

Sample: 1254 US adults
 Interviewing dates: May 30- June 6, 2023

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

TOPLINE RESULTS

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

	<u>June 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Nov 2021</u>	<u>Feb 2021</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
Yes	88%	88%	87%	96%	89%	91%
No	11	10	11	4	9	9
(Don't know)	1	2	2	*	1	*

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

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

[Q3-10 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking now about the different areas in which the federal government spends money...
 Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.

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

		-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----			Strongly (DK)
		TOTAL	Strongly	Some- what	TOTAL	Some- what	Strongly	
3. The military	June 2023	71%	46	25	25	14	11	4
	Nov 2022	76%	48	28	21	13	9	3
	Feb 2021	74%	47	28	22	14	8	3
	Oct 2019	76%	46	30	23	15	8	2
	Nov 2018	75%	48	27	23	12	11	2
4. Health care	June 2023	81%	57	24	17	10	7	2
	Feb 2021	81%	56	24	17	8	9	2
	Oct 2019	79%	50	29	19	10	9	2
	Nov 2018	76%	55	21	21	10	11	3
5. Border security	June 2023	68%	43	26	28	18	10	4
	Nov 2022	71%	43	28	26	17	9	3
	Feb 2021	69%	43	25	28	18	9	4
	Oct 2019	64%	39	25	34	20	14	2
	Nov 2018	62%	40	22	36	18	18	3

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.

		-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----				
		Some-		Some-	Some-			(DK)	
		<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>(DK)</u>	
6.	Foreign aid	June 2023	37%	10	27	56	27	30	7
		Nov 2022	53%	19	34	44	25	19	3
		Feb 2021	41%	13	28	53	22	31	7
		Oct 2019	48%	13	35	49	29	20	3
		Nov 2018	47%	13	34	49	25	24	4
7.	Promoting freedom abroad	June 2023	49%	21	27	40	22	18	12
		Nov 2022	62%	27	36	34	20	14	4
		Feb 2021	55%	22	33	35	19	16	9
8.	Infrastructure, such as roads, bridges, and ports	June 2023	82%	49	33	16	11	5	2
9.	Social Security	June 2023	83%	56	26	15	9	6	2
10.	Education	June 2023	82%	57	25	16	8	8	2
		Feb 2021	83%	59	24	15	7	8	2
		Oct 2019	84%	62	22	15	8	7	2
		Nov 2018	87%	67	20	11	6	5	1

[Q11-16 SAMPLE B ONLY]

In order to reduce the federal budget deficit, would you favor or oppose cutting spending on each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
11.	The military	36%	58	7
12.	Foreign military aid	51%	39	11
13.	Foreign humanitarian aid	51%	38	11
14.	Border security	33%	58	9
15.	Roads, bridges, and other infrastructure	27%	67	7
16.	Entitlement programs like Social Security and Medicare	24%	72	4



FOREIGN POLICY PHILOSOPHY

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-----			
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>Some- what</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	
17. US leadership and engagement in international events is essential for promoting trade and boosting our economy.	76%	33	43	21	15	6	4
18. The US should stand up for human rights and democracy whenever possible in international affairs.	74%	38	35	23	15	9	3
19. The US is better served by withdrawing from international affairs and focusing more attention on problems here at home.	65%	34	32	32	18	14	3
20. A strong US military is essential to maintaining peace and prosperity, both at home and abroad.	85%	58	27	14	9	4	2

Next, please tell me whether you think each of the following should be a major focus of US foreign policy efforts, a minor focus, or not really a focus at all. **[RANDOMIZE]** **[Q21-25 SAMPLE A, Q26-31 SAMPLE B]**

	<u>Major focus</u>	<u>Minor focus</u>	<u>Not really a focus at all</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
21. Countering Chinese military power	54%	28	12	5
22. Countering Russian military power	49%	30	15	6
23. Promoting freedom and democracy in authoritarian countries	29%	42	23	6
24. Pushing for nuclear disarmament	53%	28	14	5
25. Negotiating favorable trade deals for the US	58%	30	8	4
26. Countering Chinese economic power	44%	34	17	5
27. Fighting terrorist networks	70%	22	6	2
28. Protecting human rights in other countries	32%	50	17	2
29. Preventing countries that do not have nuclear weapons from acquiring them	57%	30	10	4
30. Protecting US jobs and companies	77%	17	4	2
31. Working to limit climate change	43%	28	26	2



PARTY IMAGE

32. To what extent do you think the US should provide international leadership and engage with the world’s issues? Please use a 0-10 scale, with 0 meaning the US should not engage with most issues and let other countries take the lead, and 10 meaning the US should engage with most issues and take a leadership role.

