

Sample: 2,510 US adults
 Interviewing dates: November 8th- 14th, 2024

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

INITIAL TOPLINE RESULTS

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

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

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

	<u>Generally headed in the right direction</u>	<u>Off in the wrong direction</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
Nov 2024	37%	56	8
May 2024	29%	66	5
Nov 2023	25%	70	6
June 2023	25%	69	6
Nov 2022	28%	62	10
Nov 2021	33%	59	8
Feb 2021	42%	51	6
Oct 2019	40%	53	7
Nov 2018	37%	54	9

[Q3-8 SAMPLE A ONLY]

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

	<u>TOTAL</u>	---More important---		---Less important---		<u>(DK)</u>	
		<u>Extre- mely</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>Not at all</u>		
3. Foreign policy and national defense	89%	55	34	9	7	2	1
4. Border security and immigration policy	85%	54	31	14	10	4	1
5. Inflation and the economy	94%	74	21	6	4	2	*
6. Abortion policy	79%	52	28	19	9	10	2
7. Health care	94%	62	32	5	4	1	*
8. Climate change	72%	42	30	28	14	14	1

Please note: Due to rounding, percentages may not add to 100% and "total" columns may be one point more or less than the sum of their parts.

CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITARY

For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them. [RANDOMIZE] [ASK ALL Q9. Q10-12 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q13-15 SAMPLE B ONLY]

		A <u>great deal</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>A little</u>	<u>Not much at all</u>	(Don't <u>know</u>)
9. The military	Nov 2024	51%	31	11	6	2
	Nov 2023	46%	32	12	8	1
	Nov 2022	48%	33	10	8	2
	Nov 2021	45%	33	11	10	2
	Feb 2021	56%	27	9	6	2
	Oct 2019	63%	23	8	5	1
	Nov 2018	70%	23	4	2	1
10. The Presidency	Nov 2024	22%	23	14	37	3
	Nov 2023	16%	20	17	47	1
	Nov 2022	16%	24	13	45	2
	Nov 2021	19%	21	15	43	2
	Feb 2021	30%	20	12	35	2
	Oct 2019	27%	18	11	43	1
	Nov 2018	28%	16	9	45	1
11. Congress	Nov 2024	9%	30	27	32	2
	Nov 2023	5%	21	28	43	2
	Nov 2022	9%	24	25	39	3
	Nov 2021	6%	24	25	41	3
	Feb 2021	10%	24	21	43	2
	Oct 2019	8%	25	24	39	2
	Nov 2018	5%	34	26	32	3
12. The Supreme Court	Nov 2024	21%	27	19	31	2
	Nov 2023	16%	30	23	29	2
	Nov 2022	16%	29	21	30	3
	Nov 2021	18%	36	21	21	4
	Feb 2021	23%	34	22	19	2
	Oct 2019	26%	36	20	14	3
	Nov 2018	27%	43	14	13	3
13. The news media	Nov 2024	10%	23	23	43	1
	Nov 2023	8%	25	22	43	1
	Nov 2022	9%	26	20	43	2
	Nov 2021	10%	23	19	45	3
	Feb 2021	14%	22	18	45	1
	Oct 2019	15%	26	17	38	2
	Nov 2018	16%	26	14	42	1



		A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
14. Police and law enforcement	Nov 2024	34%	33	16	17	1
	Nov 2023	27%	37	19	17	1
	Nov 2022	33%	37	14	15	1
	Nov 2021	33%	33	16	16	2
	Feb 2021	39%	30	15	14	1
	Oct 2019	40%	34	14	10	1
	Nov 2018	50%	33	8	9	-
15. Election administrators	Nov 2024	23%	30	21	24	2
	Feb 2021	26%	23	16	32	3

SPENDING AND POLICY PRIORITIES

[Q16-29 SAMPLE B ONLY]

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.

[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE: Is that strongly or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?] [RANDOMIZE]

		-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----			(DK)
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongly	
16. The military	Nov 2024	79%	49	30	19	13	7	2
	Nov 2023	77%	46	31	20	12	9	2
	June 2023	71%	46	25	25	14	11	4
	Nov 2022	76%	48	28	21	13	9	3
	Feb 2021	74%	47	28	22	14	8	3
	Oct 2019	76%	46	30	23	15	8	2
	Nov 2018	75%	48	27	23	12	11	2
17. Border security	Nov 2024	75%	48	27	22	14	9	2
	Nov 2023	70%	43	27	26	15	10	4
	June 2023	68%	43	26	28	18	10	4
	Nov 2022	71%	43	28	26	17	9	3
	Feb 2021	69%	43	25	28	18	9	4
	Oct 2019	64%	39	25	34	20	14	2
	Nov 2018	62%	40	22	36	18	18	3
18. Foreign aid	Nov 2024	43%	13	30	54	27	27	4
	Nov 2023	48%	16	31	48	23	25	4
	June 2023	37%	10	27	56	27	30	7
	Nov 2022	53%	19	34	44	25	19	3
	Feb 2021	41%	13	28	53	22	31	7
	Oct 2019	48%	13	35	49	29	20	3
	Nov 2018	47%	13	34	49	25	24	4



