

A large, vertical image of the Statue of Liberty, tinted in a light blue color, occupies the left side of the cover. The statue is shown from the waist up, holding the torch aloft in her right hand and a tablet in her left. The background is a clear blue sky.

RESULTS OF THE 2019 CHICAGO
COUNCIL SURVEY OF AMERICAN PUBLIC
OPINION AND US FOREIGN POLICY

Rejecting Retreat

Americans Support US Engagement
in Global Affairs

By Dina Smeltz, Ivo Daalder,
Karl Friedhoff, Craig Kafura, and
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The upending of US foreign policy under the Trump administration, the revolt against establishment politicians, and the rise of the progressive wing in US politics has led many foreign policy experts to conclude that Americans want to retreat from the world. Much of Washington and its foreign policy elite believe that “Iraq and other debacles” have left Americans wearied, worried, and inclined toward either America First or retrenchment ideas.¹ They believe the American public sees the rules-based international order established after World War II as bankrupt.

But that is not what the American public actually thinks. Americans may be searching for a new way to make sense of the world. But the 2019 Chicago Council Survey demonstrates that retreating from the world, abdicating international leadership, and abandoning alliances and global institutions is not what the American public has in mind.

Whether they identify as Democrats, Independents, or Republicans, large numbers of Americans continue to favor the foundational elements of traditional, post–World War II US foreign policy. They express continued or increased support for security alliances and military deterrence by maintaining superior military capabilities and US bases abroad. They believe international trade is good for the United States and American companies, and that promoting democracy and human rights around the world makes the United States safer. In fact, support for NATO, military alliances, and trade have never been higher in the history of the Chicago Council Survey.

Placed within the context of the 45-year history of the Chicago Council Survey, the most striking conclusion is how consistently Americans support a foreign policy based on shared leadership, strong alliances, free trade, and the selective use of military force to defend the United States and its allies.

To Be or Not to Be Active in World Affairs

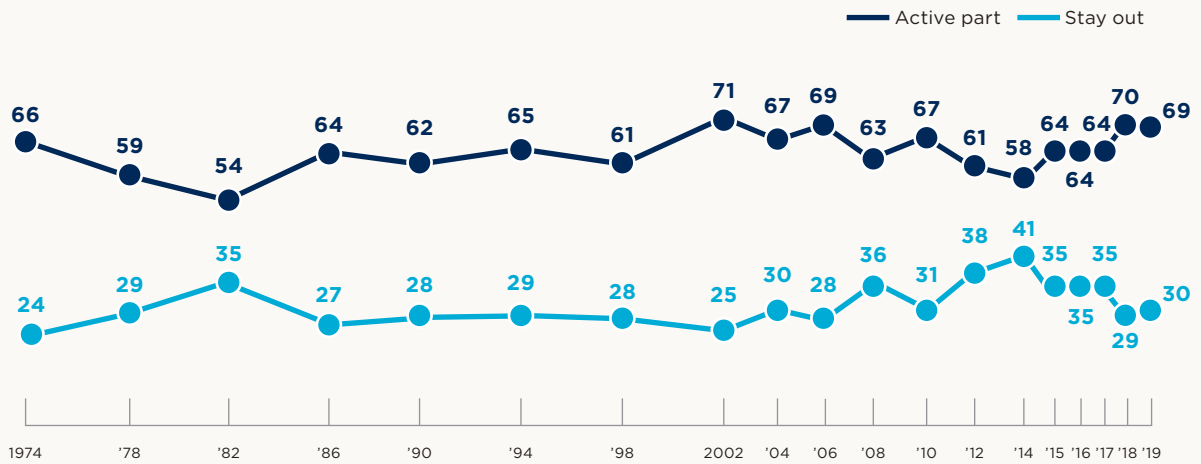
Today, seven in 10 Americans (69%) say it would be best for the future of the country to take an active part in world affairs, while three in 10 (30%) say the United States should stay out (Figure A). This level of support for an active role is among the highest recorded in the history of the Chicago Council Survey. As important, there is broad consensus on this role, with solid majorities of self-described Democrats (75%), Independents (64%), and Republicans (69%) supporting an active role in the world, as they have for decades.

