

G B A O

Center for American Progress Foreign Policy Research – Phase III

July 2019

N=1,200 registered voters

Conducted July 10-14, 2019 via online web panel

Margin of error = +/- 2.8 percentage points



Political Climate



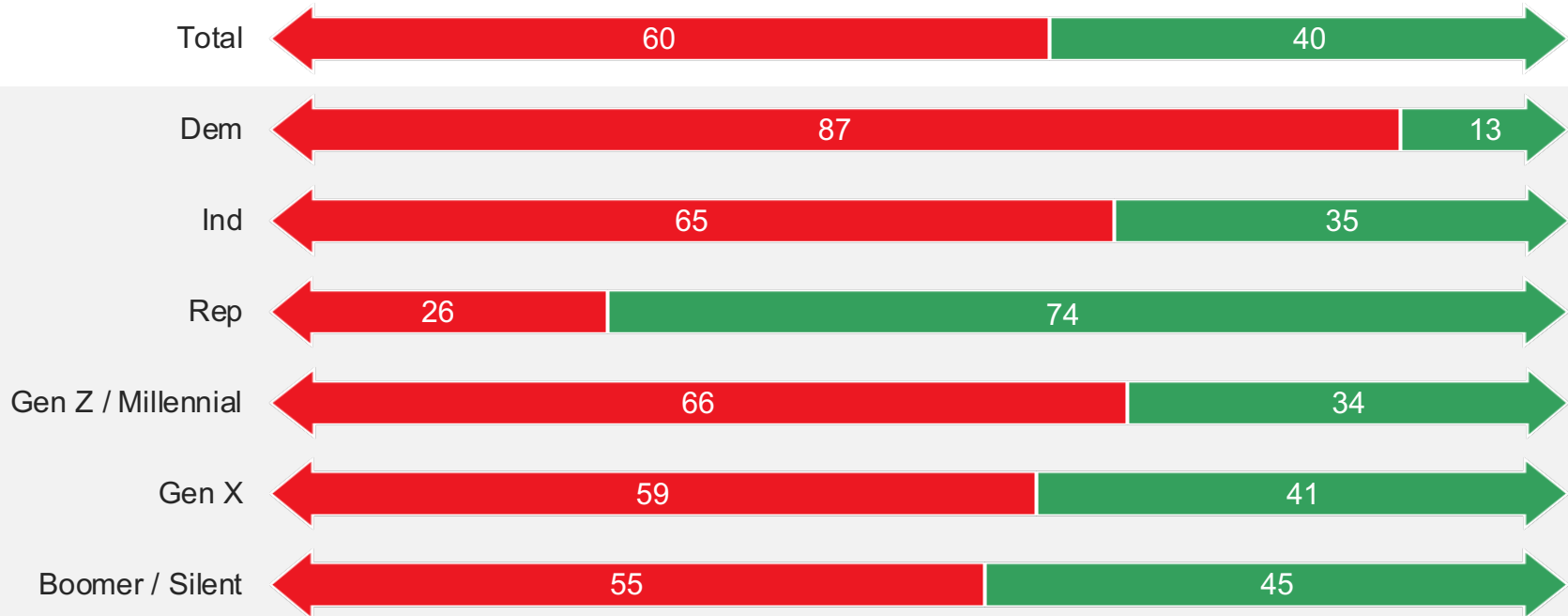
Voters Are Pessimistic, But Divided Along Partisan Lines

Figure 3

Direction of the Country

Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

● Right direction ● Wrong track



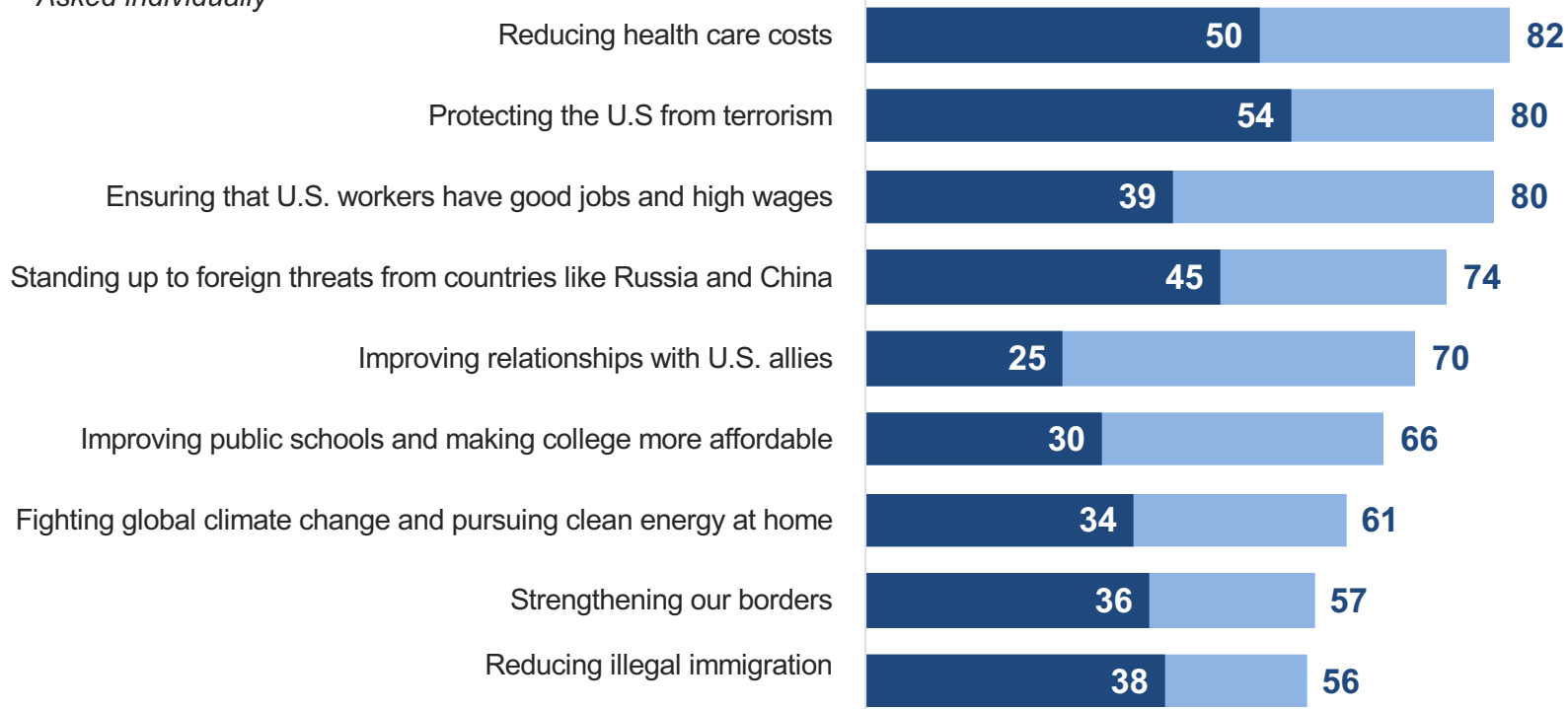
Protecting Americans From Threats Abroad Is As Important As Top Issues Like Health Care And The Economy

Figure 4

Voter Priorities

● One of the most important ● One of the most important + very important

Asked individually



Immigration, Climate Change & Russia/China Face Generational Divides, Few Prioritize Improving Relations With Allies

Figure 5

Voter Priorities

<i>% one of the most important</i>	Dem	Ind	Rep	Gen Z / Millennial	Gen X	Boomer / Silent
Terrorism	41	53	69	42	49	65
Healthcare	55	53	42	46	50	53
Russia/China	35	36	61	31	39	58
Jobs & wages	39	38	38	40	44	35
Illegal immigration	19	25	65	22	37	50
Borders	13	27	67	23	41	43
Climate change	52	25	15	42	33	28
Education	38	31	19	46	28	20
Allies	30	21	21	20	29	26