		-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----				
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongly (DK)		
19.	Promoting freedom abroad	Nov 2024	61%	25	36	32	21	11	7
		Nov 2023	57%	24	33	36	20	16	7
		June 2023	49%	21	27	40	22	18	12
		Nov 2022	62%	27	36	34	20	14	4
		Feb 2021	55%	22	33	35	19	16	9
20.	Health care	Nov 2024	84%	61	23	15	10	5	1
		June 2023	81%	57	24	17	10	7	2
		Feb 2021	81%	56	24	17	8	9	2
		Oct 2019	79%	50	29	19	10	9	2
		Nov 2018	76%	55	21	21	10	11	3
21.	Infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, and ports	Nov 2024	89%	51	38	10	8	2	1
		June 2023	82%	49	33	16	11	5	2
22.	Social Security	Nov 2024	89%	62	27	9	6	3	2
		June 2023	83%	56	26	15	9	6	2
23.	Education	Nov 2024	83%	56	27	15	9	5	2
		June 2023	82%	57	25	16	8	8	2
		Feb 2021	83%	59	24	15	7	8	2
		Oct 2019	84%	62	22	15	8	7	2
		Nov 2018	87%	67	20	11	6	5	1
24.	Of all the areas I just mentioned, which one should be the highest priority for increased funding? [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q16-23]								

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
Health care	24%	23%	31%	31%
Border security	22	17	16	20
Social Security	16	NA	NA	NA
Education	15	15	19	30
The military	10	11	11	10
Infrastructure	8	14	NA	NA
Promoting freedom abroad	2	2	1	NA
Foreign aid	1	1	1	1
(All / Mix)	*	14	11	5
(Don't know)	2	3	3	1



25. And which should be the next-highest priority? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q16-23, OMITTING Q24 CHOICE]**

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
Health care	22%	21%	21%	30%
Education	19	24	30	31
Social Security	18	NA	NA	NA
The military	14	19	18	24
Infrastructure	12	14	NA	NA
Border security	12	13	12	12
Promoting freedom abroad	2	2	2	NA
Foreign aid	1	2	2	2
(All / Mix)	*	4	3	-
(Don't know)	*	2	2	1

TOP-2 PRIORITY (Q24 AND Q25 COMBINED)

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>
Health care	46%	40%	49%	61%
Border security	34	28	26	32
Social Security	34	NA	NA	NA
Education	33	34	45	61
The military	23	26	26	34
Infrastructure	20	25	NA	NA
Promoting freedom abroad	3	3	3	NA
Foreign aid	2	3	3	3

26. If you had to guess, approximately what percentage of the federal budget is spent on national defense each year? **[FREE RESPONSE]**

0-5%	5%
6-10%	8
11-15%	8
16-20%	11
21-25%	8
26-50%	32
51-75%	16
76-100%	5
(Refused)	7



27. How concerned are you that the cost of the national debt will force cuts to national defense programs?

TOTAL CONCERNED	69%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	27
Extremely concerned	28%
Somewhat concerned	42
Not very concerned	18
Not at all concerned	9
(Don't know)	3

28. To the best of your knowledge, does the US spend more each year on national defense or interest payments on the national debt?

Spends more on national defense	38%
Spends more on national debt	51
(Don't know)	11

29. In fact, the US spends more on interest payments on the national debt each year than it does on all military programs combined. Knowing this, how concerned are you that the cost of the national debt will force cuts to national defense programs?

TOTAL CONCERNED	77%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	21
Extremely concerned	37%
Somewhat concerned	40
Not very concerned	13
Not at all concerned	8
(Don't know)	2

[Q30-32 SAMPLE A ONLY]

30. To what extent do you believe that information operations conducted by foreign governments influence opinions and attitudes in the United States?

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>
A great deal	31%	27%
Some	39	38
A little	18	18
Not much at all	9	9
(Don't know)	3	7



DEFENSE / FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE

The rest of this survey will focus primarily on US foreign policy and national defense.