It's important to have allies and to remain a world power. We've always been in a position to aid other nations, and that position has always served us well.

— 28-year-old woman from California

Figure A: US Role in World Affairs

Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs? (%)
n = 2,059



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

Moreover, the three in 10 Americans (30%) who prefer the United States stay out of world affairs do not necessarily oppose all types of international involvement. While those who want to stay out of world affairs tend to oppose military interventions and the US military presence abroad, open-end responses indicate that they prefer the United States to selectively engage through diplomacy and trade rather than not engage at all.

Carry a Big Stick: Support for Alliances and Military Power as Deterrents to Threats

Solid majorities of Americans say that preserving US military alliances with other countries (74%), maintaining US military superiority (69%), and stationing US troops in allied countries (51%) contribute to US safety. (See Appendix Figure 1.) Fewer say the same about military interventions (27%), suggesting that Americans favor using US military clout to deter aggressive actions by other countries rather than to invade or occupy them. In other words, when it comes to the US military, the public seems to adhere to President Theodore Roosevelt's admonition to "speak softly and carry a big stick."

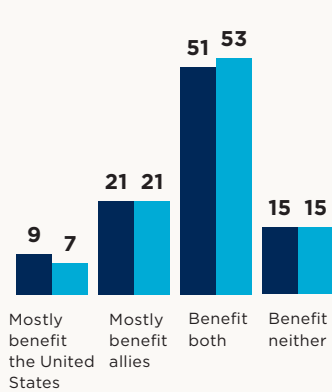
In addition, even more Americans now than in 2017 say that security alliances in East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East benefit both US allies and the United States (Figure B). This holds true across partisan lines. Asked about NATO specifically, all-time high percentages among Democrats (86%), Independents (68%), and Republicans (62%) believe that NATO is still essential to US security. And 78 percent of Americans overall say that the United States should maintain or increase its current commitment to NATO.

Figure B: US Security Alliances

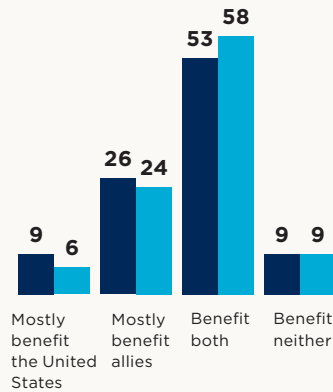
Which of the following comes closest to your view on US security alliances in [East Asia/Europe/the Middle East]? Do they: (%)

■ 2017 ■ 2019

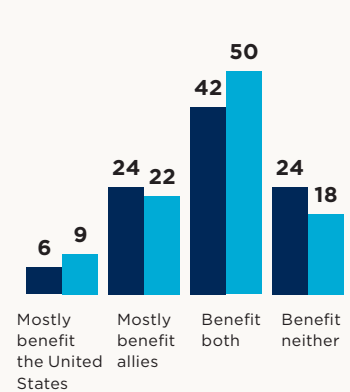
East Asia (n = 688)



Europe (n = 696)



Middle East (n = 675)



