Sample: 2,523 U.S. Adults
Interviewing dates: October 25-November 7, 2021

U.S. NATIONAL SURVEY OF DEFENSE ATTITUDES
ON BEHALF OF THE RONALD REAGAN FOUNDATION
FINAL TOPLINE RESULTS

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Yes	**87%**	96%	89%	91%
No	**11**	4	9	9
(Don't know)	**2**	*	1	*

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

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Generally headed in the right direction	**33%**	42%	40%	37%
Off in the wrong direction	**59**	51	53	54
(Don't know)	**8**	6	7	9

[SAMPLE A ONLY]

3. What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today? **[RECORD VERBATIM]**

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Economy and jobs	**16**	15	11	8
Politics/Partisanship	**13**	17	25	22
Coronavirus/COVID	**12**	29	NA	NA
Corruption/Incompetent leaders	**12**	8	14	10
The environment/Climate change	**7**	3	6	2
Systemic racism/white supremacy	**5**	7	NA	NA
Immigration	**5**	3	8	12
Inflation	**4**	NA	NA	NA
Health care	**3**	3	8	9
Border security	**3**	*	3	2
Crime/Safety	**3**	1	5	3
The federal deficit	**2**	1	1	2
Education/Schools	**1**	1	2	2
Socialism	**1**	1	NA	NA
Trade/Tariffs	**1**	*	1	1
Taxes	**1**	*	2	1
Terrorism	*****	*	2	1
Foreign policy	*****	*	1	1
National defense	*****	*	1	1
Domestic terrorism	*****	1	NA	NA
Police brutality	*****	-	NA	NA
Other	**6**	7	7	11
Don't know	**2**	2	3	4

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.

BR #9593

CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS/PEOPLE

For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them. **[RANDOMIZE LIST. ASK ALL Q4, Q5-7 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q8-10 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

			A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
4.	The military	**November 2021**	**45%**	**33**	**11**	**10**	**2**
		February 2021	56%	27	9	6	2
		October 2019	63%	23	8	5	1
		November 2018	70%	23	4	2	1
5.	Congress	**November 2021**	**6%**	**24**	**25**	**41**	**3**
		February 2021	10%	24	21	43	2
		October 2019	8%	25	24	39	2
		November 2018	5%	34	26	32	3
6.	The Supreme Court	**November 2021**	**18%**	**36**	**21**	**21**	**4**
		February 2021	23%	34	22	19	2
		October 2019	26%	36	20	14	3
		November 2018	27%	43	14	13	3
7.	The news media	**November 2021**	**10%**	**23**	**19**	**45**	**3**
		February 2021	14%	22	18	45	1
		October 2019	15%	26	17	38	2
		November 2018	16%	26	14	42	1
8.	The Presidency	**November 2021**	**19%**	**21**	**15**	**43**	**2**
		February 2021	30%	20	12	35	2
		October 2019	27%	18	11	43	1
		November 2018	28%	16	9	45	1
9.	Police & law enforcement	**November 2021**	**33%**	**33**	**16**	**16**	**2**
		February 2021	39%	30	15	14	1
		October 2019	40%	34	14	10	1
		November 2018	50%	33	8	9	-
10.	Public health officials	**November 2021**	**26%**	**30**	**17**	**26**	**2**
		February 2021	33%	33	16	16	1

11. Thinking about the U.S. military, what would you say is the main reason you have the level of confidence that you have? [RECORD VERBATIM]

Servicemembers/Soldiers/ /Enlisted personnel	19%
Protection/keep us safe	11
Leadership/Officers/Generals	10
Equipment/Supplies/Weapons/Technology	9
Political leadership	7
Experience/Tradition	7
Personal experience/veteran/family in military	6
Scandals/Sexual assault/lies/cover-ups	3
Too expensive/wrong priorities	2
Responsive/gets the job done	2
We lost in Iraq/Afghanistan	1
Poor decision-making/fighting for wrong reasons	1
Too many woke leaders and generals	1
Too ideological/Partisan	1
Lack of trust	1
Apolitical	1
Too many right-wing extremists in ranks	1
Other	12
Don't know	7