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

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

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

32. When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events? **[IF MORE ENGAGED/LESS ENGAGED: Do you strongly believe that, or only somewhat?]**

	Nov 2024	May <u>2024</u>	Nov <u>2023</u>	Nov <u>2022</u>	Nov <u>2021</u>	Feb <u>2021</u>
TOTAL MORE ENGAGED/LEAD	57%	54%	42%	40%	42%	51%
TOTAL LESS ENGAGED/REACT	32	33	32	32	30	27
More engaged and take the lead, strongly	35%	31%	NA	NA	NA	NA
More engaged and take the lead, somewhat	23	23	NA	NA	NA	NA
Less engaged and react to events, somewhat	21	20	NA	NA	NA	NA
Less engaged and react to events, strongly	10	12	NA	NA	NA	NA
(Depends)	8	10	23	24	22	19
(Don't know)	3	3	3	4	6	3

[Q33-34 SAMPLE B ONLY]

33. 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?

	Nov 2024	Nov <u>2023</u>	Nov <u>2022</u>	Nov <u>2021</u>	Feb <u>2021</u>	Oct <u>2019</u>
Maintain bases	62%	66%	65%	65%	63%	65%
Reduce presence overseas	33	28	27	27	31	28
(Don't know)	4	7	7	9	6	7



34.	How large do you think the US military should be? [ROTATE]	
	Large enough to win separate wars against China and Russia at the same time	41%
	Large enough to win separate wars against China and a smaller country, like Iran or North Korea, at the same time	20
	Large enough to win a war against China, but not a second war at the same time	12
	Large enough to fight China to a draw	5
	Only large enough to defend our borders	12
	(Smaller than these options) [OMITTED ONLINE]	1
	(Don't know)	10

[Q35-39 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Do you think the US military would win a war against each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
35.	China	52%	28	20
36.	Russia	64%	20	17
37.	Iran	81%	10	10
38.	North Korea	72%	16	12

DEFENSE PRODUCTION

39. Do you think the US currently has enough domestic manufacturing capacity to produce the materials, equipment, and weapons needed for national defense, or do we need more manufacturing capacity? **[IF MORE: Do we need a lot more or only a little more?]**

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2023</u>
A lot more	40%	38%
A little more	33	31
Enough as is	20	21
(Too much) [OMITTED ONLINE]	*	-
(Don't know)	7	10



[Q40-44 SAMPLE A ONLY]

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

		Best in <u>the world</u>	One of <u>the best</u>	Not one <u>of the best</u>	(Don't <u>know</u>)
40. Computer and cellular technologies, like 5G	Nov 2024	24%	55	16	4
	Nov 2023	20%	59	14	7
	Feb 2021	21%	54	18	7
41. Satellites and rockets	Nov 2024	34%	50	11	6
	Nov 2023	28%	52	12	8
	Feb 2021	30%	50	11	9
42. Robotics	Nov 2024	17%	55	20	8
	Nov 2023	14%	55	21	11
	Feb 2021	14%	51	22	13
43. Artificial intelligence, or AI	Nov 2024	24%	54	15	7
	Nov 2023	16%	52	20	12
	Feb 2021	17%	51	18	14

ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES AND ENEMIES

Next...

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

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



[Q45-56 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----			(DK)	
		TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong		
45.	Australia	Nov 2024	85%	52	34	7	5	2	8
		Nov 2023	83%	48	35	6	5	1	11
		Nov 2022	84%	46	37	7	5	2	9
		Nov 2021	84%	47	36	4	3	1	13
		Feb 2021	84%	54	30	5	4	1	12
		Oct 2019	93%	54	39	5	4	1	2
46.	China	Nov 2024	18%	6	12	75	37	38	7
		Nov 2023	15%	4	12	77	36	41	8
		Nov 2022	19%	5	14	75	37	38	6
		Nov 2021	23%	7	16	65	32	33	12
		Feb 2021	21%	5	16	67	30	38	11
		Oct 2019	36%	7	29	60	40	20	3
		Nov 2018	38%	5	33	55	37	18	7
47.	Russia	Nov 2024	14%	5	9	80	34	46	6
		Nov 2023	9%	3	6	82	28	54	8
		Nov 2022	13%	3	10	82	31	51	5
		Nov 2021	20%	5	15	65	36	29	15
		Feb 2021	19%	6	13	69	35	35	12
		Oct 2019	28%	5	23	71	38	33	2
		Nov 2018	19%	3	16	73	37	36	7
48.	Taiwan	Nov 2024	67%	31	36	16	12	4	17
		Nov 2023	64%	27	37	15	12	3	21
		Nov 2022	69%	26	43	16	13	4	15
		Nov 2021	62%	21	41	14	11	2	24
		Feb 2021	60%	22	38	16	11	5	24
		Oct 2019	73%	21	52	17	14	3	9
		Nov 2018	71%	21	50	11	9	2	18
49.	Ukraine	Nov 2024	75%	33	42	18	13	5	8
		Nov 2023	74%	28	46	16	11	5	10
		Nov 2022	76%	32	44	16	11	5	8
		Feb 2021	49%	11	38	26	20	7	24
		Oct 2019	61%	10	51	29	25	4	9