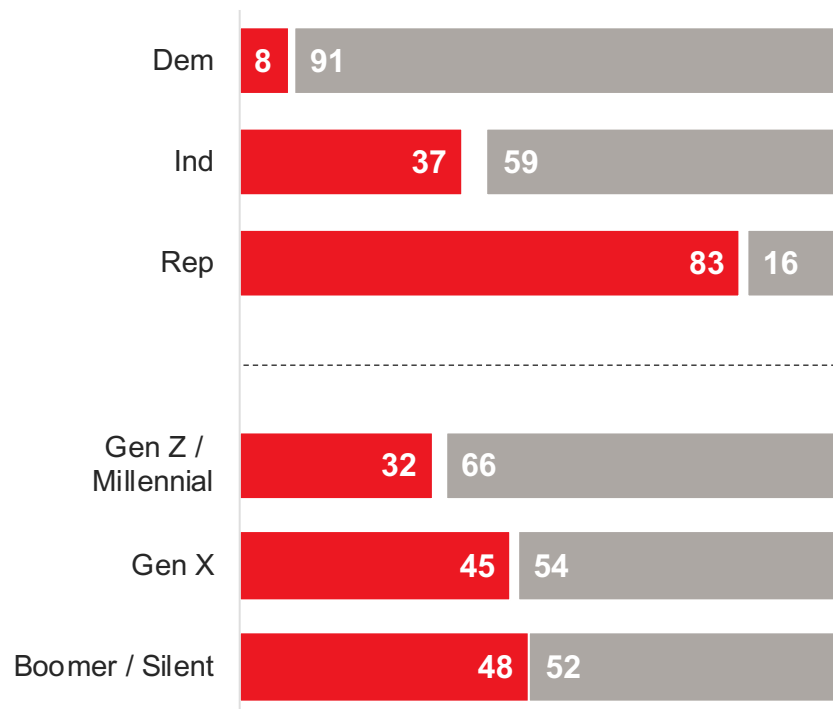
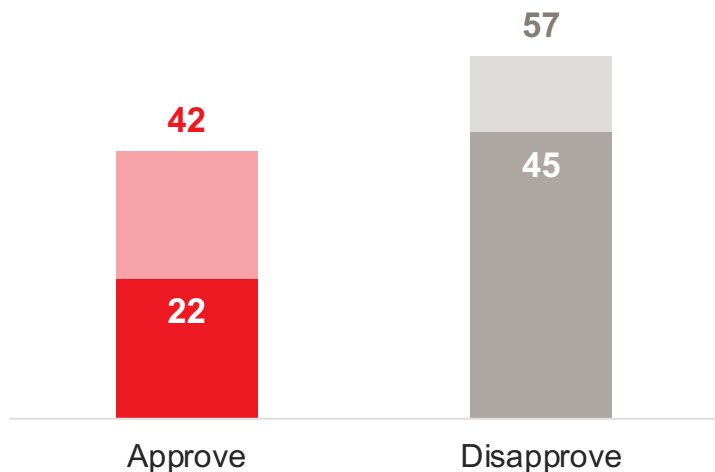
Outside of Republicans, Majorities Disapprove Of Trump

Figure 6

Trump Job Approval

Do you approve or disapprove of the job Donald Trump is doing as President?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity

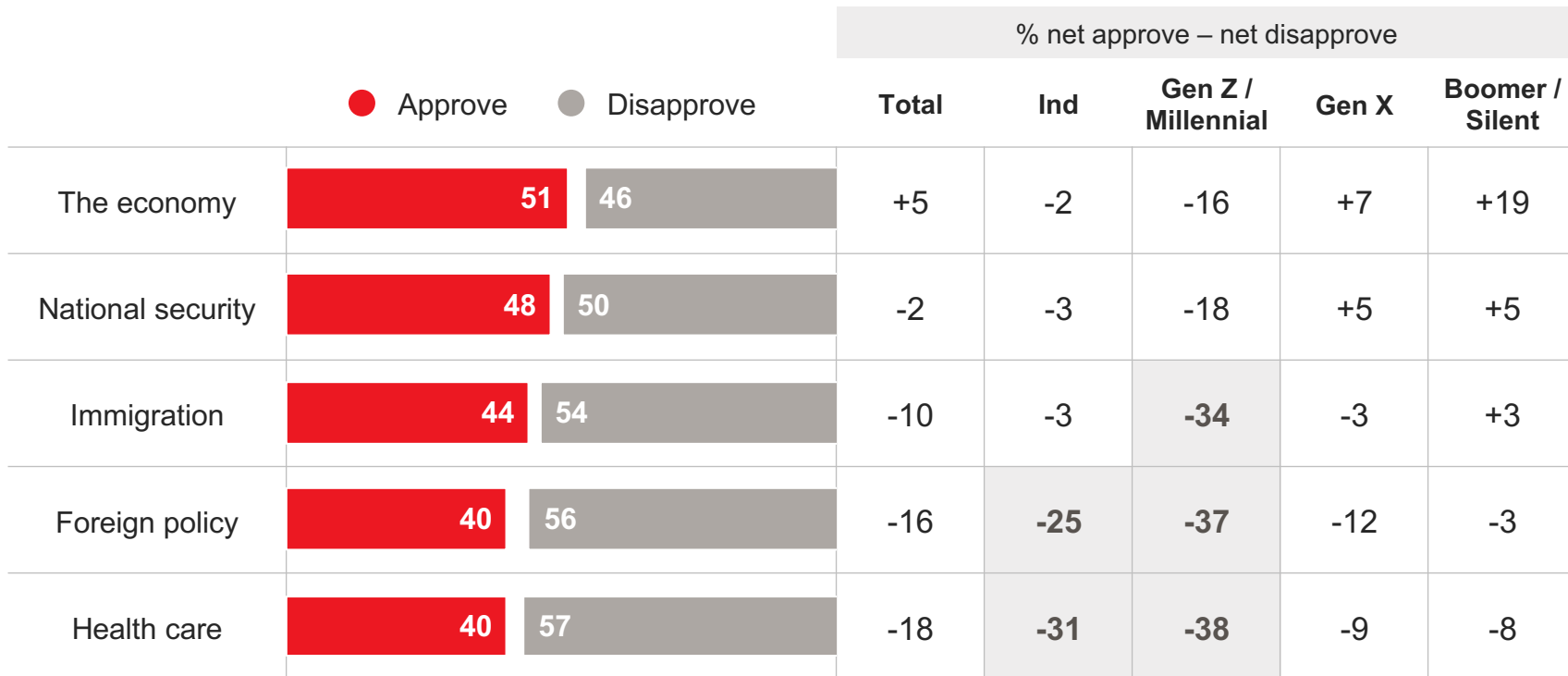


Trump's Health Care & Foreign Policy Are Most Out Of Step With Voters

Figure 7

Trump Job Approval

Do you approve or disapprove of how Donald Trump is handling...?



Independent, Moderate, And Less Educated Voters Tend To Be More Aligned With Trump On Immigration

Figure 8

Immigration Anxious = Disapprove of Trump overall & Approve of Trump on immigration

	All Voters	Immigration Anxious
Gen Z / Millennial	30	34
Gen X	26	27
Boomer / Silent	44	39
Democrat	46	40
Independent	14	31
Republican	40	29
Liberal / Progressive	29	20
Moderate	34	59
Conservative / Libertarian	36	21

	All Voters	Immigration Anxious
Men	47	47
Women	53	53
HS or less	30	46
Some college	32	19
College grad	38	34
White	70	68
Black / African-American	13	20
Hispanic / Latino	11	6



Foreign Policy

Investments At Home & Alliances Are Needed To Address Global Threats

Figure 10

Policy Statements

● Strongly agree

● Total agree

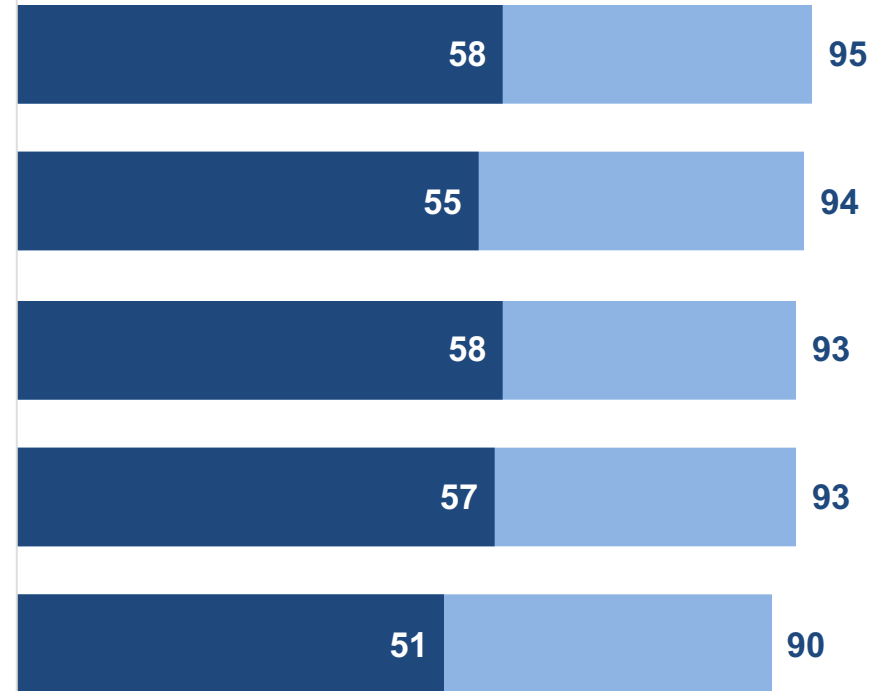
We need to **invest in America's workers** and stay true to our values of freedom and opportunity for all so that we can remain strong and competitive in the world.