[Q12-15 SAMPLE A ONLY]
How much trust and confidence do you have in the U.S. military's ability to… **[RANDOMIZE]**

		A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
12.	Keep the country safe	57%	26	8	6	2
13.	Win a war overseas	42%	30	13	10	5
14.	Act in a professional and nonpolitical manner	40%	31	12	13	4
15.	Deter foreign aggression	42%	31	12	9	6

[Q16-24 SAMPLE B ONLY]
Thinking now about the different areas in which the federal government spends money…
Do you think the U.S. government spends too much, too little, or about the right amount on each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		Too much	Too little	About the right amount	(Don't know)
16.	The military	26%	27	39	8
17.	Health care	14%	56	24	6
18.	Border security	19%	47	25	9
19.	Education	13%	58	22	7
20.	Foreign aid	51%	14	24	11
21.	Promoting freedom abroad	30%	22	30	18
22.	Infrastructure, such as roads, bridges and ports	10%	61	22	6

23. Of all the areas I just mentioned, which one should be the highest priority for increased funding? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q16-22]**

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

24. And which should be the next-highest priority? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q16-22, OMITTING Q23 CHOICE]**

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019
Education	**24%**	30%	31%
Health care	**21**	21	30
The military	**19**	18	24
Infrastructure	**14**	NA	NA
Border security	**13**	12	12
Promoting freedom abroad	**2**	2	NA
Foreign aid	**2**	2	2
Combatting systemic racism	**NA**	10	NA
(All / Mix)	**4**	3	-
(Don't know)	**2**	2	1

TOP-2 PRIORITY (Q23 AND Q24 COMBINED)

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019
Health care	**40%**	49%	61%
Education	**34**	45	61
Border security	**28**	26	32
The military	**26**	26	34
Infrastructure	**25**	NA	NA
Promoting freedom abroad	**3**	3	NA
Foreign aid	**3**	3	3
Combatting systemic racism	**NA**	17	NA

25. Do you support or oppose the bill being debated in Congress that would allocate three point five trillion dollars over ten years on domestic priorities, including spending on climate change, healthcare, and childcare?

Support	53%
Oppose	32
(Don't know)	15

ASSESSMENTS OF MILITARY, BUDGET, AND DEFENSE POSTURE

The rest of this survey will focus on your views about the U.S. military and national defense.

[Q26-32 SAMPLE A ONLY]

For each of the following, please tell us how you think the U.S. military is doing compared to the military in other countries. Is it the best in the world, one of the best, or not one of the best? **[ASK Q26 FIRST, THEN RANDOMIZE]**

		Best in the world	One of the best	Not one of the best	(Don't know)
26. Overall capabilities	**November 2021**	**43%**	**45**	**7**	**5**
	February 2021	39%	47	8	6
	October 2019	36%	52	6	5
27. Conventional weaponry, such as tanks, battleships, and airplanes	**November 2021**	**45%**	**42**	**7**	**7**
28. Traditional manpower, such as enlisted servicemembers	**November 2021**	**36%**	**46**	**11**	**7**
29. Military leadership, such as officers and generals	**November 2021**	**33%**	**42**	**17**	**8**
30. Cyber-technology, cyber-security, and cyber-warfare	**November 2021**	**27%**	**46**	**16**	**10**
31. High-tech weaponry, such as artificial intelligence and missile technology	**November 2021**	**39%**	**45**	**8**	**8**

[SKIP AND CODE AS U.S. IF BEST IN THE WORLD IN Q26]

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

US	69%
China	17
Russia	5
Israel	2
North Korea	1
UK	1
Other	2
Not sure/refused	13

[Q33-40 SAMPLE B ONLY]

33. 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?

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019
More engaged and take the lead	**42%**	51%	50%
Less engaged and react to events	**30**	27	33
(Depends)	**22**	19	11
(Don't know)	**6**	3	5

34. Which of the following is closer to your view? **[ROTATE 1 AND 3]**

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021
The U.S. uses the military in too many situations where diplomacy would be better	**32%**	34%
The U.S. strikes the right balance between the use of the military and diplomacy	**33**	41
The U.S. uses diplomacy in too many situations where the military would be better	**19**	16
(Don't know)	**16**	9

35. In general, do you think it is better for the U.S. to maintain military bases around the world to deter attacks and respond quickly if something happens, or do you think the U.S. should reduce our military presence overseas and only deploy troops in response to aggression?

