Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation & Institute

2022 National Defense Survey
Executive Summary

About the Survey

Mode	Combined telephone (n=984) and online panel (n=1554) survey. Telephone interviews conducted by trained professionals calling landlines (38%) and cellphones (62%).
Sample	2,538 US Adults.
Dates	November 9 – November 17, 2022.
Weights	Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the US population.
Margin of Error	±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.
Research Partnership	SHAW & Company research BEACON RESEARCH
Note	Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.

POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

Increasing pessimism about the direction of the country.

→ Right direction → Wrong track

54% 53% 51% 59% 62%

37% 40% 42% 33% 28%

Democrat 49%
Independent 21%
Republican 13%

Nov '18   Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22
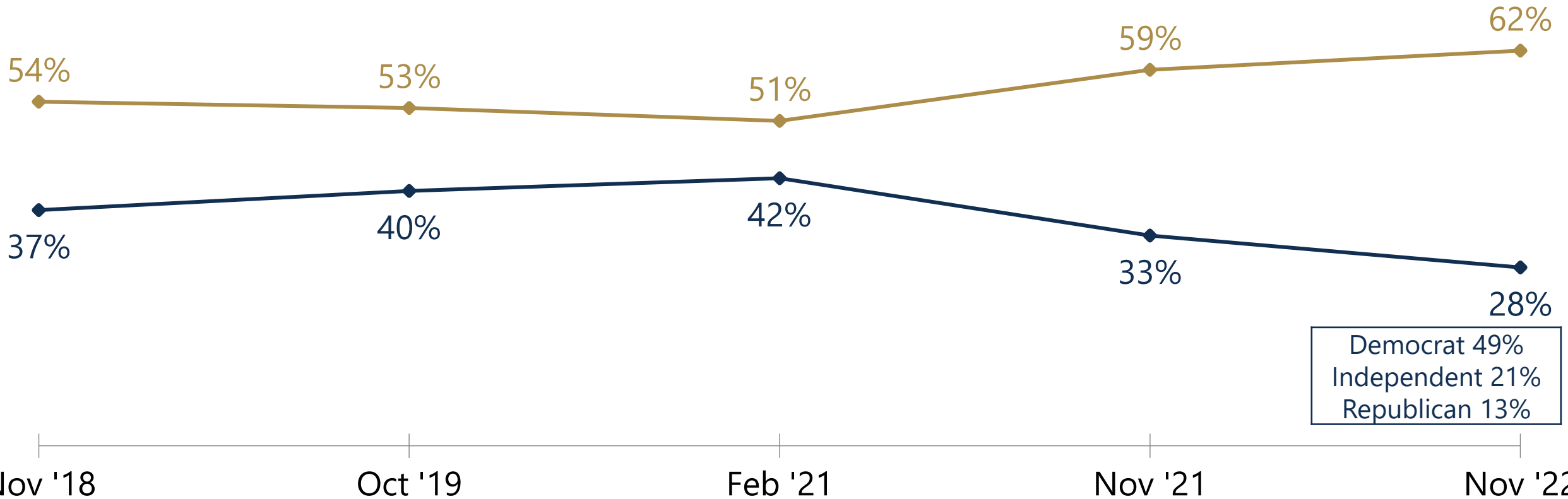
Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are:

Wide majorities favor increased spending on military and border security.

Strongly / Somewhat favor   **Somewhat / Strongly oppose**

Δ from Feb '21

The military	48%	28%	13%	9%	**+2**
Border security	43%	28%	17%	9%	**+2**
Promoting freedom abroad	27%	36%	20%	14%	**+7**
Foreign aid	19%	34%	25%	19%	**+12**
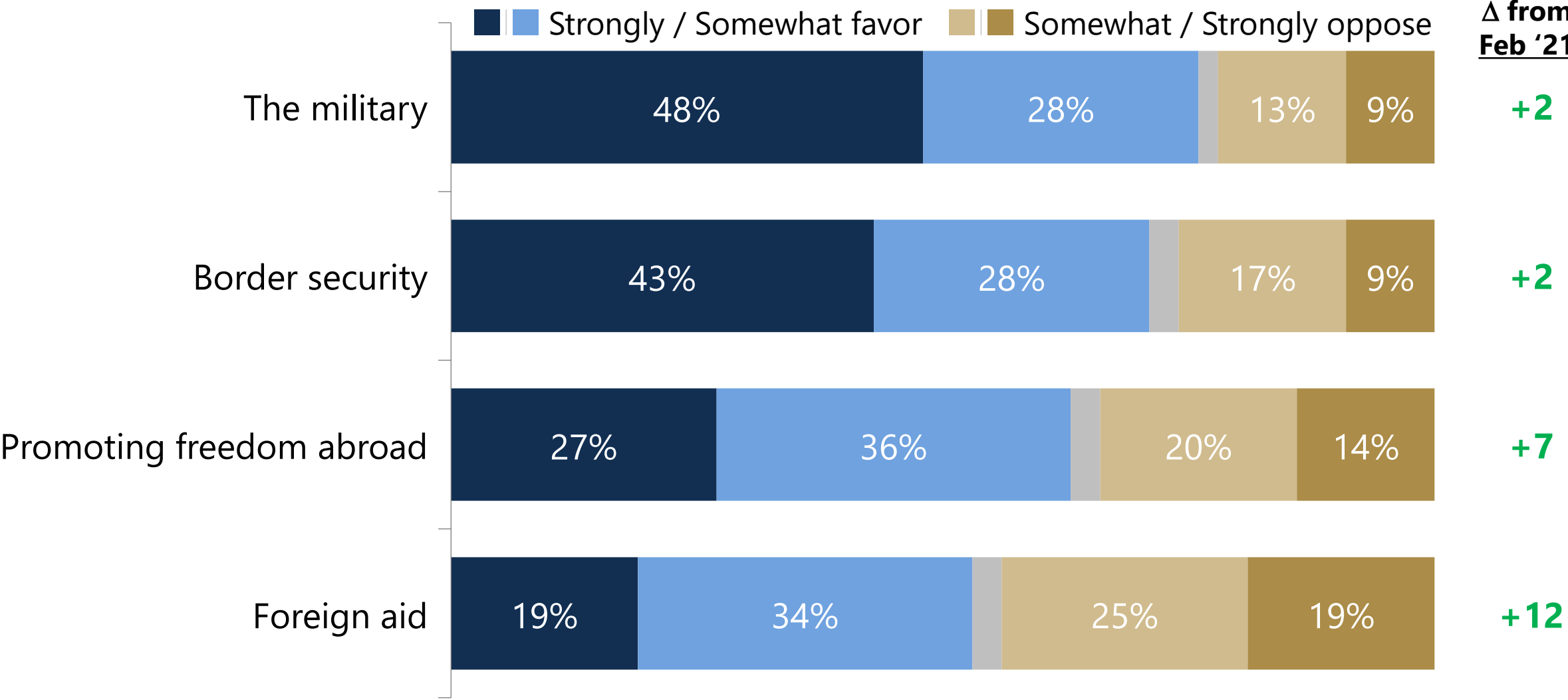
Note: Remainder Don't know

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.

Support for increasing foreign aid, by subgroup.

Foreign Aid — ■ Total favor — **Δ from Feb '21**

Subgroup	Total favor	Δ from Feb '21
Overall	**53%**	**+12**
Noncollege	50%	+15
College degree	54%	+9
Postgraduate degree	60%	+4
Democrat	68%	+4
Independent	46%	+19
Republican	40%	+21
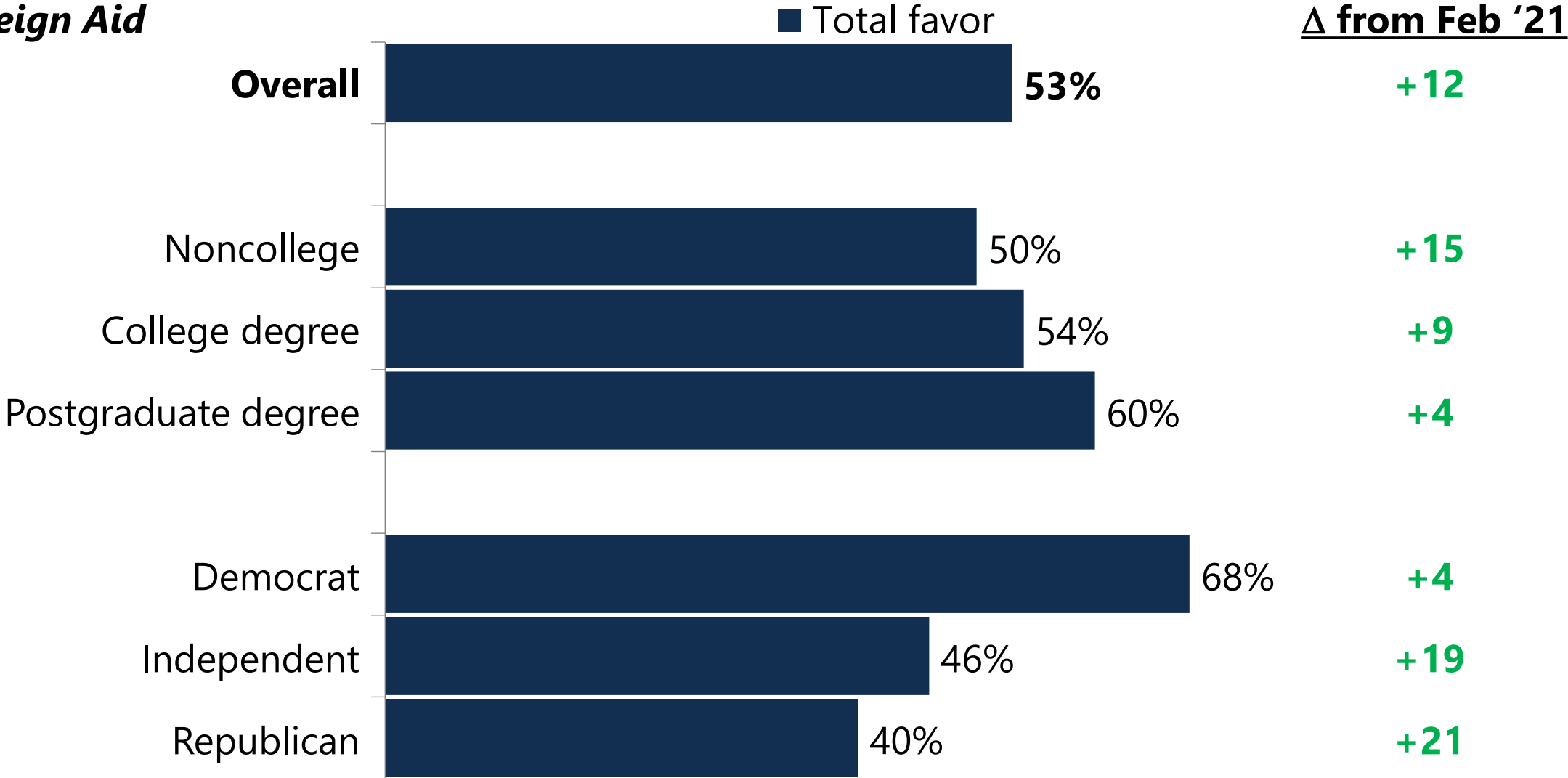
Q25. Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending on: foreign aid.

Nearly two-thirds concerned inflation will harm military procurement and lead to reduced capabilities.

Extremely concerned — 29%

Somewhat concerned — 34%

Not very concerned — 19%

Not at all concerned — 15%

Concerned 63%
Democrat 50%
Independent 60%
Republican 79%
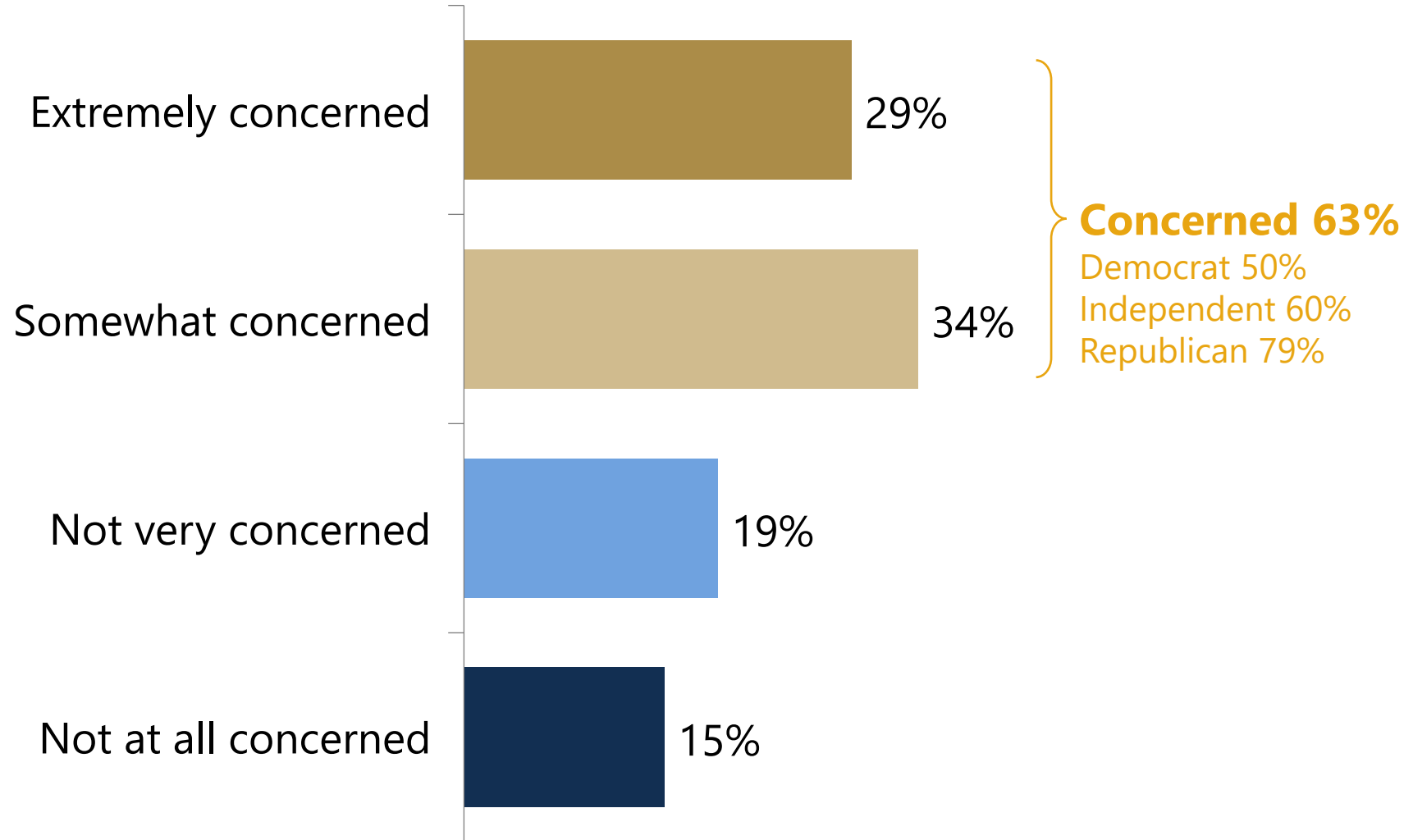
Note: Remainder Don't know

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?

Top threats and concerns: political violence, cyberattacks.

	Extremely	Somewhat	Total concerned	Δ from Nov '21
Political divisions in the US leading to violence	52%	33%	85%	0
Cyberattacks	48%	37%	85%	-3
Rising authoritarianism around the world	43%	38%	81%	+6
Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights	47%	32%	79%	-1
Domestic terrorist attacks	43%	34%	77%	-2
Expansion of conflict between Russia & Ukraine	38%	39%	77%	NA
Terrorist attacks on the homeland	39%	37%	76%	-6
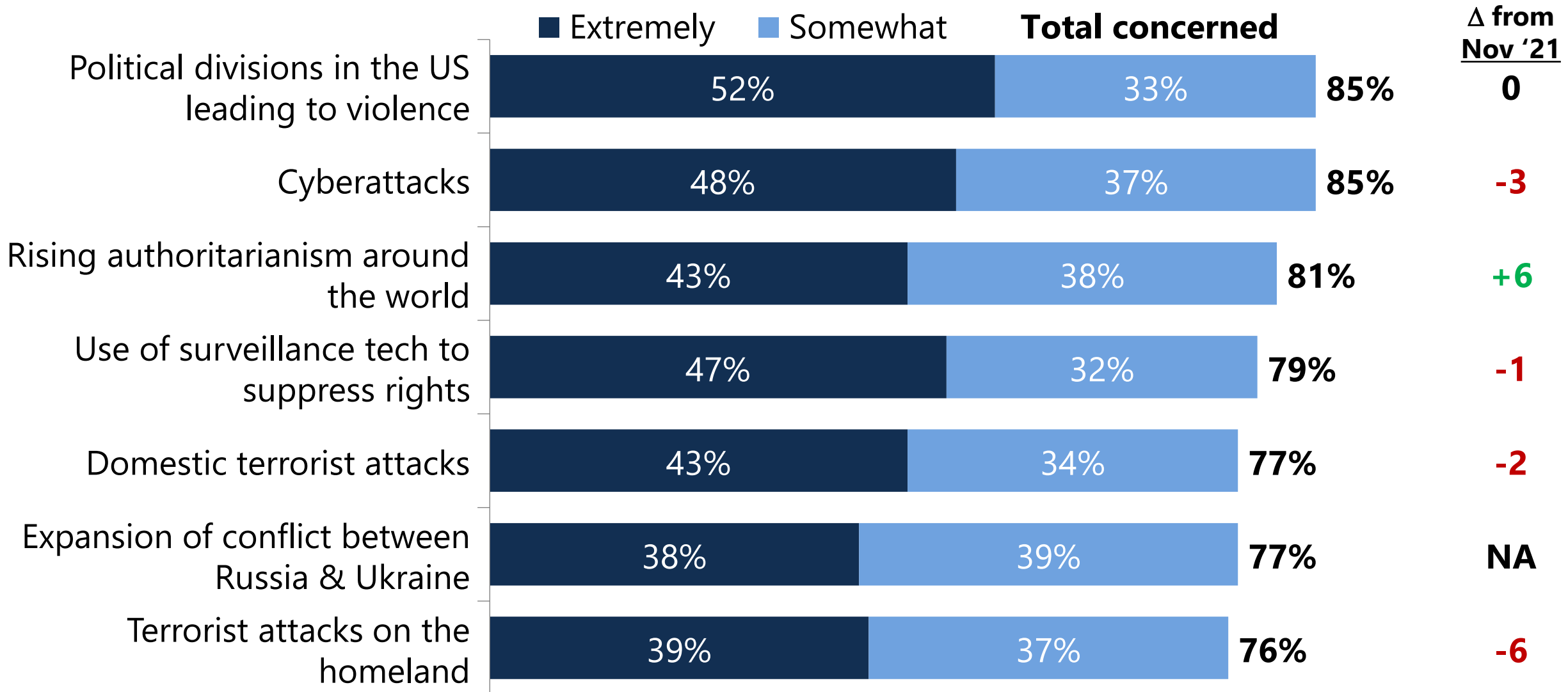
Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?

Items seen as less threatening still a concern for more than two-thirds of Americans.

	Extremely	Somewhat	Total concerned	Δ from Nov '21
Biological attacks on the homeland	37%	36%	73%	-5
Global pandemics	33%	37%	70%	-11
China invading Taiwan	31%	39%	70%	NA
War between the US and China	33%	36%	69%	-2
Thermo-nuclear war	33%	36%	69%	+8
An attack on our space assets, such as satellites	29%	38%	67%	+6
Climate change	41%	23%	64%	-1
Conventional military attacks	21%	36%	57%	+2
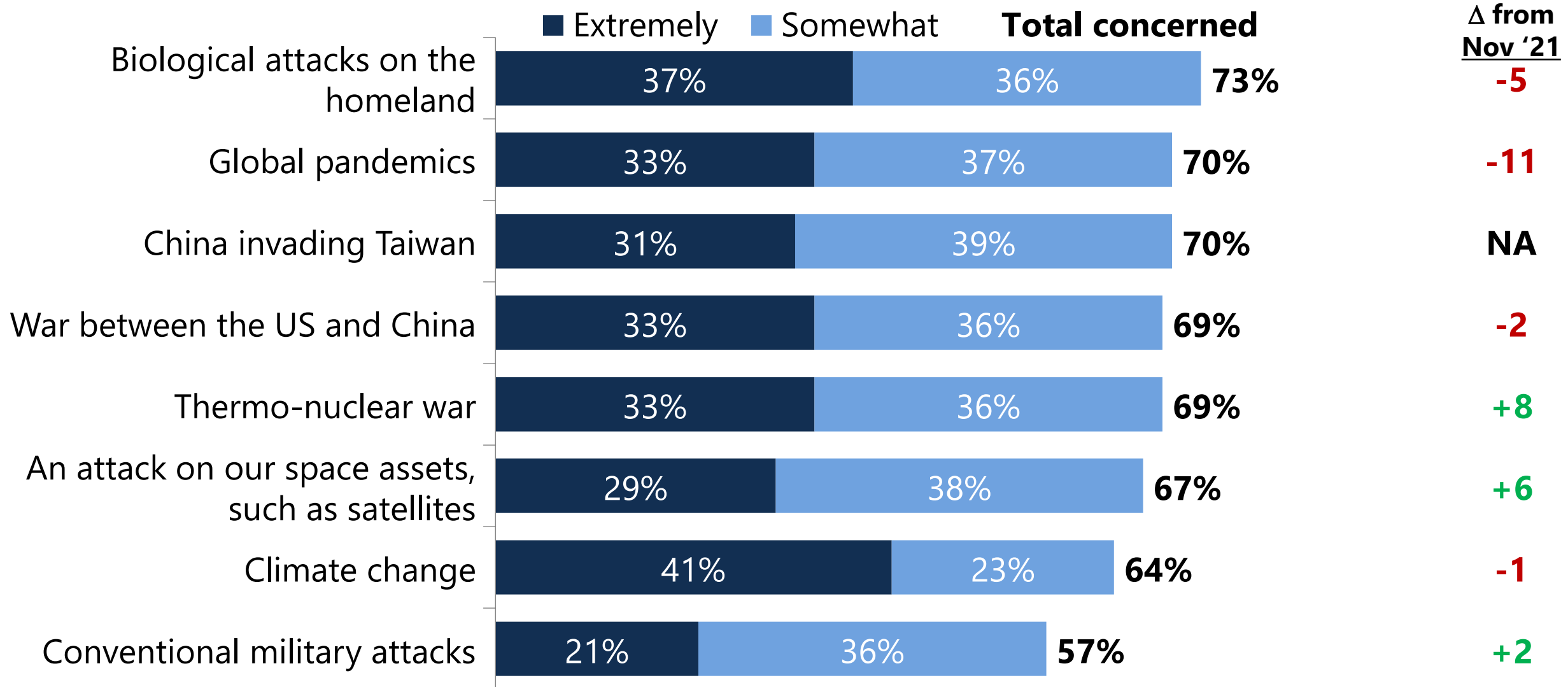
Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?