America must make **new investments** in its own infrastructure, education, and health care to successfully compete against China, and take new steps to **build strong alliances** with Europe and Asia to help respond to China's rise. *(split)*

America is safer and stronger when we **work together with our allies** to address shared global challenges like international terrorism, climate change, and new threats like cyberwarfare.

America must make **new investments** in its own infrastructure, education, and health care to successfully compete against China. *(split)*

America on its own cannot address the biggest problems in the world today - like climate change, migration, terrorism, global disease, and the spread of nuclear weapons - and we must **work closely with our international allies** to confront these problems together. *(split)*



Investments Work Better With Non-Dems, Alliances Better With Dems

Figure 11

<i>% strongly agree</i>	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
We need to invest in America's workers and stay true to our values of freedom and opportunity for all so that we can remain strong and competitive in the world.	58	54	54	65
America must make new investments in its own infrastructure, education, and health care to successfully compete against China, and take new steps to build strong alliances with Europe and Asia to help respond to China's rise. <i>(split)</i>	55	58	48	54
America is safer and stronger when we work together with our allies to address shared global challenges like international terrorism, climate change, and new threats like cyberwarfare.	58	69	56	46
America must make new investments in its own infrastructure, education, and health care to successfully compete against China. <i>(split)</i>	57	55	61	58
America on its own cannot address the biggest problems in the world today - like climate change, migration, terrorism, global disease, and the spread of nuclear weapons - and we must work closely with our international allies to confront these problems together. <i>(split)</i>	51	65	37	40

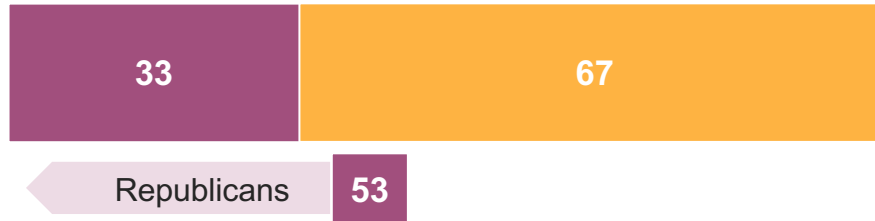
On China, Investments & Alliances Are Both Preferred To Steep Tariffs

Figure 12

China Tariffs

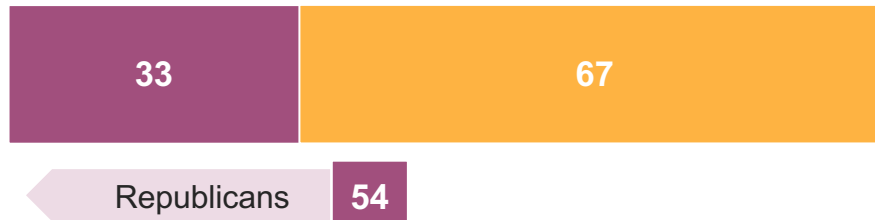
For each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

The U.S. should **impose steep tariffs** on Chinese goods, up to 25%, to counteract unfair government subsidies of Chinese businesses and try to force China to accept a fairer trade deal.



Rather than launch a trade war with China, which will only increase costs of products for U.S. consumers, the U.S. should **build strong alliances** with European and other Asian allies to force China to abide by fair rules.

The U.S. should **impose steep tariffs** on Chinese goods, up to 25%, to counteract unfair government subsidies of Chinese businesses and try to force China to accept a fairer trade deal.



Rather than launch a trade war with China, which will only increase costs of products for U.S. consumers, the U.S. should **invest more** in infrastructure and fund more research and development, to better compete with China and create good jobs here at home.

Defending Our Interests Is A Must, But Without Military Interventions

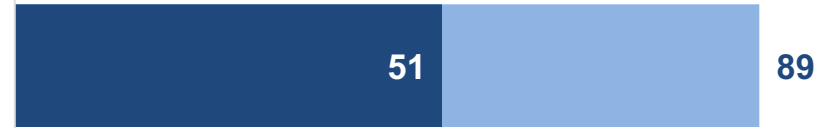
Figure 13

Policy Statements

● Strongly agree

● Total agree

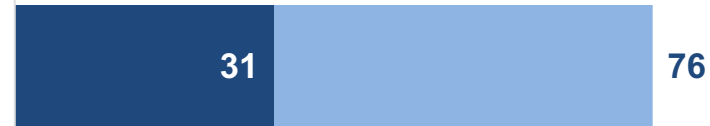
The primary aim of U.S. foreign policy should be to **protect American citizens and defend American interests** from external threats, no matter where those threats come from.



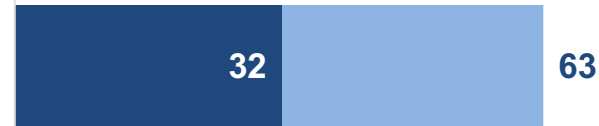
America should **stop picking fights** with its traditional allies and carrying out reckless acts like threatening war with Iran and North Korea, and start implementing a new agenda that makes us strong at home and more competitive in the world.



The U.S. should **end military interventions in the Middle East** and elsewhere, stop using the military to carry out foreign policy goals, and focus more on its own people and economy.



Our military has been weakened by years of underfunding, and we need **major increases in defense spending** to restore our military to full strength and ensure that no one can harm us here at home in the future.



A Less Confrontational Approach Is Wanted By Dems, Inds, And Younger Voters

Figure 14

<i>% strongly agree</i>	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep	Gen Z/ Mill	Gen X	Boomer/ Silent
The primary aim of U.S. foreign policy should be to protect American citizens and defend American interests from external threats, no matter where those threats come from.	51	39	48	66	39	48	61
America should stop picking fights with its traditional allies and carrying out reckless acts like threatening war with Iran and North Korea, and start implementing a new agenda that makes us strong at home and more competitive in the world.	46	61	54	25	52	39	45
The U.S. should end military interventions in the Middle East and elsewhere, stop using the military to carry out foreign policy goals, and focus more on its own people and economy.	31	33	35	26	36	31	27
Broad Agreement							
Our military has been weakened by years of underfunding, and we need major increases in defense spending to restore our military to full strength and ensure that no one can harm us here at home in the future.	32	18	28	49	22	31	39

Fewer Agree With Promoting Democracy Or An Isolationist Approach

Figure 15

Policy Statements

● Strongly agree

● Total agree

America is the world's leading democracy, and the primary aims of U.S. foreign policy should be to **promote democratic values** and prevent the rise of other forms of government at odds with American values.



U.S. efforts to save the rest of the world don't work, and it's time for the U.S. to focus on our many problems here at home and **let the rest of the world take care of its own problems**.



When it comes to immigration and trade, we need to protect our workers and their jobs first and foremost, and **end policies like free trade and open borders** that only help corporations.



China has undermined America for too long, and we need to use any means necessary – including **tariffs and trade wars that make it harder for China** to do business here – to regain the upper hand.



Foreigners have taken advantage of America for too long, so we need to fight back by **building a wall, restricting all forms of immigration**, making other countries pay for their own security, and using tariffs to punish countries that don't abide by fair trading rules.



An Isolationist/Nationalist Ideology Only Really Appeals To Republicans

Figure 16

<i>% strongly agree</i>	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
America is the world's leading democracy, and the primary aims of U.S. foreign policy should be to promote democratic values and prevent the rise of other forms of government at odds with American values.	29	27	14	37
U.S. efforts to save the rest of the world don't work, and it's time for the U.S. to focus on our many problems here at home and let the rest of the world take care of its own problems.	34	23	42	44
When it comes to immigration and trade, we need to protect our workers and their jobs first and foremost, and end policies like free trade and open borders that only help corporations.	34	20	37	50
China has undermined America for too long, and we need to use any means necessary – including tariffs and trade wars that make it harder for China to do business here – to regain the upper hand.	25	13	17	43
Foreigners have taken advantage of America for too long, so we need to fight back by building a wall, restricting all forms of immigration , making other countries pay for their own security, and using tariffs to punish countries that don't abide by fair trading rules.	32	12	29	56

The background of the image is a close-up, slightly blurred view of the American flag, showing the blue field with white stars and the red and white stripes. A dark blue diagonal banner is overlaid on the bottom left portion of the image.