AVERAGE	7.46
10 (engage and leading on most issues)	16%
9	4
8	16
7	16
6	11
5	18
4	5
3	4
2	2
1	1
0 (not engage, let others lead)	4
(Don't know)	1

Now I am going to mention some political groups. Using the same 0-10 scale, where 0 means the US should not engage and let others lead, and 10 means the US should engage and lead, please rate how you think each group views America’s role in the world. **[RANDOMIZE Q33-34 AND Q35-36 AS BLOCKS. ASK Q33-34 BLOCK BEFORE Q35-36 BLOCK]**

		(engage, leading on most issues)										(not engage, let others lead)			
	<u>AVG</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>(DK)</u>		
33. The Republican Party, in general	6.56	15%	5	11	10	9	15	7	6	4	3	12	4		
34. The Democratic Party, in general	6.75	17%	6	12	9	9	15	5	5	5	3	11	4		
35. MAGA Republicans	5.40	11%	5	8	6	5	13	5	5	6	4	24	10		
36. Progressive Democrats	6.17	12%	5	10	8	8	14	6	4	5	4	15	9		



INTERNATIONAL TRADE

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [RANDOMIZE]

	-----Agree-----		-----Disagree-----			
	Some-	Strongly	Some-	Strongly		
	TOTAL	what	TOTAL	what	Strongly (DK)	
37. Trade agreements help the US. They allow for the purchase of goods at lower cost, making them more affordable for the average American, and open new markets for US businesses to sell products.	72%	27	45	24	18	6 4
38. Trade agreements hurt the US. American workers and companies have difficulty competing with countries that have looser labor laws and environmental standards, so jobs get shipped offshore and average Americans lose out.	62%	27	34	33	22	11 6
39. Would you support or oppose a foreign trade agreement with countries in Asia if you knew that the agreement was designed to counter Chinese economic power?						
Support		57%				
Oppose		21				
(Don't know)		22				



BORDER / IMMIGRATION

[Q40-41 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking now about legal immigration...

40. Do you support or oppose increasing the number of highly skilled immigrants—those with advanced degrees working in science, technology, and emerging technologies—who are legally allowed to live and work in the US?

Support	75%
Oppose	19
(Don't know)	6

41. If you knew that the US military and companies in the defense sector believe more skilled immigrants are needed to fill high-tech national security jobs, would you support or oppose increasing the number of skilled immigrants legally allowed to come to the US?

Support	62%
Oppose	28
(Don't know)	10

[Q42-47 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking now about illegal immigration...

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

	<u>June 2023</u>	<u>Nov 2022</u>	<u>Oct 2019</u>	<u>Nov 2018</u>
A major threat	48%	42%	41%	40%
A minor threat	39	36	35	29
Not a threat	11	16	21	29
(Don't know)	2	5	3	2

Thinking specifically about the southern border, how much of a security threat do you see from each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Major threat</u>	<u>Minor threat</u>	<u>No threat</u>	<u>(Don't know)</u>
43. The possibility of terrorists entering the country undetected	63%	29	5	2
44. The possibility of foreign spies entering the country undetected	55%	33	9	3
45. An influx of drugs like cocaine and fentanyl	77%	17	4	1
46. An influx of illegal guns and other weapons	63%	28	7	2
47. Mexican cartels extending operations into the US	69%	23	6	3



UKRAINE

On another subject...

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

Russia	27%
Ukraine	31
(Neither)	25
(Don't know)	17

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

TOTAL IMPORTANT	75%
TOTAL UNIMPORTANT	17
Very	46%
Somewhat	30
Not very	9
Not at all	8
(Don't know)	8

[Q50-53 SAMPLE A ONLY]

50. Overall, do you support or oppose sending US military aid to Ukraine?

Support	59%
Oppose	30
(Don't know)	11

[IF OPPOSE IN Q50, N=191]

51. Which of the following do you think is the most compelling reason to oppose continued US military aid to Ukraine?

Sending so much aid to Ukraine will deplete the US weapons stockpile	11%
Corruption and embezzlement in Ukraine could mean that some aid never makes it to the battlefield	11
The US should not risk further provoking Russia	15
We have too many unmet needs here at home to be sending billions of dollars to Ukraine	57
(Don't know)	5



[IF OPPOSE IN Q50, N=191]

52. If you knew there were comprehensive auditing and accounting measures in place to ensure the Ukrainians were using US aid appropriately, would you be much more supportive of sending aid, somewhat more supportive, or would it make no difference to you?

TOTAL MORE SUPPORTIVE	27%
Much more supportive	6%
Somewhat more supportive	20
(Less supportive)	12
No difference	56
(Don't know)	5

[IF SUPPORT IN Q50, N=370]

53. Which of the following do you think is the most compelling reason to support continued US military aid to Ukraine?

Standing up to Russian aggression in Ukraine will discourage Russia from invading other neighboring countries.	37%
The conflict will continue to significantly degrade Russian military power, which reduces a threat to the US and its allies.	13
Ukraine's success in the war sends a message to other countries that might consider wars of aggression—like China invading Taiwan.	17
It is important to help protect freedom of people and sovereignty of countries wherever we can.	30
(Don't know)	3

[Q54-55 SAMPLE B ONLY]

54. So far, do you think US aid to Ukraine has been worth the cost, or not?

Yes, worth the cost	50%
No	35
(Don't know)	15

55. The US has spent roughly \$24 billion on military aid to Ukraine, which is roughly 3% of the US military's own budget. Ukraine remains in control of roughly 83% of its territory and US intelligence believes the war has severely degraded Russia's military power and its ability to threaten NATO allies. Knowing this, do you think US aid to Ukraine has been worth the cost, or not?