Partisans have similar evaluations of most—but not all—threats.

Total Concerned	Democrats	Republicans
Political divisions in the US leading to violence	88%	85%
Cyber-attacks	88%	86%
Rising authoritarianism around the world	84%	80%
Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights	79%	81%
Domestic terrorist attacks	88%	71%
Expansion of conflict between Russia & Ukraine	82%	76%
Terrorist attacks on the homeland	71%	82%
Biological attacks on the homeland	71%	78%
Global pandemics	79%	64%
China invading Taiwan	69%	75%
War between the US and China	59%	79%
Thermo-nuclear war	67%	71%
An attack on our space assets, such as satellites	61%	71%
Climate change	91%	41%
Conventional military attacks	55%	61%

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

Areas of partisan agreement (concern within 10 points).

Total Concerned
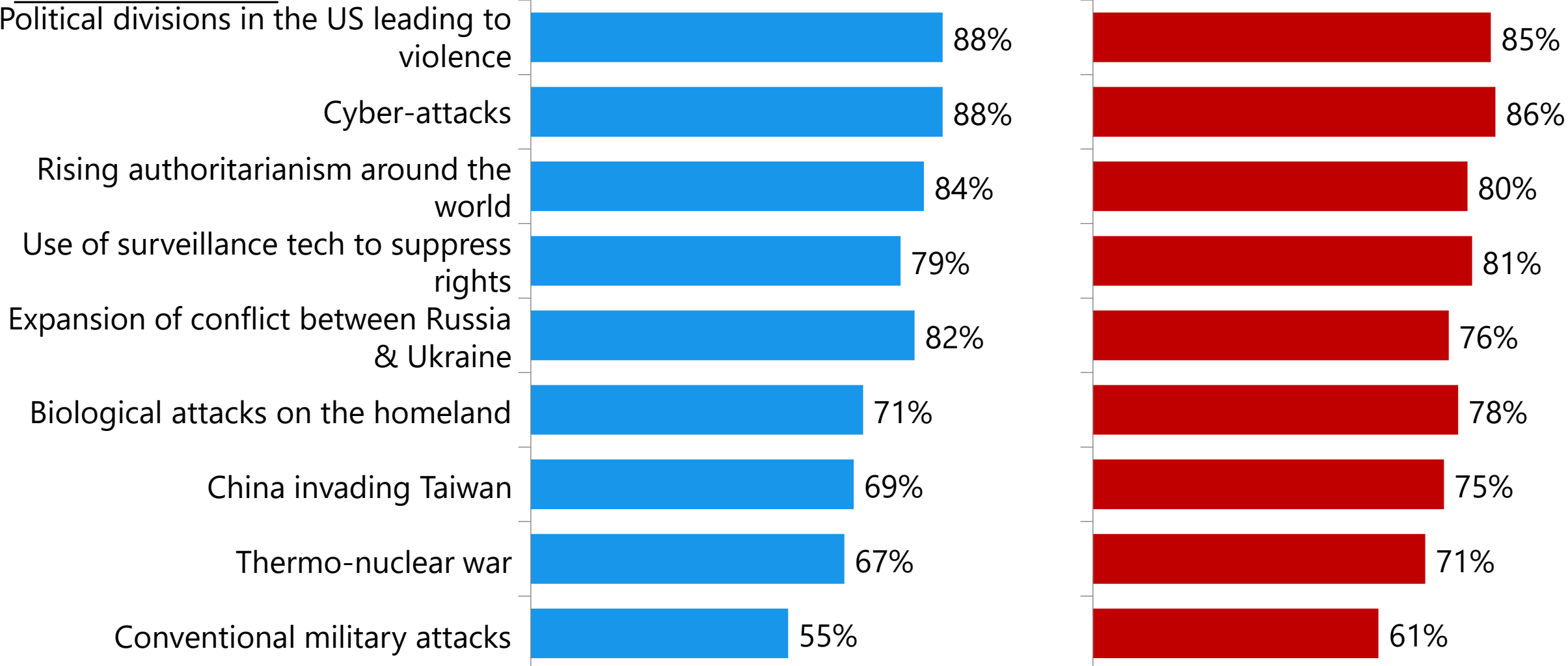
	Democrats	Republicans
Political divisions in the US leading to violence	88%	85%
Cyber-attacks	88%	86%
Rising authoritarianism around the world	84%	80%
Use of surveillance tech to suppress rights	79%	81%
Expansion of conflict between Russia & Ukraine	82%	76%
Biological attacks on the homeland	71%	78%
China invading Taiwan	69%	75%
Thermo-nuclear war	67%	71%
Conventional military attacks	55%	61%

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

Areas of partisan disagreement.

Total Concerned

	Democrats	Republicans
Climate change	91%	41%
Domestic terrorist attacks	88%	71%
Global pandemics	79%	64%
An attack on our space assets, such as satellites	61%	71%
Terrorist attacks on the homeland	71%	82%
War between the US and China	59%	79%
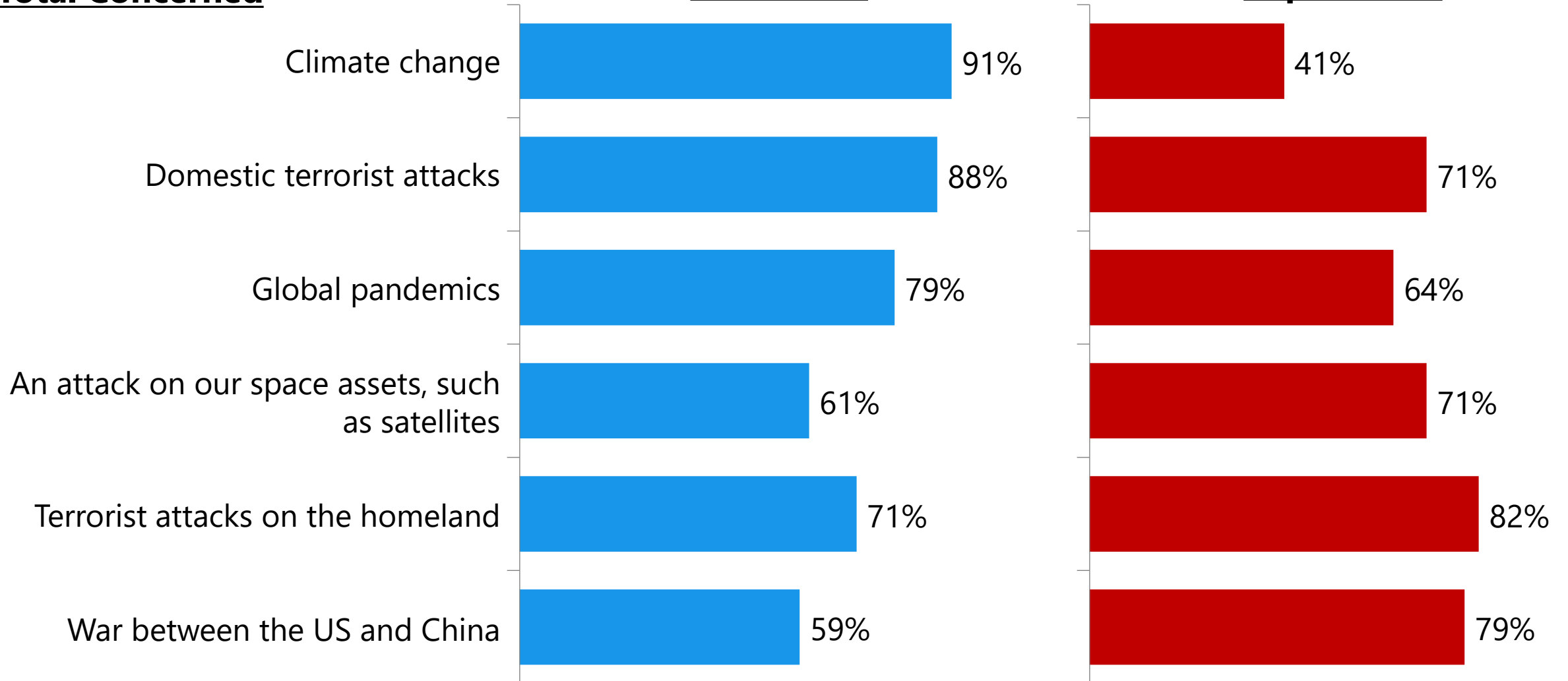
Q28-42. How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?

CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY

Military remains the most-trusted institution.

A great deal / Some ■■ ■ **A little / Not much confidence** ■■ ■

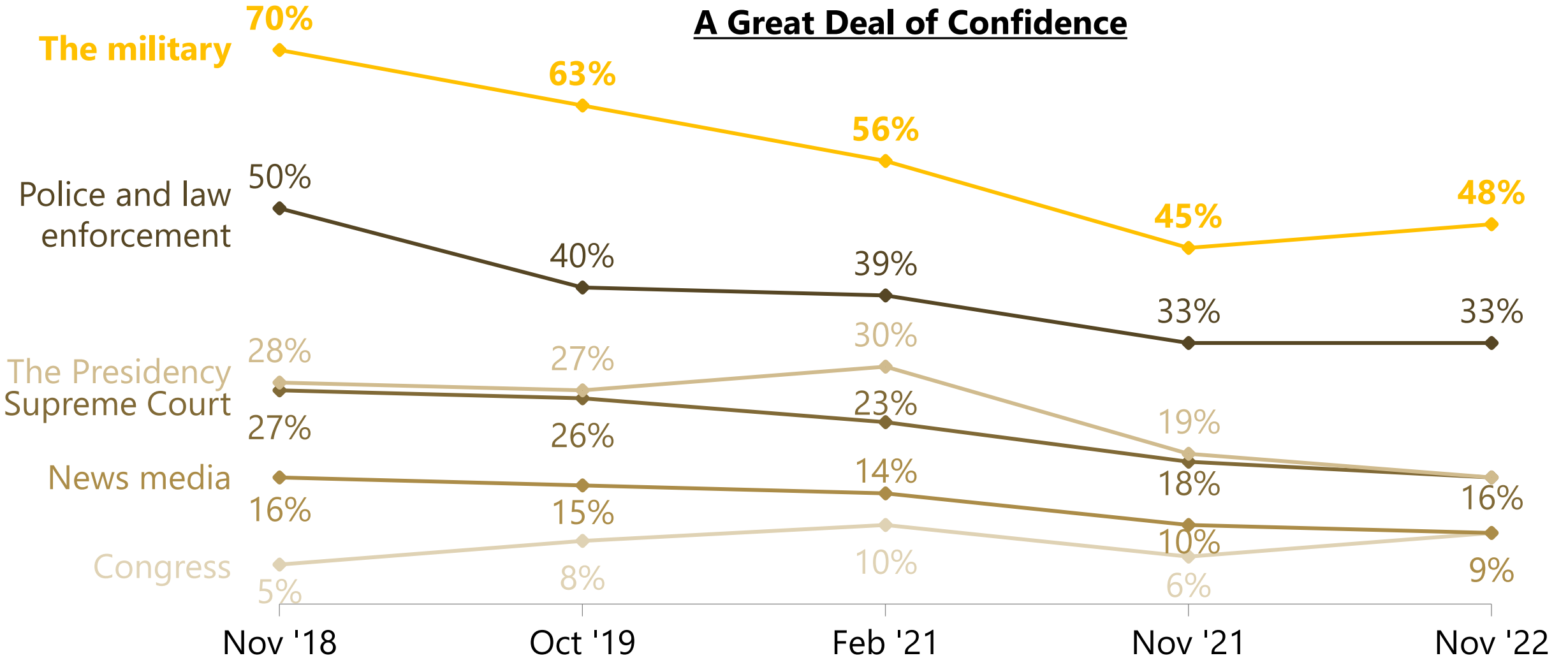|	A great deal	Some		A little	Not much confidence
The military	48%	33%		10%	8%
Police and law enforcement	33%	37%		14%	15%
The Supreme Court	16%	29%		21%	30%
Election administrators	20%	24%		20%	32%
The Presidency	16%	24%		13%	45%
The news media	9%	26%		20%	43%
Congress	9%	24%		25%	39%
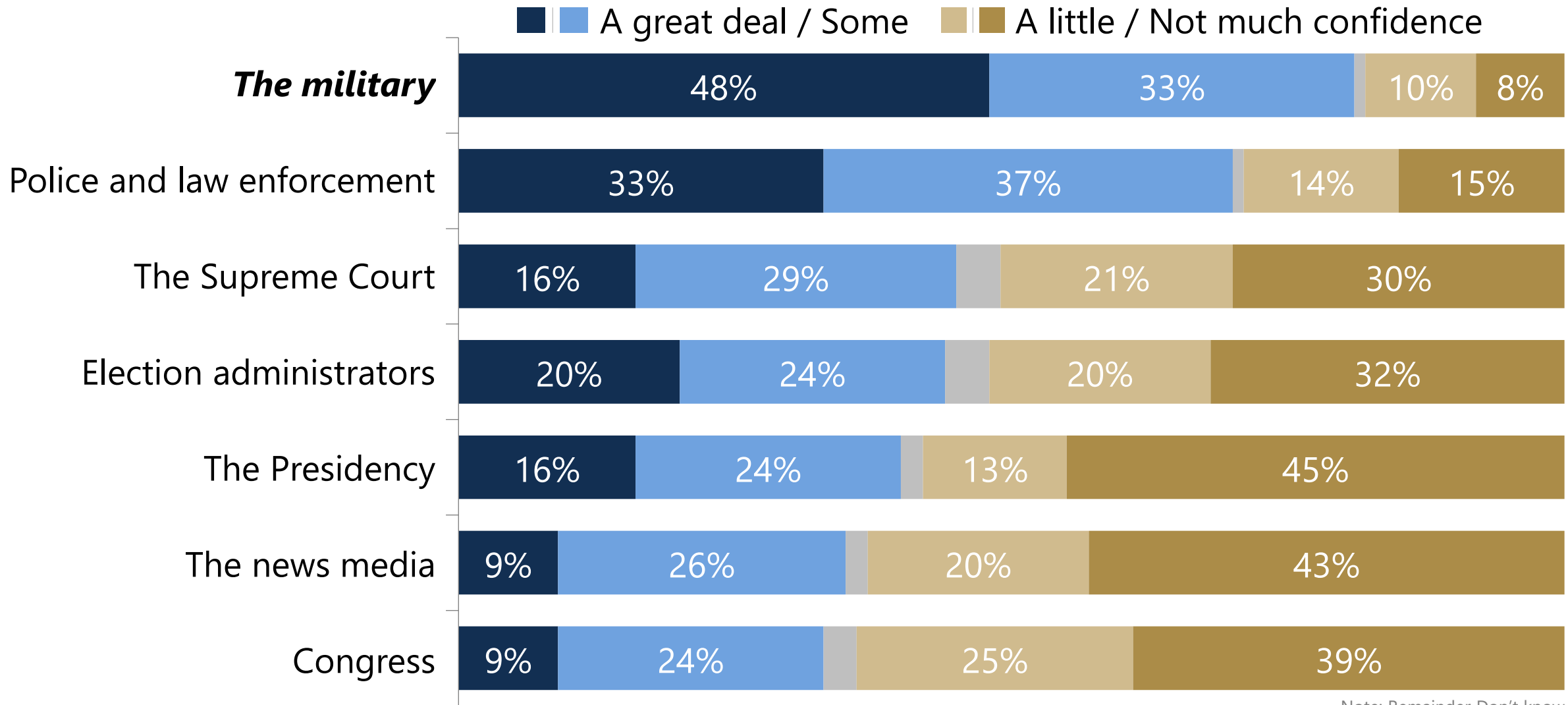
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

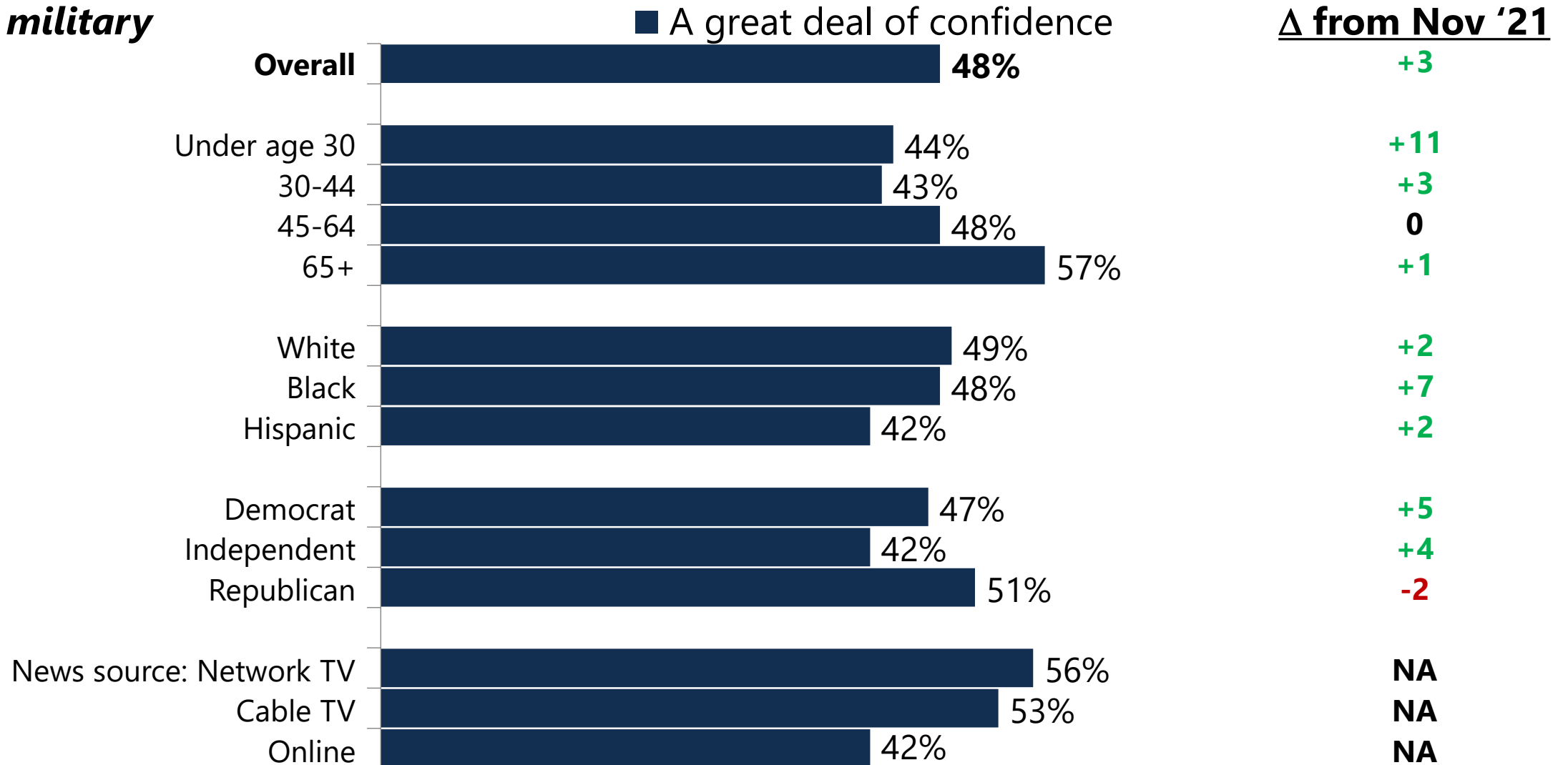# Confidence in military stable after a three-year decline.

