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?

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Yes	89%	91%
No	9	9
(Don't know)	1	*

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

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Generally headed in the right direction	40%	37%
Off in the wrong direction	53	54
(Don't know)	7	9

3. What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today?
    [OPEN ENDED, USE PRE-CODES]

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
(Politics/Partisanship)	25%	22%
(Corruption/Incompetent leaders)	14	10
(Economy and jobs)	11	8
(Health care)	8	9
(Immigration)	8	12
(The environment/Climate change)	6	2
(Crime/Safety)	5	3
(Border security)	3	2
(Education/Schools)	2	2
(Terrorism)	2	1
(Taxes)	2	1
(Foreign policy)	1	1
(Trade/Tariffs)	1	1
(The federal deficit)	1	2
(National defense)	1	1
(Other)	7	11
(Don't know)	3	4

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]**

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

What about specific types of people? For each of the following individuals, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them? **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

			A great deal	Some	A little	Not much at all	(Don't know)
11.	Wall Street executive	**October 2019**	**5%**	**26**	**25**	**38**	**6**
		November 2018	3%	29	23	37	9
12.	News reporter	**October 2019**	**15%**	**32**	**22**	**29**	**2**
		November 2018	16%	35	15	33	2
13.	Teacher	**October 2019**	**43%**	**39**	**12**	**4**	**1**
		November 2018	52%	38	6	3	2
14.	Clergyman	**October 2019**	**27%**	**37**	**17**	**13**	**5**
		November 2018	25%	43	12	13	7
15.	Military officer	**October 2019**	**53%**	**33**	**8**	**5**	**2**
		November 2018	59%	32	4	2	2
16.	Congressman	**October 2019**	**7%**	**30**	**24**	**35**	**3**
		November 2018	6%	41	23	27	4
17.	Lawyer	**October 2019**	**13%**	**44**	**24**	**17**	**2**
		November 2018	13%	46	16	21	4
18.	Doctor	**October 2019**	**49%**	**38**	**8**	**4**	**1**
		November 2018	54%	36	6	3	1

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-------			
			TOTAL	Strongly	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strongly	(DK)
19.	The military	**October 2019**	**76%**	**46**	**30**	**23**	**15**	**8**	**2**
		November 2018	75%	48	27	23	12	11	2
20.	Health care	**October 2019**	**79%**	**50**	**29**	**19**	**10**	**9**	**2**
		November 2018	76%	55	21	21	10	11	3
21.	Border security	**October 2019**	**64%**	**39**	**25**	**34**	**20**	**14**	**2**
		November 2018	62%	40	22	36	18	18	3
22.	Education	**October 2019**	**84%**	**62**	**22**	**15**	**8**	**7**	**2**
		November 2018	87%	67	20	11	6	5	1
23.	Foreign aid	**October 2019**	**48%**	**13**	**35**	**49**	**29**	**20**	**3**
		November 2018	47%	13	34	49	25	24	4

24.   Of all the areas I just mentioned, which one should be the highest priority for increased funding? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q19-23]**

Health care	31%
Education	30
Border security	20
The military	10
Foreign aid	1
(All / Mix)	5
(Don't know)	1

25.   And which should be the next-highest priority? **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q19-23, OMITTING Q24 CHOICE]**

Education	31%
Health care	30
The military	24
Border security	12
Foreign aid	2
(All / Mix)	-
(Don't know)	1

ASSESSMENTS OF U.S. MILITARY AND DEFENSE BUDGET
The rest of this survey will focus on your views about the U.S. military and national defense.