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

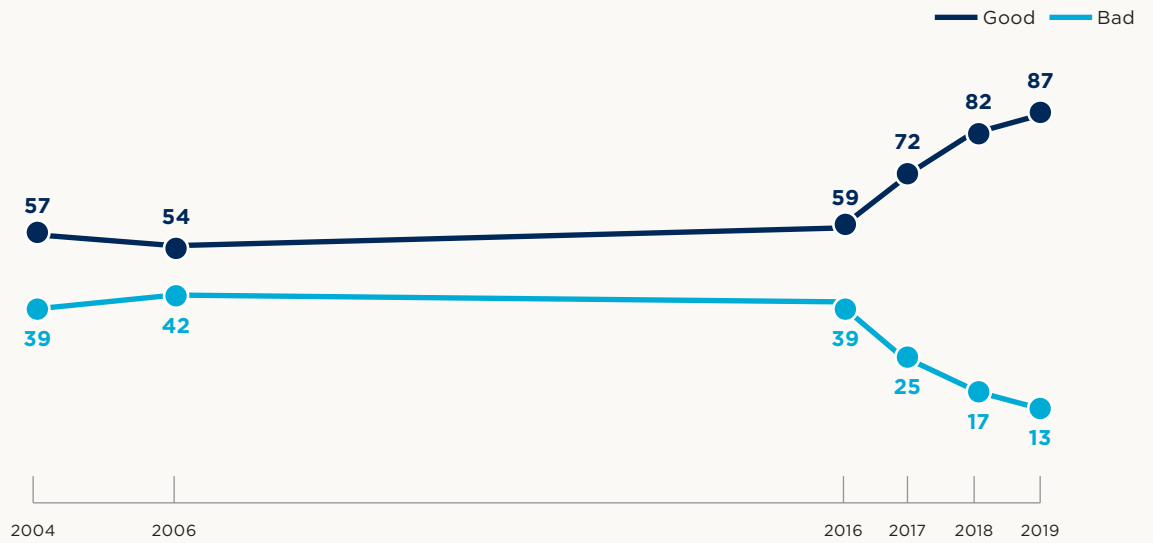
While Americans are more likely to say that US military interventions make the United States less safe (46%) rather than more (27%), there are times when they think military action is appropriate. For example, Americans favor using US troops to take action to prevent Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons (70%) and fight violent Islamic extremist groups in Iraq and Syria (59%). Americans also support the use of US troops to defend allies. Majorities across party lines favor committing US troops to defend South Korea from a North Korean invasion (58%) and to defend a NATO ally such as Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia from a Russian invasion (54%). Bipartisan majorities also prefer to maintain or increase current levels of US military forces in South Korea (69%), Japan (57%), and the Persian Gulf (60%). (See Appendix Figure 4.)

Agreement on Trade but Not on Tariffs

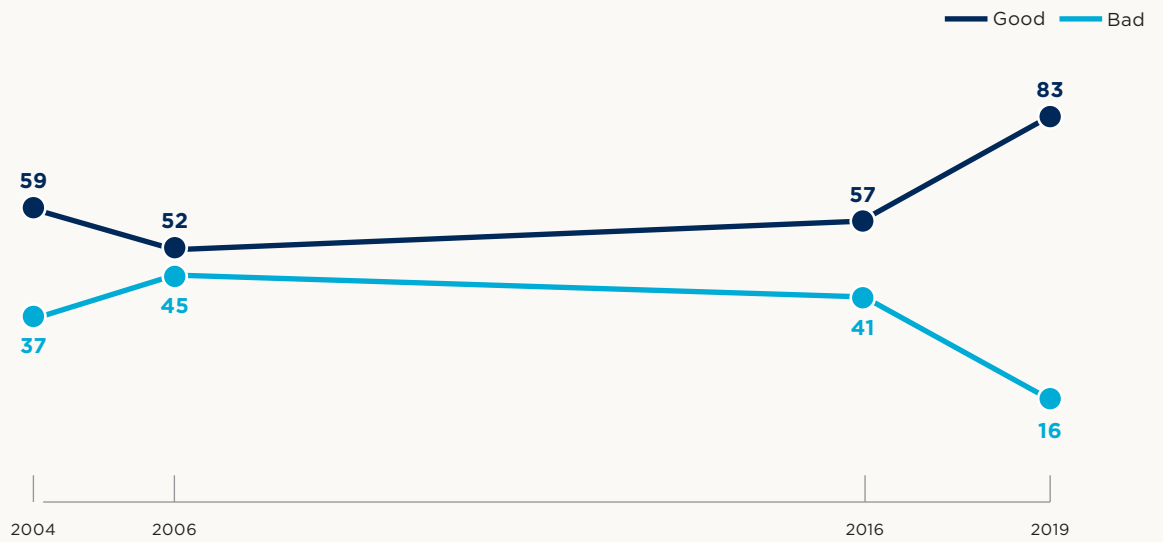
More Americans than ever before in Chicago Council polling endorse the benefits of international trade for the US economy (87%) and for American companies (83%), with year-over-year increases across political groupings (Figure C). Compared with 2017, larger majorities also see trade deals as benefiting both the United States and other countries (63%, up from 51%), including majorities of Democrats (74%), Independents (59%), and Republicans (54%). The findings suggest that the recent increases in Republican support for trade partly reflect backing for President Trump's trade policies: 74 percent of Republicans favor the imposition of tariffs against Chinese imports, while a majority of Democrats oppose doing so (66%); Independents are split (50% support). (See Figure 16.)

