



Sample: 1,257 US adults
Interviewing dates: May 20- 27, 2024

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

FINAL TOPLINE RESULTS

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
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>
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

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.

FOREIGN POLICY APPROACH

Most of this survey will focus on foreign policy and international events.

3. 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?]**

	May 2024	Nov <u>2023</u>	Nov <u>2022</u>	Nov <u>2021</u>	Feb <u>2021</u>	Oct <u>2019</u>
TOTAL MORE ENGAGED/LEAD	54%	42%	40%	42%	51%	50%
TOTAL LESS ENGAGED/REACT	33	32	32	30	27	33
More engaged and take the lead, strongly	31%	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
More engaged and take the lead, somewhat	23	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Less engaged and react to events, somewhat	20	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Less engaged and react to events, strongly	12	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
(Depends)	10	23	24	22	19	11
(Don't know)	3	3	4	6	3	5

* *Wording note: results prior to 2024 did not include strongly/somewhat follow-up question*

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about US leadership and engagement in international events. **[IF AGREE/DISAGREE: Is that strongly (agree/disagree), or only somewhat?]** **[RANDOMIZE]**

		-----Agree-----		-----Disagree-----				
		TOTAL	Strongly	what	TOTAL	what	Strongly	(DK)
4. US leadership and engagement in international events is essential for promoting trade and boosting our economy.	May 2024	78%	41	37	19	12	7	3
	June 2023	76%	33	43	21	15	6	4
5. The US has a moral obligation to stand up for human rights and democracy whenever possible in international affairs.	May 2024	77%	44	33	21	14	7	3
	June 2023	74%	38	35	23	15	9	3
	<i>*June 2023 Wording: The US should stand up for...</i>							
6. A strong US military is essential to maintaining peace and prosperity, both at home and abroad.	May 2024	86%	61	25	12	8	4	2
	June 2023	85%	58	27	14	9	4	2
7. The US is better served by withdrawing from international affairs and focusing more attention on problems here at home.	May 2024	62%	34	28	35	18	17	3
	June 2023	65%	34	32	32	18	14	3



8. Overall, do you think US involvement with international events is mostly beneficial for the world, or mostly harmful?

Beneficial	61%
Harmful	27
(Don't know)	12

9. Overall, is American involvement with international events mostly beneficial for the US or mostly harmful?

Beneficial	57%
Harmful	33
(Don't know)	10

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

How much do you think each of the following matters to US security and prosperity?

[RANDOMIZE]

		-----Matters-----			-----Does not matter----			
		A great		Some-	Not		Not	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>deal</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>much</u>	<u>at all</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
10.	The war between Russia and Ukraine	73%	40	32	25	15	10	2
11.	The war between Israel and Hamas	74%	43	31	23	13	10	3
12.	A potential war between China and Taiwan	73%	43	30	23	13	9	4
13.	Illegal immigration across the southern border of the United States	80%	57	23	19	11	8	1



NATO

[Q14-Q20 SAMPLE B ONLY]

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

	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
TOTAL FAVORABLE	62%	60%	60%	62%	59%
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	26	23	22	22	24
Very favorable	26%	29%	26%	25%	26%
Somewhat favorable	35	31	34	37	33
Somewhat unfavorable	17	15	15	14	15
Very unfavorable	8	8	7	8	9
(Don't know)	13	17	18	16	16

15. Which, if any, of the following do you see as the main benefits of NATO for the US? *Please indicate all that apply.* **[RANDOMIZE, MULTISELECT]**

Having allies who will stand by us if we are attacked	77%
Checking the Russians so that they do not acquire more territory and power	69
Detering violent conflict in Europe that would disrupt international trade	66
Protecting freedom and democracy on the continent	61
None of the above [EXCLUSIVE]	20

16. Which, if any, of the following do you see as the man drawbacks of NATO for the US? *Please indicate all that apply.* **[RANDOMIZE, MULTISELECT]**

The possibility of committing the US to a European war	76%
The financial costs of aiding and supplying the alliance	74
Provoking the Russians into a conflict	39
None of the above [EXCLUSIVE]	22

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

	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
They do their fair share	31%	29%	27%	26%
They should do more	59	55	58	61
(Don't know)	10	17	15	13

18. As you may know, all NATO members are required to respond if one country in the alliance is attacked. This is called the collective defense principle. Knowing this, would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if a NATO ally in Europe was attacked?