For each of the following, please tell us how you think the U.S. military is doing compared to the military in other countries. Are we the best in the world, one of the best, or are we not one of the best? **[RANDOMIZE Q26-28, ASK Q29 LAST]**

			Best in the world	One of the best	Not one of the best	(Don't know)
26.	Space technology	**October 2019**	**32%**	**50**	**9**	**9**
		November 2018	27%	57	10	6
27.	Artificial intelligence	**October 2019**	**23%**	**50**	**13**	**14**
		November 2018	18%	56	13	13
28.	Cyber Security	**October 2019**	**19%**	**48**	**23**	**10**
		November 2018	15%	51	26	8
29.	Overall capabilities	**October 2019**	**36%**	**52**	**6**	**5**

30. 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]**

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

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

ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES, ENEMIES, AND THREATS

For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

			------Ally------			------Enemy------			
			TOTAL	Strong	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strong	(DK)
31.	Great Britain	**October 2019**	**93%**	**61**	**32**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**2**
		November 2018	92%	67	25	4	2	2	4
32.	France	**October 2019**	**90%**	**41**	**49**	**8**	**6**	**2**	**2**
		November 2018	89%	46	43	6	4	2	5
33.	Germany	**October 2019**	**84%**	**37**	**47**	**14**	**11**	**3**	**3**
		November 2018	85%	42	43	10	7	3	6
34.	Mexico	**October 2019**	**77%**	**23**	**54**	**21**	**17**	**4**	**2**
		November 2018	74%	24	50	21	17	4	6
35.	Saudi Arabia	**October 2019**	**47%**	**9**	**38**	**48**	**34**	**14**	**5**
		November 2018	38%	5	33	53	37	16	10
36.	Venezuela	**October 2019**	**41%**	**6**	**35**	**49**	**36**	**13**	**10**
		November 2018	35%	4	31	46	32	14	19
37.	Iran	**October 2019**	**13%**	**3**	**10**	**82**	**37**	**45**	**5**
		November 2018	10%	1	9	82	35	47	8
38.	Iraq	**October 2019**	**25%**	**3**	**22**	**70**	**40**	**30**	**5**
		November 2018	23%	2	21	67	37	30	9

| | | | | -----Ally----- | | | -----Enemy----- | | |
			TOTAL	Strong	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Strong	(DK)
39.	Israel	**October 2019**	**78%**	**43**	**35**	**19**	**14**	**5**	**4**
		November 2018	80%	49	31	13	9	4	7
40.	Afghanistan	**October 2019**	**27%**	**4**	**23**	**68**	**41**	**27**	**5**
		November 2018	21%	2	19	68	39	29	11
41.	Syria	**October 2019**	**21%**	**3**	**18**	**72**	**41**	**31**	**7**
		November 2018	12%	2	10	73	35	38	15
42.	Turkey	**October 2019**	**47%**	**6**	**41**	**47**	**36**	**11**	**7**
		November 2018	50%	6	44	35	27	8	16
43.	Poland	**October 2019**	**82%**	**27**	**55**	**10**	**8**	**2**	**8**
		November 2018	80%	30	50	5	4	1	14
44.	India	**October 2019**	**80%**	**16**	**64**	**14**	**11**	**3**	**6**
		November 2018	78%	18	60	10	8	2	11
45.	Pakistan	**October 2019**	**31%**	**4**	**27**	**61**	**41**	**20**	**8**
		November 2018	25%	2	23	65	43	22	12
46.	China	**October 2019**	**36%**	**7**	**29**	**60**	**40**	**20**	**3**
		November 2018	38%	5	33	55	37	18	7
47.	Japan	**October 2019**	**83%**	**41**	**42**	**15**	**12**	**3**	**3**
		November 2018	86%	48	38	9	6	3	5
48.	North Korea	**October 2019**	**14%**	**4**	**10**	**83**	**30**	**53**	**3**
		November 2018	8%	1	7	86	26	60	5
49.	South Korea	**October 2019**	**73%**	**37**	**36**	**25**	**17**	**8**	**3**
		November 2018	77%	45	32	17	10	7	5
50.	Taiwan	**October 2019**	**73%**	**21**	**52**	**17**	**14**	**3**	**9**
		November 2018	71%	21	50	11	9	2	18
51.	Russia	**October 2019**	**28%**	**5**	**23**	**71**	**38**	**33**	**2**
		November 2018	19%	3	16	73	37	36	7
52.	Australia	**October 2019**	**93%**	**54**	**39**	**5**	**4**	**1**	**2**
53.	Ukraine	**October 2019**	**61%**	**10**	**51**	**29**	**25**	**4**	**9**

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

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

54A.   When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events?