A Great Deal of Confidence

The military 70% → 63% → 56% → 45% → **48%**

Police and law enforcement 50% → 40% → 39% → 33% → 33%

The Presidency 28% → 27% → 30% → 19% →

Supreme Court 27% → 26% → 23% → 18% → 16%

News media 16% → 15% → 14% → 10% →

Congress 5% → 8% → 10% → 6% → 9%

Nov '18 · Oct '19 · Feb '21 · Nov '21 · Nov '22

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

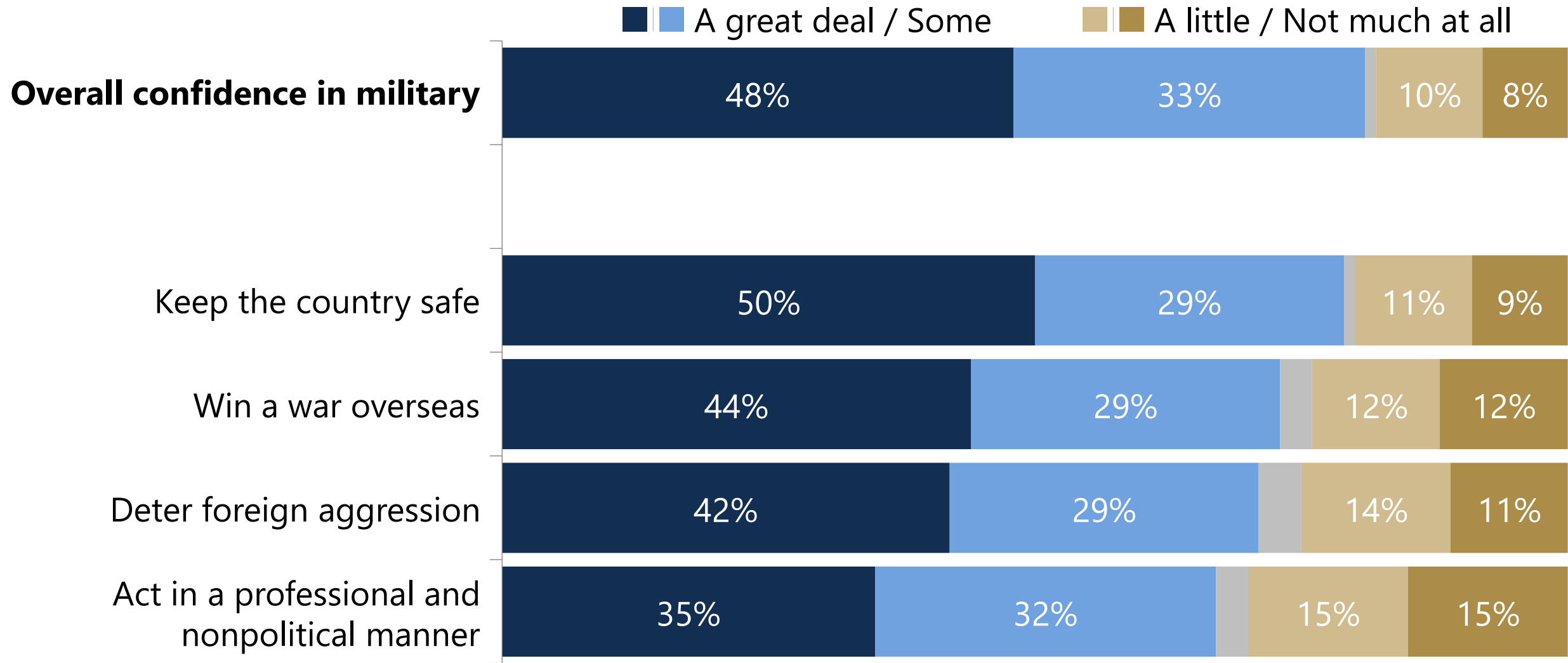# Confidence in military among subgroups.

The military

■ A great deal of confidence

Δ from Nov '21

Subgroup	A great deal of confidence	Δ from Nov '21
Overall	**48%**	+3
Under age 30	44%	+11
30-44	43%	+3
45-64	48%	0
65+	57%	+1
White	49%	+2
Black	48%	+7
Hispanic	42%	+2
Democrat	47%	+5
Independent	42%	+4
Republican	51%	-2
News source: Network TV	56%	NA
Cable TV	53%	NA
Online	42%	NA

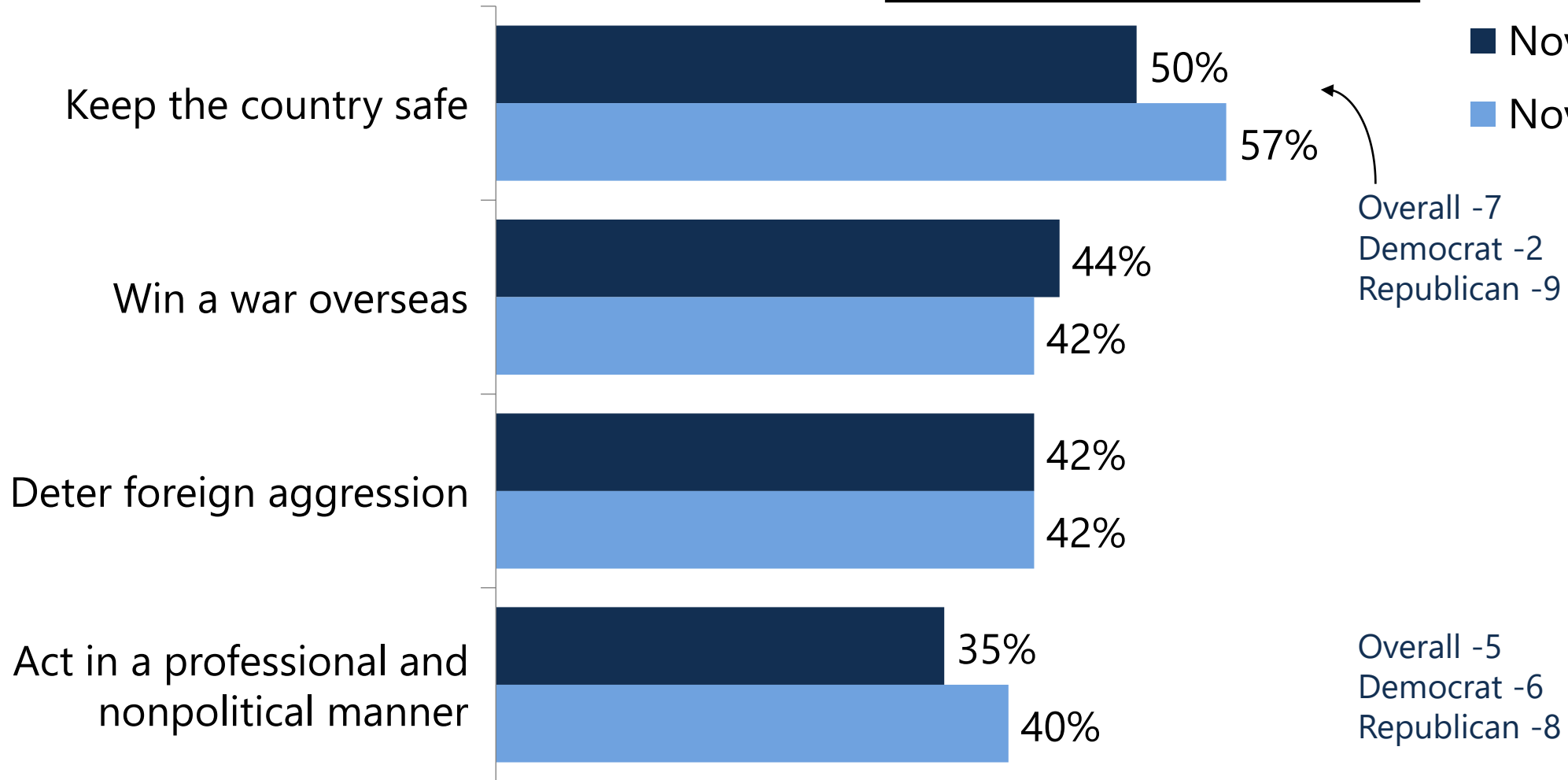*Q4. For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them: The military*

Confidence in military acting professionally/nonpolitically lags confidence in other abilities.

A great deal / Some ■ ■   **A little / Not much at all** ■ ■

	A great deal	Some		A little	Not much at all
Overall confidence in military	48%	33%		10%	8%
Keep the country safe	50%	29%		11%	9%
Win a war overseas	44%	29%		12%	12%
Deter foreign aggression	42%	29%		14%	11%
Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner	35%	32%		15%	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.

A Great Deal of Confidence
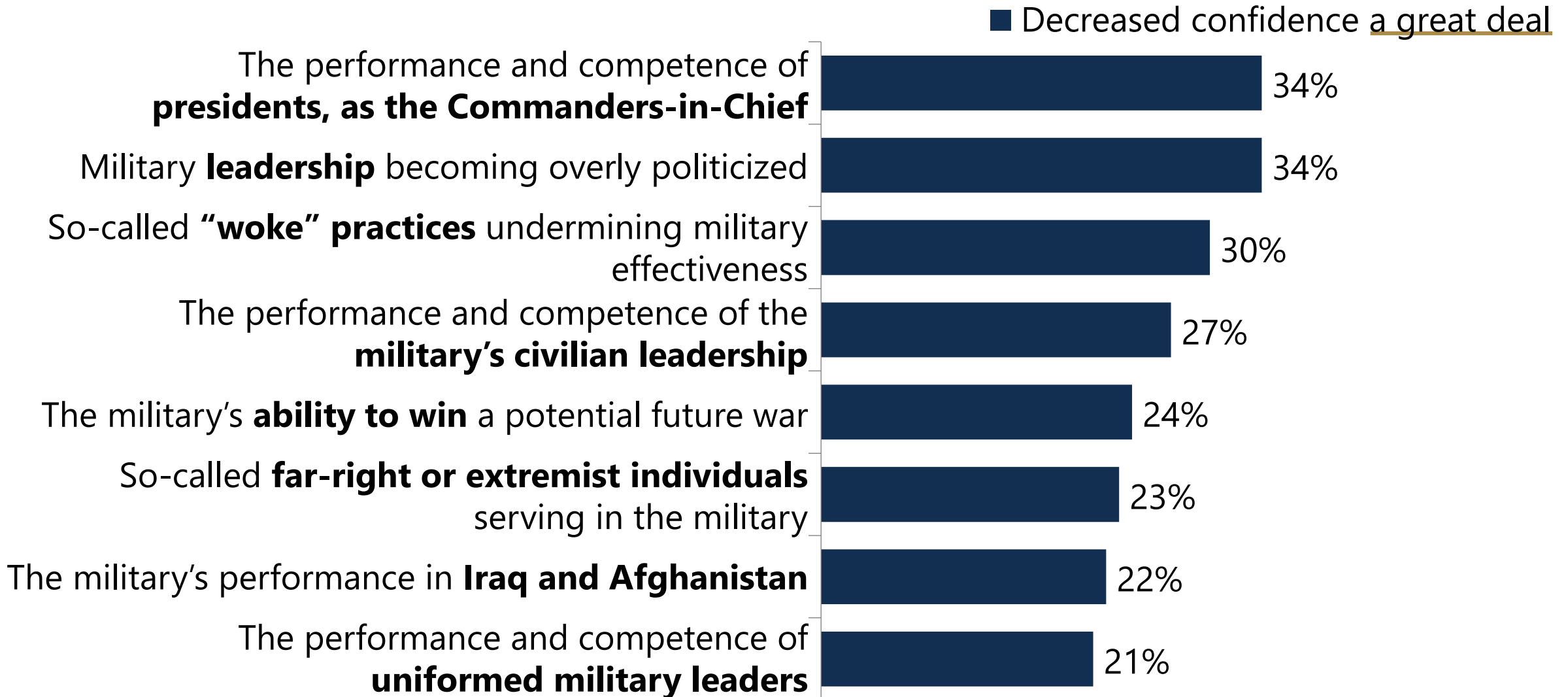
■ November 2022
■ November 2021

Keep the country safe
- 50%
- 57%

Overall -7
Democrat -2
Republican -9

Win a war overseas
- 44%
- 42%

Deter foreign aggression
- 42%
- 42%

Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner
- 35%
- 40%

Overall -5
Democrat -6
Republican -8

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Factors decreasing confidence in military.

Decreased confidence a great deal

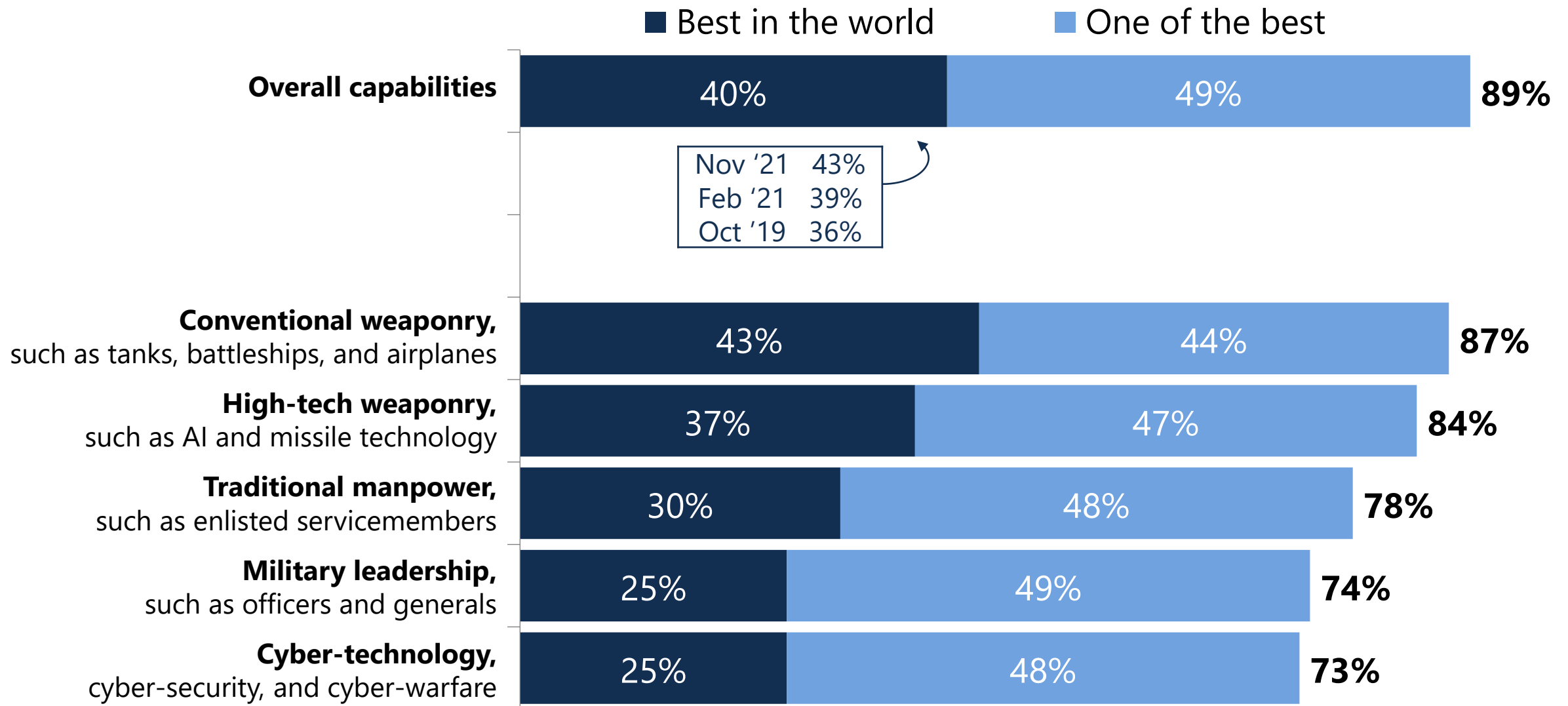| Factor	%
The performance and competence of **presidents, as the Commanders-in-Chief**	34%
Military **leadership** becoming overly politicized	34%
So-called **"woke" practices** undermining military effectiveness	30%
The performance and competence of the **military's civilian leadership**	27%
The military's **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%

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

Factors decreasing confidence, by party identification.

Decreased confidence a great deal	Democrats	Republicans
The performance and competence of **presidents, as the Commanders-in-Chief**	24%	43%
Military **leadership** becoming overly politicized	24%	43%
So-called **"woke" practices** undermining military effectiveness	14%	47%
The performance and competence of the **military's civilian leadership**	21%	32%
The military's **ability to win** a potential future war	23%	24%
So-called **far-right or extremist individuals** serving in the military	32%	17%
The military's performance in **Iraq and Afghanistan**	19%	24%
The performance and competence of **uniformed military leaders**	22%	19%

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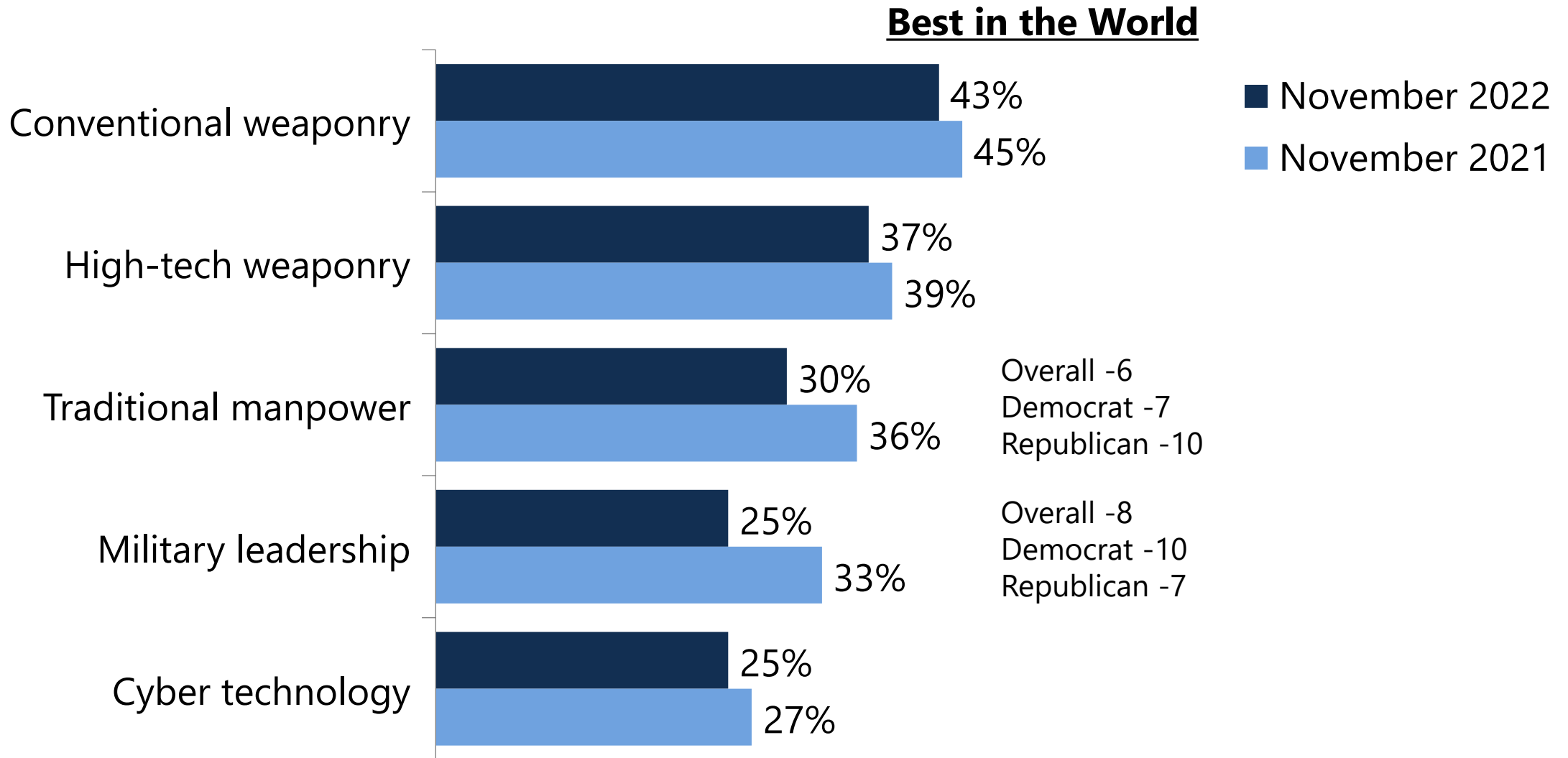
Evaluations of U.S. military capabilities.

■ Best in the world   ■ One of the best

Overall capabilities
| 40% | 49% | **89%** |

Nov '21   43%
Feb '21   39%
Oct '19   36%

Conventional weaponry,
such as tanks, battleships, and airplanes
| 43% | 44% | **87%** |

High-tech weaponry,
such as AI and missile technology
| 37% | 47% | **84%** |

Traditional manpower,
such as enlisted servicemembers
| 30% | 48% | **78%** |

Military leadership,
such as officers and generals
| 25% | 49% | **74%** |

Cyber-technology,
cyber-security, and cyber-warfare
| 25% | 48% | **73%** |

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.

Perceived US edge on leadership and manpower eroded slightly.

Best in the World

November 2022
November 2021

Conventional weaponry
- 43%
- 45%

High-tech weaponry
- 37%
- 39%

Traditional manpower
- 30%
- 36%

Overall -6
Democrat -7
Republican -10

Military leadership
- 25%
- 33%

Overall -8
Democrat -10
Republican -7

Cyber technology
- 25%
- 27%

When pushed to choose, two-thirds think US has best overall capabilities.

