 24% (Democrat 13%, Republican 33%)
- Too little: 25% (Democrat 27%, Republican 23%)
- About right: 39%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Nearly twice as many think US should continue to provide aid as think the cost/risks are too great.

Q99. With regard to US aid to Ukraine—meaning military equipment and financial assistance—which of these positions is closer to your own?

- America must **continue to stand with the people of Ukraine** and oppose Russian aggression in order to protect a friendly democracy and prevent future Russian threats to Europe. (57%)

- America **has enough problems at home** and cannot afford to spend more on the conflict and risk further provoking Russia. (33%)

Note: Remainder Neither / Don't know
Q99. With regard to US aid to Ukraine—meaning military equipment and financial assistance—which of these positions is closer to your own?
Wide range of concerns about the war in Ukraine.

Q93-98. Regarding the war in Ukraine, how concerned are you about each of the following occurring?

- **Russia using a nuclear weapon**: 45% Extremely, 32% Somewhat, Total concerned 77%
- **War expanding to nearby NATO members, forcing direct US involvement**: 35% Extremely, 39% Somewhat, Total concerned 74%
- **Invasion inspiring other authoritarians to invade democratic neighbors**: 37% Extremely, 35% Somewhat, Total concerned 72%
- **US focus on Ukraine distracting us from threat posed by China**: 29% Extremely, 41% Somewhat, Total concerned 70%
- **Russian victory in the war**: 34% Extremely, 33% Somewhat, Total concerned 67%
- **Military aid to Ukraine depleting US weapons stockpile**: 29% Extremely, 30% Somewhat, Total concerned 59%

Q93-98. Regarding the war in Ukraine, how concerned are you about each of the following occurring?
Most blame Russia for the war.

Q100. Who or what do you blame for the war in Ukraine?

- Russia: 68%
- The United States: 7%
- NATO expansion: 6%
- Ukraine: 3%
- Expansion of the European Union: 3%

Note: Remainder Don't know

Network TV 70%
Cable TV 76%
Online sites 64%
Q108. To what extent do you believe that information operations conducted by foreign governments influence opinions and attitudes in the United States?

A great deal: 27%
Some: 38%
A little: 18%
Not much at all: 9%

At least some 65%
Democrat 71%
Independent 53%
Republican 69%

Note: Remainder Don't know
China & Taiwan
Varied concerns about China; worry about an invasion of Taiwan doubles.

Q74. Which of the following most concerns you about China?

- Chinese economic practices: November 2022: 22%, November 2021: 20%
- Chinese military buildup: November 2022: 18%, November 2021: 19%
- Chinese human rights abuses: November 2022: 17%, November 2021: 17%
- China invading Taiwan: November 2022: 13%, November 2021: 7%
- Chinese foreign policy: November 2022: 11%, November 2021: 13%
- (All / Mix): November 2022: 7%, November 2021: 10%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Majority thinks US lacks a strategy for handling China.

Q75. Do you think the US has a clear strategy for managing its relationship with China?

- Yes: 27%
- No: 54%

Under 30: 37%, Age 65+: 64%
Democrat: 42%, Republican: 67%

Note: Remainder Don't know
Majority supports reducing trade with China.

Q76. Do you support or oppose efforts to reduce the amount of trade between the US and China?

- **Support**: 54%
  - Under 30: 44%
  - Age 65+: 57%
  - White: 56%
  - Black: 47%
  - Hispanic: 57%
  - Democrat: 53%
  - Republican: 61%

- **Oppose**: 28%

Note: Remainder Don't know
If China invades Taiwan, response options short of war garner the most support.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Δ in Support from Nov ’21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imposing economic sanctions against China</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sending more military equipment, like US is sending to Ukraine</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving US military assets into the region</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establishing a no-fly zone over the area</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Committing US ground troops to the defense of Taiwan</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>+3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q77-82. 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.
Context about Taiwan increases support for sending troops if China invades, even among initial skeptics.