		-----Ally-----			-----Enemy-----			(DK)	
		TOTAL	Strong	Some-thing	TOTAL	Some-thing	Strong		
50.	United Kingdom	Nov 2024	87%	60	27	6	5	2	7
		Nov 2023	85%	56	29	6	4	2	9
		Nov 2022	86%	58	28	8	6	2	7
		Nov 2021	86%	62	25	4	3	*	10
		Feb 2021	84%	61	23	6	4	1	10
		Oct 2019	93%	61	32	5	4	1	2
		Nov 2018	92%	67	25	4	2	2	4
51.	Israel	Nov 2024	72%	40	32	19	13	5	9
		Nov 2023	71%	41	30	18	11	7	11
		Nov 2021	66%	38	28	17	12	5	17
		Feb 2021	70%	43	27	16	10	6	14
		Oct 2019	78%	43	35	19	14	5	4
		Nov 2018	80%	49	31	13	9	4	7
52.	Iran	Nov 2024	15%	5	10	76	30	46	8
		Nov 2023	13%	4	9	76	29	47	11
		Feb 2021	11%	4	8	75	28	48	13
		Oct 2019	13%	3	10	82	37	45	5
		Nov 2018	10%	1	9	82	35	47	8
53.	Germany	Nov 2024	76%	37	40	13	10	3	11
		Nov 2021	76%	34	43	11	9	2	12
		Feb 2021	75%	34	41	11	8	4	14
		Oct 2019	84%	37	47	14	11	3	3
		Nov 2018	85%	42	43	10	7	3	6
54.	Pakistan	Nov 2024	31%	6	25	52	38	14	17
		Feb 2021	27%	6	21	52	35	17	21
		Oct 2019	31%	4	27	61	41	20	8
		Nov 2018	25%	2	23	65	43	22	12
55.	India	Nov 2024	66%	14	52	15	13	3	18
		Nov 2023	63%	13	50	17	13	4	20
		Feb 2021	66%	19	47	14	10	4	20
		Oct 2019	80%	16	64	14	11	3	6
		Nov 2018	78%	18	60	10	8	2	11
56.	Japan	Nov 2024	73%	41	32	17	12	5	10
		Nov 2021	70%	38	32	14	10	4	16
		Feb 2021	73%	40	33	14	10	4	14
		Oct 2019	83%	41	42	15	12	3	3
		Nov 2018	86%	48	38	9	6	3	5



[SAMPLE A]

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

TOTAL MORE CONCERNED	86%
TOTAL LESS CONCERNED	12
Extremely	50%
Somewhat	35
Not very	8
Not at all	4
(Don't know)	3

[SAMPLE B]

58. As you may know, China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea have recently increased their military and economic cooperation. That includes weapons sales, joint military training exercises, cooperating to evade economic sanctions, and more. Knowing this, how concerned are you about increased cooperation between China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea?

TOTAL MORE CONCERNED	86%
TOTAL LESS CONCERNED	12
Extremely	49%
Somewhat	37
Not very	8
Not at all	4
(Don't know)	2

CHINA

[Q59-69 SAMPLE A ONLY]

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

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



In each of the following areas, do you think the US has superiority over China, are the two countries about equal, or does China have superiority over the US? **[RANDOMIZE Q60-62 FIRST, THEN RANDOMIZE REMAINDER]**

		US has superiority	About equal	China has superiority	(Don't know)
60.	Overall military strength	Nov 2024 51%	28	17	5
		Nov 2023 50%	28	15	7
61.	Economic strength	Nov 2024 41%	31	23	4
		Nov 2023 34%	30	28	7
62.	Diplomatic influence	Nov 2024 49%	30	13	7
		Nov 2023 44%	31	15	10
63.	Ground forces	Nov 2024 41%	23	28	8
		Nov 2023 40%	24	26	10
64.	Air forces	Nov 2024 66%	20	6	7
		Nov 2023 65%	18	6	11
65.	Naval forces	Nov 2024 61%	20	10	9
		Nov 2023 57%	22	10	11
66.	Space forces and capabilities	Nov 2024 59%	22	9	10
		Nov 2023 52%	25	11	12
67.	Cyber capabilities	Nov 2024 27%	32	33	8
		Nov 2023 24%	32	33	11
68.	Artificial intelligence	Nov 2024 34%	32	25	10
		Nov 2023 26%	30	29	15
69.	Autonomous capabilities, like certain kinds of drones and other weapons, that can operate without human guidance	Nov 2024 40%	31	21	9
		Nov 2023 36%	31	22	11