Military / National Security

For Most, Addressing Terrorism Includes Confronting Allies Like Saudi Arabia, Pressuring Social Media Companies, & Includes Domestic Terrorism

Figure 18

Terrorism Policies

● Strongly agree ● Total agree

% total agree

Dem Ind Rep

The US should take a **hard line in dealing with countries like Saudi Arabia** whose leaders claim to be our allies but then financially support terrorist groups and use their power to torture and murder citizens who promote American values like democracy or human rights.

47

93

93

90

93

Terrorist groups rely upon social media to spread their messages, recruit new members, and glorify terrorist activities. **Social media companies have a responsibility** to monitor their platforms and prevent extremist groups from using their technology to promote terrorist activities.

57

89

90

82

91

Terrorist threats from **white supremacists** and other extremist actors who are being radicalized inside the United States are just as important to focus on as threats from foreign terrorist groups.

57

87

91

87

82

Non-Democrats Are Less Inclined To Believe Economic Aid And Eliminating Intelligence Gaps Are Effective In Addressing Terrorist Threats

Figure 19

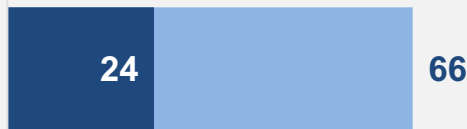
Terrorism Policies

● Strongly agree ● Total agree

% total agree

Dem Ind Rep

We must address the root causes of terrorism in the Middle East – including a lack of opportunity or education and oppressive poverty – through a large program of **direct economic and humanitarian aid** to Middle East countries.



77

56

55

International terrorism is primarily a **law enforcement and intelligence problem**, and should be treated as such by the U.S. government – not as a problem best addressed by military force.



74

58

55

Voters Prefer Smarter Spending Over More Money For Our Security

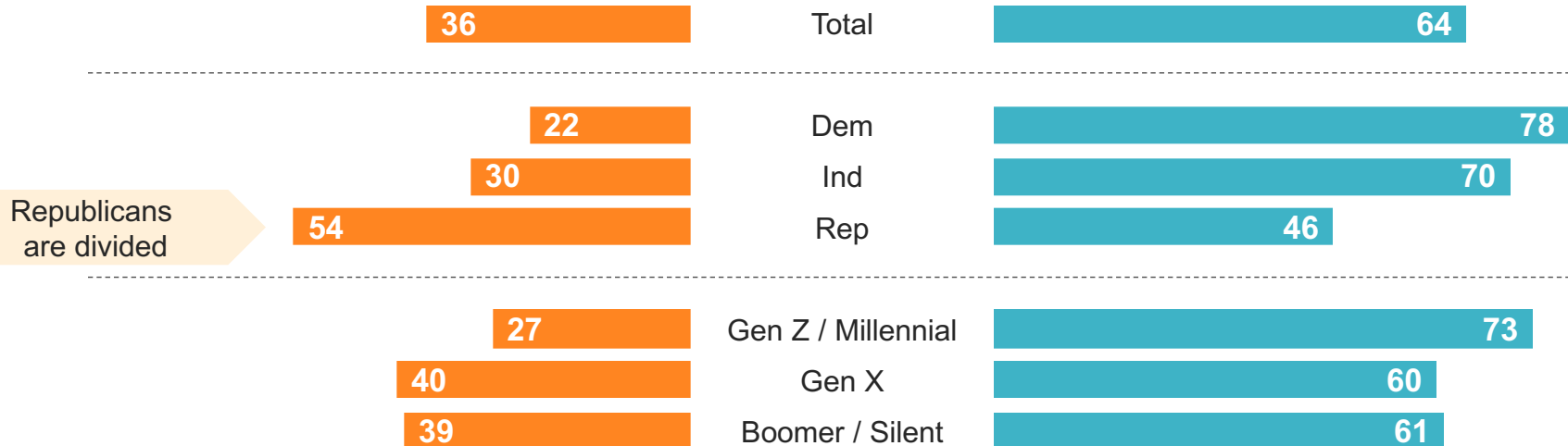
Figure 20

Military Spending

Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

The U.S. faces major threats around the world, and we should **spend whatever it takes** to ensure that we have the world's largest and best-equipped military forces and weapons.

The U.S. should get out of costly and ineffective wars in the Middle East, and **shift these defense savings into other areas of our national security** including intelligence, cybersecurity, and diplomatic efforts that will help protect us from current and future threats.

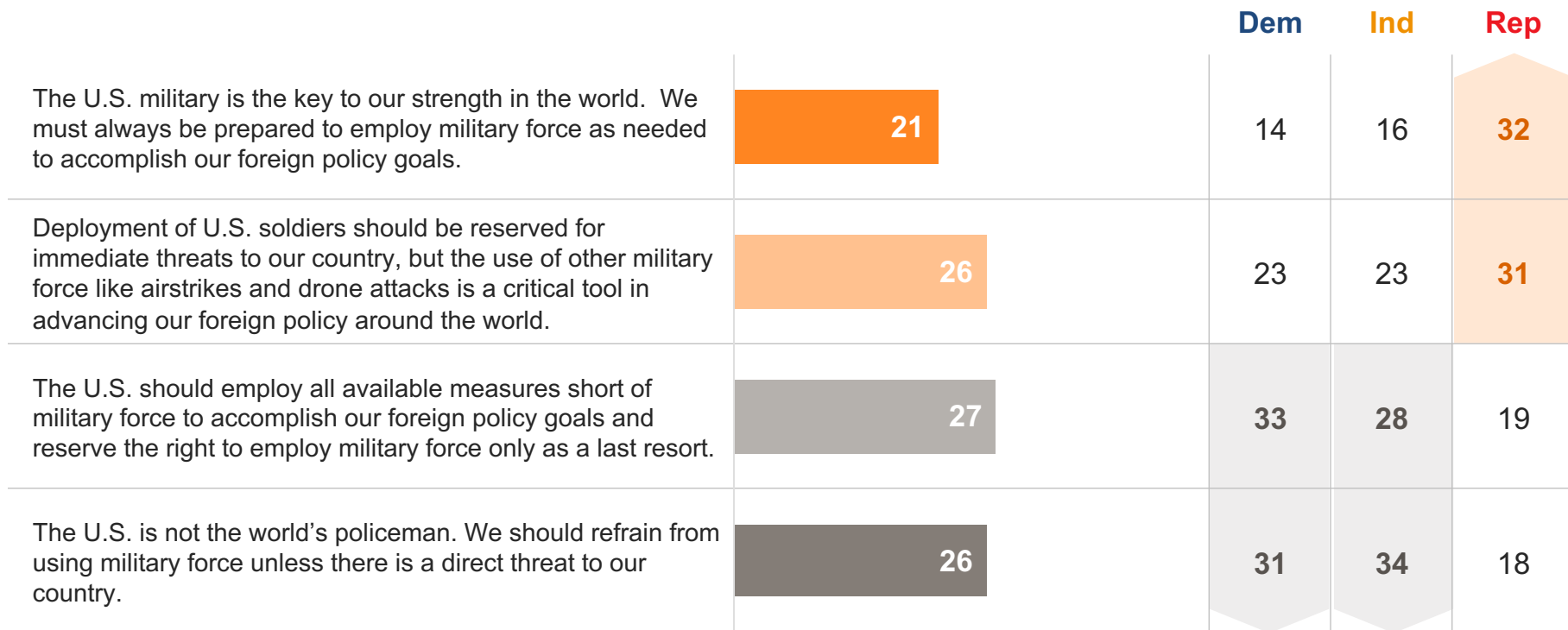


Republicans Are More Willing To Advocate For Military Force, Democrats And Independents View It As A Last Resort

Figure 21

Military Force

Which of the following best describes your feelings about how the US should approach the use of military force – including the deployment of US soldiers and measures such as airstrikes or drone attacks against specific targets – to advance our foreign policy and protect our national security?