**Question Frame:** Taiwan has a democratically-elected government, is a major manufacturer of electronics and the world’s largest producer of semiconductors. Does hearing this make you more or less likely to support committing US forces to the defense of Taiwan if China invades, or does it have no effect?

**More likely to support sending US troops**

- **Overall:** 46%
- **Q82 Initially support sending troops:** 57%
- **Initially oppose:** 36%
- **Initially not sure:** 40%

Q83. Does hearing this make you more or less likely to support committing US forces to the defense of Taiwan if China invades...?
Six-in-ten support measures to deter Chinese invasion.

Q84-85. In an attempt to discourage China from invading Taiwan, do you support or oppose each of the following?

- Increasing US military presence near Taiwan: 61% support, 26% oppose
- Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan: 58% support, 26% oppose

Note: Remainder Don't know
GREATER MIDDLE EAST
Just one-quarter see war in Afghanistan as a success.

**Q101. Do you think the war in Afghanistan was mostly a success or mostly a failure?**

- Mostly a success: 49% (Nov '18), 50% (Feb '21), 59% (Nov '21), 54% (Nov '22)
- Mostly a failure: 38% (Nov '18), 32% (Feb '21), 23% (Nov '21), 26% (Nov '22)

*Note: Remainder Don't know*
Half think US can disrupt terrorist activity with over-the-horizon capabilities.

Q102. Which of the following is closer to your view when it comes to terrorist activities in Afghanistan?

- The US can effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups through intelligence gathering and drone strikes from outside Afghanistan (48%, +1 from Nov '21)
- The US needs military forces on the ground to effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups (32%, -5 from Nov '21)

Note: Remainder Don't know
Support for options to prevent Iranian nuclear development.

Q103-106. Do you support or oppose each of the following approaches to preventing Iran from developing nuclear weapons?

- Using US cyber capabilities: 69% Support, 15% Oppose
- Instituting economic sanctions: 65% Support, 17% Oppose
- Renegotiating the Iran nuclear agreement: 53% Support, 28% Oppose
- Using US military force: 47% Support, 37% Oppose

Note: Remainder Don't know
Nearly half support military spending on climate change.

Q55. Do you support or oppose the US military using part of its budget to address climate change?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Support</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>November 2022</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 2021</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Remainder Don't know
Concern about war over energy vs advanced technology.

Q56-57. How concerned are you that, in the next ten years, countries will fight wars over each of the following?

**Access to oil, coal, or other energy sources**
- Extremely: 44%
- Somewhat: 37%
- **Total concerned**: 81%

**Access to semiconductors and other advanced technologies**
- Extremely: 25%
- Somewhat: 42%
- **Total concerned**: 67%
EVALUATIONS OF PAST PRESIDENTS
Favorability Ratings of Past Presidents

Q109-Q116. 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.

Ronald Reagan
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 35%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 17%
- Other: 9%

Barack Obama
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 39%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 23%
- Other: 12%

George H.W. Bush
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 20%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 24%
- Other: 12%

George W. Bush
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 18%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 14%
- Other: 14%

Jimmy Carter
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 26%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 19%
- Other: 12%

Bill Clinton
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 20%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 24%
- Other: 17%

Donald Trump
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 28%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 39%
- Other: 17%

Joe Biden
- Very / Somewhat favorable: 17%
- Somewhat / Very unfavorable: 40%
- Other: 14%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Reagan favorability by party identification.

Q110. Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: Ronald Reagan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Favorable</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Independent</th>
<th>Democrat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oct '19</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb '21</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td></td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov '21</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov '22</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reagan favorability by age.

Q110. Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of: Ronald Reagan.
## Profile of the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>% of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>65+</td>
<td>19%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black, African-American</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hispanic or Latino</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian or Asian-American</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>High school degree or less</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some / 2-year college degree</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4-year college degree</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Postgraduate degree</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>Service member</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veteran</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2020 vote</td>
<td>Trump</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biden</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>