Δ **from Nov '21**

Country	Bar Value	Party Breakdown	Δ from Nov '21
United States	65%	Democrat 67%, Republican 66%	-4
China	15%	Democrat 12%, Republican 17%	-2
Russia	4%		-1
Israel	2%		0
North Korea	1%		0
Japan	1%		NA
Ukraine	1%		NA
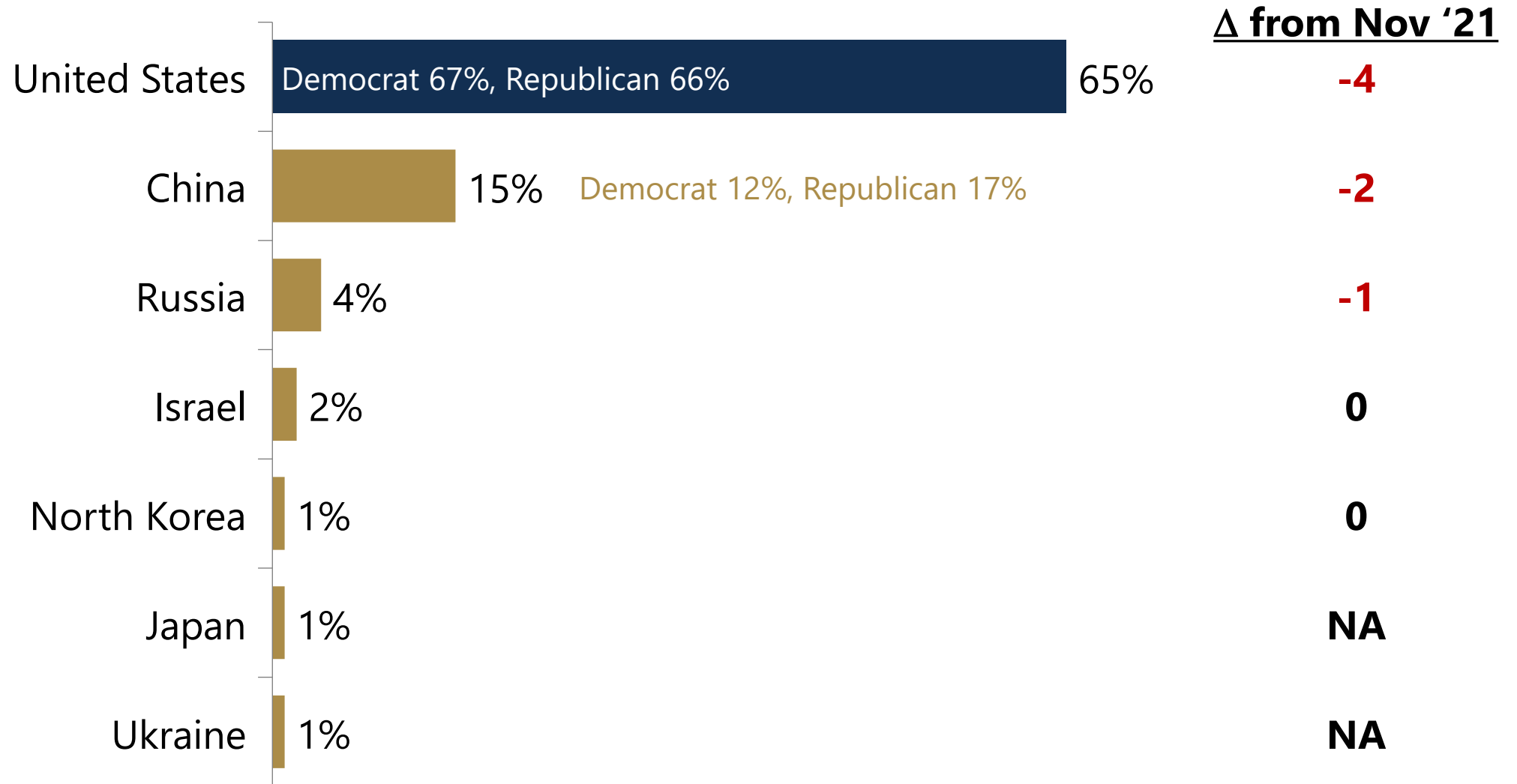
Note: Remainder Other / Not sure / Refused

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

Belief in ability to win a nuclear war is unchanged.

Legend: ■ Yes ■ No

	Yes	No
November 2022	53%	22%
February 2021	53%	22%
October 2019	57%	28%
November 2018	65%	25%
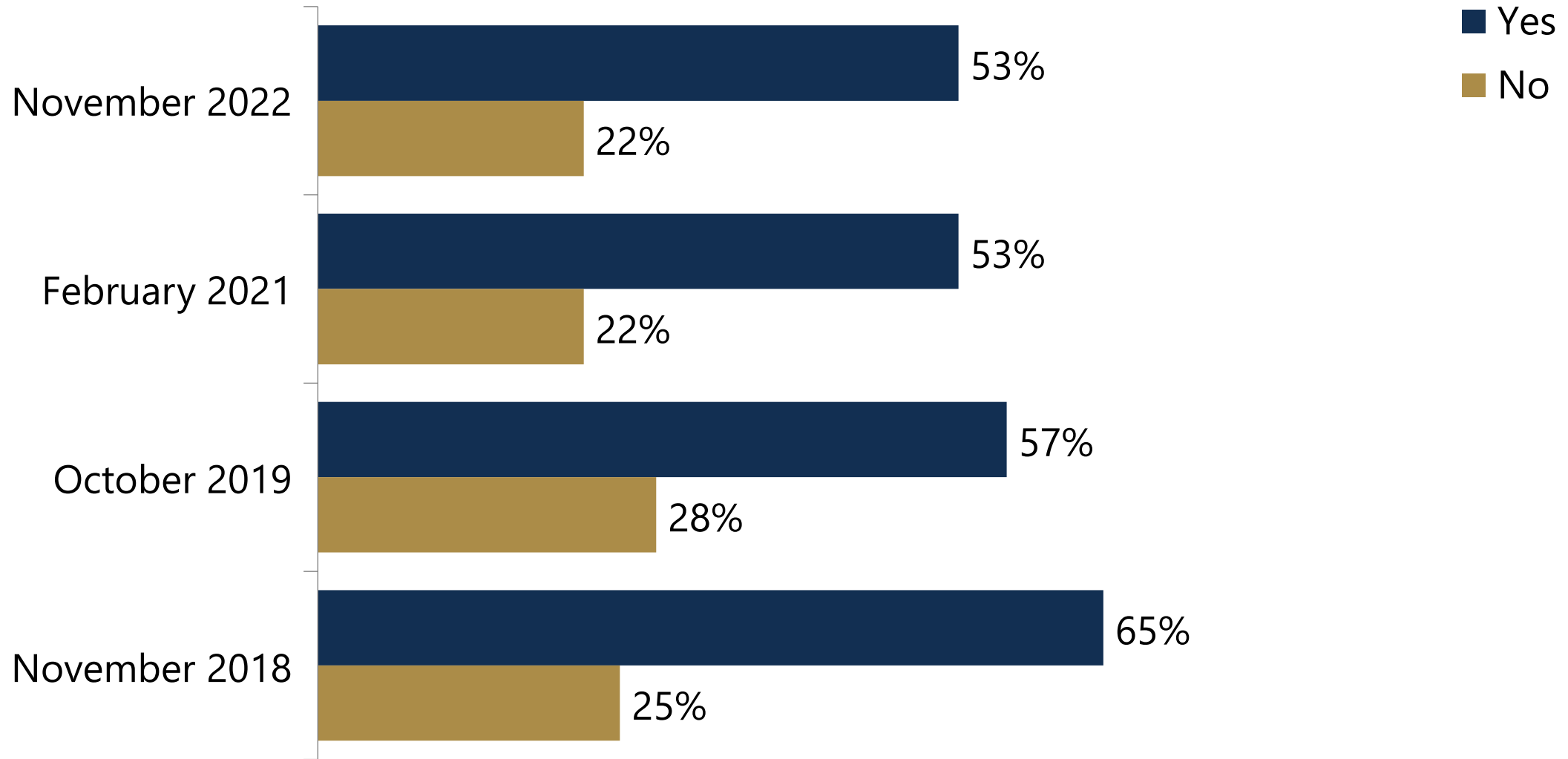
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

One-in-ten under age 30 very willing to serve in US military.
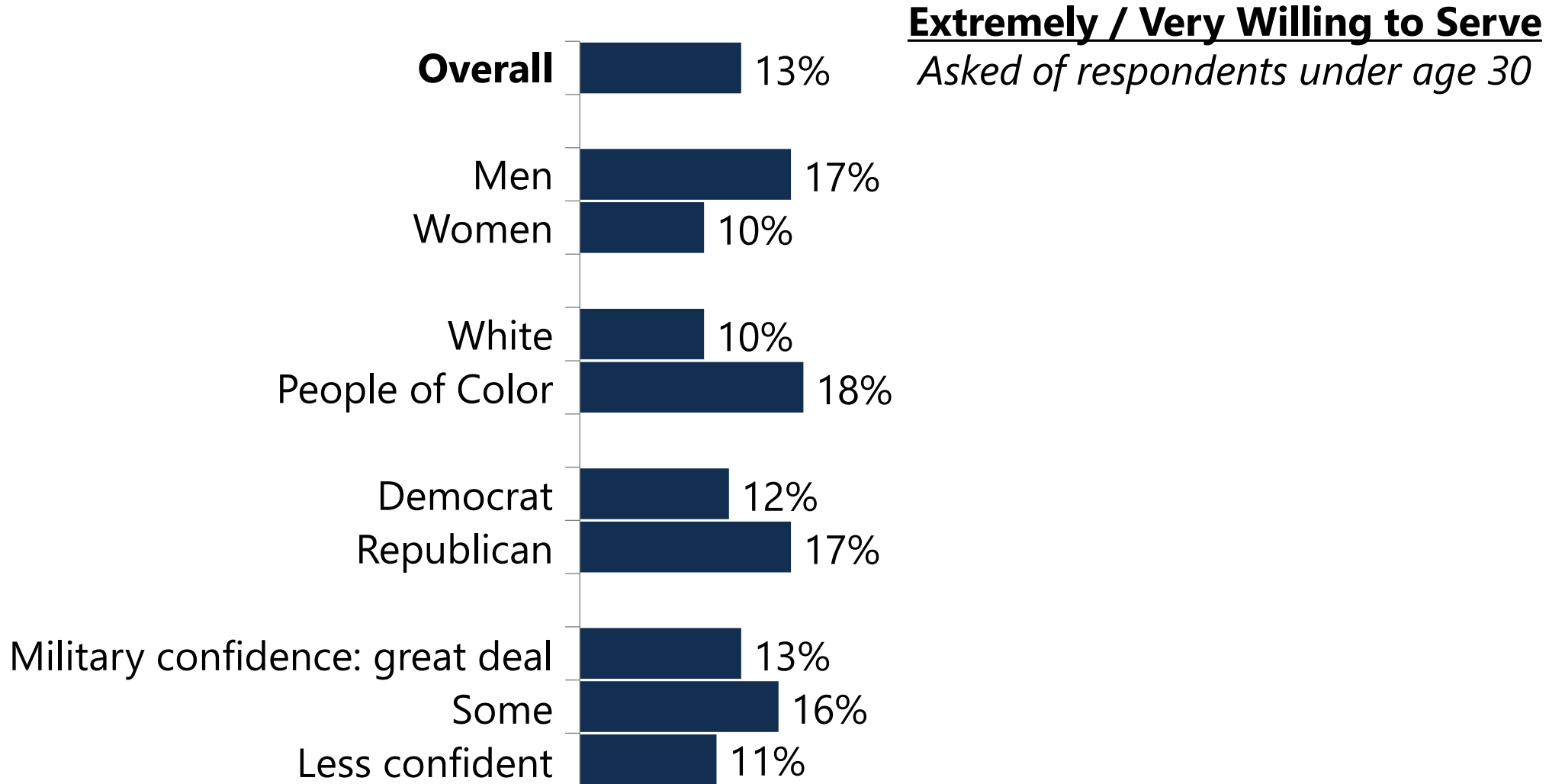
Extremely / Very Willing to Serve
Asked of respondents under age 30

Overall — 13%

Men — 17%
Women — 10%

White — 10%
People of Color — 18%

Democrat — 12%
Republican — 17%

Military confidence: great deal — 13%
Some — 16%
Less confident — 11%

INTERNATIONAL POSTURE

Narrow plurality prefers an engaged US foreign policy.

More engaged and take the lead — **Less engaged and react to events**

50%

51%

42%

40%

33%

27%

30%

32%

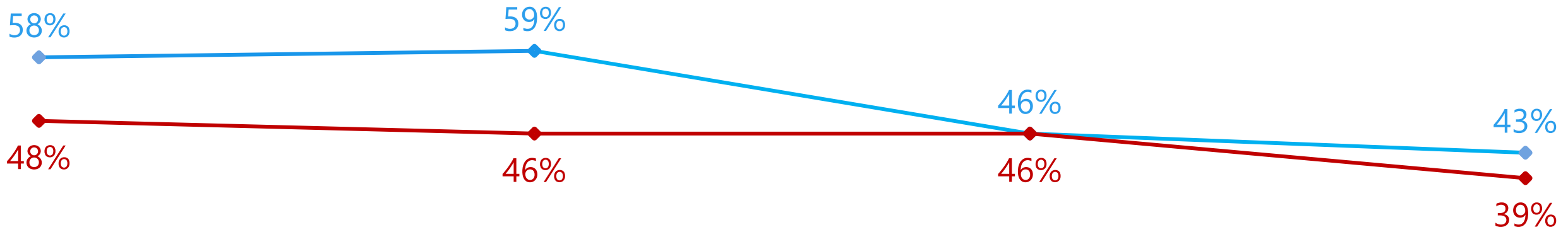Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22

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?

Preferred foreign policy posture, by subgroup.

■ More engaged & take the lead   ■ Less engaged & react to events

| Subgroup	More engaged & take the lead	Less engaged & react to events
Overall	40%	32%
Men	45%	33%
Women	36%	31%
Under age 30	31%	41%
30 to 44	34%	29%
45 to 64	42%	29%
65+	51%	35%
Noncollege	36%	34%
College graduate	42%	30%
Post-grad	52%	29%
Democrat	43%	30%
Independent	35%	34%
Republican	39%	34%
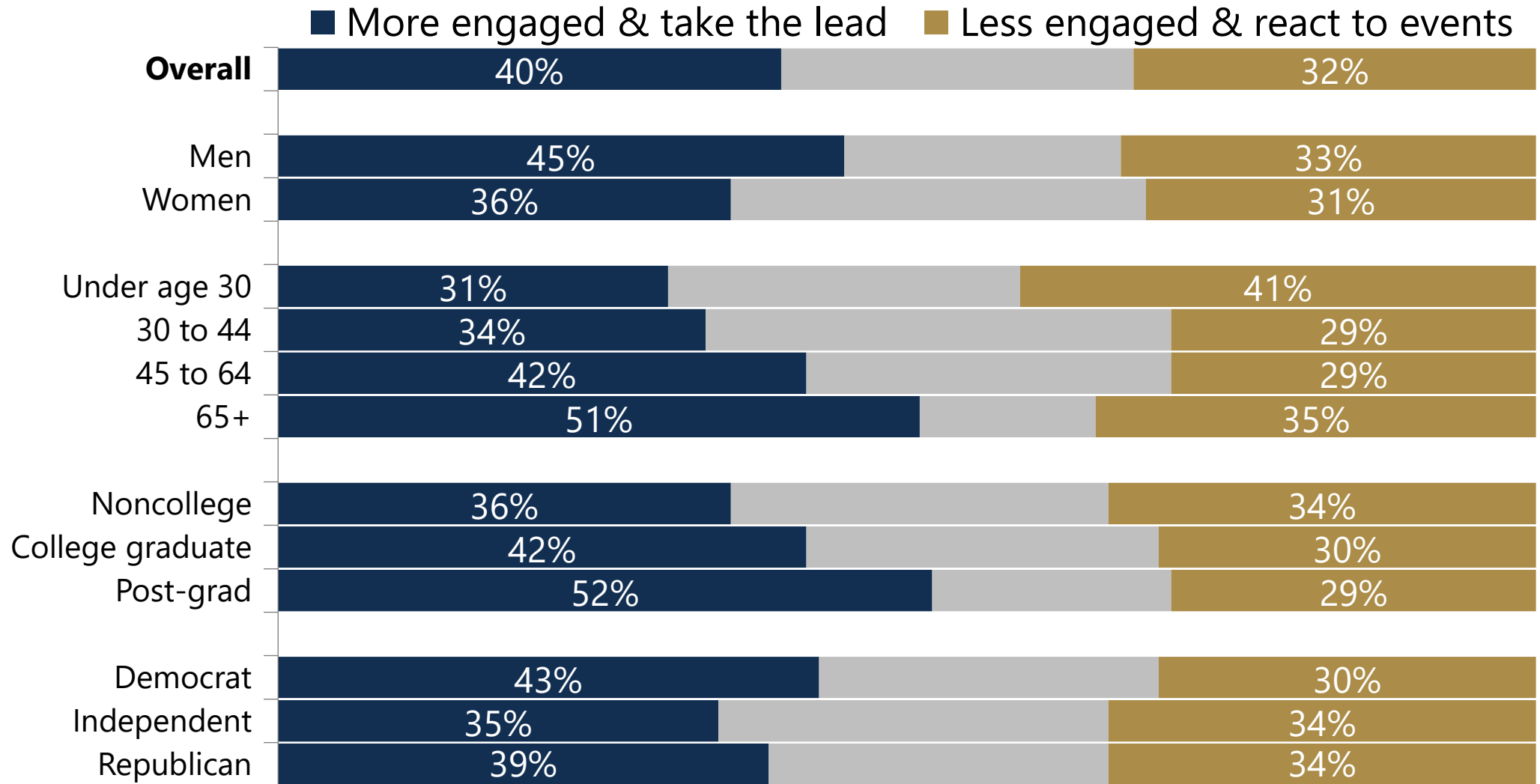
Note: Remainder Depends / Don't know

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.

More engaged and take the lead

◆ Democrat   ◆ Republican

58%
59%
46%
43%

48%
46%
46%
39%

Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22

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?

Remarkably stable support for maintaining bases overseas.

Maintain bases — **Reduce presence overseas**

65%   63%   65%   65%

28%   31%   27%   27%

Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22
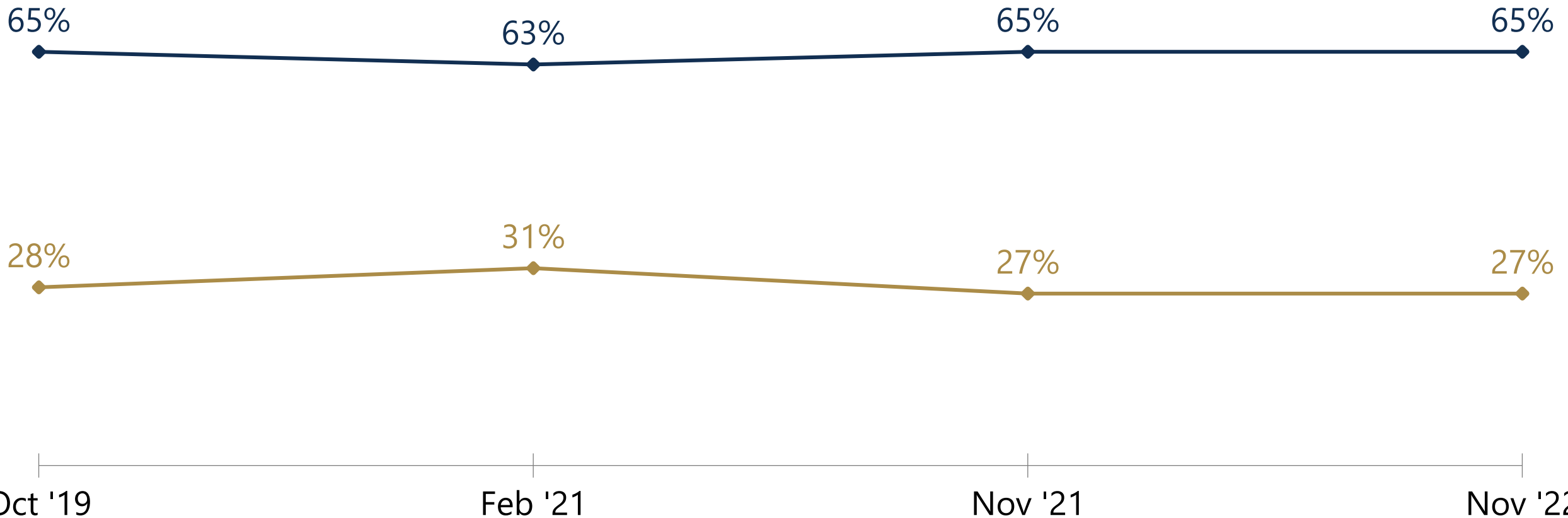
Note: Remainder Don't know

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?

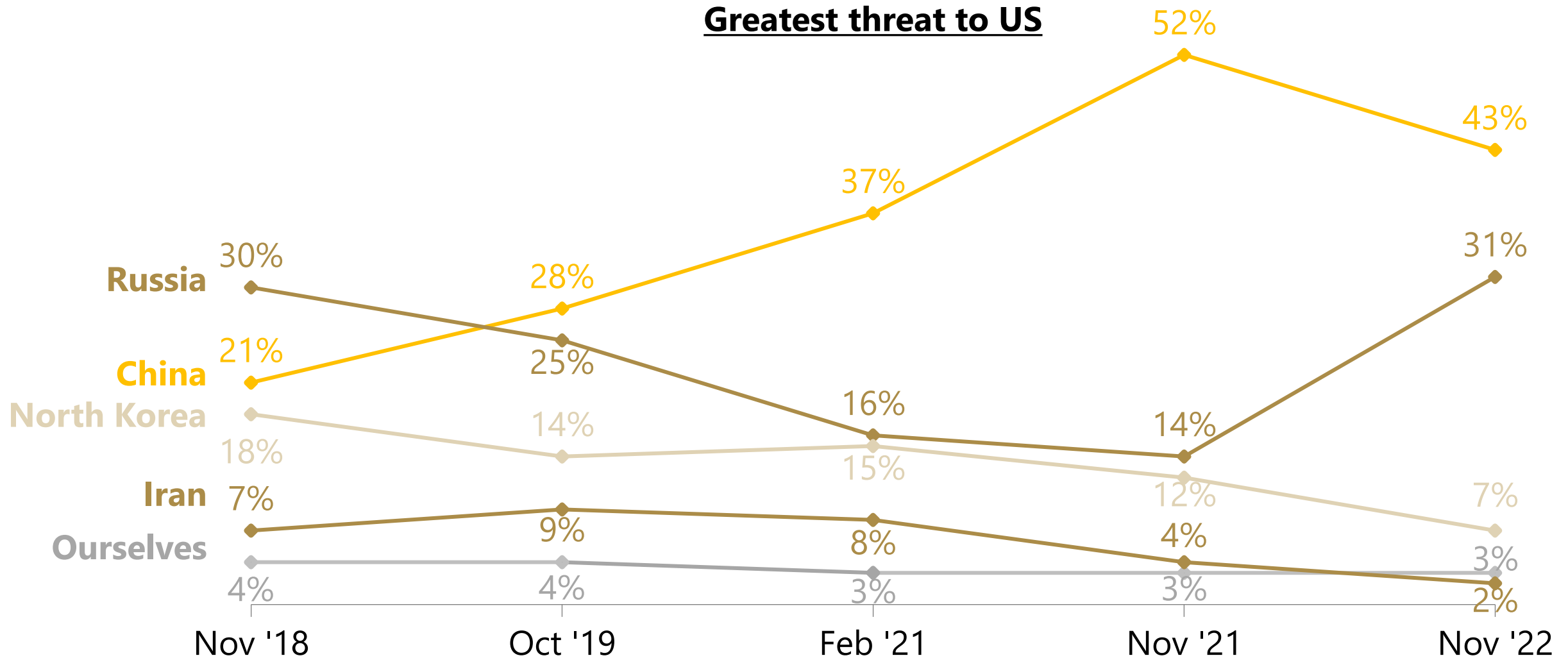# East Asia remains top theater of focus; sharp increase in attention on Europe as Middle East fades.