However, Republicans (And Voters Overall) Are Supportive Of A Number Of Non-Military Options To Address Today's Foreign Policy Challenges

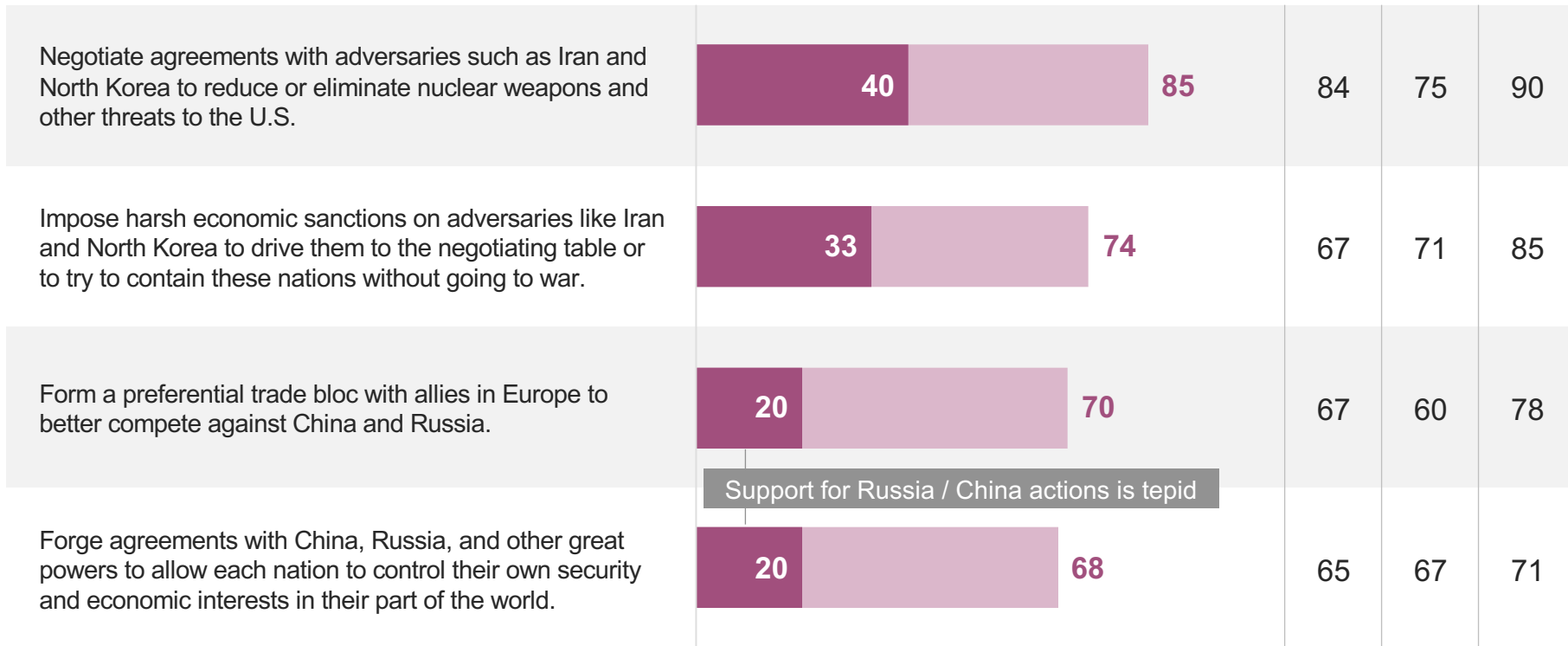
Figure 22

Non-Military Actions

● Strongly support ● Total support

% total support

Dem Ind Rep



Cultural Exchanges, Foreign Aid, UN Authority Appeal To Democrats, But Few Feel Strongly About These Endeavors

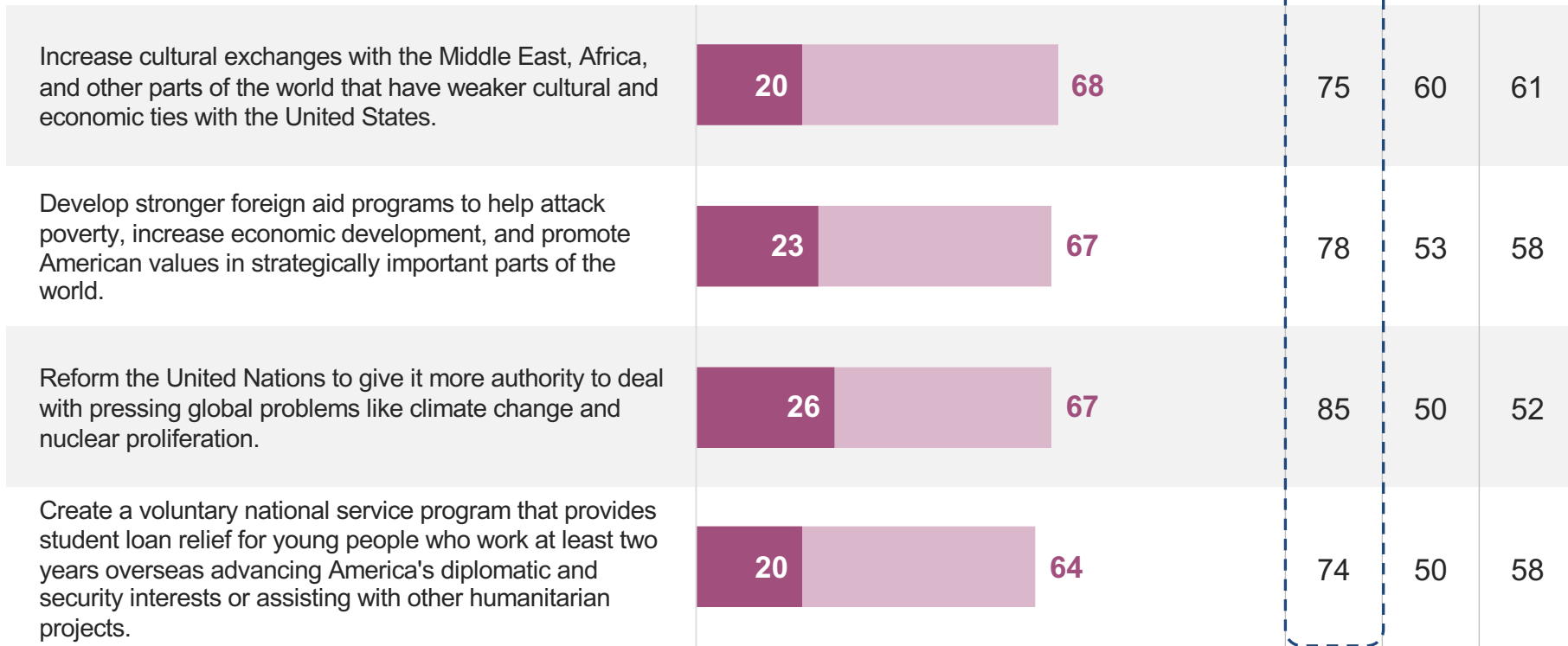
Figure 23

Non-Military Actions

● Strongly support ● Total support

% total support

Dem Ind Rep



The image features a background of light brown wood grain with a dark blue diagonal banner. The banner is positioned horizontally across the middle of the image, with a white triangle pointing to the right on its right side. The text "Afghanistan" is written in white, bold, sans-serif font on the banner.

Afghanistan

Democrats, Independents, & Younger Voters Strongly Support Ending Our Involvement In The Middle East

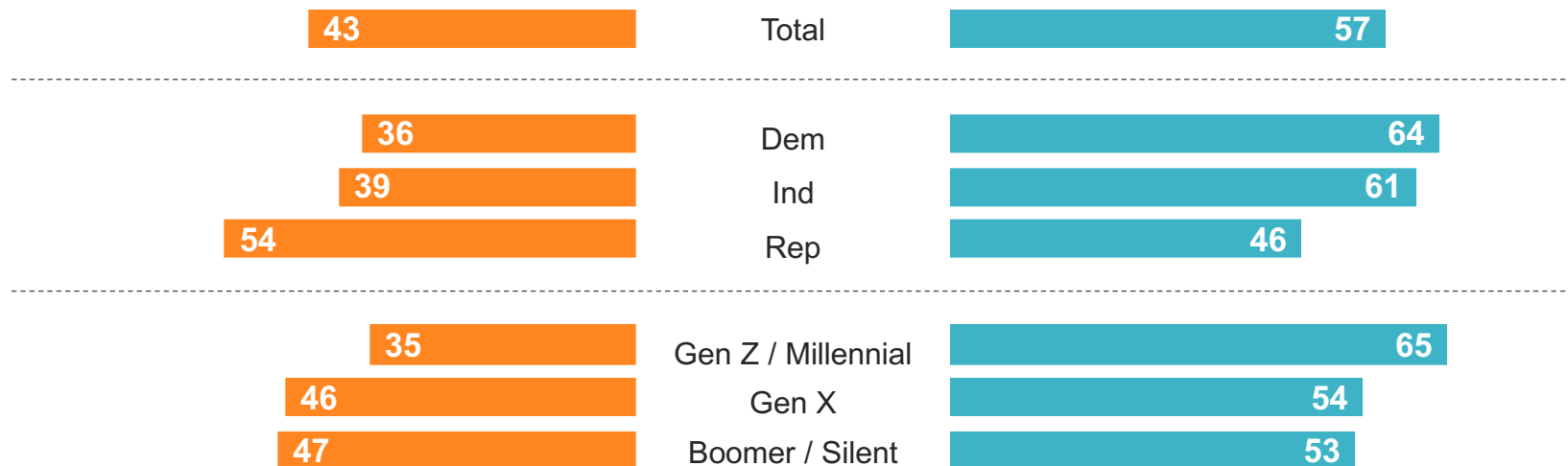
Figure 25

Middle East

Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

Our goal in the Middle East should be to **maintain the level of U.S. troops** needed across the Middle East to prevent terrorist attacks against the U.S. or our allies.