Figure C: International Trade

Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for: *The US economy* (%)
n = 2,059



Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for: *American companies* (%)
n = 2,059



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

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Deepening Divides on Immigration, Climate, and China

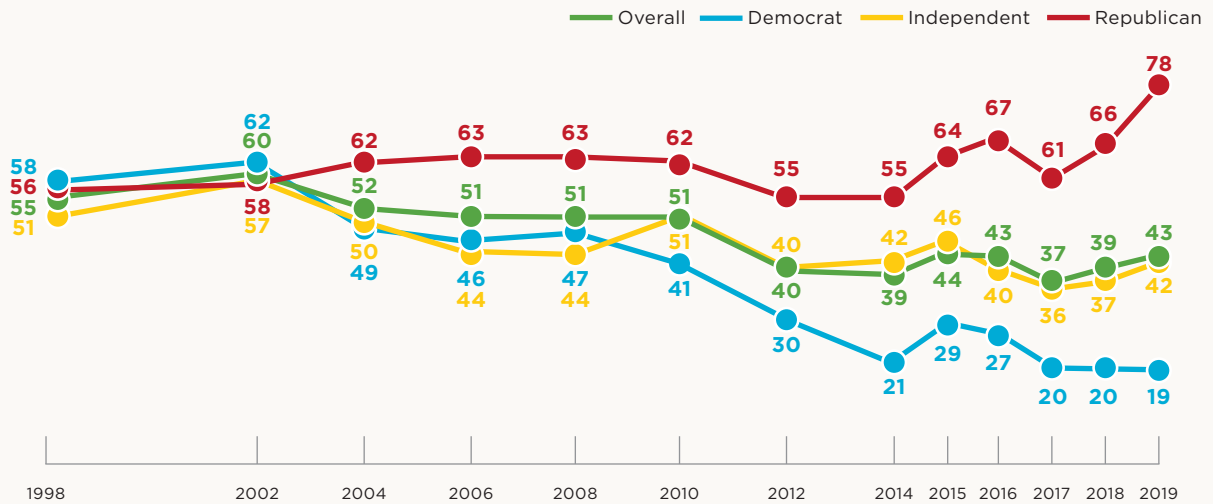
These data underscore widespread consensus among Americans to maintain and support alliances, military strength, and international trade. But the American public divides sharply along partisan lines when it comes to three threats to the United States: immigration, climate change, and China. On each of these issues, the gap between Democrats and Republicans is at record highs.

Largest Recorded Partisan Differences on Immigration

Immigration is certain to be a heated issue in the 2020 elections and it presents one of the largest partisan gaps in the history of the Chicago Council Survey (Figure D). Of all 14 potential threats presented in the survey, Democrats rate immigration as the least likely to pose a critical threat (19%). In contrast, more Republicans consider large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the United States a critical threat than any other facing the country (78%).