US Military Focus

Middle East
East Asia
South Asia
Europe

	Nov '18	Oct '19	Feb '21	Nov '21	Nov '22
Middle East	27%	37%	21%	17%	11%
East Asia	24%	16%	28%	37%	31%
South Asia	15%	7%	7%	9%	6%
Europe	5%	9%	8%	5%	18%

Russia joins China as greatest perceived threats.

Greatest threat to US

Russia: 30% (Nov '18), 25% (Oct '19), 16% (Feb '21), 14% (Nov '21), 31% (Nov '22)

China: 21% (Nov '18), 28% (Oct '19), 37% (Feb '21), 52% (Nov '21), 43% (Nov '22)

North Korea: 18% (Nov '18), 14% (Oct '19), 15% (Feb '21), 12% (Nov '21), 7% (Nov '22)

Iran: 7% (Nov '18), 9% (Oct '19), 8% (Feb '21), 4% (Nov '21), 2% (Nov '22)

Ourselves: 4% (Nov '18), 4% (Oct '19), 3% (Feb '21), 3% (Nov '21), 3% (Nov '22)

Nov '18   Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22

Note: Responses under 2% not shown

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

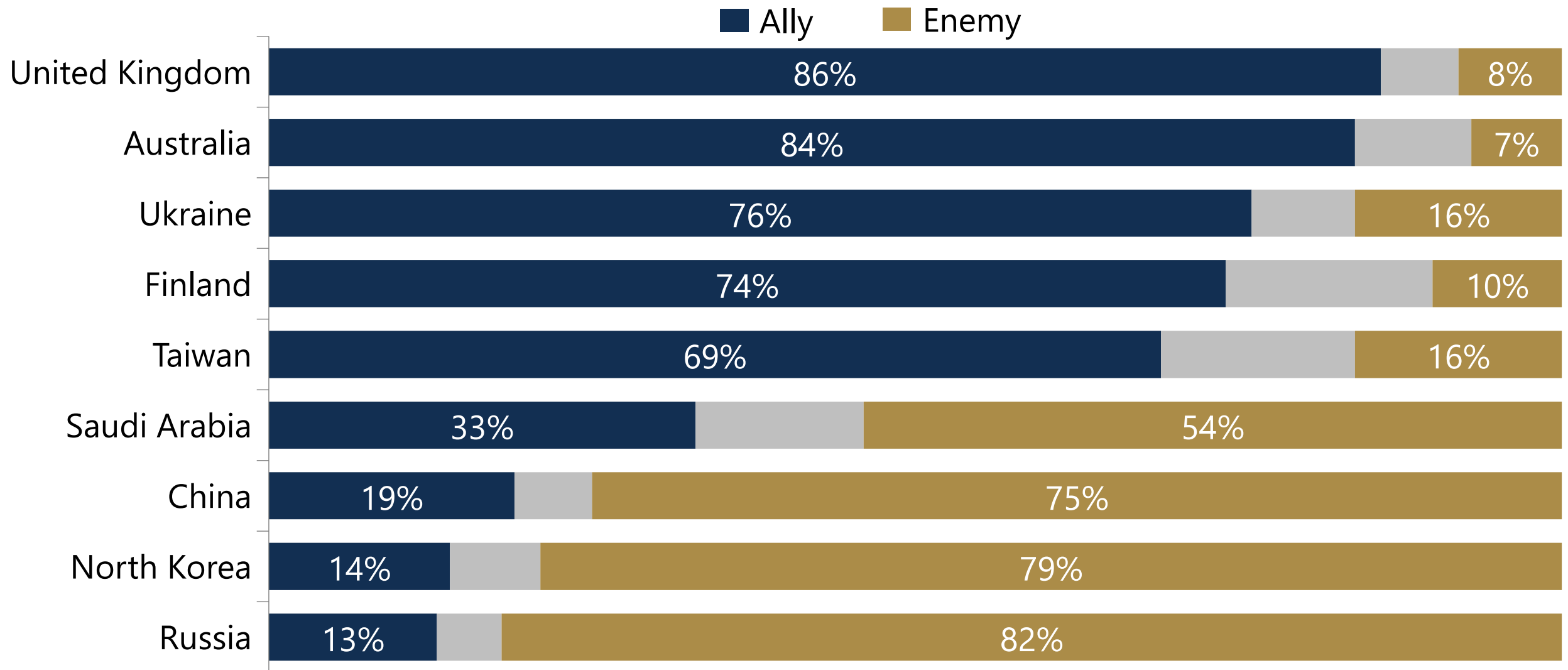# Republicans remain focused on China as primary threat; Democrats split between Russia and China.

Overall

Country	Value
China	43%
Russia	31%
North Korea	7%
Ourselves	3%
Iran	2%

Democrats

Country	Value	Change
China	32%	-12 from Nov '21
Russia	42%	+20 from Nov '21
North Korea	8%	
Ourselves	4%	
Iran	1%	

Republicans

Country	Value	Change
China	56%	-8 from Nov '21
Russia	19%	+12 from Nov '21
North Korea	6%	
Ourselves	2%	
Iran	3%	
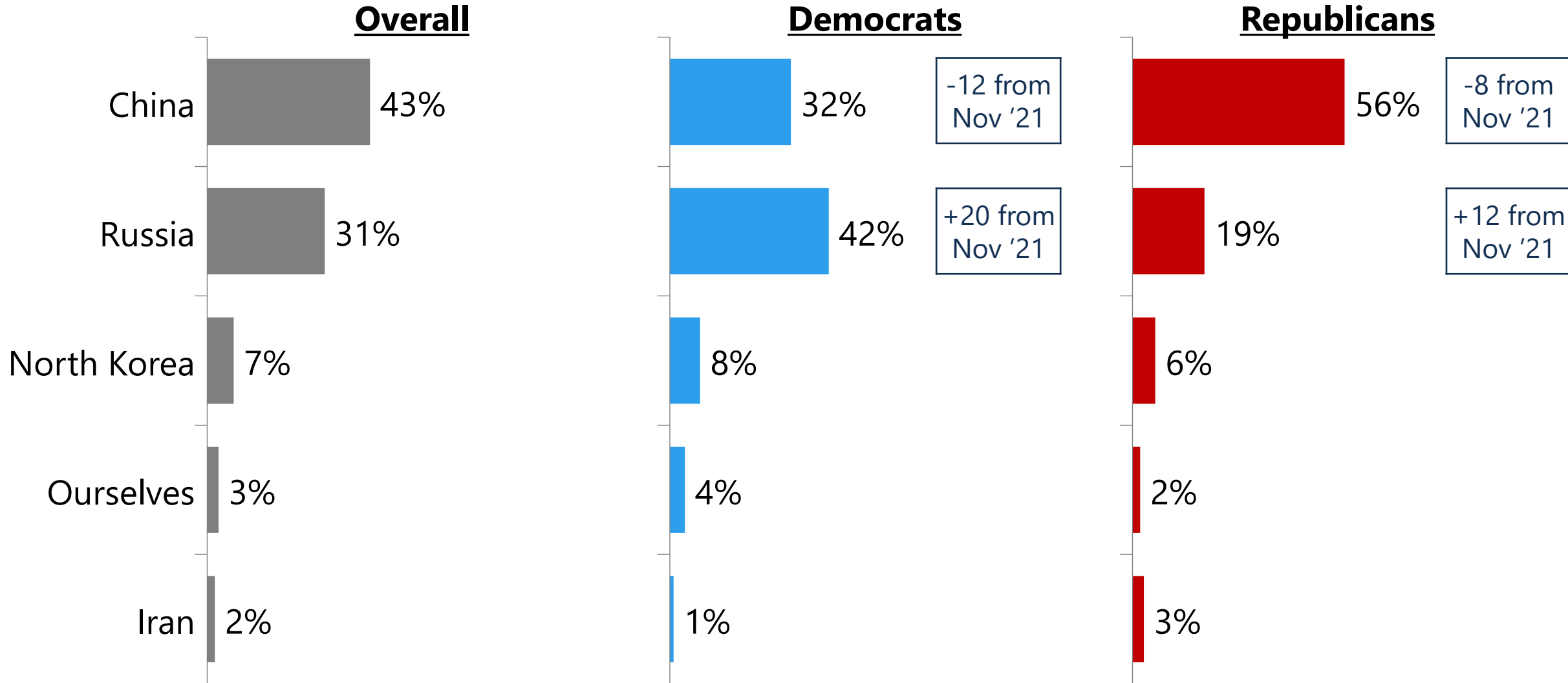
Note: Overall responses under 2% not shown

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

Overview of Allies and Enemies

Legend: ■ Ally ■ Enemy

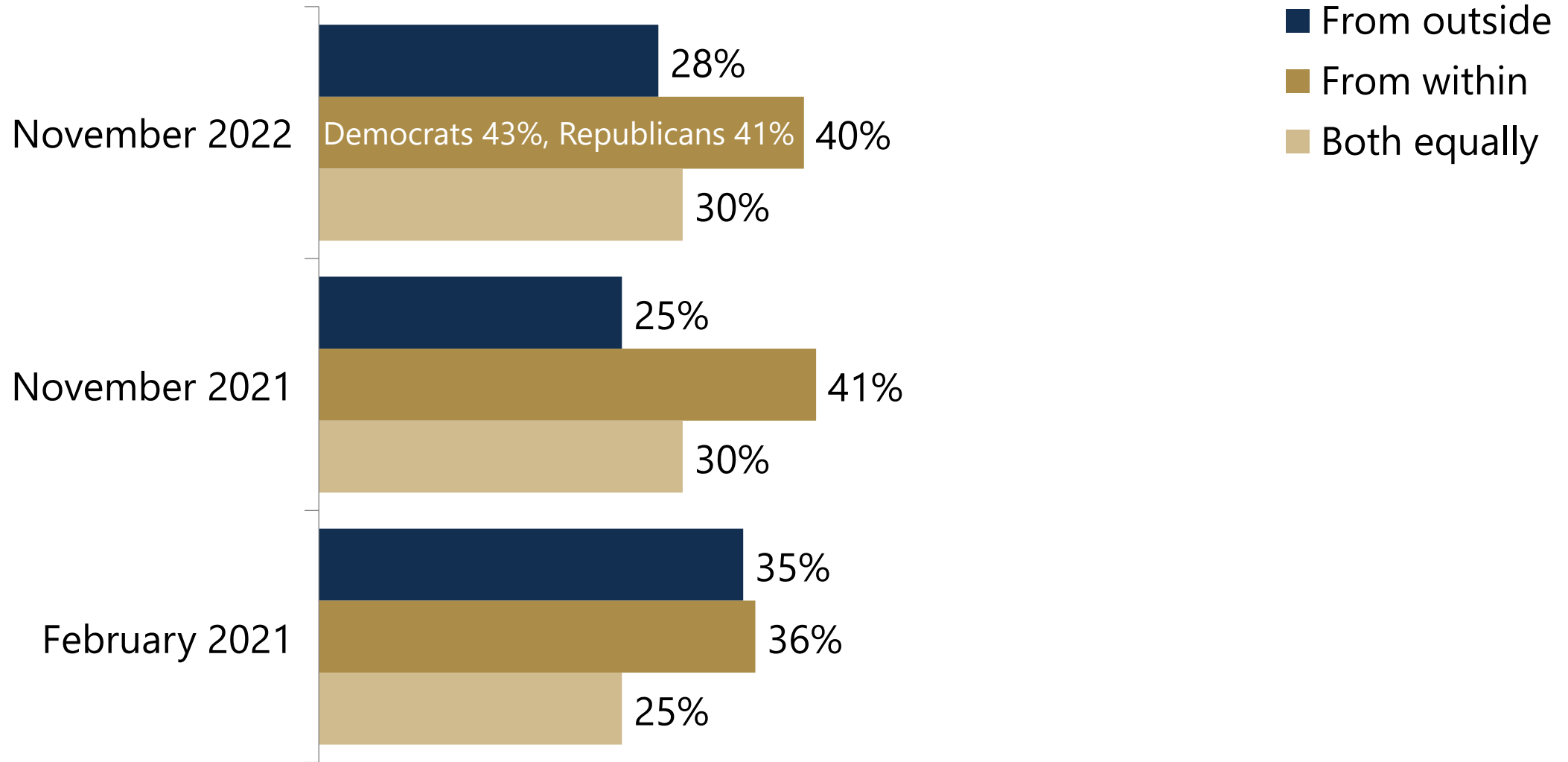| Country	Ally	Enemy
United Kingdom	86%	8%
Australia	84%	7%
Ukraine	76%	16%
Finland	74%	10%
Taiwan	69%	16%
Saudi Arabia	33%	54%
China	19%	75%
North Korea	14%	79%
Russia	13%	82%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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?

Four-in-ten think greatest threats are internal.

Legend:
- From outside (dark navy)
- From within (gold)
- Both equally (tan)

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

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

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

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Just two-in-ten want to reduce support for democracy abroad.

Increase support for democracy advocates abroad: 24%

Keep support the same level: 48%

Stop supporting democracy advocates abroad: 18%
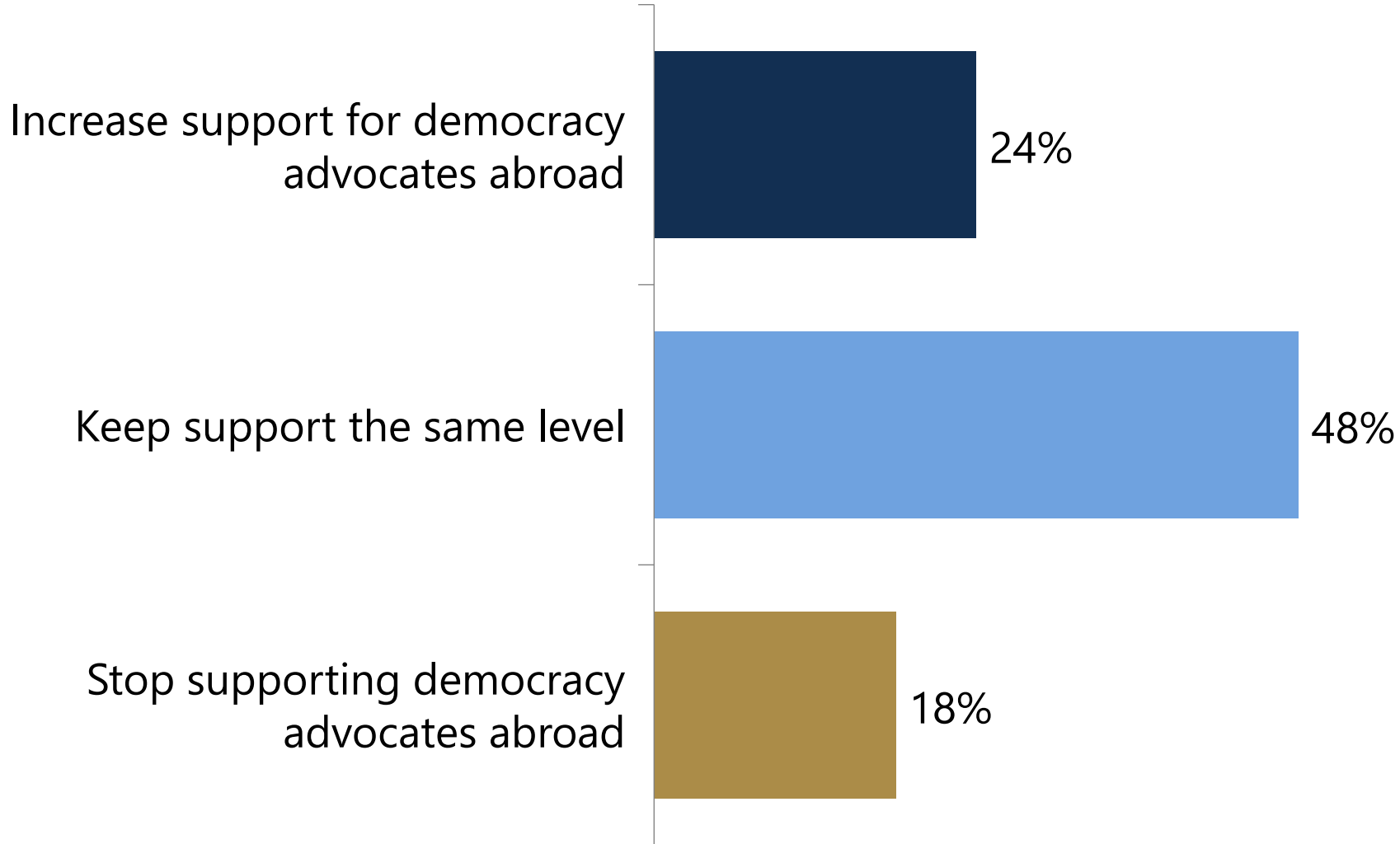
Note: Remainder Don't know

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?

Eight-in-ten see illegal immigration as a security threat.

Legend:
- Major threat (dark navy)
- Minor threat (light blue)
- Not a threat (gold)

November 2022
- Major threat: 42%
- Minor threat: 36%
- Not a threat: 16%

October 2019
- Major threat: 41%
- Minor threat: 35%
- Not a threat: 21%

November 2018
- Major threat: 40%
- Minor threat: 29%
- Not a threat: 29%
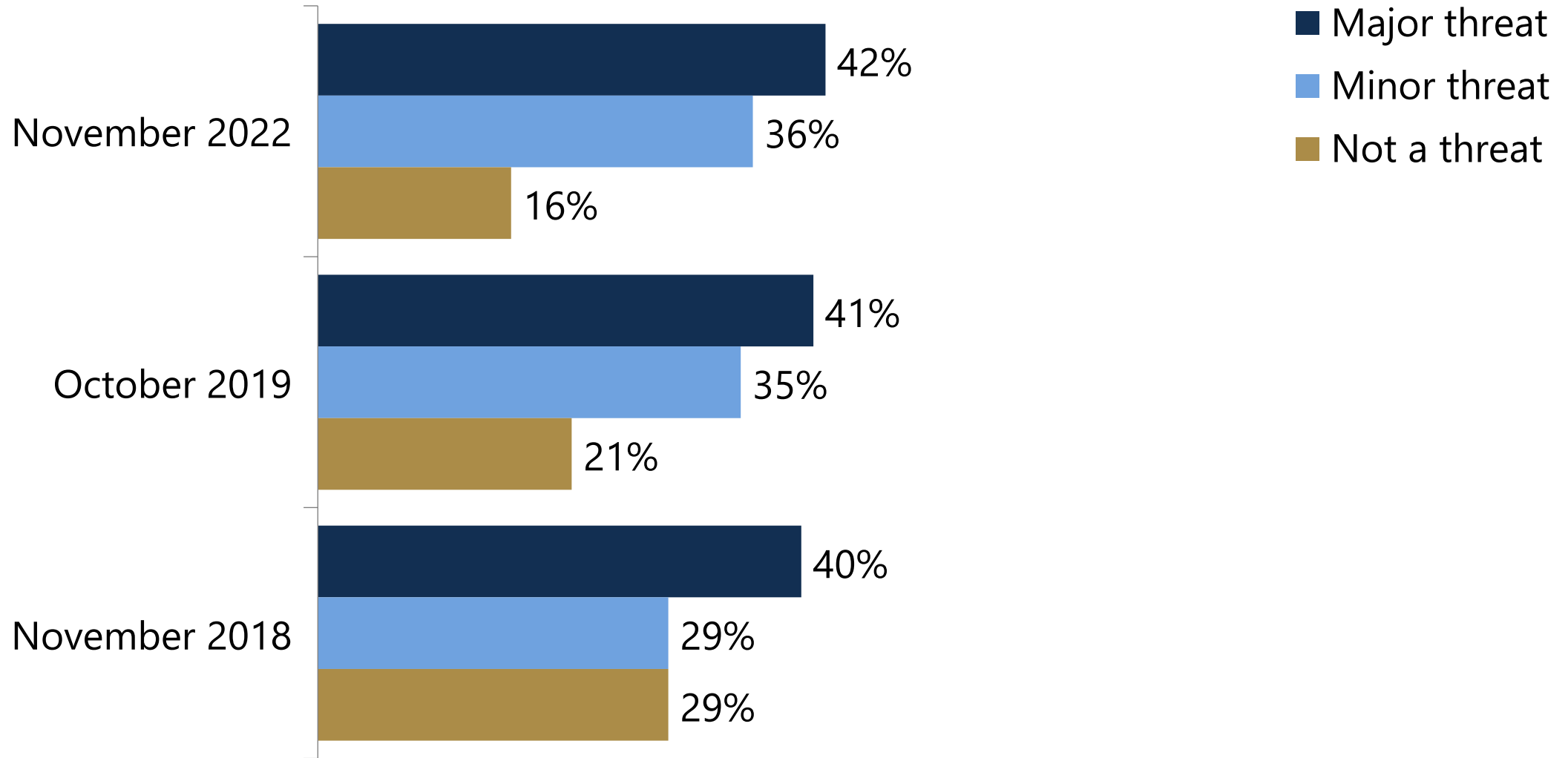
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

RUSSIA & UKRAINE

Views of NATO favorable and stable.