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019
Maintain bases	**65%**	63%	65%
Reduce presence overseas	**27**	31	28
(Don't know)	**9**	6	7

36. Do you support or oppose the U.S. military using part of its budget to address climate change?

Support	50%
Oppose	39
(Don't know)	11

For each of the following scenarios, please tell us if you believe deploying the military on U.S. soil would be appropriate or not. **[RANDOMIZE]**

		Appropriate	Not appropriate	(Depends)	(Not sure)
37. When police are unable to control violent protests	**November 2021**	**59%**	**22**	**15**	**4**
	February 2021	62%	22	13	3
38. Responding to domestic terrorism committed by U.S. citizens	**November 2021**	**61%**	**23**	**11**	**4**
	February 2021	66%	19	11	4
39. To help secure the border	**November 2021**	**62%**	**22**	**13**	**3**
	February 2021	64%	21	12	3
40. To help after natural disasters	**November 2021**	**80%**	**8**	**9**	**3**
	February 2021	82%	10	6	2

ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES, ENEMIES, AND THREATS

[Q41-43 SAMPLE A ONLY]

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

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

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

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

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
China	**52%**	37%	28%	21%
Russia	**14**	16	25	30
North Korea	**12**	15	14	18
Afghanistan	**5**	1	3	2
Iran	**4**	8	9	7
The Middle East	**3**	1	1	1
USA/ourselves	**3**	3	4	4
Iraq	**2**	3	5	2
Pakistan	**1**	*	1	1
South Korea	**1**	1	1	1
Canada	*	1	-	-
Germany	*	*	*	*
India	*	*	*	*
Israel	*	*	*	*
ISIS	*	-	*	-
Japan	*	1	1	1
Mexico	*	1	*	1
Saudi Arabia	*	1	1	2
Syria	*	1	3	1
Other	**2**	3	2	1
None	**2**	3	1	1
Not sure / Refused	**9**	8	5	5

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

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021
UK	**39%**	38%
Canada	**9**	13
Europe	**7**	2
Israel	**7**	7
France	**5**	4
China	**4**	6
Germany	**3**	5
Japan	**3**	4
Russia	**3**	4
Australia	**2**	1
India	**1**	1
Mexico	**1**	1
Middle East	**1**	-
South Korea	**1**	-
Africa	*	1
Saudi Arabia	*	1
Other	**1**	3
None	**3**	2
Not sure/refused	**16**	10

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. Q44-49 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q50-55 SAMPLE B ONLY]**

| | | | ------Ally------ | | | ------Enemy------ | | |
			TOTAL	Strong	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strong	(DK)
44.	United Kingdom	**November 2021**	**86%**	**62**	**25**	**4**	**3**	*****	**10**
		February 2021	84%	61	23	6	4	1	10
		October 2019	93%	61	32	5	4	1	2
		November 2018	92%	67	25	4	2	2	4
45.	France	**November 2021**	**84%**	**38**	**46**	**6**	**5**	**1**	**11**
		February 2021	82%	42	40	6	5	1	12
		October 2019	90%	41	49	8	6	2	2
		November 2018	89%	46	43	6	4	2	5
46.	Germany	**November 2021**	**76%**	**34**	**43**	**11**	**9**	**2**	**12**
		February 2021	75%	34	41	11	8	4	14
		October 2019	84%	37	47	14	11	3	3
		November 2018	85%	42	43	10	7	3	6
47.	Australia	**November 2021**	**84%**	**47**	**36**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**13**
		February 2021	84%	54	30	5	4	1	12
		October 2019	93%	54	39	5	4	1	2
48.	Taiwan	**November 2021**	**62%**	**21**	**41**	**14**	**11**	**2**	**24**
		February 2021	60%	22	38	16	11	5	24
		October 2019	73%	21	52	17	14	3	9
		November 2018	71%	21	50	11	9	2	18
49.	North Korea	**November 2021**	**10%**	**3**	**7**	**78**	**26**	**52**	**11**
		February 2021	13%	5	8	76	22	55	11
		October 2019	14%	4	10	83	30	53	3
		November 2018	8%	1	7	86	26	60	5
50.	Saudi Arabia	**November 2021**	**40%**	**6**	**33**	**40**	**27**	**13**	**20**
		February 2021	45%	8	37	39	28	11	15
		October 2019	47%	9	38	48	34	14	5
		November 2018	38%	5	33	53	37	16	10
51.	China	**November 2021**	**23%**	**7**	**16**	**65**	**32**	**33**	**12**
		February 2021	21%	5	16	67	30	38	11
		October 2019	36%	7	29	60	40	20	3
		November 2018	38%	5	33	55	37	18	7