[Q70-89 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Let's talk about the areas where you said the US has superiority over China. In the next five years, do you think the US will extend its advantage or will China close the gap? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS BATTERY ABOVE. ONLY READ ITEMS SELECTED AS US HAVING SUPERIORITY]**

	US will extend <u>advantage</u>	China will close <u>the gap</u>	(No <u>change</u>)	(Don't <u>know</u>)
70. Overall military strength	66%	25	4	5
71. Economic strength	62%	28	5	6
72. Diplomatic influence	63%	26	6	5
73. Ground forces	70%	18	7	5
74. Air forces	71%	18	7	5
75. Naval forces	69%	19	7	4
76. Space forces and capabilities	67%	21	6	5
77. Cyber capabilities	64%	25	5	6
78. Artificial intelligence	65%	24	6	5
79. Autonomous capabilities	60%	28	6	7

And now thinking about the areas where you said China has superiority over the US. In the next five years, do you think China will extend its advantage or will the US close the gap? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS BATTERY ABOVE. ONLY READ ITEMS SELECTED AS CHINA HAVING SUPERIORITY]**

	China will extend <u>advantage</u>	US will close <u>the gap</u>	(No <u>change</u>)	(Don't <u>know</u>)
80. Overall military strength	41%	45	9	5
81. Economic strength	40%	41	12	7
82. Diplomatic influence	37%	43	12	8
83. Ground forces	57%	27	10	6
84. Air forces	30%	49	12	9
85. Naval forces	39%	52	7	2
86. Space forces and capabilities	41%	44	8	6
87. Cyber capabilities	43%	42	11	4
88. Artificial intelligence	47%	40	7	6
89. Autonomous capabilities	38%	45	8	9



Q60-89 SUMMARY TABLE

	US leads, will <u>extend</u>	US leads, no <u>change</u>	US leads, China will <u>catch up</u>	About equal	China leads, US will <u>catch up</u>	China leads, no <u>change</u>	China leads, will <u>extend</u>
Overall military strength	34%	2	13	28	7	1	7
Economic strength	25%	2	11	31	10	3	9
Diplomatic influence	31%	3	13	30	6	2	5
Ground forces	29%	3	7	23	8	3	16
Air forces	47%	5	12	20	3	1	2
Naval forces	42%	5	12	20	5	1	4
Space forces and capabilities	40%	4	13	22	4	1	4
Cyber capabilities	17%	1	7	32	14	4	14
Artificial intelligence	22%	2	8	32	10	2	12
Autonomous capabilities	24%	2	11	31	9	2	8

[Q90-95 SAMPLE B ONLY]

As you may know, although official Chinese policy is that Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan has operated relatively independently for decades. If China invaded Taiwan, please tell me if you would support or oppose the United States coming to Taiwan's defense in each of the following ways.

[DO NOT RANDOMIZE]

		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
90. Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country	Nov 2024	73%	16	12
	Nov 2023	72%	15	13
	Nov 2022	73%	11	15
	Nov 2021	71%	10	19
	Oct 2019	76%	11	13
91. Imposing economic sanctions against China	Nov 2024	66%	22	12
	Nov 2023	69%	16	15
	Nov 2022	60%	23	17
	Nov 2021	66%	15	19
	Oct 2019	64%	23	13
92. Sending more military equipment to Taiwan	Nov 2024	56%	32	12
	Nov 2023	56%	28	16
	Nov 2022	56%	26	18
93. Moving US military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region	Nov 2024	58%	30	12
	Nov 2023	58%	28	14
	Nov 2022	52%	29	19
	Nov 2021	55%	24	21
	Oct 2019	55%	32	13
94. Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes	Nov 2024	51%	33	16
	Nov 2023	53%	30	17
	Nov 2022	46%	34	20
	Nov 2021	50%	25	25
	Oct 2019	42%	42	16



		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
95.	Committing US ground troops to the defense of Taiwan	Nov 2024 48%	37	15
		Nov 2023 46%	35	19
		Nov 2022 43%	36	21
		Nov 2021 40%	35	25
		Oct 2019 39%	45	16

[Q96-104 SAMPLE A ONLY]

In an attempt to discourage China from invading Taiwan, do you support or oppose each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
96.	Increasing US military presence near Taiwan	Nov 2024 61%	26	13
		May 2024 58%	27	16
		Nov 2023 60%	25	15
		June 2023 56%	30	14
		Nov 2022 61%	26	14
97.	Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan	Nov 2024 55%	28	17
		May 2024 56%	27	17
		Nov 2023 55%	28	17
		June 2023 52%	31	17
		Nov 2022 58%	26	16
98.	Making public declarations of support for Taiwanese autonomy	Nov 2024 64%	17	19
99.	Negotiating a regional defense alliance including the US, Taiwan, Japan, Australia, South Korea, and India	Nov 2024 78%	13	10
100.	Imposing economic sanctions on China	Nov 2024 65%	21	14



RUSSIA

On another subject...