More engaged and take the lead	50%
Less engaged and react to events	33
(Depends)	11
(Don't know)	5

55.   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?

Maintain bases	65%
Reduce presence overseas	28
(Don't know)	7

In general, how likely are you to support the use of the US military in each of the following situations? **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

| | | ----Support---- | | | ----Not support---- | | | |
		TOTAL	Extre-mely	Some-what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	(DK)
56.	Preventing human rights violations in other countries	76%	34	42	21	13	8	2
57.	Defending freedom in other countries	76%	29	47	21	14	7	2
58.	Eliminating potential threats to the US before they strike	86%	61	25	11	7	4	2

How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years? **[RANDOMIZE]**

| | | ----Concerned---- | | | ----Not concerned---- | | | |
		TOTAL	Extre-mely	Some-what	TOTAL	Not very	Not at all	(DK)
59. Thermo-nuclear war	**October 2019**	**58%**	**24**	**34**	**38**	**25**	**13**	**3**
	November 2018	60%	24	36	38	24	14	2
60. Cyber-attacks on personal computers and accounts	**October 2019**	**87%**	**53**	**34**	**11**	**8**	**3**	**2**
	November 2018	92%	61	31	7	4	3	1
61. Cyber-attacks on government computers and the grid	**October 2019**	**89%**	**57**	**32**	**10**	**8**	**2**	**1**
	November 2018	92%	66	26	7	4	3	1
62. Conventional military attacks	**October 2019**	**56%**	**20**	**36**	**42**	**31**	**11**	**3**
	November 2018	50%	16	34	47	29	18	3
63. Terrorist attacks on the homeland	**October 2019**	**84%**	**42**	**42**	**15**	**11**	**4**	**1**
	November 2018	85%	48	37	14	10	4	1
64. An attack on our space assets, such as satellites	**October 2019**	**62%**	**25**	**37**	**35**	**25**	**10**	**3**
	November 2018	64%	23	41	33	21	12	2
65. Political divisions in the United States leading to violence	**October 2019**	**84%**	**51**	**33**	**13**	**9**	**4**	**2**

66. If the U.S. suspected that North Korea was going to launch an attack against the U.S. and its allies, South Korea and Japan, which of the following options would you prefer?

	Oct 2019
Wait until the attack is actually launched and then counter-attack	11%
Work with our allies to prevent an attack from North Korea, using force if necessary	84
(Don't' know)	5

For reference: If the U.S. suspected that North Korea was going to launch an attack against the U.S. and its allies, South Korea and Japan, which of the following options would you prefer?

	Nov 2018
Wait until the attack is actually launched and then counter-attack	*44%*
Launch a pre-emptive strike against North Korea	*44*
(Don't' know)	*11*

67. Do you think the U.S. would win a war with a nuclear power?

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Yes	57%	65%
No	28	25
(Don't know)	15	9

68. Thinking now about China, which of the following most concerns you about U.S. relations with China? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
China holding $1.2 trillion in U.S. government debt	33%	36%
China over-taking the U.S. as the world's number one super power	17	17
Technology theft	14	14
Unfair trade practices	13	15
Chinese military build-up	10	8
The isolation of Taiwan	3	3
(Don't know)	10	8

69. Do you view China as more of an economic threat to the United States or more of a military threat?

Economic threat	64%
Military threat	15
(Both)	15
(Neither)	2
(Don't know)	5

70.   Do you support or oppose the trade war the United States in currently engaged in with
       China?

       Support   49%
       Oppose   46
       (Don't know)   5

71.   How concerned will you be if the trade war between the governments of China and the
       United States destabilizes relations between the two countries and increases the chances of
       conflict?