Figure D: **Immigration as a Threat**

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: *Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the US* (% critical threat)
n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

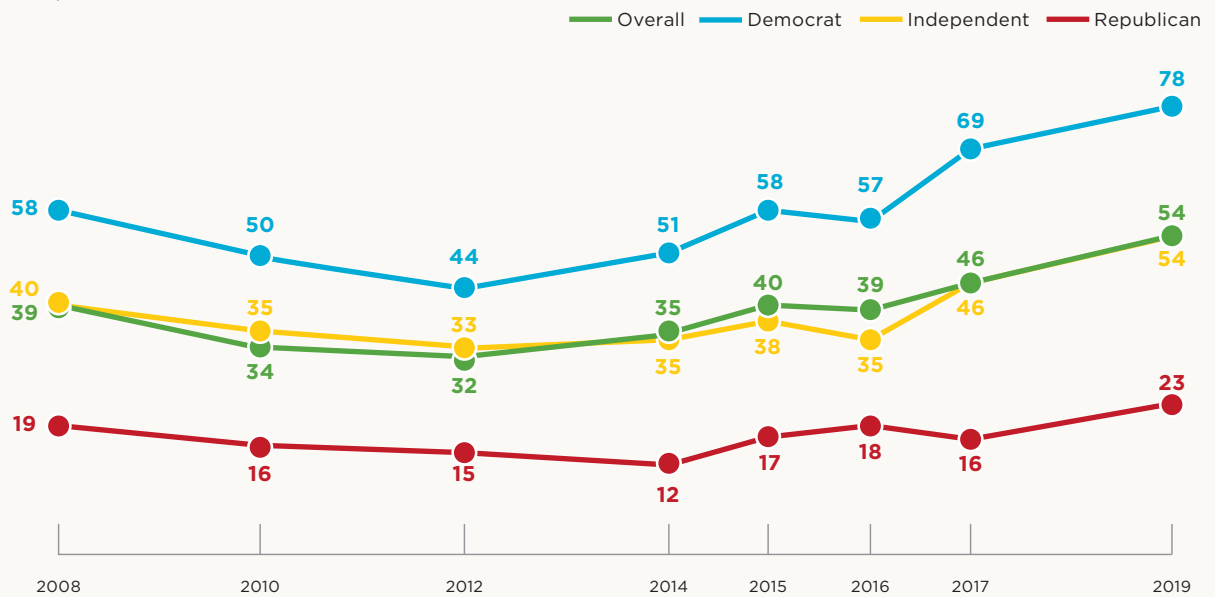
When it comes to President Trump's immigration policies, there are sharp partisan differences. Republicans (81%) are far more likely than Democrats (23%) to support the use of US troops to stop immigrants from coming into the United States from Mexico and to say that carrying out more arrests and deportations is an effective way of dealing with illegal immigration (82% Republicans, compared with 29% of Democrats). Although a minority, more Republicans than Democrats view separating migrant children from their parents when they are accused of entering the United States illegally as an effective policy (40% compared with 10%).

Democrats Far More Concerned about Climate Change

For the first time since the question was introduced in 2008, a majority of Americans (54%) consider climate change a critical threat (Figure E). Concern has reached majority levels among Democrats (78%) and Independents (54%), but remains much lower among Republicans (23%).

Figure E: **Climate Change as a Threat**

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: *Climate change* (% critical threat)
n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

Democrats have also grown more convinced that climate change is a serious problem requiring immediate action regardless of significant costs (76%, up from 62% in 2016). But only two in 10 Republicans (20%) favor immediate action. Instead, a plurality of Republicans say that because the effects of climate change will be gradual, we can deal with the problem by taking gradual steps that are low in cost (46%).