◆ Favorable   **◆ Unfavorable**

Democrat 78%
Independent 43%
Republican 50%

59%   62%   60%   60%

24%   22%   22%   23%

Nov '18   Oct '19   Nov '21   Nov '22
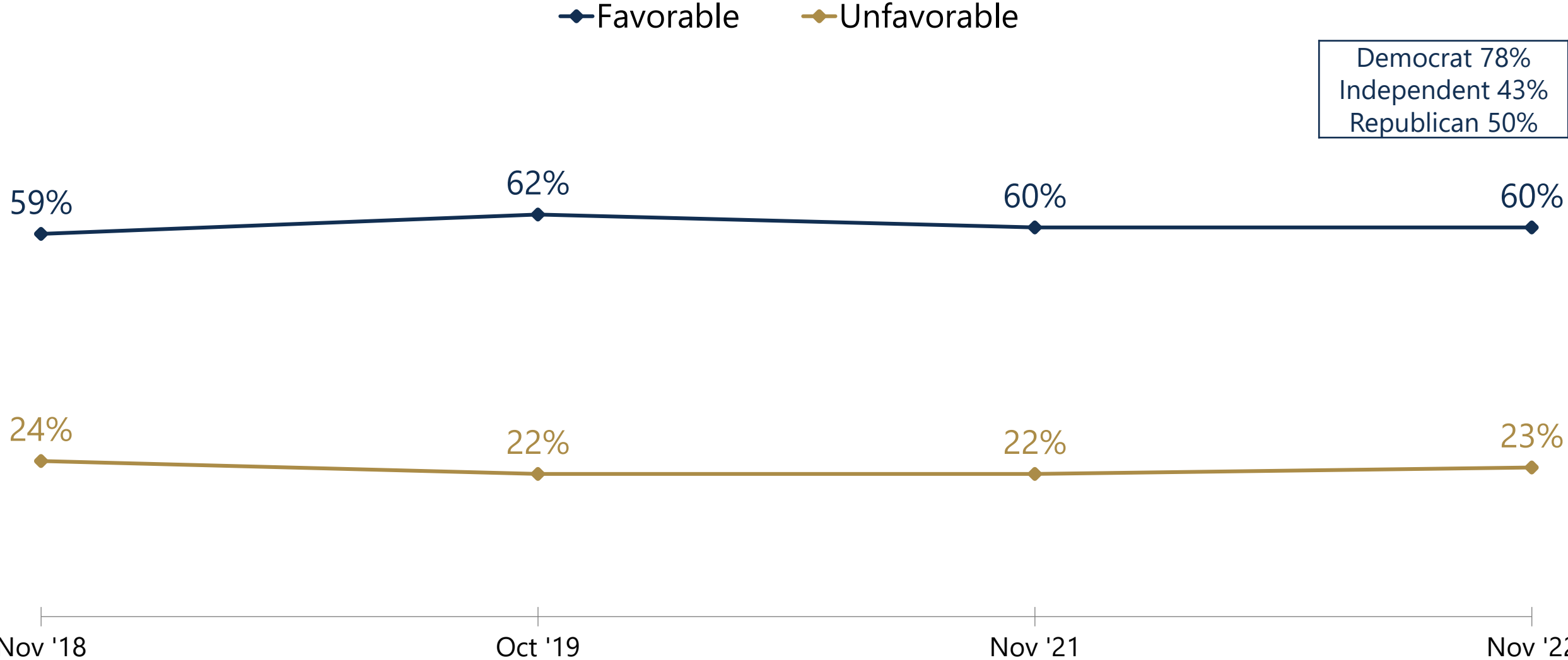
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

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

Support / Approve

Would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if Russia attacked a NATO ally in Europe?

Democrat 81%, Republican 67% — 72%

Do you approve or disapprove of the decision to add Finland and Sweden to NATO?

Democrat 79%, Republican 67% — 71%

Would you support or oppose adding Ukraine to NATO?

Democrat 72%, Republican 56% — 61%

Q71-73. Do you support or oppose...

Concern about Russian belligerence, nuclear attack up notably since last year.

■ Extremely　**■ Somewhat**　　**Total concerned**　　　Δ from Nov '21

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

Q86-91. Thinking specifically about Russia, how concerned are you about each of the following?

On balance, Americans think aid to Ukraine about right.

Too much — 24%	Democrat 13% Republican 33%
Too little — 25%	Democrat 27% Republican 23%
About right — 39%	
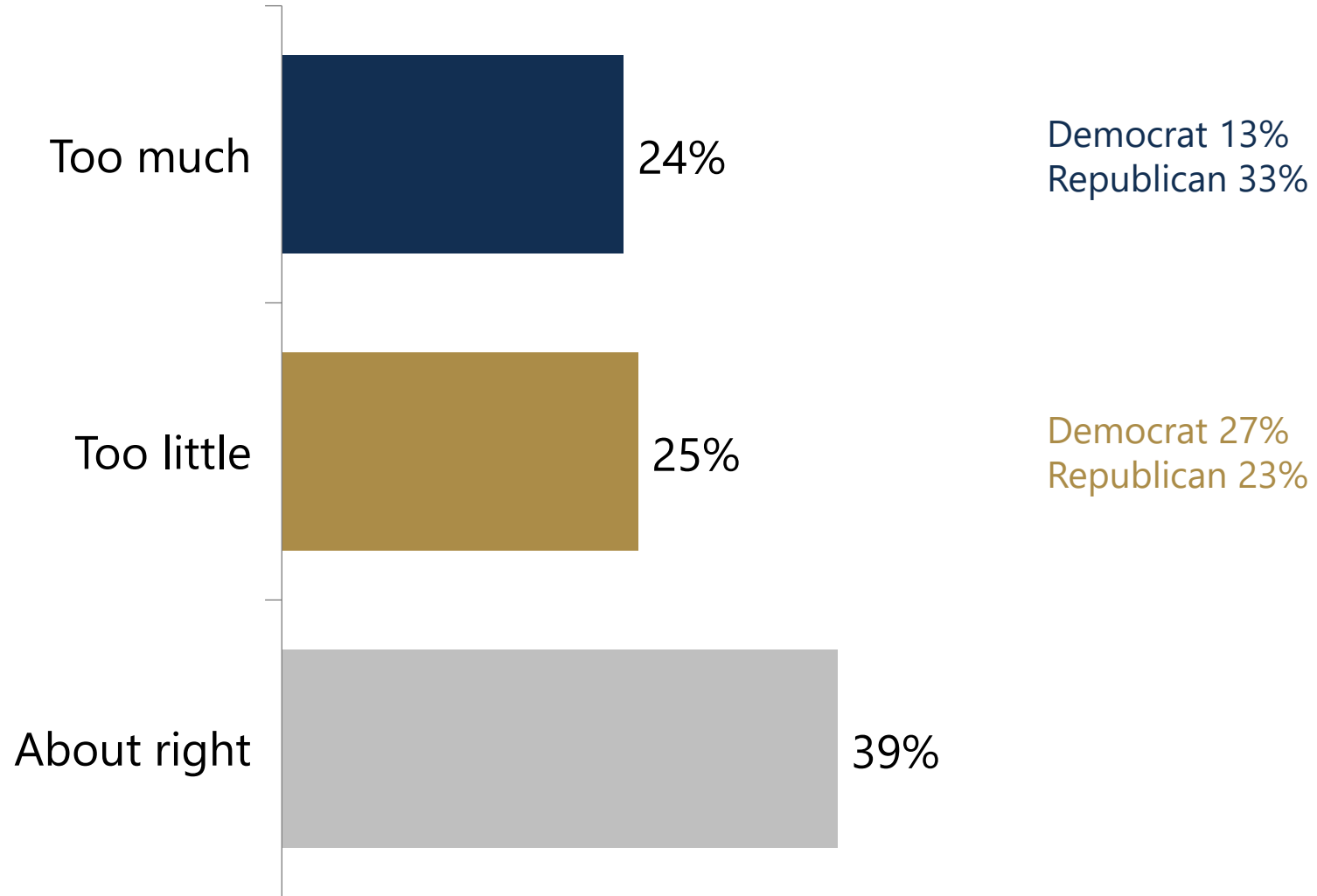
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Nearly twice as many think US should continue to provide aid as think the cost/risks are too great.

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%

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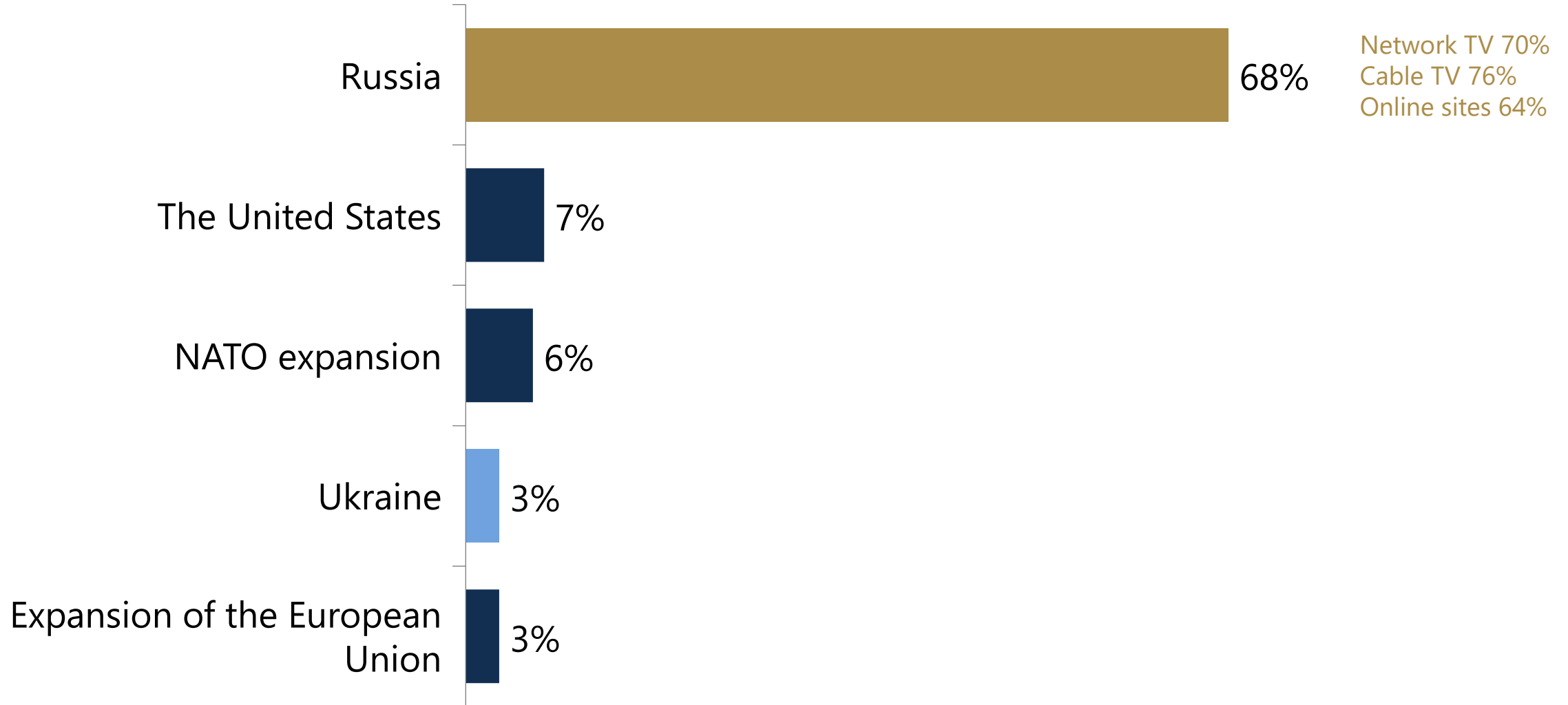
Views of approach to Ukraine, by subgroup.

Legend: ■ Stand with Ukraine ■ Disengage

Subgroup	Stand with Ukraine	Disengage
Overall	57%	33%
Under age 30	61%	28%
Age 30-44	46%	39%
Age 45-64	54%	38%
Age 65+	75%	19%
Democrat	73%	19%
Independent	44%	39%
Republican	51%	41%
Military confidence: great deal	63%	29%
Some	57%	33%
Less confident	43%	44%
Primary news source: Cable TV	61%	31%
Online sites	52%	37%
Network TV	64%	26%
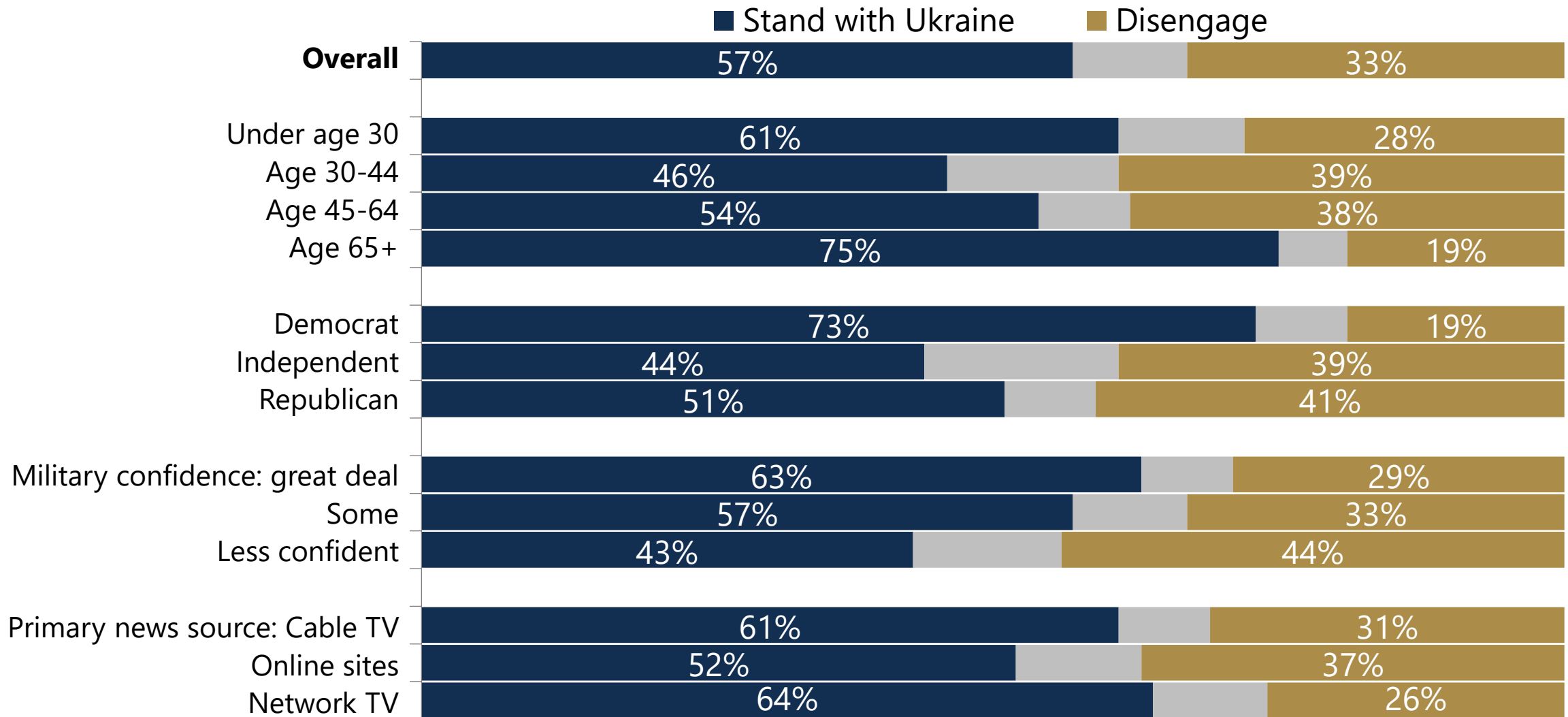
Note: Remainder Not sure / Refused

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.

Extremely ■ **Somewhat** ■ **Total concerned**

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

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

Most blame Russia for the war.

Russia **68%**

Network TV 70%
Cable TV 76%
Online sites 64%

The United States **7%**

NATO expansion **6%**

Ukraine **3%**

Expansion of the European Union **3%**

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Two-thirds think foreign propaganda influences attitudes in US.

A great deal — 27%

Some — 38%

A little — 18%

Not much at all — 9%

At least some 65%
Democrat 71%
Independent 53%
Republican 69%
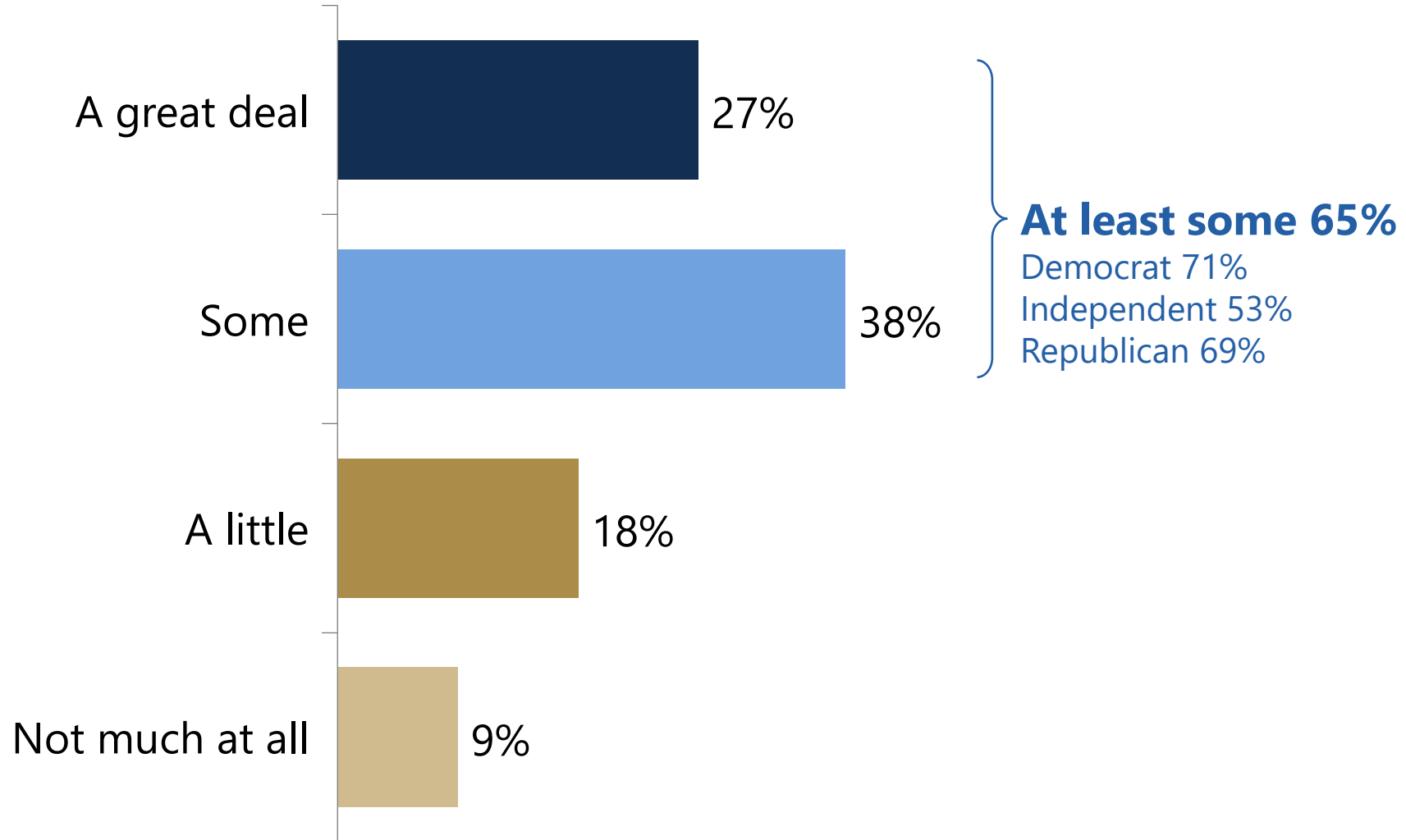
Note: Remainder Don't know

Q108. To what extent do you believe that information operations conducted by foreign governments influence opinions and attitudes in the United States?

CHINA & TAIWAN

Varied concerns about China; worry about an invasion of Taiwan doubles.