Yes, worth the cost	64%
No	28
(Don't know)	9



56. Do you think our European allies are doing their fair share in response to the war in Ukraine, or should they be doing more?

They are doing their fair share	28%
They should be doing more	56
(Don't know)	16

CHINA

Thinking now about China...

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>
57. Increasing US military presence near Taiwan	June 2023	56%	30	14
	Nov 2022	61%	26	14
58. Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan	June 2023	52%	31	17
	Nov 2022	58%	26	16

59. Recently, US politicians and nongovernmental organizations were sanctioned by China after meeting with Taiwan's elected leaders. Do you think these meetings:

Were the right thing to do because they showed support for a threatened democracy?	61%
Were the wrong thing to do because they risked provoking China?	21
(Don't know)	18

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

Should be banned	40%
Should not be	44
(Don't know)	16

GREATER MIDDLE EAST

Changing topics now to Iran...

Some analysts believe Iran is weeks away from having enough material to produce a nuclear weapon. Do you support each of the following as a response? [RANDOMIZE]

	<u>Support</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(DK)</u>
61. Using US military force to curtail Iran's nuclear weapons program	45%	37	18
62. Using US cyber capabilities to curtail Iran's nuclear weapons program	71%	17	13
63. Instituting new economic sanctions on Iran	64%	20	17
64. Not actively responding at all	21%	62	17



FREEDOM / DEMOCRACY PROMOTION

Next...

How important is it for the US to assist people in [COUNTRY] who are advocating for freedom, democracy, and human rights? [RANDOMIZE]

		---Important---			---Not important---			(DK)	
		TOTAL	Extre- mely	Very	Some- what	TOTAL	Not very		Not at all
65.	Russia	32%	14	18	35	27	12	15	6
66.	China	34%	14	19	36	26	12	13	5
67.	Iran	36%	15	22	36	22	10	12	6
68.	Venezuela	35%	14	21	37	21	10	10	8
69.	Cuba	34%	15	19	40	20	10	10	6
70.	Sudan	33%	13	20	36	22	12	10	9

DEMOGRAPHICS

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

71. What is your age?

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

72. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

White	76%
Black or African-American	12
Hispanic or Latino	5
Asian or Asian-American	3
Native American	1
Middle Eastern	*
Mixed Race	2
Other	-
(Refused)	1

[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]

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

Yes	8%
No	91
(Don't know / Refused)	1



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

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

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

Under \$25,000	16%
\$25,000-\$50,000	22
\$50,000-\$75,000	18
\$75,000-\$100,000	15
\$100,000-\$150,000	13
Over \$150,000	10
(Don't know / Refused)	6

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

Yes	32%
No	64
(Don't know)	4

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

A Democrat	34%
A Republican	31
An independent	30
(Don't know)	5

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)]

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

Democrats	21%
Republican	28
Neither way	46
(Don't know)	5

PID-3 (with independents leaned)

Democrat	41%
Republican	41
Independent	18



[IF REPUBLICAN/LEAN REPUBLICAN]

79. How likely are you to vote in the Republican presidential primary to pick the Republican nominee for president in 2024? Will you...

TOTAL LIKELY VOTE	87%
TOTAL UNLIKELY VOTE	9
Definitely vote in the primary	68%
Probably vote	19
Probably not vote	5
Definitely not vote in the primary	4
(Don't know)	4

[IF DEFINITELY/PROBABLY; N=448]

80. I'm going to read a list of potential candidates for the 2024 Republican nomination for president. Please tell me which one you would like to see as the Republican presidential nominee. **[RANDOMIZE]**

Donald Trump	53%
Ron DeSantis	19
Mike Pence	7
Nikki Haley	4
Tim Scott	2
Vivek Ramaswamy	2
Chris Christie	1
Greg Abbott	1
Chris Sununu	1
Liz Cheney	1
Asa Hutchinson	1
Kristi Noem	*
Larry Elder	*
Francis Suarez	-
(Other)	*
(None of the above)	1
(Don't know)	7

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

TOTAL LIBERAL	27%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE	36
Very liberal	10%
Somewhat liberal	16
Moderate	33
Somewhat conservative	20
Very conservative	16
(Don't know)	5



82. 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	5
Didn't vote	16
(Not sure / Refused)	3

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

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

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

New England	5%
Mid-Atlantic	13
Upper Mid-East	15
Upper Mid-West	7
Deep South	26
Border South	12
Rocky Mountain West	7
Pacific	16

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

East	18%
Midwest	21
South	38
West	23