       TOTAL CONCERNED   72%
       TOTAL NOT CONCERNED   23

       Extremely   30%
       Somewhat   42
       Not very   16
       Not at all   7
       (Don't know)   5

72.   How concerned are you with Chinese military buildup in the South China Sea?

       TOTAL CONCERNED   71%
       TOTAL NOT CONCERNED   24

       Extremely   23%
       Somewhat   48
       Not very   18
       Not at all   6
       (Don't know)   5

73.   As you may know, one-third of the world's ocean-based trade goes through the South China
       Sea, and there are disputes between several countries about who controls the area and its
       natural resources. Since 2013, China has built a series of naval and military bases in the
       region and moved to claim territory. Knowing this, how concerned are you with these
       actions by China?

       TOTAL CONCERNED   82%
       TOTAL NOT CONCERNED   13

       Extremely   37%
       Somewhat   45
       Not very   10
       Not at all   3
       (Don't know)   4

74.	Which of the following is closer to your view about what the U.S. should do with regard to the situation in Hong Kong?

Support the pro-democracy movement, even if it angers China	68%
Support the Chinese government, even if it means abandoning a pro-democracy movement	14
(Don't know)	17

Please tell me if you would favor or oppose each of the following actions by the United States if China were to escalate the use of its military to stop the political protests in Hong Kong? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		Favor	Oppose	(Don't know)
75.	Imposing economic sanctions on China	69%	27	4
76.	Responding with US security assistance or aid	59%	35	6

As you may know, although official Chinese policy is that Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan has operated as a relatively independent state for the last forty years. 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 LIST]**

	Support	Oppose	(Don't know)
77. Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country	76%	11	13
78. Imposing economic sanctions against China	64%	23	13
79. Dramatically increasing arms sales to Taiwan	44%	37	18
80. Moving US military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region	55%	32	13
81. Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes	42%	42	16
82. Committing US ground troops to the defense of Taiwan	39%	45	16

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

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
Sponsoring cyber-attacks on the U.S.	**24%**	24%
Aiding Iran and other rogue regimes	**21**	30
Interfering in our elections	**20**	16
Launching a thermo-nuclear attack on the U.S.	**16**	12
Invading other former Soviet republics	**11**	11
(Don't know)	**9**	8

84. The U.S. recently announced it would withdraw its troops from Syria. Do you approve or disapprove of the U.S. troop withdrawal from Syria? **[IF APPROVE/DISAPPROVE: Would that be strongly (approve/disapprove), or just somewhat?]**

TOTAL APPROVE	51%
TOTAL DISAPPROVE	40
Strongly approve	27%
Somewhat approve	24
Somewhat disapprove	16
Strongly disapprove	24
(Don't know)	9

As you may know, the Turkish military has advanced into Syria and attacked Kurdish forces who helped the United States fight ISIS. Do you favor or oppose each of the following potential responses to Turkey from the United States? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		Favor	Oppose	(Don't know)
85.	Imposing economic sanctions on Turkey	72%	24	4
86.	Responding with US military support to defend the Kurds	60%	34	6

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

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
A major threat	**41%**	40%
A minor threat	**35**	29
Not a threat	**21**	29
(Don't know)	**3**	2

88. What effect would building a wall across our southern border have on U.S. security?

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
A substantial positive effect	**33%**	28%
A minor positive effect	**23**	21
A negative effect	**19**	23
No effect at all	**21**	26
(Don't know)	**3**	2

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

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
TOTAL FAVORABLE	**62%**	59%
TOTAL UNFAVORABLE	**22**	24
Very favorable	**25%**	26%
Somewhat favorable	**37**	33
Somewhat unfavorable	**14**	15
Very unfavorable	**8**	9
(Don't know)	**16**	16

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

	Oct 2019	Nov 2018
They do their fair share	**27%**	26%
They should do more	**58**	61
(Don't know)	**15**	13

91. Do you think our allies on the Pacific Rim, including Australia, Japan, and South Korea do their fair share or should they do more?