Legend: November 2022 (dark), November 2021 (light)

Concern	November 2022	November 2021
Chinese economic practices	22%	20%
Chinese military buildup	18%	19%
Chinese human rights abuses	17%	17%
China invading Taiwan	13%	7%
Chinese foreign policy	11%	13%
(All / Mix)	7%	10%
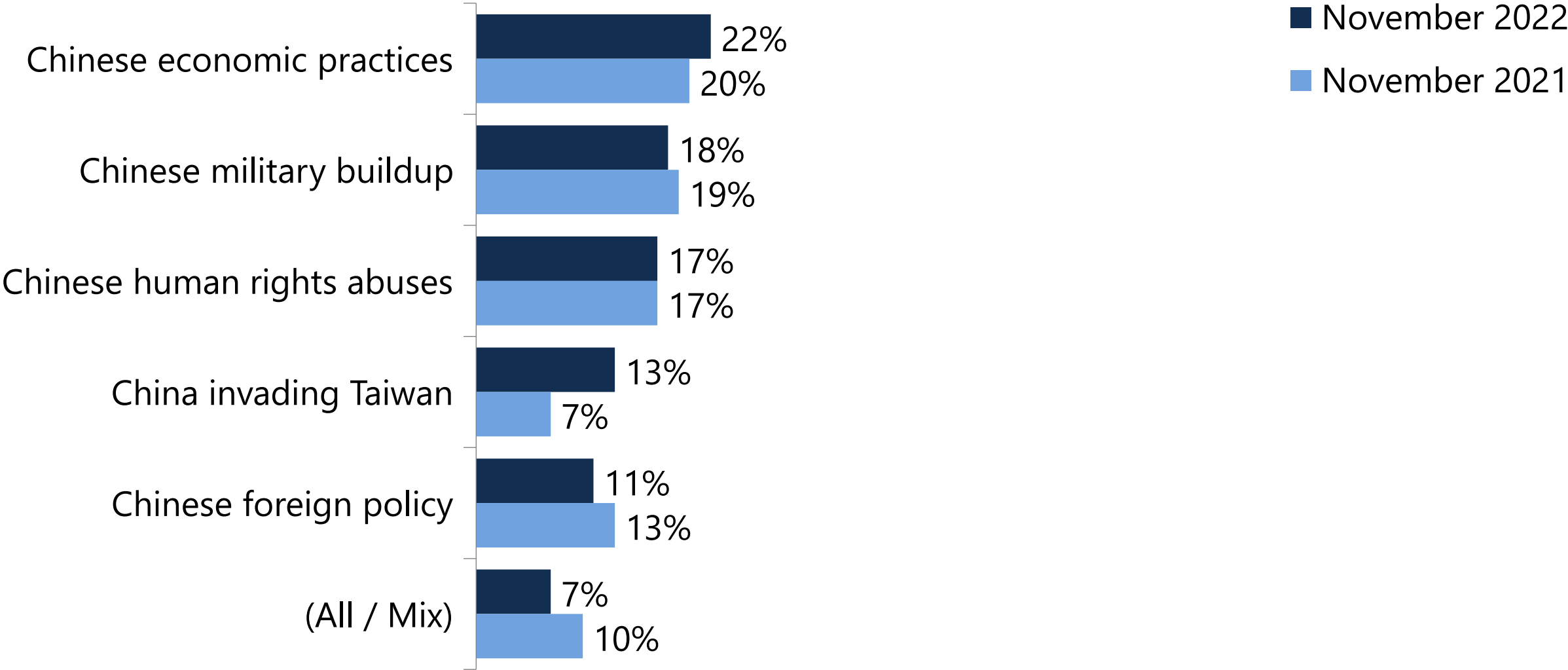
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Majority thinks US lacks a strategy for handling China.

Yes 27%

No 54%

Under 30 37%, Age 65+ 64%
Democrat 42%, Republican 67%
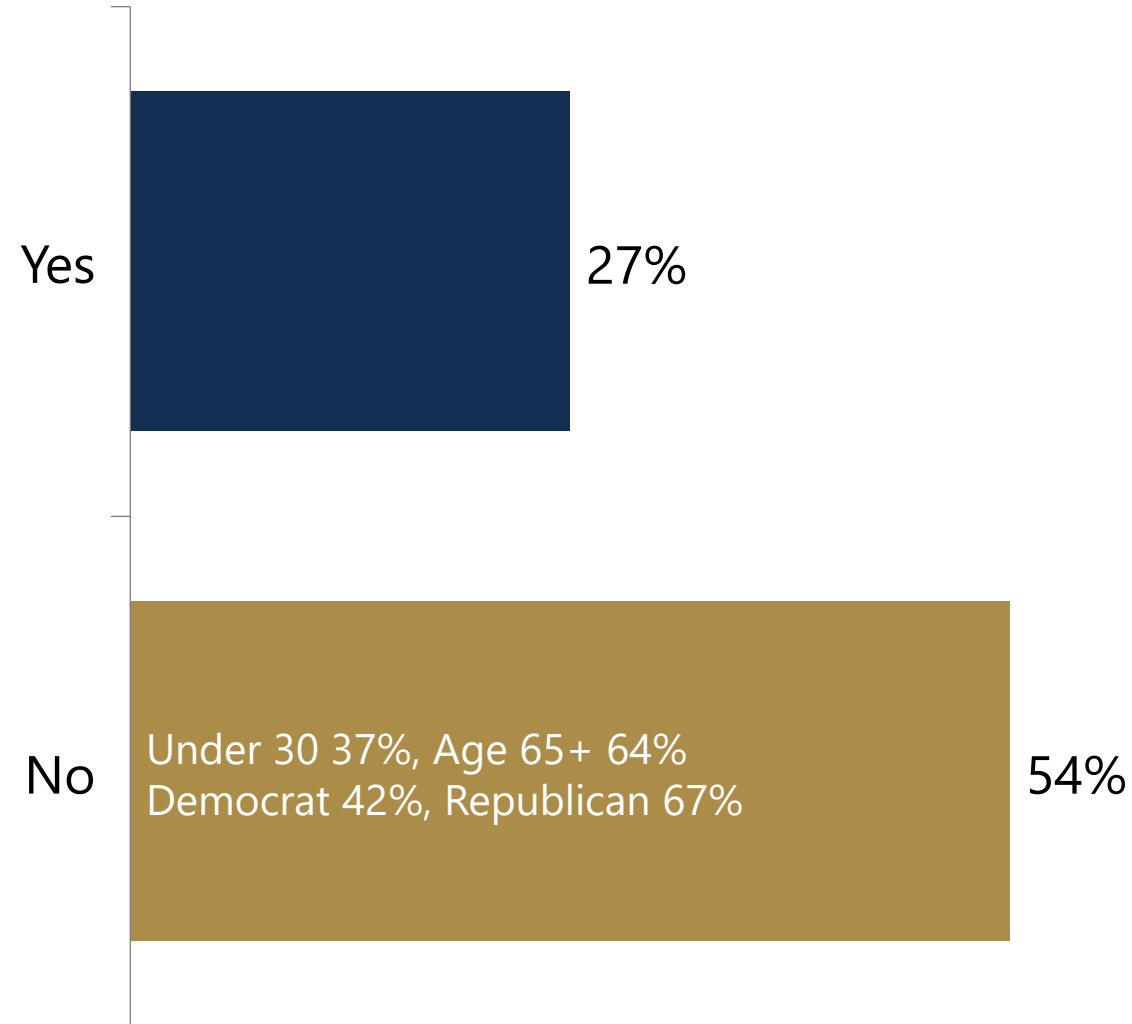
Q75. Do you think the US has a clear strategy for managing its relationship with China?

Majority supports reducing trade with China.

Support — 54%

Under 30 44%, Age 65+ 57%
White 56%, Black 47%, Hispanic 57%
Democrat 53%, Republican 61%
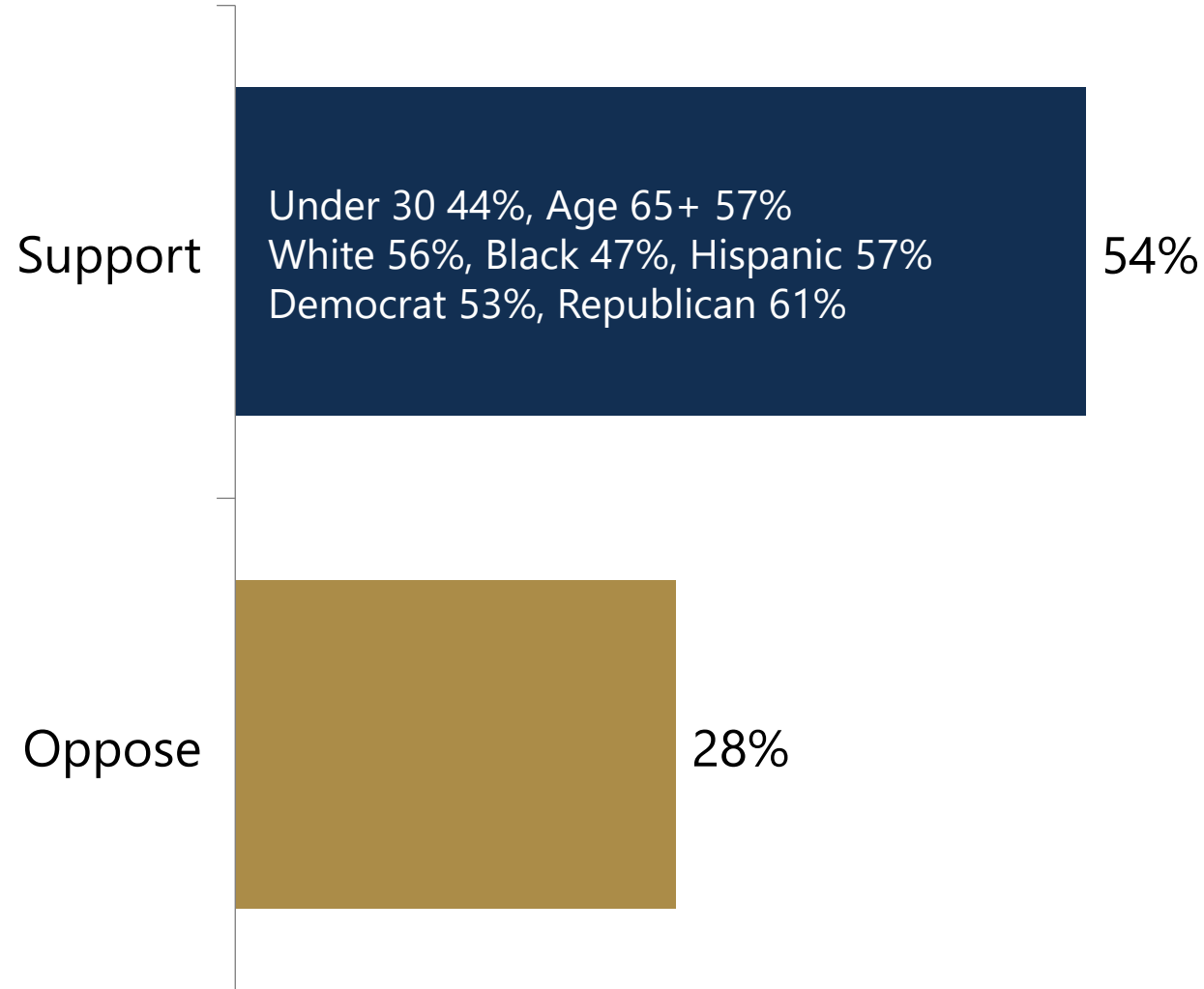
Oppose — 28%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

If China invades Taiwan, response options short of war garner the most support.

Support **Oppose** **Δ in Support from Nov '21**

Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country
73% 11% **+2**

Imposing **economic sanctions** against China
60% 23% **-6**

Sending **more military equipment**, like US is sending to Ukraine
56% 26% **NA**

Moving US military assets into the region
52% 29% **-3**

Establishing a **no-fly zone** over the area
46% 34% **-4**

Committing **US ground troops** to the defense of Taiwan
43% 36% **+3**

Note: Remainder Don't know

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?
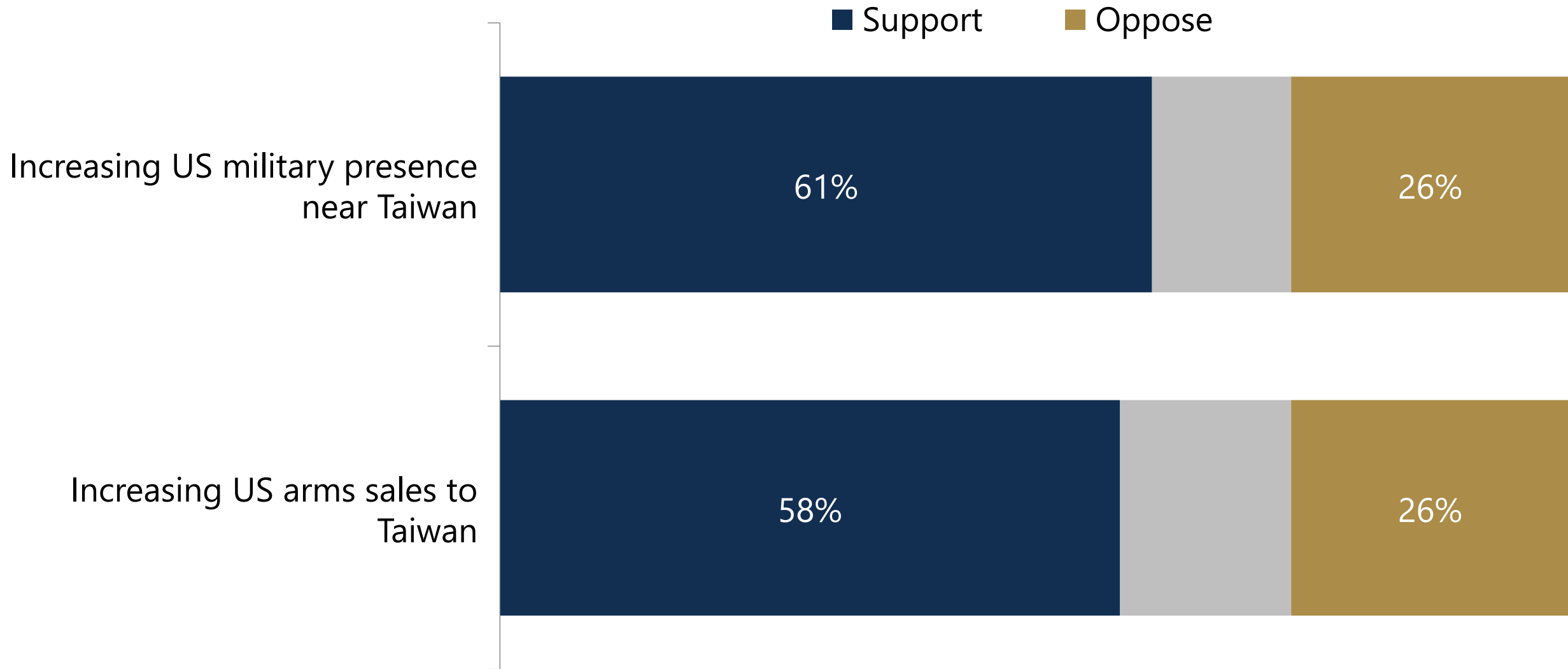
More likely to support sending US troops

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

Six-in-ten support measures to deter Chinese invasion.

Legend: ■ Support ■ Oppose

Increasing US military presence near Taiwan
61% | 26%

Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan
58% | 26%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

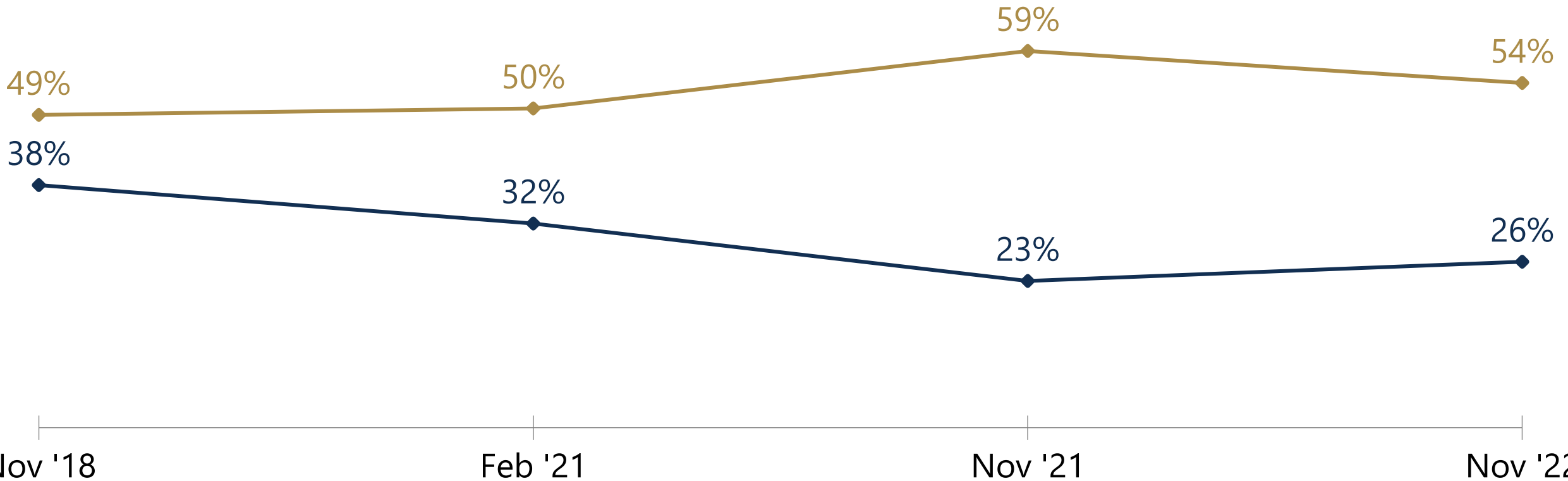# Just one-quarter see war in Afghanistan as a success.
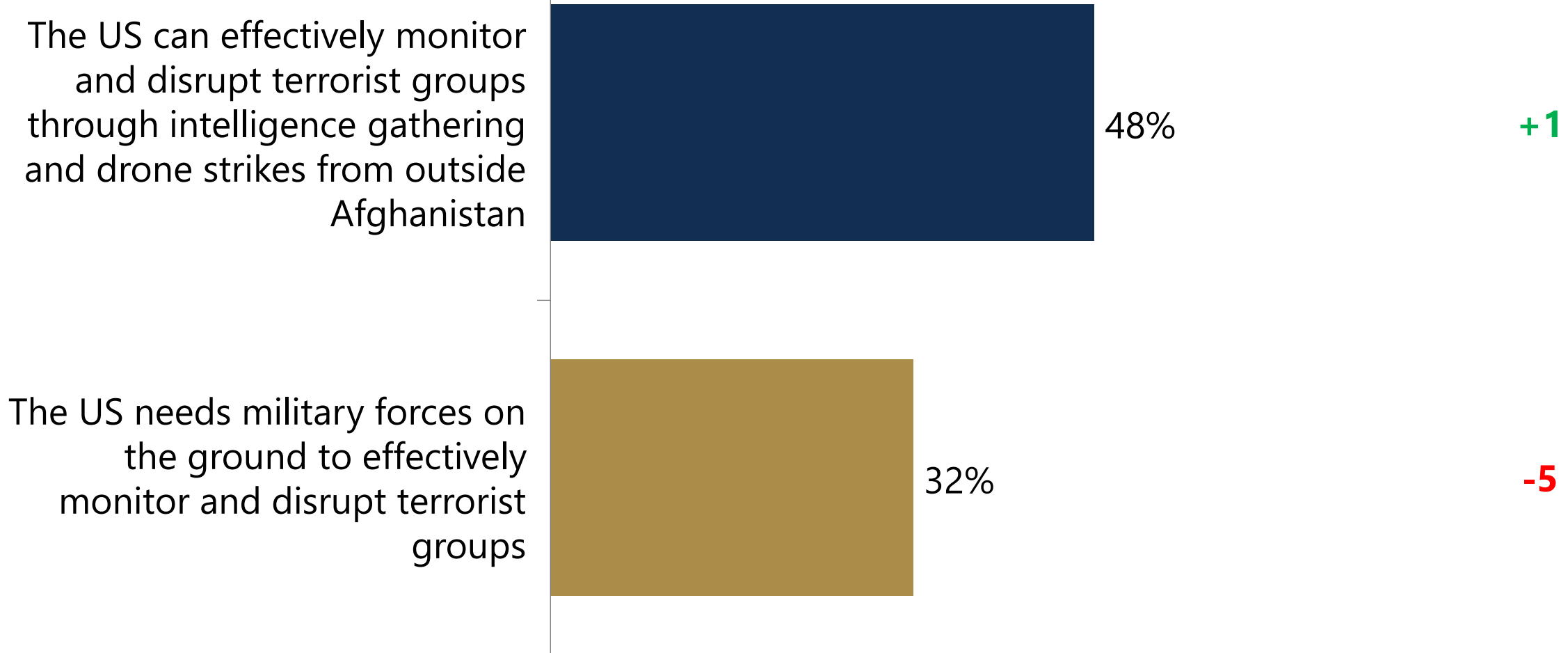
◆ Mostly a success ━━◆━━ Mostly a failure

Mostly a failure:
49% — 50% — 59% — 54%

Mostly a success:
38% — 32% — 23% — 26%

Nov '18   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

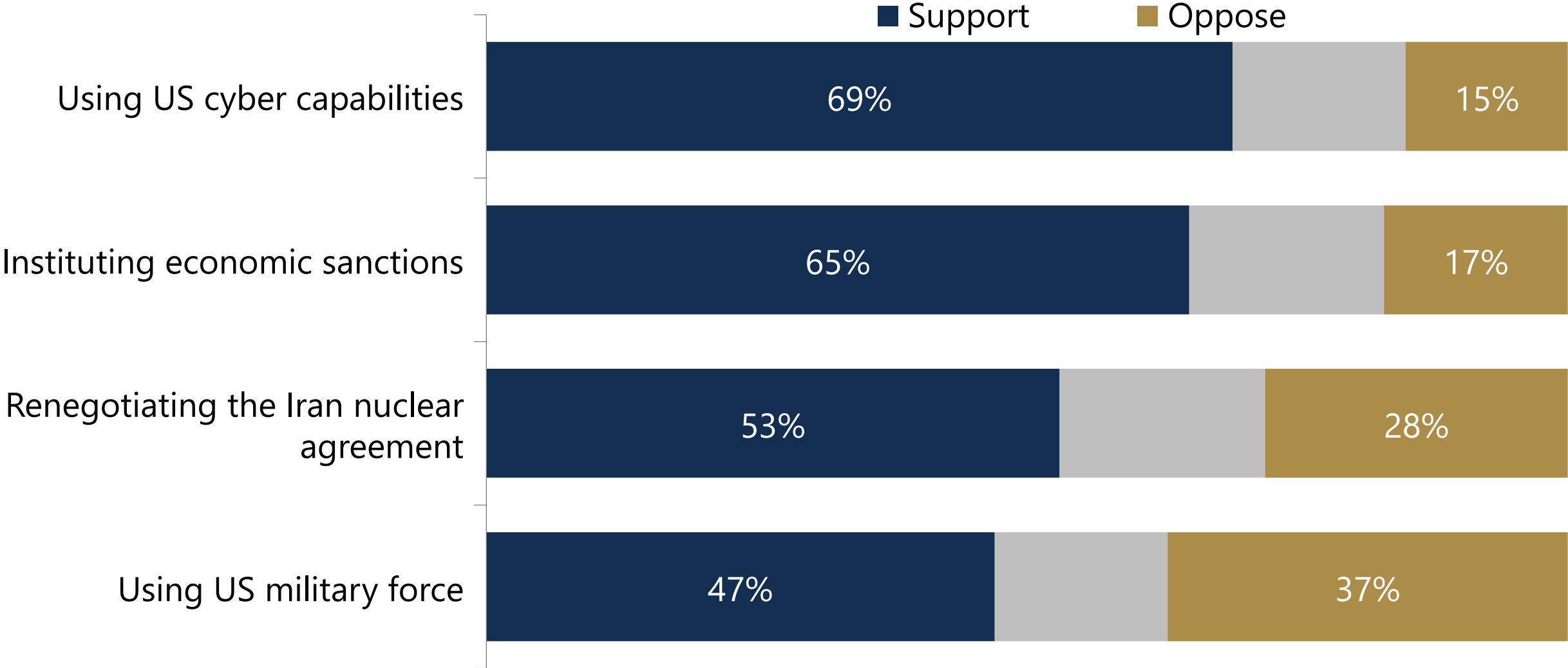# Half think US can disrupt terrorist activity with over-the-horizon capabilities.