			------Ally------			------Enemy------		
			TOTAL	Strong	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strong	(DK)
52.	Japan	**November 2021**	**70%**	**38**	**32**	**14**	**10**	**4**	**16**
		February 2021	73%	40	33	14	10	4	14
		October 2019	83%	41	42	15	12	3	3
		November 2018	86%	48	38	9	6	3	5
53.	Russia	**November 2021**	**20%**	**5**	**15**	**65**	**36**	**29**	**15**
		February 2021	19%	6	13	69	35	35	12
		October 2019	28%	5	23	71	38	33	2
		November 2018	19%	3	16	73	37	36	7
54.	Israel	**November 2021**	**66%**	**38**	**28**	**17**	**12**	**5**	**17**
		February 2021	70%	43	27	16	10	6	14
		October 2019	78%	43	35	19	14	5	4
		November 2018	80%	49	31	13	9	4	7
55.	Afghanistan	**November 2021**	**19%**	**5**	**14**	**65**	**34**	**31**	**16**
		February 2021	25%	6	19	60	35	25	15
		October 2019	27%	4	23	68	41	27	5
		November 2018	21%	2	19	68	39	29	11

56. Do you think the greatest threats to the U.S. come from outside of the country or from within the country?

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021
From outside	**25%**	35%
From within	**41**	36
(Both equally)	**30**	25
(Don't know)	**4**	4

How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
[RANDOMIZE LIST. Q57-63 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q64-69 SAMPLE B ONLY]

| | | ----Concerned---- | | | ----Not concerned---- | | | |
| | | | Extre- | Some- | | Not | Not | |
		TOTAL	mely	what	TOTAL	very	at all	(DK)
57. Thermo-nuclear war	**November 2021**	**61%**	**26**	**35**	**35**	**25**	**10**	**4**
	February 2021	62%	30	31	33	23	10	5
	October 2019	58%	24	34	38	25	13	3
	November 2018	60%	24	36	38	24	14	2
58. Conventional military attacks	**November 2021**	**55%**	**20**	**35**	**41**	**28**	**13**	**4**
	February 2021	56%	21	35	39	27	12	5
	October 2019	56%	20	36	42	31	11	3
	November 2018	50%	16	34	47	29	18	3
59. Cyber-attacks	**November 2021**	**88%**	**56**	**32**	**9**	**6**	**2**	**4**
Wording before 2021: Cyber-attacks on	February 2021	88%	57	30	9	6	3	3
government computers and the grid	October 2019	89%	57	32	10	8	2	1
	November 2018	92%	66	26	7	4	3	1
60. An attack on our space assets, such	**November 2021**	**61%**	**24**	**37**	**34**	**24**	**10**	**4**
as satellites	February 2021	60%	24	36	36	25	10	4
	October 2019	62%	25	37	35	25	10	3
	November 2018	64%	23	41	33	21	12	2
61. Terrorist attacks on the homeland	**November 2021**	**82%**	**45**	**37**	**15**	**11**	**4**	**3**
	February 2021	83%	43	39	15	12	3	2
	October 2019	84%	42	42	15	11	4	1
	November 2018	85%	48	37	14	10	4	1
62. Biological attacks on the homeland	**November 2021**	**78%**	**40**	**38**	**19**	**13**	**6**	**3**
	February 2021	79%	43	36	18	12	5	4
63. Global pandemics	**November 2021**	**81%**	**46**	**35**	**16**	**11**	**5**	**3**
	February 2021	82%	51	31	16	10	6	2
64. Climate change	**November 2021**	**65%**	**41**	**25**	**30**	**14**	**16**	**4**
	February 2021	66%	40	26	31	13	18	3
65. Rising authoritarianism around the	**November 2021**	**75%**	**39**	**37**	**16**	**13**	**3**	**9**
world	February 2021	76%	40	36	17	12	4	7
66. The use of surveillance technology	**November 2021**	**80%**	**48**	**32**	**14**	**10**	**5**	**6**
to suppress human rights	February 2021	80%	50	29	16	12	4	4
67. War between the U.S. and China	**November 2021**	**71%**	**33**	**37**	**25**	**18**	**7**	**4**