Thinking specifically about Russia, how concerned are you about each of the following?

[RANDOMIZE]

		---Concerned---			---Not concerned---			(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>	Extre-	Some-	<u>TOTAL</u>	Not	Not	
			mely	what		very	at all	
101.	Russian aid to Iran and other rogue regimes	Nov 2024 79%	41	38	16	10	5	5
		Nov 2022 79%	41	38	17	11	6	4
		Nov 2021 77%	44	32	16	11	5	7
102.	Russia sponsoring cyberattacks against the US	Nov 2024 85%	53	32	11	8	3	3
		Nov 2022 84%	52	32	14	9	6	1
		Nov 2021 82%	52	30	13	8	5	5
103.	Russia launching a thermo-nuclear attack against the US	Nov 2024 70%	36	34	27	17	9	3
		Nov 2022 71%	37	34	27	18	9	2
		Nov 2021 60%	32	28	34	22	12	6
104.	Russian military aggression against a member of NATO	Nov 2024 79%	44	36	16	11	6	5

UKRAINE

[Q105-117 SAMPLE B ONLY]

On another subject...

105. Who do you think is currently winning the war between Russia and Ukraine?

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
Russia	41%	39%	31%	27%
Ukraine	24	19	34	31
(Neither)	22	23	23	25
(Don't know)	13	19	12	17

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

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
Support	55%	57%	59%	59%
Oppose	35	32	30	30
(Don't know)	10	11	11	11



[IF OPPOSE]

107. Which of the following is the biggest reason you oppose continued US military aid to Ukraine? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Sending aid costs too much money	20%
Sending aid depletes US weapons stockpiles	6
The conflict does not concern the US and we should stay out	33
Sending aid will escalate the conflict and provoke Russia	18
Sending aid means the conflict will drag on longer	13
Sending aid is a waste because Russia will eventually win	4
(Don't know)	4

[IF 1-6 ABOVE]

[1: aid to Ukraine is less than 1% of the military’s annual budget]

[2: US military leaders are confident we can increase weapons production to meet our needs]

[3: if Russia is not stopped in Ukraine, it could invade Poland or another NATO ally and drag the US directly into a war]

[4: US aid is primarily defensive and only designed to help Ukraine defend its territory]

[5: US military leaders believe the right aid package can give Ukraine enough strength that Russia will be forced to negotiate for peace]

[6: US aid has turned the tide of the war in the past and Russia only seems to gain the upper hand when aid dries up]

108. If you heard from someone you trust that **[MESSAGE]**, would you be more likely to support sending US weapons to Ukraine, less likely, or would it make no difference to your opinion? **[IF MORE LIKELY:** Is that much more likely, or only somewhat?]

	<u>Overall</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
TOTAL MORE LIKELY	33%	24%	29%	31%	35%	46%	35%
Much more likely to support	11%	9%	4%	13%	9%	17%	-%
Somewhat more likely to support	22	15	25	18	26	29	35
Less likely	20	23	18	17	21	22	30
No difference	44	50	46	47	40	31	35
(Don't know)	3	2	7	5	4	-	-

109. What do you think is the most likely outcome of the war in Ukraine?

Russia will take over the whole country	14%
Russia will take over some territory	33
Ukraine will expel Russia from its territory	17
The war will drag on indefinitely	26
(Don't know)	10



Do you support or oppose each of the following? [RANDOMIZE]

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
110. Ukraine firing missiles at targets inside Russia	52%	35	13
111. Ukraine negotiating for peace, even if it means giving up some territory to Russia	59%	30	11

Regarding the war in Ukraine, how concerned are you about each of the following occurring? [RANDOMIZE]

		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----			<u>(DK)</u>
		<u>TOTAL</u>	Extre- <u>mely</u>	Some- <u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	Not <u>very</u>	Not <u>at all</u>	
112. Russia using a nuclear weapon	Nov 2024	76%	45	31	22	14	8	2
	Nov 2023	74%	41	33	23	16	7	3
	Nov 2022	77%	45	32	21	14	7	2
113. The Russian invasion of Ukraine inspiring other authoritarian countries to invade their democratic neighbors	Nov 2024	75%	36	40	21	14	7	3
	Nov 2023	71%	32	38	24	17	8	5
	Nov 2022	71%	37	35	25	18	8	3
114. The war expanding to NATO countries in Eastern Europe, forcing the US to get directly involved	Nov 2024	78%	36	41	20	13	7	3
	Nov 2023	70%	31	39	25	18	7	5
	Nov 2022	74%	35	39	22	15	7	3
115. US military aid to Ukraine causing the US to deplete its weapons stockpile	Nov 2024	65%	31	34	32	19	13	2
	Nov 2023	63%	29	34	32	21	11	5
	Nov 2022	59%	29	30	37	23	14	4
116. American focus on Ukraine distracting policymakers from the threat posed by China	Nov 2024	67%	26	41	28	18	10	5
	Nov 2023	65%	27	38	30	21	9	6
	Nov 2022	70%	29	41	25	17	8	5



ISRAEL

Moving on...

117. Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>
Israel has a right to continue military action until it has removed the threat posed by Hamas, Hezbollah, and Iran	45%	46%
Israel's military action in Gaza has gone on long enough, it is time for a ceasefire	45	43
(Don't know)	10	11

Note: May 2024 wording referenced Hamas only, not Hezbollah or Iran

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

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

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>
TOTAL SUPPORT	54%	56%
TOTAL OPPOSE	39	35
Strongly support	30%	31%
Somewhat support	24	25
Somewhat oppose	20	16
Strongly oppose	19	18
(Don't know)	7	9

[Q119-125 SAMPLE A ONLY]

The US can play many roles in the Middle East conflict. How much of a priority would you place on each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE] [RANDOMIZE Q119-120 FIRST, THEN RANDOMIZE Q121-125]**

	<u>A top priority for the US</u>	<u>A high priority but not top</u>	<u>A lower priority</u>	<u>Not a priority</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
119. Providing both defensive and offensive weapons to Israel	24%	31	21	18	6
120. Providing only defensive weapons to Israel	23%	35	21	15	6
121. Committing US troops to the conflict	14%	24	29	28	6
122. Leading peace negotiations	51%	32	9	5	4
123. Advocating for humanitarian conditions in Gaza	37%	32	17	8	7
124. Negotiating a regional alliance to counter Iran	33%	35	14	9	8
125. Freeing Americans held hostage by Hamas	61%	24	8	4	4



IRAN

[Q126-131 SAMPLE B ONLY]

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

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>
More aggressive	42%	46%	46%
Less aggressive	22	11	17
About the same	26	28	24
(Not sure)	10	15	13

*2021 wording: Would you prefer that the **Biden administration** be...*

127. As you may know, Iran has launched multiple drone and missile attacks against Israel. Do you support or oppose the US sending missile defense systems to Israel to help it defend against these kinds of attacks? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE: Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?]**

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>
TOTAL SUPPORT	66%	68%
TOTAL OPPOSE	28	22
Strongly support	37%	41%
Somewhat support	28	27
Somewhat oppose	15	11
Strongly oppose	13	11
(Don't know)	6	9

128. Would you support or oppose an Israeli counterattack against Iran in response to Iranian aggression? **[IF SUPPORT/OPPOSE: Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?]**

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>
TOTAL SUPPORT	60%	55%
TOTAL OPPOSE	29	31
Strongly support	31%	29%
Somewhat support	29	27
Somewhat oppose	17	16
Strongly oppose	12	14
(Don't know)	12	14

129. If Israel did launch a counterattack in response to Iranian aggression, do you think the US should: **[ROTATE 1 AND 3]**

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>May 2024</u>
Not be involved at all	25%	24%



Provide intelligence and logistical support but not be directly involved	51	50
Use military force against Iran in support of the Israeli counterattack	18	17
(Don't know)	6	9

An Israeli counterattack against Iran could include a variety of targets. Iran would likely view Israeli strikes against each of the following as a significant escalation of the conflict. Knowing this, would you support or oppose Israel targeting each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
130. Iranian nuclear facilities	41%	46	14
131. Iranian oil fields and production facilities	45%	39	16

EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

[Q132-139 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each one I mention. **[DO NOT RANDOMIZE]**

		---Favorable---			---Unfavorable---			<u>(DK)</u>
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Very</u>	
132. Jimmy Carter	Nov 2024	58%	26	32	26	14	12	15
	Nov 2023	57%	21	35	27	16	11	16
	Nov 2022	57%	26	31	31	19	12	13
	Nov 2021	50%	20	30	34	19	15	15
	Feb 2021	57%	23	33	31	18	13	13
133. Ronald Reagan	Nov 2024	68%	37	31	25	14	11	7
	Nov 2023	65%	36	29	27	16	11	8
	Nov 2022	67%	35	32	26	17	9	7
	Nov 2021	69%	42	27	22	12	10	9
	Feb 2021	71%	42	28	22	12	10	7
	Oct 2019	76%	46	30	20	13	7	4
	Nov 2018	77%	44	33	19	12	7	4
134. George H. W. Bush	Nov 2024	60%	18	41	34	21	13	6
	Nov 2023	59%	17	42	35	21	14	6
	Nov 2022	60%	20	39	35	24	12	5
	Nov 2021	62%	21	41	31	20	11	7
	Feb 2021	63%	19	44	31	20	11	6
	Oct 2019	71%	23	48	25	17	8	3
	Nov 2018	65%	18	47	31	21	10	4