They do their fair share	34%
They should do more	51
(Don't know)	15

EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

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.

| | | | ----Favorable---- | | | ----Unfavorable---- | | | |
			TOTAL	Very	Some-what	TOTAL	Some-what	Very	(DK)
92.	Ronald Reagan	**October 2019**	**76%**	**46**	**30**	**20**	**13**	**7**	**4**
		November 2018	77%	44	33	19	12	7	4
93.	George H. W. Bush	**October 2019**	**71%**	**23**	**48**	**25**	**17**	**8**	**3**
		November 2018	65%	18	47	31	21	10	4
94.	Bill Clinton	**October 2019**	**60%**	**21**	**39**	**39**	**19**	**20**	**2**
		November 2018	63%	24	39	35	19	16	2
95.	George W. Bush	**October 2019**	**63%**	**18**	**45**	**35**	**21**	**14**	**2**
		November 2018	57%	13	44	41	24	17	2
96.	Barack Obama	**October 2019**	**60%**	**40**	**20**	**39**	**12**	**27**	**1**
		November 2018	60%	40	20	39	14	25	1
97.	Donald Trump	**October 2019**	**46%**	**29**	**17**	**52**	**9**	**43**	**2**
		November 2018	44%	25	19	55	7	48	2

OTHER QUESTIONS AND DEMOGRAPHICS

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

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

18-29	17%
30-44	25
45-64	37
65 and up	19
(Refused)	1

99. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	75%
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 IN Q99]

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

Yes	8%
No	90
(Don't know / Refused)	2

101. 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	25
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)	15
(Not sure)	*

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

Under $25,000	19%
$25,000-$50,000	19
$50,000-$75,000	20
$75,000-$100,000	13
$100,000-$150,000	13
Over $150,000	11
(Don't know / Refused)	5

103. What is your marital status?

Married, living with spouse	52%
Divorced	10
Separated	2
Widowed	5
Single, never married	27
Domestic Partnership	3
(Refused)	1

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

Yes	35%
No	61
(Don't know)	4

105. What is your present religion, if any?

Protestant	44%
Catholic	21
Jewish	3
Other/Christian	1
Other/Non-Christian	1
Agnostic/Atheist	8
Nothing in particular	13
Something else	1
(Don't know)	6

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

Democrat	33%
Republican	32
Independent	31
(Don't know)	4

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW) IN Q106]
107. Do you lean more to the **[ROTATE FIRST TWO OPTIONS]** Democrats, to the Republicans, or don't you lean either way?

Democrats	22%
Republican	28
Neither way	44
(Don't know)	6

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

TOTAL LIBERAL	27%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	40
Very liberal	10%
Somewhat liberal	17
Moderate	28
Somewhat conservative	20
Very conservative	20
(Don't know)	6

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

Service member	3%
Not	96
(Don't know)	1

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

Service member household	8%
Not	91
(Don't know)	1

111. Are you a veteran of the armed services?

Veteran	12%
Not	87
(Don't know)	1

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

Veteran household	18%
Not	81
(Don't know)	1

113. Thinking about the 2016 presidential elections, did you vote for **[ROTATE]** Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, for some other candidate, or don't you recall?

Donald Trump	37%
Hillary Clinton	35
Other	9
Don't know	4
Didn't vote	16

114.   REGION1 **[BASED ON AREA CODE]**

New England   5%
Mid-Atlantic   13
Upper Mid-East   14
Upper Mid-West   7
Deep South   27
Border South   11
Rocky Mountain West   6
Pacific   17

115.   REGION2 **[BASED ON AREA CODE]**

East   18%
Midwest   21
South   38
West   23

116.   SEX **[BASED ON OBSERVATION]**

Male   47%
Female   53