Support	72%
Oppose	16
(Don't know)	12



19. The only time the NATO collective defense principle has been used was after the September 11th terrorist attacks, when our allies supported the US in the war against terrorism. Knowing this, would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if a NATO ally in Europe was attacked?

Support	73%
Oppose	15
(Don't know)	12

20. As you may know, NATO countries have pledged to each spend at least 2% of their GDP on their own national defense. If a NATO ally is not spending that much on defense and is attacked, do you think the US should still come to that ally's defense, or not?

Should	52%
Should not	30
(Don't know)	18

UKRAINE

On another subject...

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

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

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

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

22. Who do you want to win the war between Russia and Ukraine?

Russia	7%
Ukraine	59
(Neither)	21
(Don't know)	13

[SAMPLE B ONLY]

23. How important do you think it is to the US that Ukraine win the war?

	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2023</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
TOTAL IMPORTANT	75%	76%	75%
TOTAL UNIMPORTANT	17	16	17
Very	43%	48%	46%
Somewhat	33	28	30
Not very	8	10	9
Not at all	9	7	8
(Don't know)	8	8	8



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

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

[IF SUPPORT IN Q24] [N=722]

25. What is the main reason you support sending weapons to Ukraine? **[OPEN END, ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES]**

Ukraine needs help defending itself	25%
Need to check Russian power / Do not want to see Vladimir Putin with more power	20
Russia won't stop waging war/ Conflict expanding across Europe / Conquering European territory	16
Do not want Russia to win / Russia should not have invaded Ukraine	15
Ukraine needs to win the war / Support Ukrainian sovereignty	13
Ally / Support is in the best interest for both countries / Russia is an enemy of US	9
Ukraine is the underdog / Was unjustly attacked / Attacked by a bully	9
Defending democracy / Should support those fighting for freedom against dictatorships	7
General anti-Russian sentiment	7
Ukraine needs military supplies / Russia has stronger military	5
Moral obligation / Humanitarian reasons / Anti-war	5
Would rather send weapons than be involved on the ground	4
Aiding Ukraine will help achieve geopolitical balance	3
Concern the conflict will extend to US soil / Conquering US territory	2
Good for US economy	1
Other	2
Not sure / Refused	1



[IF OPPOSE IN Q24] [N=400]

26. What is the main reason you oppose sending weapons to Ukraine? **[OPEN END, ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES]**

Spending too much / Spending taxpayer dollars	18%
Should focus on America first / Stay out of foreign conflict	17
Problem does not concern the US	16
Money could be used for more important domestic issues	13
General dislike of violence, war, or weapons	10
Potential corruption / No accountability for weapons or money	10
Will further escalate the conflict / Provoke Russia	9
No exit plan / Need to stop / Perpetuate the war	8
Can't trust Ukraine / Ukraine selling weapons and not using them / Money laundering	7
US Should keep its own weapons / Might need own weapons to fight war	7
Fighting a losing battle / Waste of resources / Russia is going to win	5
Ukraine may turn against US / Use weapons against US	4
Ukraine is not an ally / Not a NATO member	3
Peace talks / Humanitarian aid would be more beneficial	3
Other	5
Not sure / Refused	2

Next, I'm going to read several reasons you might hear for supporting aid to Ukraine. Please tell me whether each of the following makes you much more likely to support aid to Ukraine, somewhat more likely, or if it makes no difference. If you don't believe something, you can say that as well.