		----Concerned----			----Not concerned----		
		TOTAL	Extre-mely	Some-what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	(DK)
68. Political divisions in the United States leading to violence	**November 2021**	**85%**	**55**	**30**	**11**	**8**	**3**	**4**
	February 2021	88%	63	25	9	6	3	3
	October 2019	84%	51	33	13	9	4	2
69. Domestic terrorist attacks – meaning terrorism committed by American citizens	**November 2021**	**79%**	**43**	**35**	**17**	**12**	**5**	**4**
	February 2021	82%	50	33	15	9	6	3

70. If a country conducts cyberattacks against the U.S. government or major U.S. corporations, do you think the U.S. should respond:

With military force	24%
With economic sanctions	35
With diplomatic pressure	17
Or, should the U.S. not respond at all?	2
(Mix of responses 1-3)	6
(Depends)	1
(Don't know)	14

CHINA

Thinking now about China…

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

Chinese military buildup, including naval activity in the South China Sea	19%
Chinese foreign policy, including efforts to expand its influence throughout South Asia, Africa and South America	13
Chinese human rights abuses, including the treatment of Hong Kong and the Uyghur ethnic group	17
Chinese economic practices, including technology theft and its trade relationships with other countries	20
China invading Taiwan	7
(All / Mix)	10
(Don't know)	14

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. Q72-77 SAMPLE A ONLY]

		Support	Oppose	(Don't know)
72. Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country	**November 2021**	**71%**	**10**	**19**
	October 2019	76%	11	13
73. Imposing economic sanctions against China	**November 2021**	**66%**	**15**	**19**
	October 2019	64%	23	13
74. Dramatically increasing arms sales to Taiwan	**November 2021**	**44%**	**29**	**27**
	October 2019	44%	37	18
75. Moving U.S. military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region	**November 2021**	**55%**	**24**	**21**
	October 2019	55%	32	13
76. Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes	**November 2021**	**50%**	**25**	**25**
	October 2019	42%	42	16
77. Committing U.S. ground troops to the defense of Taiwan	**November 2021**	**40%**	**35**	**25**
	October 2019	39%	45	16

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

TOTAL CONCERNED	73%
TOTAL NOT CONCERNED	21
Extremely	38%
Somewhat	35
Not very	15
Not at all	6
(Don't know)	5

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

Artificial intelligence	23%
Telecommunications technology	12
Satellite technology	16
Manufacturing capacity	12
Supply-chain vulnerability	23
(Don't know)	14

[Q80-83 SAMPLE B ONLY]

As you may know, China will host the Winter Olympics in February. According to a recent U.S. State Department report, the Chinese government violated the human rights of several minority groups in their own country last year including committing genocide against ethnic Uyghurs. Many organizations are calling for a full boycott of the China Olympics. Please tell me if you favor or oppose each of the following. **[RANDOMIZE]**

		Support	Oppose	(Don't know)
80.	A full boycott by the United States Olympic team and its athletes	47%	34	18
81.	A business boycott, where U.S. corporations refuse to sponsor the China Olympics or advertise during it	60%	21	19
82.	A diplomatic boycott by the U.S. Government, where U.S. athletes would still compete	48%	32	21
83.	The International Olympic Committee delaying and relocating the games	60%	23	17

[Q84-85 SAMPLE A ONLY]

84. As you may know, some believe the coronavirus was developed by scientists working at a lab in Wuhan, but accidentally leaked, and that the Chinese government then hid and lied about the leak to international public health officials. How likely is it that this occurred?