Our goal in the Middle East should be to **end all existing wars** and bring back American troops.



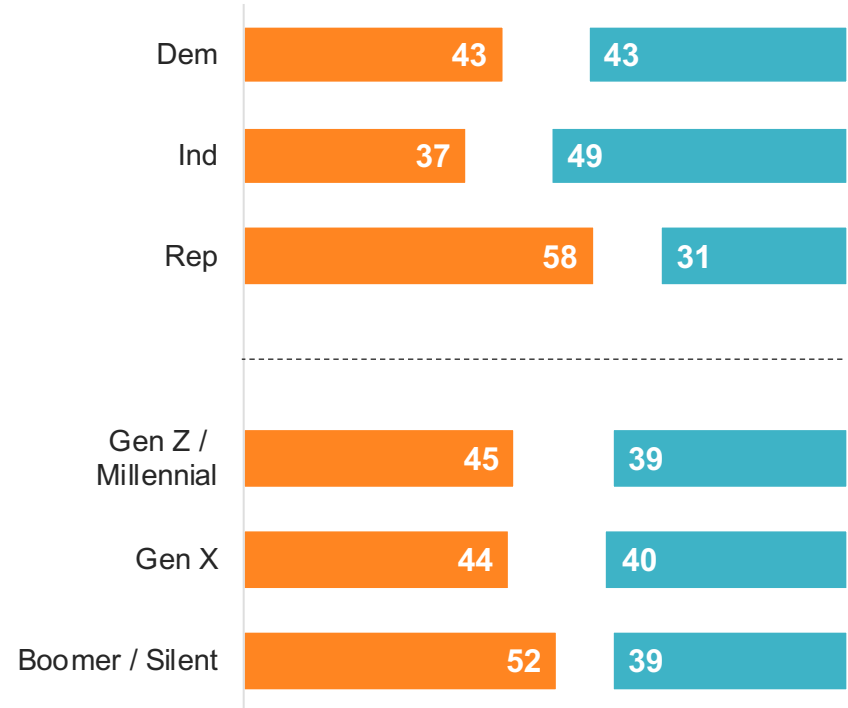
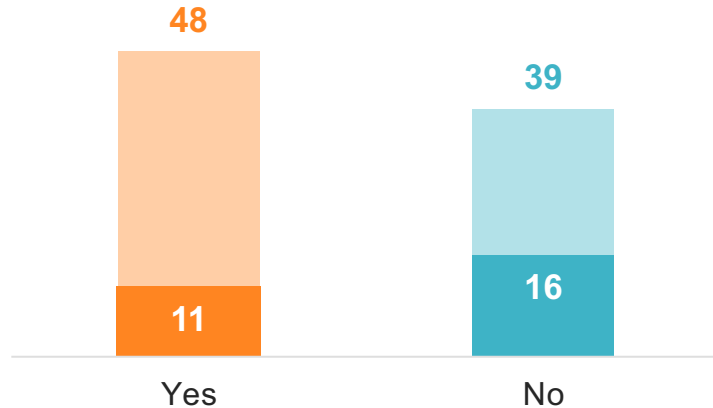
Views Of Afghanistan Are Soft, Independents Support Leaving

Figure 26

Troops in Afghanistan

Should the U.S. keep American troops in Afghanistan to combat the Taliban and other terrorists and help provide security in the region?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity

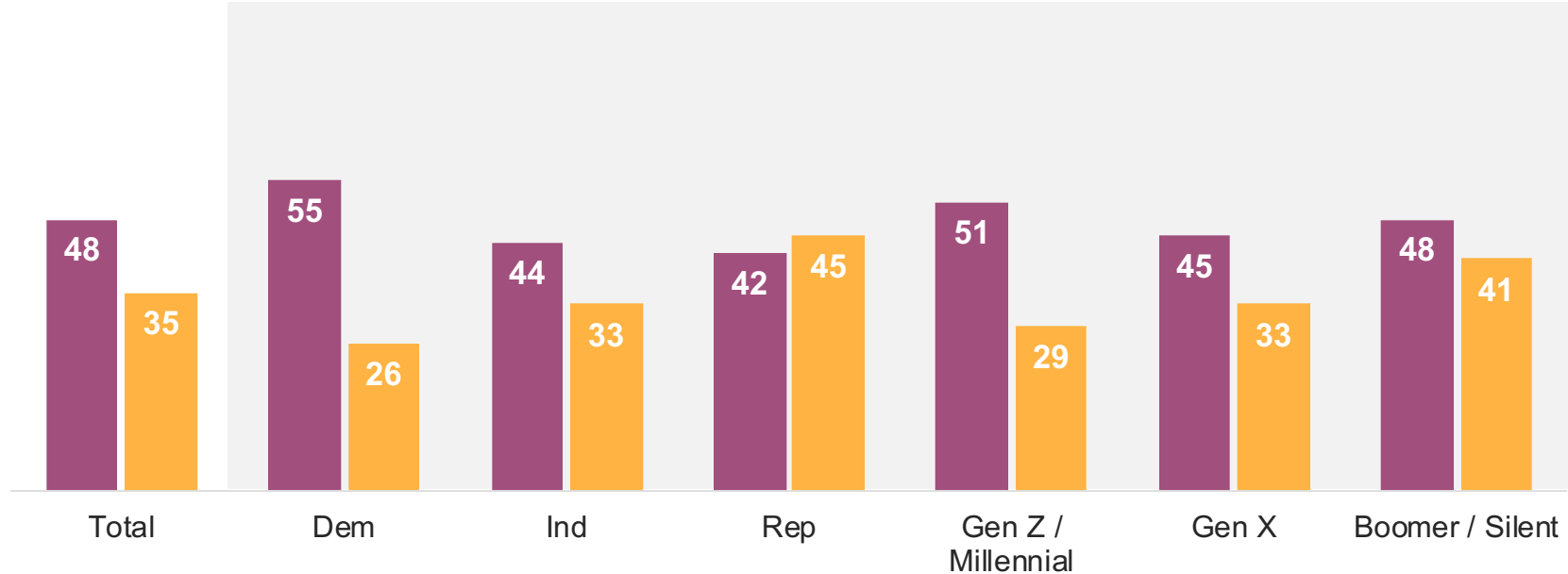


A Minimal Presence Is Preferred, Especially By Dems & Younger Voters

Figure 27

IF SUPPORT TROOPS IN AFGHANTISTAN OR UNSURE: If the U.S. keeps troops in Afghanistan, should the U.S. limit the deployment to a small number of specialized troops to train local forces and help them carry out missions, or should the U.S. deploy as many troops as military leaders feel are necessary to provide security and fight terrorism?