[RANDOMIZE] [Q27-20 SPLIT A. Q31-34 SPLIT B]

		-----More likely-----				
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Much more</u>	<u>Some-what</u>	<u>No difference</u>	<u>Don't believe</u>	<u>(Don't Know)</u>
27. [A] [DEGRADING RUSSIA] Providing aid to Ukraine allows us to weaken Russian military capabilities without risking American lives. Weakening Russia also allows our military to focus on other challenges, like countering Iran and China.	62%	35	27	17	15	6
28. [A] [US JOBS] 90% of money we budget for aiding Ukraine is actually spent in the United States, building and replacing weapons we send to Ukraine from US stockpiles. This creates good manufacturing jobs at home and boosts the US economy.	57%	29	28	22	17	5



	-----More likely-----					(Don't Know)
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Much more</u>	<u>Some-what</u>	<u>No difference</u>	<u>Don't believe</u>	
29. [A] [SMALL AMOUNTS] Military aid to Ukraine is very inexpensive compared to overall US military spending. Most aid proposals amount to 1 or 2% of the total yearly US military budget. This is something we can easily afford.	52%	26	26	20	22	6
30. [A] [ARSENAL OF FREEDOM] The United States should be the arsenal of freedom. If Ukrainians and others around the world are willing to risk their lives to defend their freedom, we should get them the weapons they need to protect themselves.	60%	33	27	20	16	4
31. [B] [RUSSIA WINNING] After two years of war, Russia appears to have the advantage on the ground, in large part because Ukraine is running out of the ammunition and weapons it needs to defend itself. Ukrainians are still willing to fight, but Russia could win if we do not provide aid.	66%	37	29	21	9	5
32. [B] [INCREASING CAPACITY] By providing aid to Ukraine, we are investing in our own capacity to produce weapons and ammunition here at home. We are building factories, restoring our own stockpiles, and increasing our capacity to defend against adversaries like China, Iran, and North Korea.	55%	29	26	21	18	6
33. [B] [DOMINOES] If Russia wins in Ukraine, the rest of Europe will be at risk. US allies like Poland would be directly threatened, and the US would be obligated to join a war if Russia attacked a NATO ally.	71%	40	31	15	10	4
34. [B] [DEFENSE OF SOVEREIGNTY] Supporting Ukraine is crucial for upholding the principle of national sovereignty. Ukraine, like any other nation, has the right to protect its borders and determine its own future without interference from external powers.	69%	42	27	22	6	4



35. Now that we have discussed the issue in a bit more detail, would you say you support or oppose sending US weapons to Ukraine?

Support	64%
Oppose	27
(Don't know)	10

CHINA

Thinking now about China...

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

	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>
Yes	27%	27%
No	56	54
(Don't know)	17	20

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

[RANDOMIZE. Q37-42 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q43-47 SAMPLE B ONLY]

		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----			(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>	Extre- <u>mely</u>	Some- <u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	Not <u>very</u>	Not <u>at all</u>	
37. Chinese military build-up overall	May 2024	82%	46	36	16	11	5	2
	Nov 2023	82%	45	37	15	10	5	3
	Feb 2021	78%	44	33	16	11	5	7
38. China's treatment of Hong Kong	May 2024	68%	32	36	23	15	8	9
	Feb 2021	75%	45	31	14	8	5	11
39. Human rights violations	May 2024	83%	48	35	16	9	7	2
	Feb 2021	85%	58	27	10	7	4	5
40. Technology theft	May 2024	83%	55	28	15	12	4	1
	Feb 2021	84%	54	30	11	8	3	5
41. China holding \$1.2 trillion in US government debt	May 2024	80%	53	27	17	10	7	3
	Feb 2021	82%	57	25	13	8	5	5
42. Chinese development of artificial intelligence capabilities	May 2024	82%	48	34	16	10	6	2
	Feb 2021	77%	43	34	16	11	5	7
43. China overtaking the US as the world's number one superpower	May 2024	75%	45	31	23	14	8	2
	Nov 2023	75%	42	33	23	14	9	3
	Feb 2021	75%	45	30	20	13	8	5
44. The isolation of Taiwan	May 2024	68%	34	35	22	14	7	10
	Feb 2021	66%	31	34	20	13	7	14
<i>For ref: The potential invasion of Taiwan</i>	Nov 2023	73%	31	42	21	13	7	6
45. China's treatment of the Uyghur ethnic group	May 2024	62%	31	31	22	14	8	16
	Feb 2021	66%	40	26	15	10	5	19