		---Favorable---			---Unfavorable---			(DK)	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Very</u>		
135.	Bill Clinton	Nov 2024	59%	25	34	37	21	17	4
		Nov 2023	55%	20	35	40	23	17	5
		Nov 2022	55%	20	34	41	24	17	5
		Nov 2021	55%	23	33	38	22	16	6
		Feb 2021	56%	24	32	39	21	18	5
		Oct 2019	60%	21	39	39	19	20	2
		Nov 2018	63%	24	39	35	19	16	2
136.	George W. Bush	Nov 2024	56%	17	39	38	23	15	5
		Nov 2023	55%	16	39	40	23	17	5
		Nov 2022	57%	18	39	39	25	14	4
		Nov 2021	57%	18	39	38	23	15	5
		Feb 2021	62%	20	42	33	22	12	5
		Oct 2019	63%	18	45	35	21	14	2
		Nov 2018	57%	13	44	41	24	17	2
137.	Barack Obama	Nov 2024	61%	40	20	38	14	24	2
		Nov 2023	61%	36	24	38	14	24	2
		Nov 2022	60%	39	21	37	14	23	3
		Nov 2021	59%	36	23	37	14	23	4
		Feb 2021	60%	39	21	37	12	25	3
		Oct 2019	60%	40	20	39	12	27	1
		Nov 2018	60%	40	20	39	14	25	1
138.	Donald Trump	Nov 2024	51%	35	16	47	8	39	2
		Nov 2023	47%	29	18	50	9	42	2
		Nov 2022	48%	28	20	49	10	39	3
		Nov 2021	50%	32	18	46	9	37	4
		Feb 2021	46%	32	14	51	10	41	2
		Oct 2019	46%	29	17	52	9	43	2
		Nov 2018	44%	25	19	55	7	48	2
139.	Joe Biden	Nov 2024	43%	18	26	55	14	41	2
		Nov 2023	38%	16	23	59	15	45	2
		Nov 2022	43%	17	26	54	14	40	3
		Nov 2021	44%	19	25	51	13	38	5
		Feb 2021	53%	32	21	41	12	30	6



DEMOGRAPHICS

We're almost done. Now we just have a few basic questions for statistical purposes.

[ASK ALL DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS OF ALL RESPONDENTS]

140. What is your age? [CODE TO RANGE]

18-29	17%
30-44	25
45-54	18
55-64	19
65 and up	19
(Refused)	1

141. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	72%
Black or African-American	13
Hispanic or Latino	8
Asian or Asian-American	3
Native American	1
Middle Eastern	*
Mixed Race	3
Other	-
(Don't know / Refused)	2

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]

142. Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?

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

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

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



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

Donald Trump	41%
Kamala Harris	39
Other	2
Didn't vote	14
(Don't know / Refused)	4

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

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

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

A Democrat	33%
A Republican	35
An independent	29
(Don't know)	3

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)]

147. Do you lean more to the **[ROTATE 1-2]** Democrats, to the Republicans, or don't lean either way?

Democrats	28%
Republicans	26
Neither way	41
(Don't know)	5

[IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN]

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

Yes	74%
No	20
(Don't know / Refused)	5



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

TOTAL LIBERAL	27%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	34
Very liberal	11%
Somewhat liberal	16
Moderate	35
Somewhat conservative	19
Very conservative	16
(Don't know)	4

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

Yes, service member	3%
Not	96
(Don't know)	*

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

151. Is anyone in your household currently a member of the armed services?

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

[SKIP AND CODE AS NOT IF SERVICE MEMBER]

152. Are you a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran	9%
Not	91
(Don't know)	*

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

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

Yes, veteran household	22%
Not	77
(Don't know)	1



[IF AGE 18-29 ONLY. SKIP IF SERVICE MEMBER OR VETERAN]

154. How willing would you, personally, be to serve in the US military?

	<u>Nov 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2023</u>
TOTAL WILLING	16%	10%
TOTAL NOT WILLING	54	56
Extremely willing	6%	6%
Very willing	10	5
Somewhat willing	20	21
Not very willing	23	22
Not willing at all	32	35
(Depends)	7	9
(Don't know)	3	3

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

Under \$25,000	15%
\$25,000-\$50,000	22
\$50,000-\$75,000	21
\$75,000-\$100,000	14
\$100,000-\$150,000	13
Over \$150,000	11
(Don't know / Refused)	4

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

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

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

East	18%
Midwest	20
South	37
West	24