TOTAL LIKELY	72%
TOTAL NOT LIKELY	19
Very likely	42%
Somewhat likely	30
Not very likely	13
Not at all likely	6
(Don't know)	9

85. If it were proven that the Chinese government did hide the virus leak and then lied about it to international public health officials, do you think China should pay reparations to other nations as a penalty?

Yes	76%
No	13
(Don't know)	11

RUSSIA

86. Which of the following most concerns you about Russia? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Sponsoring cyber-attacks on the U.S.	**25%**	27%	24%	24%
Launching a thermo-nuclear attack on the U.S.	**17**	17	16	12
Interfering in our elections	**16**	12	20	16
Aiding Iran and other rogue regimes	**13**	18	21	30
Poisoning of opposition leaders and the suppression of dissent within Russia	**7**	10	NA	NA
Invading other former Soviet republics	**6**	6	11	11
(Don't know)	**15**	10	9	8

GREATER MIDDLE EAST

[Q87-97 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Turning now to Afghanistan and the withdrawal of U.S. forces there…

87. Do you think the U.S. should have withdrawn all American troops from Afghanistan, or not?

Should have withdrawn all troops	47%
Should not have	40
(Don't know)	13

[IF SHOULD NOT]

88. Rather than withdrawing all troops from Afghanistan, do you think the U.S. should have:

Increased troop levels	24%
Left troop levels the same	69
(Don't know)	6

Q87-88 COMBINED

In Afghanistan, the U.S. should have…

Withdrawn all troops	47%
Increased troop levels	10
Left troop levels the same	27
(Don't know)	16

For reference: In Afghanistan, would you prefer that the U.S.:

	Feb 2021	*Nov 2018*
Decrease troop levels	*39%*	*35%*
Increase troop levels	*15*	*11*
Keep troop levels about the same	*35*	*45*
(Don't know)	*11*	*9*

89. Regardless of how you feel about the decision to withdraw troops, do you approve or disapprove of the way the withdrawal was handled?

Approve   27%
Disapprove   62
(Don't know)   11

90. Do you believe the problems associated with the U.S. troop withdrawal from Afghanistan were mostly the fault of:

Poor military planning   20%
President Biden's poor judgement   49
The actions of the Taliban   20
(Don't know)   11

91. Which of the following best describes the effect of the decision to remove all U.S. troops from Afghanistan?

It strengthens the United States   14%
It weakens the United States   40
It doesn't make much difference either way   35
(Don't know)   11

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

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021	Nov 2018
Mostly a success	**23%**	32%	38%
Mostly a failure	**59**	50	49
(Don't know)	**18**	18	13

93. Which of the following is closer to your view when it comes to terrorist activities in Afghanistan? **[ROTATE]**

The U.S. can effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist
    groups through intelligence gathering and drone strikes
    from outside Afghanistan   47%
The U.S. needs military forces on the ground to
    effectively monitor and disrupt terrorist groups   37
(Don't know)   16

Moving forward, how concerned are you about each of the following in Afghanistan?
[RANDOMIZE]

		----Concerned----			----Less concerned----		
	TOTAL	Extr-emely	Some-what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	(DK)
94. Human rights violations and the repression of women's rights	88%	63	25	8	5	3	3
95. The production and trafficking of opium and other drugs	74%	39	35	22	15	7	4
96. Possible terrorist plots or terrorist training facilities	87%	54	33	10	7	3	3

97. How much of a threat is the Taliban taking control of Afghanistan to U.S. national security?

A major threat	48%
A minor threat	34
Not a threat at all	8
(Don't know)	9

Changing topics now to Iran…

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

	Nov 2021	Feb 2021
More aggressive	**46%**	46%
Less aggressive	**11**	17
About the same	**28**	24
(Not sure)	**15**	13

EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

[Q99-106 SAMPLE B 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----			
					Some-what		Some-what		
			TOTAL	Very	what	TOTAL	what	Very	(DK)
99.	Ronald Reagan	**November 2021**	**69%**	**42**	**27**	**22**	**12**	**10**	**9**
		February 2021	71%	42	28	22	12	10	7
		October 2019	76%	46	30	20	13	7	4
		November 2018	77%	44	33	19	12	7	4
100.	George H. W. Bush	**November 2021**	**62%**	**21**	**41**	**31**	**20**	**11**	**7**
		February 2021	63%	19	44	31	20	11	6
		October 2019	71%	23	48	25	17	8	3
		November 2018	65%	18	47	31	21	10	4
101.	Bill Clinton	**November 2021**	**55%**	**23**	**33**	**38**	**22**	**16**	**6**
		February 2021	56%	24	32	39	21	18	5
		October 2019	60%	21	39	39	19	20	2
		November 2018	63%	24	39	35	19	16	2
102.	George W. Bush	**November 2021**	**57%**	**18**	**39**	**38**	**23**	**15**	**5**
		February 2021	62%	20	42	33	22	12	5
		October 2019	63%	18	45	35	21	14	2
		November 2018	57%	13	44	41	24	17	2
103.	Barack Obama	**November 2021**	**59%**	**36**	**23**	**37**	**14**	**23**	**4**
		February 2021	60%	39	21	37	12	25	3
		October 2019	60%	40	20	39	12	27	1
		November 2018	60%	40	20	39	14	25	1
104.	Donald Trump	**November 2021**	**50%**	**32**	**18**	**46**	**9**	**37**	**4**
		February 2021	46%	32	14	51	10	41	2
		October 2019	46%	29	17	52	9	43	2
		November 2018	44%	25	19	55	7	48	2
105.	Jimmy Carter	**November 2021**	**50%**	**20**	**30**	**34**	**19**	**15**	**15**
		February 2021	57%	23	33	31	18	13	13
106.	Joe Biden	**November 2021**	**44%**	**19**	**25**	**51**	**13**	**38**	**5**
		February 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]

107.   What is your age? **[CODE TO RANGE]**

18-29	17%
30-44	25
45-64	38
65 and up	19
(Refused)	*

108.   What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	76%
Black or African-American	12
Hispanic or Latino	4
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]

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

Yes	8%
No	89
(Don't know / Refused)	3

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

Did not graduate from high school	4%
High school degree	22
Some college/2-year college degree	34
4-year college degree	25
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	16
(Not sure)	*

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

Under $25,000	18%
$25,000-$50,000	25
$50,000-$75,000	18
$75,000-$100,000	13
$100,000-$150,000	11
Over $150,000	7
(Don't know / Refused)	8

112.   What is your marital status?

Married, living with spouse	44%
Divorced	12
Separated	2
Widowed	6
Single, never married	29
Domestic Partnership	5
(Refused)	2

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

Yes	33%
No	60
(Don't know)	7

114.   What is your present religion, if any?

Protestant	21%
Catholic	19
Jewish	2
Other/Christian	24
Other/Non-Christian	2
Agnostic/Atheist	7
Nothing in particular	16
Something else	2
(Don't know)	7

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

Democrat	30%
Republican	29
Independent	34
(Don't know)	6

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)]

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

Democrats	20%
Republican	23
Neither way	47
(Don't know)	10

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

Very liberal	11%
Somewhat liberal	16
Moderate	32
Somewhat conservative	19
Very conservative	14
(Don't know)	7

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

Yes, service member	3%
Not	94
(Don't know)	3

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

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

Yes, service member household	9%
Not	88
(Don't know)	3

120. Are you a veteran of the armed services?

Yes, veteran	11%
Not	86
(Don't know)	2

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

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

Yes, veteran household	24%
Not	73
(Don't know)	3

122. Thinking about the 2020 presidential elections, did you vote for **[ROTATE]** Donald Trump, Joe Biden, for another candidate, or did you not vote?

Donald Trump	37%
Joe Biden	39
Other	4
Didn't vote	15
(Not sure / Refused)	5

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

New England	5%
Mid-Atlantic	13
Upper Mid-East	15
Upper Mid-West	7
Deep South	21
Border South	17
Rocky Mountain West	7
Pacific	15

124. REGION2 **[BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]**

East	18%
Midwest	22
South	38
West	22

125. Do you identify as… **[OBSERVATION ONLY IN PHONE INTERVIEWS]**

Male	47%
Female	53
Non-binary	*
I'd rather not say	*