		-----Concerned-----			-----Not concerned-----			(DK)
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Extre- mely</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	
46. Unfair trade practices	May 2024	80%	44	36	17	13	4	3
	Feb 2021	81%	48	33	13	8	5	6
47. China surpassing the United States as the world's biggest economy	May 2024	70%	35	35	28	19	8	2
	Nov 2023	72%	37	36	25	17	8	3
	Feb 2021	75%	45	30	20	13	8	5

[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>
48. Increasing US military presence near Taiwan	May 2024	58%	27	16
	Nov 2023	60%	25	15
	June 2023	56%	30	14
	Nov 2022	61%	26	14
49. Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan	May 2024	56%	27	17
	Nov 2023	55%	28	17
	June 2023	52%	31	17
	Nov 2022	58%	26	16

On another subject...

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

50. Do you think the social media app TikTok should be banned in the US, or not?

	<u>May 2024</u>	<u>June 2023</u>
Should be banned	41%	40%
Should not be	44	44
(Don't know)	14	16

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

51. As you may know, TikTok is owned by a Chinese company that is closely connected to the Chinese government. US national security experts are concerned that China can use TikTok to gather personal information about American citizens and to influence US public opinion. Knowing this, do you think TikTok should be banned in the US, or not?

Should be banned	51%
Should not be	39
(Don't know)	10



MIDDLE EAST

Thinking now about the conflict in the Middle East, how concerned are you about each of the following? [RANDOMIZE]

	---Concerned---			---Not concerned---			(DK)
	TOTAL	Extr- emely	Some- what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	
52. The risk of further terrorist attacks against Israel	75%	40	35	22	14	8	3
53. The risk of further terrorist attacks against Americans or US interests in the Middle East	84%	48	36	14	10	4	2
54. Humanitarian conditions in Gaza as a result of the war	75%	46	29	22	12	9	4
55. The conflict escalating into a broader war between Israel and its neighbors	78%	42	36	19	13	7	3
56. The US getting pulled into a military conflict in the region	81%	43	38	17	11	6	2
57. An increase in antisemitism in the United States	77%	47	29	19	12	7	4
58. The deterioration of relations between the US and Israel	70%	36	35	26	17	9	3
59. How much information would you say you have about Hamas's attack against Israel on October 7 th of last year?							
TOTAL GREAT DEAL/SOME	68%						
TOTAL NOT MUCH/NONE	29						
A great deal	34%						
Some	34						
Not much	22						
None at all	7						
(Don't know)	3						

Thinking specifically about the war between Israel and Hamas...

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

60. Do you think Israel's response to the Hamas attack has been appropriate, too harsh, or not harsh enough?	
Appropriate	33%
Too harsh	33
Not harsh enough	15
(Don't know)	19



[SAMPLE B ONLY]

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

Israel has a right to continue military action in Gaza until it has removed the threat posed by Hamas	46%
Israel's military action in Gaza has gone on long enough, it is time for a ceasefire	43
(Don't know)	11

62. Have the recent protests on college campuses made you more sympathetic or less sympathetic to the Palestinian cause -- or have they not really made a difference either way?