The US can effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups through intelligence gathering and drone strikes from outside Afghanistan

48%

+1

The US needs military forces on the ground to effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups

32%

-5

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Support for options to prevent Iranian nuclear development.

■ Support ■ Oppose

Using US cyber capabilities
69%   15%

Instituting economic sanctions
65%   17%

Renegotiating the Iran nuclear agreement
53%   28%

Using US military force
47%   37%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

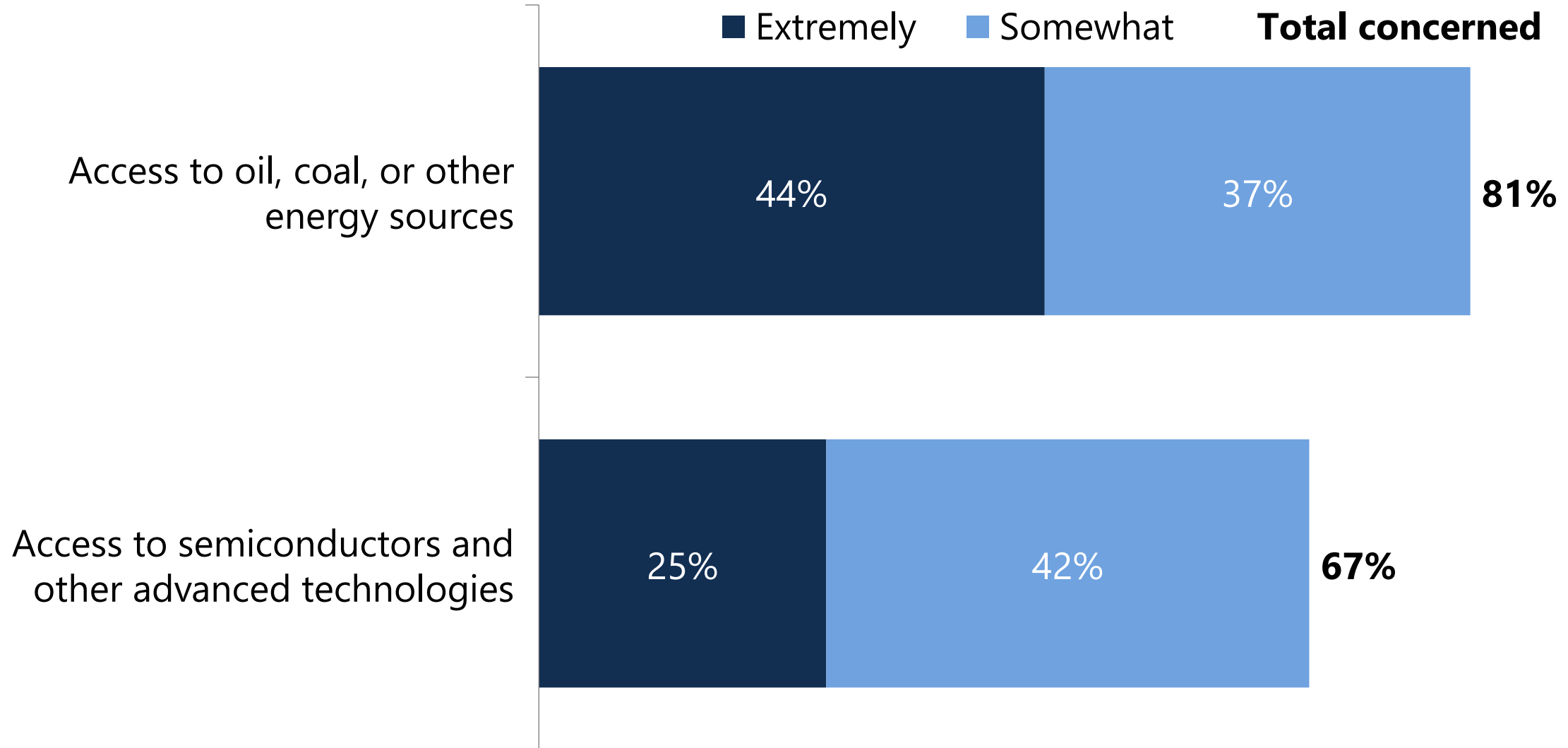# Nearly half support military spending on climate change.

Support   Oppose

November 2022
- Support: 47%
- Oppose: 39%

November 2021
- Support: 50%
- Oppose: 39%
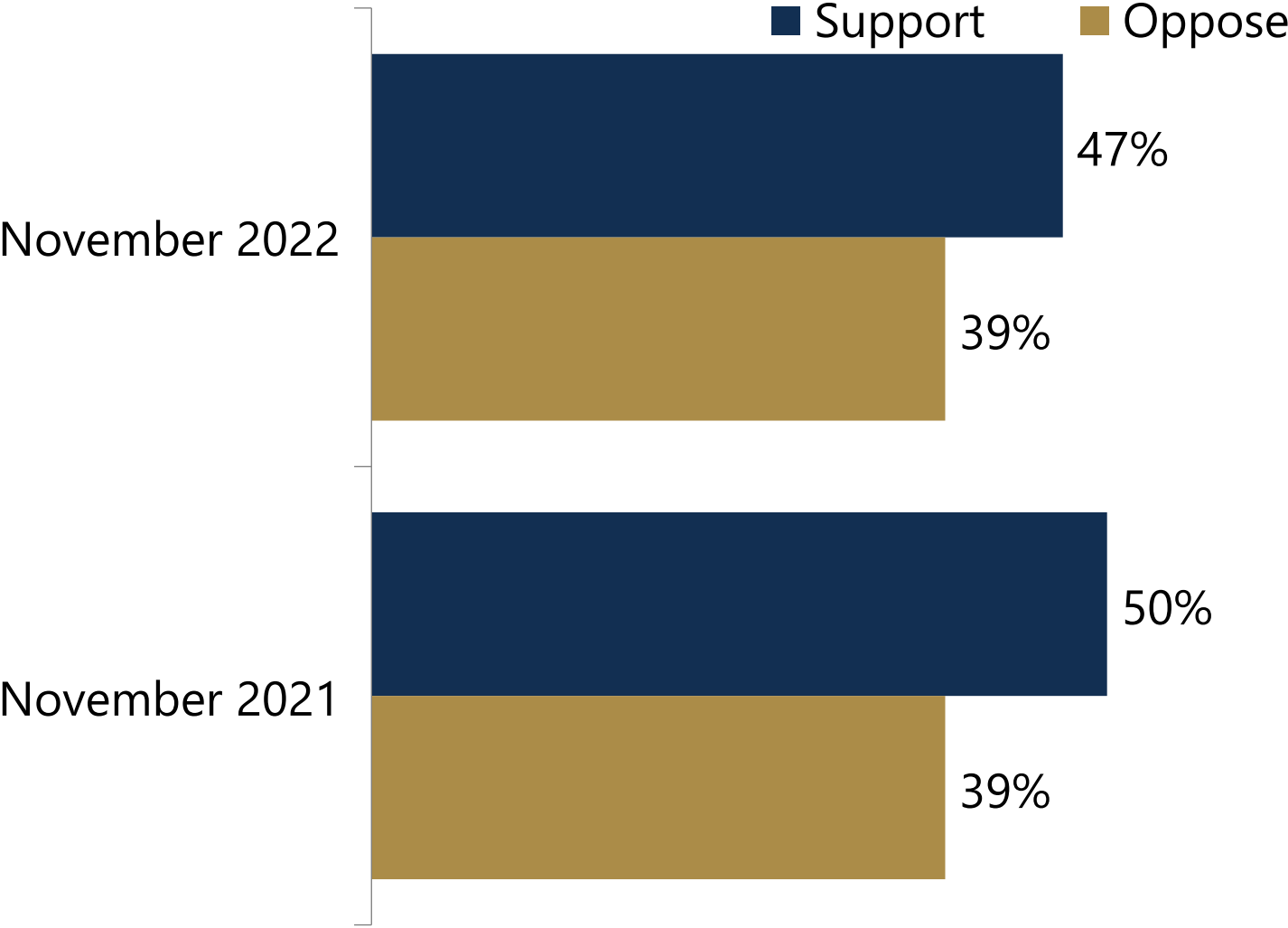
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

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?
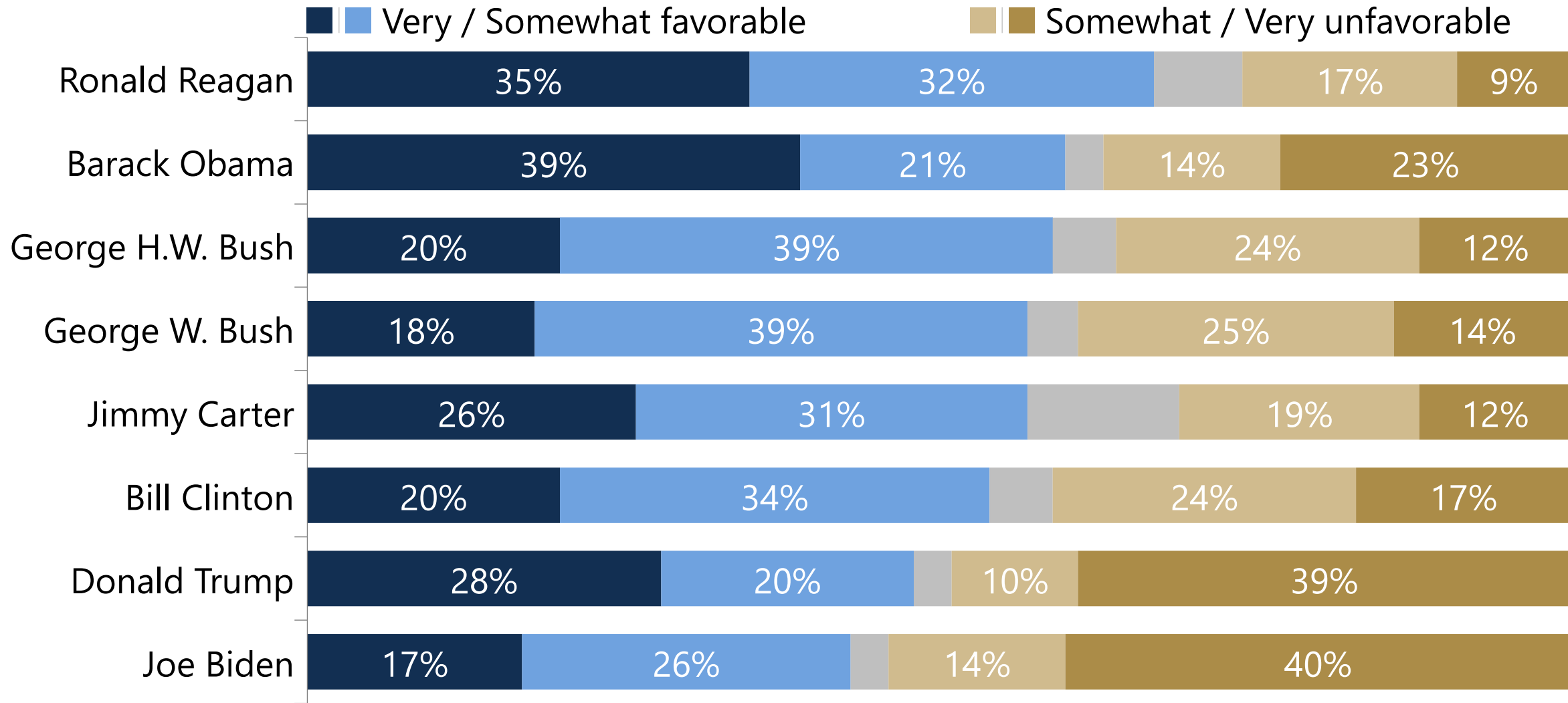
EVALUATIONS OF PAST PRESIDENTS

Favorability Ratings of Past Presidents

Very / Somewhat favorable • **Somewhat / Very unfavorable**

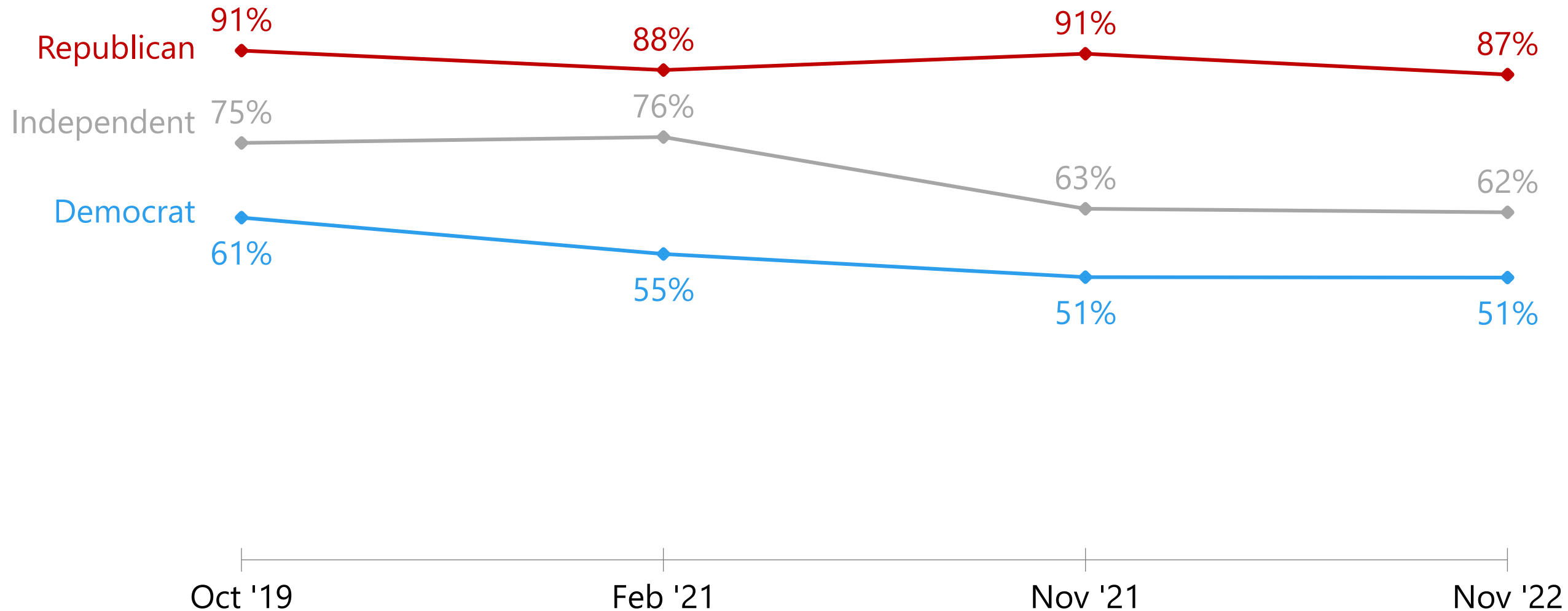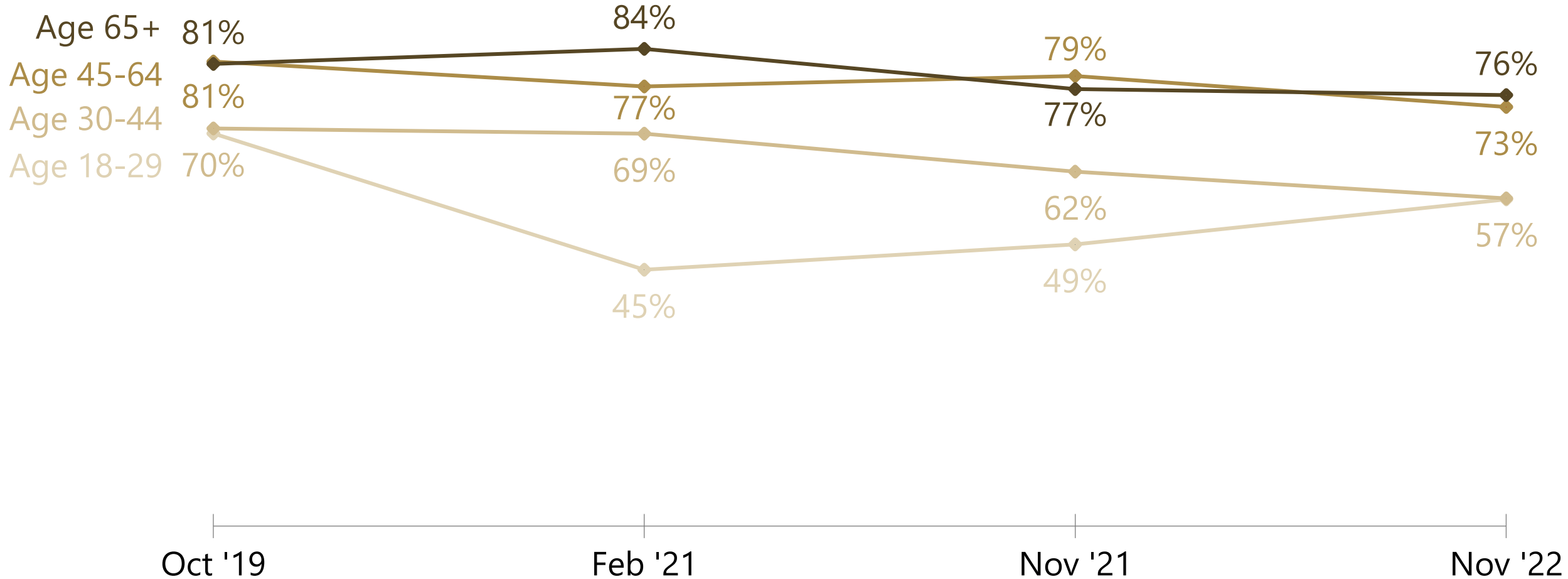| President	Very/Somewhat favorable		Somewhat/Very unfavorable	
Ronald Reagan	35%	32%	17%	9%
Barack Obama	39%	21%	14%	23%
George H.W. Bush	20%	39%	24%	12%
George W. Bush	18%	39%	25%	14%
Jimmy Carter	26%	31%	19%	12%
Bill Clinton	20%	34%	24%	17%
Donald Trump	28%	20%	10%	39%
Joe Biden	17%	26%	14%	40%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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.

Reagan favorability by party identification.

Total Favorable

Republican   91%   88%   91%   87%

Independent   75%   76%   63%   62%

Democrat   61%   55%   51%   51%

Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22

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.

Reagan favorability by age.

Total Favorable

Age 65+
Age 45-64
Age 30-44
Age 18-29

81%
81%
70%

84%
77%
69%
45%

79%
77%
62%
49%

76%
73%
57%

Oct '19   Feb '21   Nov '21   Nov '22

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Profile of the Sample

Category	Group	% of Sample
Sex	Male	46%
	Female	52
Age	18-29	17
	30-44	25
	45-64	38
	65+	19
Race	White	76
	Black, African-American	13
	Hispanic or Latino	4
	Asian or Asian-American	3
Education	High school degree or less	25
	Some / 2-year college degree	33
	4-year college degree	25
	Postgraduate degree	15

Category	Group	% of Sample
Region	East	19%
	Midwest	22
	South	38
	West	21
Party	Democrat	38
	Republican	39
	Independent	22
Philosophy	Liberal	26
	Moderate	31
	Conservative	33
Service	Service member	5
	Veteran	10
2020 vote	Trump	36
	Biden	35