● Small number of specialized forces ● As many troops as military leaders feel are necessary



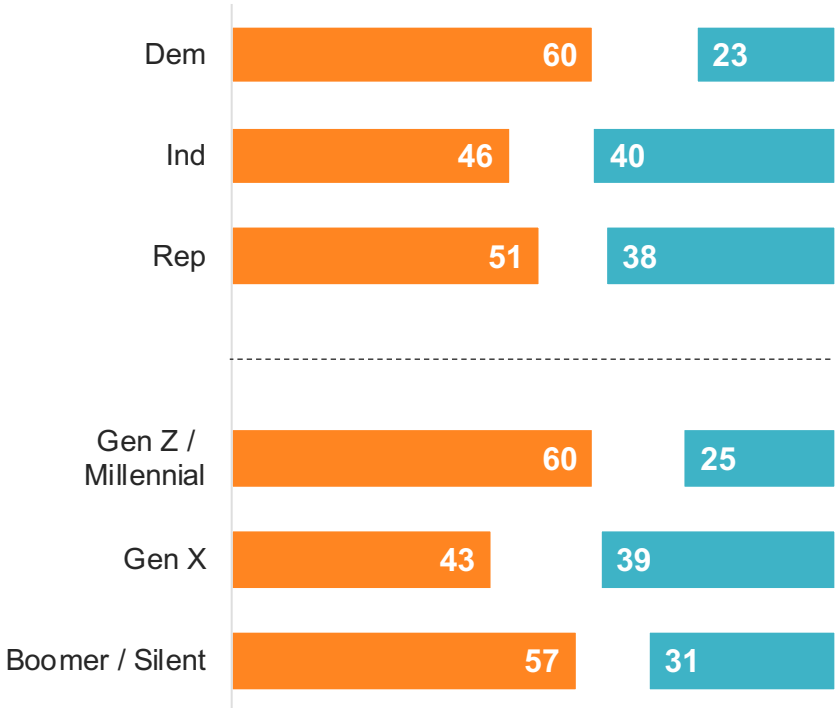
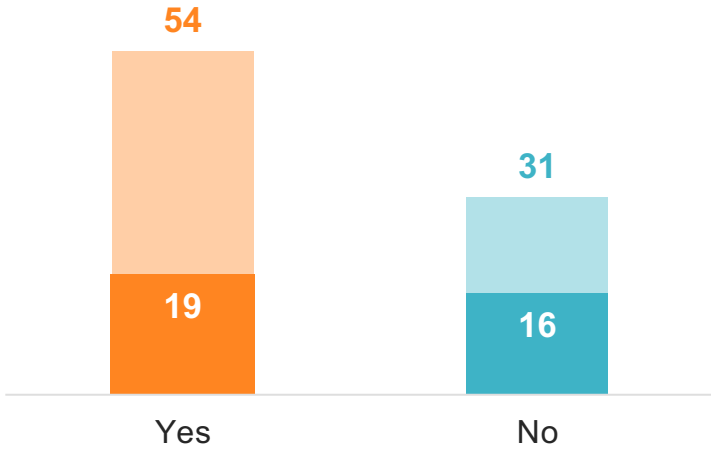
A Majority Supports Entering Into Negotiations With The Taliban

Figure 28

Taliban Negotiations

Regardless of your position on troops in Afghanistan, do you think the U.S. government and allies should negotiate with the Taliban to try to end the decades-long conflict in the region?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity



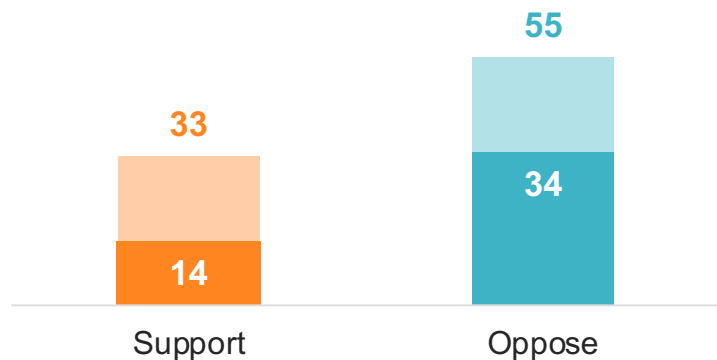


Iran

Democrats & Independents Oppose Preemptive Military Strikes On Iran

Would you support or oppose President Trump ordering preemptive military strikes against Iran to attack its nuclear program?

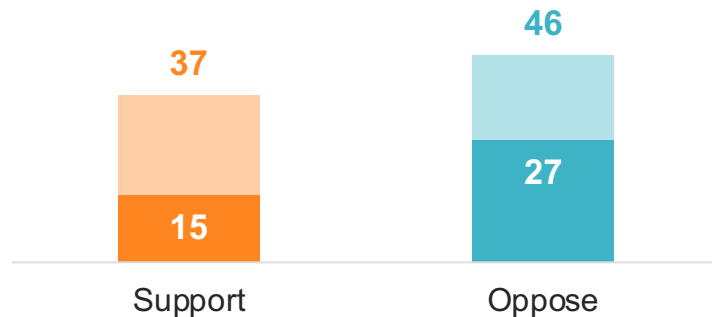
Darker shade = Stronger intensity



	Dem	Ind	GOP
Support	15	22	58
Oppose	75	57	32

Would you support or oppose President Trump ordering preemptive military strikes against the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps, which has been designated a terrorist group by the president?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity

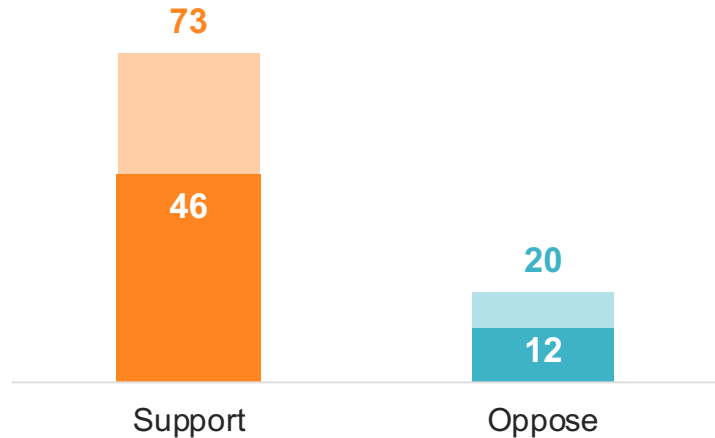


	Dem	Ind	GOP
Support	15	33	64
Oppose	67	50	21

Military Action Is Only Warranted If Troops Or Allies Are Attacked

Would you support or oppose President Trump ordering military action against Iran if the country or groups it supports attacked U.S. soldiers or civilians?

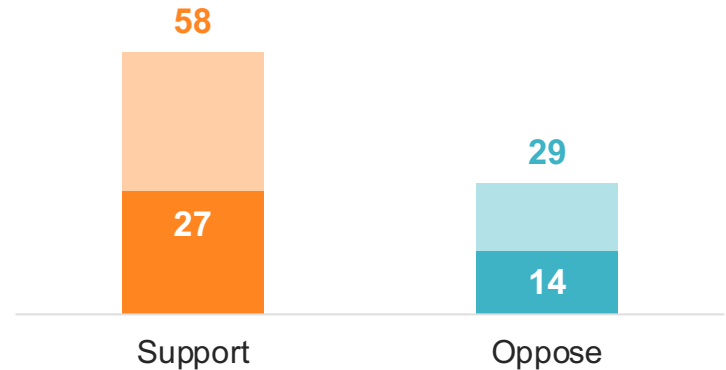
Darker shade = Stronger intensity



	Dem	Ind	GOP
Support	60	70	89
Oppose	32	20	6

Would you support or oppose President Trump ordering military action against Iran if the country or groups it supports attacked one of our close allies in the region, such as Israel?

Darker shade = Stronger intensity



	Dem	Ind	GOP
Support	39	61	80
Oppose	43	28	12

Majority Prefer De-Escalation, But Partisan & Generational Divisions Emerge

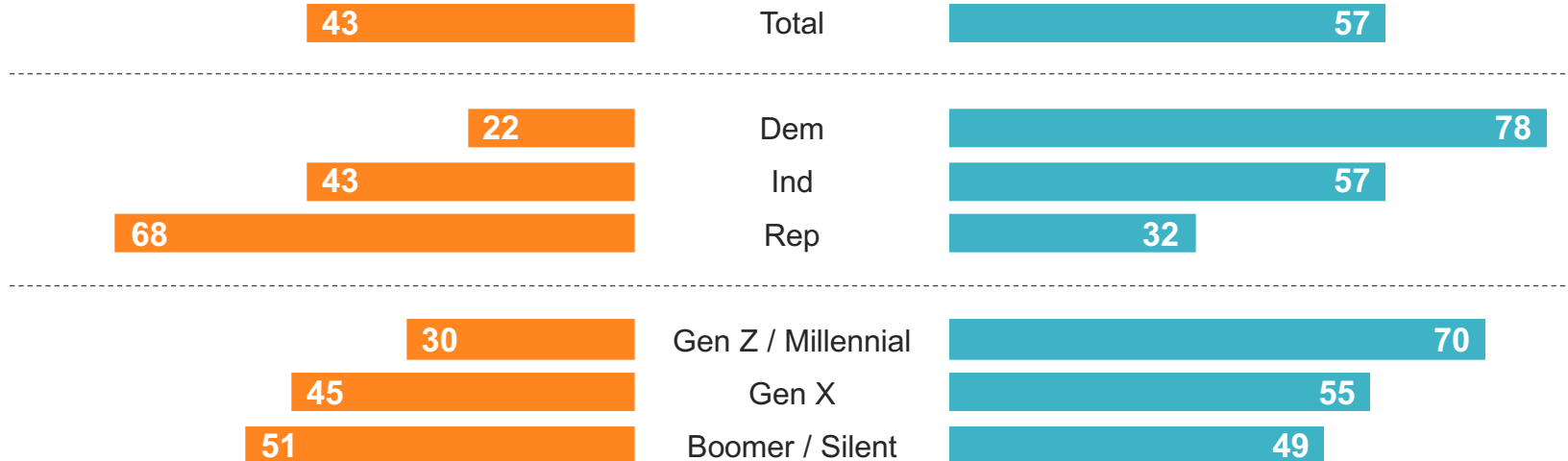
Figure 32

Iran Approach

Thinking about the U.S. approach to Iran, which of the following do you agree with more?