More sympathetic	22%
Less sympathetic	30
No difference	40
(Don't know)	7

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

TOTAL SUPPORT	56%
TOTAL OPPOSE	35
Strongly support	31%
Somewhat support	25
Somewhat oppose	16
Strongly oppose	18
(Don't know)	9

64. As you may know, Iran launched a drone and missile attack against Israel in April. 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?]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	68%
TOTAL OPPOSE	22
Strongly support	41%
Somewhat support	27
Somewhat oppose	11
Strongly oppose	11
(Don't know)	9



65. 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?]**

TOTAL SUPPORT	55%
TOTAL OPPOSE	31
Strongly support	29%
Somewhat support	27
Somewhat oppose	16
Strongly oppose	14
(Don't know)	14

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

Not be involved at all	24%
Provide intelligence and logistical support but not be directly involved	50
Use military force against Iran in support of the Israeli counterattack	17
(Don't know)	9

67. Which of the following is your primary source of news about the conflict in the Middle East? **[RANDOMIZE]**

Cable TV (Fox News, CNN, MSNBC, etc.)	28%
Network TV (ABC, NBC, CBS, etc.)	23
Social media	20
Newspapers (print or online)	8
Podcasts	3
Another source	9
Or, are you not following news about the conflict	6
(Don't know)	3

[IF CABLE TV] [N=347]

68. Is your primary source of cable TV news...

Fox News	45%
MSNBC	20
CNN	24
Or, another channel	8
(Don't know)	4



[IF SOCIAL MEDIA] [N=252]

69. Is your primary source of news on social media ...

Facebook	34%
TikTok	23
Instagram	17
Twitter/X	16
Or, another social media platform	9
(Don't know)	2

DEMOGRAPHICS

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

70. What is your age?

18-29	19%
30-44	25
45-64	37
65 and up	19
(Refused)	1

71. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	72%
Black or African-American	13
Hispanic or Latino	7
Asian or Asian-American	3
Native American	1
Middle Eastern	-
Mixed Race	2
Other	*
(Refused)	2

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]

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

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

73. Thinking back to the 2020 presidential election, did you vote for **[ROTATE]** Donald Trump, Joe Biden, for another candidate, or did you not vote?

Donald Trump	38%
Joe Biden	39
Other	3
Didn't vote	18
(Don't know / Refused)	2



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

Did not graduate from high school	3%
High school degree	23
Some college/2-year college degree	34
4-year college degree	24
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	15
(Don't know / Refused)	*

75. If the 2024 presidential election were today, who would you vote for if the candidates were... **[RANDOMIZE NAMES]**

Democrat Joe Biden	35%
Republican Donald Trump	39
Third-party candidate Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.	7
Third-party candidate Cornel West	1
Green Party candidate Jill Stein	1
(Other)	2
(Wouldn't vote)	6
(Don't know / Refused)	7

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

Yes	33%
No	63
(Don't know / Refused)	4

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

A Democrat	33%
A Republican	31
An independent	32
(Don't know / Refused)	4

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)] [N=456]

78. Do you lean more to the **[ROTATE FIRST TWO OPTIONS]** Democrats, to the Republicans, or don't lean either way?

Democrats	23%
Republican	25
Neither way	47
(Don't know / Refused)	6



[IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN] [N=464]

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

Yes	63%
No	27
(Don't know / Refused)	10

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

TOTAL LIBERAL	28%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	34
Very liberal	12%
Somewhat liberal	16
Moderate	32
Somewhat conservative	19
Very conservative	17
(Don't know / Refused)	5

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

Under \$25,000	18%
\$25,000-\$50,000	23
\$50,000-\$75,000	18
\$75,000-\$100,000	13
\$100,000-\$150,000	13
Over \$150,000	10
(Don't know / Refused)	5

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

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

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

New England	5%
Mid-Atlantic	12
Upper Mid-East	13
Upper Mid-West	7
Deep South	26
Border South	12
Rocky Mountain West	7
Pacific	17



84. REGION2 [BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]

EAST	18%
MIDWEST	20
SOUTH	38
WEST	25