The best way to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon is to **take a hard line**, unilaterally increasing economic sanctions and other penalties until Iran accepts U.S. demands.

The best way for the U.S. to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon is to **de-escalate tensions** and negotiate a return to the agreement we previously made with five U.S. allies and Iran.



The background features a light-colored wood-grain texture. A dark blue diagonal banner cuts across the middle of the image. The word "Israel" is written in white, bold, sans-serif font on the right side of the banner.

Israel

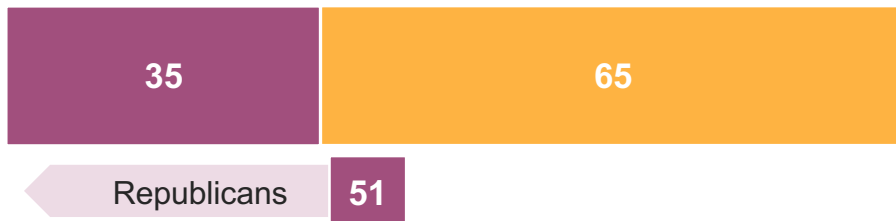
Voters Prefer U.S. Role As Fair Broker Rather Than Making U.S. Support Contingent On Israeli (Mis)Behavior

Figure 34

U.S.-Israel Relationship

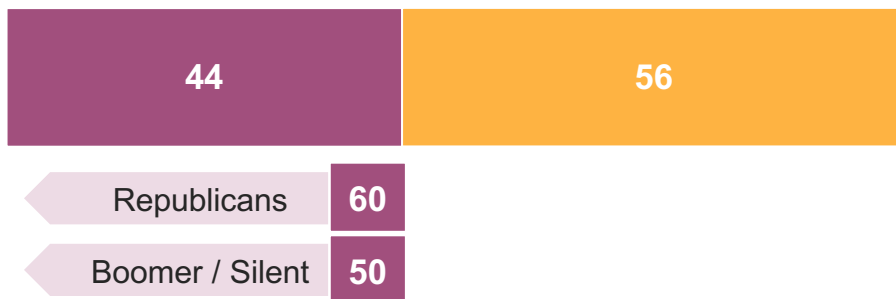
For each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

The United States should **always side with Israel** during peace negotiations because Israel is our democratic ally and needs our support against a world that isolates them.




The United States should **act as a fair and impartial broker** in order to achieve a peace agreement between Israelis and Palestinians.

The United States should **always side with Israel** during peace negotiations because Israel is our democratic ally and needs our support against a world that isolates them.



The U.S. should **not provide unrestricted financial and military assistance** to the Israeli government if it continues to violate U.S. policy on settlement expansion in the West Bank.



**Big Current Issues:
Immigration / Climate Change**

Majorities Believe In A Future With Renewables Over Fossil Fuels

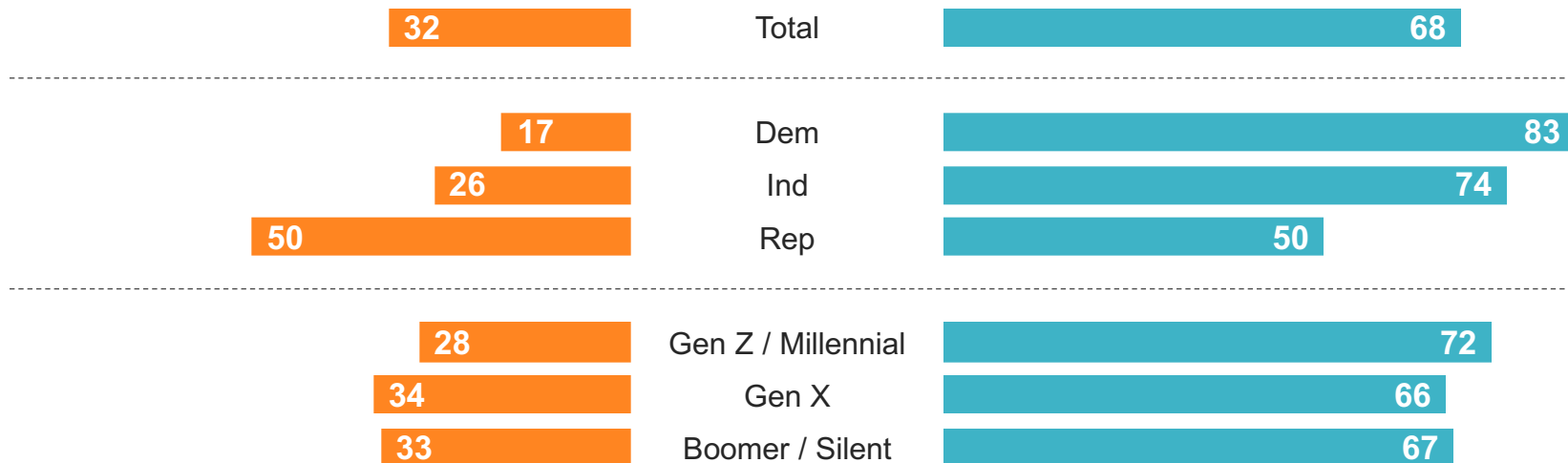
Figure 36

Climate Change

Please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

Instead of letting other countries use climate change and environmental regulations to weaken our economy, the U.S. should **continue to take advantage of its abundant fossil fuels** to fuel our economy and create good paying jobs.

Regardless of what other countries do, America should **invest more in clean and renewable energy** sources that will help fight climate change and create good paying new jobs in solar, wind, and other new industries.



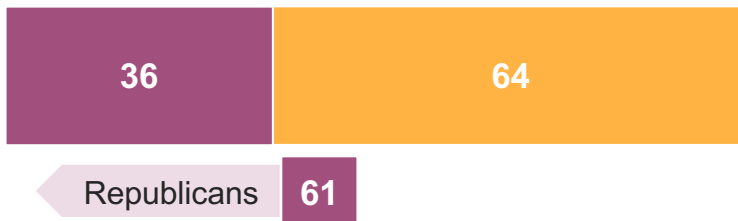
Comprehensive Reform Finds Broader Support Than Economic Aid In Tackling The Issue Of Illegal Immigration But Majorities Support Both

Figure 37

Illegal Immigration

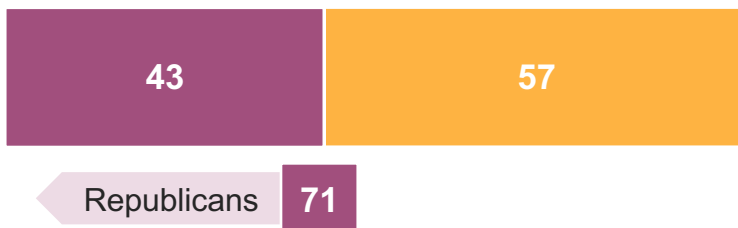
For each pair, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

The U.S. should create **strict border controls**, starting with a massive border wall, and punish Mexico with tariffs or other financial penalties if they don't do more to stop the flow of illegal immigrants.



The U.S. should pass **comprehensive immigration reform**, providing a safe, legal, and managed path to citizenship for people who are willing to work, pay taxes, and help contribute to the future of our nation.

The U.S. should create **strict border controls**, starting with a massive border wall, and punish Mexico with tariffs or other financial penalties if they don't do more to stop the flow of illegal immigrants.



To reduce the migration of people to our border, the U.S. should do more to **help nations like Mexico, Guatemala, and Honduras** fight the drug dealers, gangs, corruption, and widespread poverty that lead people to abandon their homes and seek a better life in the U.S.

G B A O

RESEARCH + STRATEGY