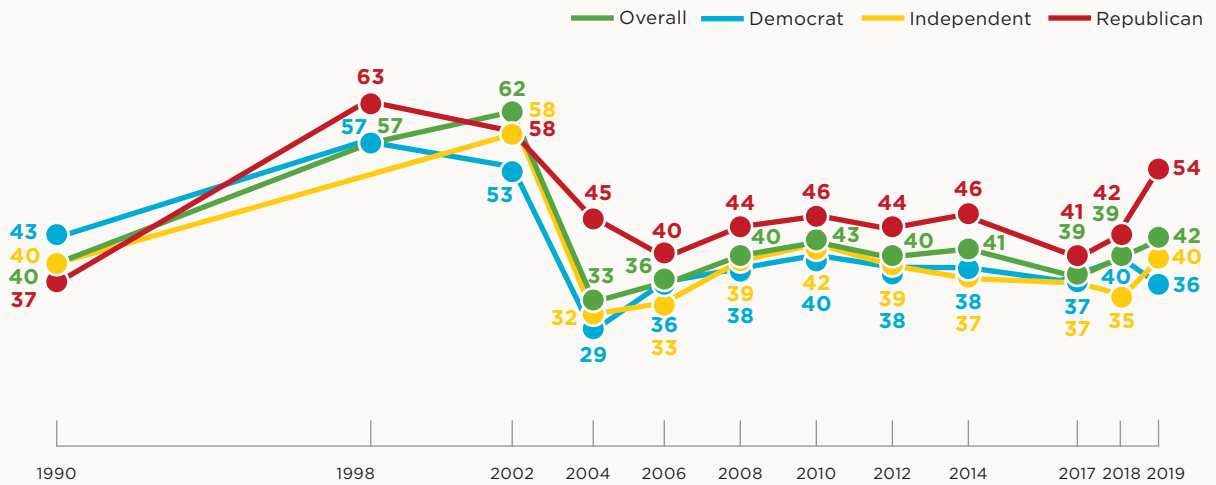
Republicans Far More Concerned about Threat from China

While climate change and immigration are longstanding disagreements between Republicans and Democrats, polling has only recently revealed a growing partisan divide on the threat of China.

Less than half of Americans overall (42%) say that the development of China as a world power represents a critical threat, whereas the share of Republicans who view China's rise as such has increased twelve percentage points in the past year (Figure F). In fact, for the first time since 2002 a majority (54%) of Republicans say China's rise represents a critical threat to the United States, compared with 36 percent of Democrats and 40 percent of Independents.

Figure F: **Threat of China as a World Power**

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: *The development of China as a world power* (% critical threat)
n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

Conclusion

As the 2020 election cycle kicks into full gear, the American public's priorities will come under closer scrutiny. Much of the Washington foreign-policy establishment seems to think that Americans want to retreat from the world, and many believe that view is reflected in support for President Trump's America First policies or the retrenchment policies of the Democratic progressives. But the 2019 Chicago Council Survey strongly refutes this line of thinking. The American public wants to reinvigorate the time-tested alliances and strategies of US foreign policy that have been in place for the past seven decades. Given that this sentiment has been underscored in each of the Chicago Council Surveys since 2016, it is clear that the American public does not seek a retreat from the world.

INTRODUCTION

A powerful belief about American views of the world has taken hold among many foreign policy experts in Washington—that Americans are exhausted from global overreach and want to shed the burdens of global leadership. Arguing that American voters’ “foreign policy views stink,” *New York Times* columnist David Brooks opined that after “Iraq and other debacles, many Americans are exhausted by the global leadership role” and are “actively hostile” to key elements of US foreign policy from past decades.² Historian Robert Kagan similarly pronounced that isolationism, protectionism, and anti-immigration sentiments are gaining traction among Americans, helping explain the rise of Donald Trump to president.³ And Kagan, along with top Obama foreign policy adviser Antony Blinken, declared that “‘America First’ foreign policy—or its progressive cousin, retrenchment—is broadly popular in both parties.”⁴

Although widely held, the belief that Americans want to retreat from the world is unfounded. The 2019 Chicago Council Survey demonstrates that the American public continues to support longstanding pillars of US foreign policy. Strong majorities across party lines endorse taking an active part in world affairs, participating in security alliances, maintaining US military superiority, and engaging in international trade. In several areas—regarding NATO and international trade, for example—support for international engagement is at an all-time high.

Of course, partisan differences have not disappeared. The opinions of Democrats and Republicans continue to diverge on the issues of climate change and immigration, as they have for years. Additional differences are beginning to manifest in attitudes toward the threat posed by China and how the United States should respond.

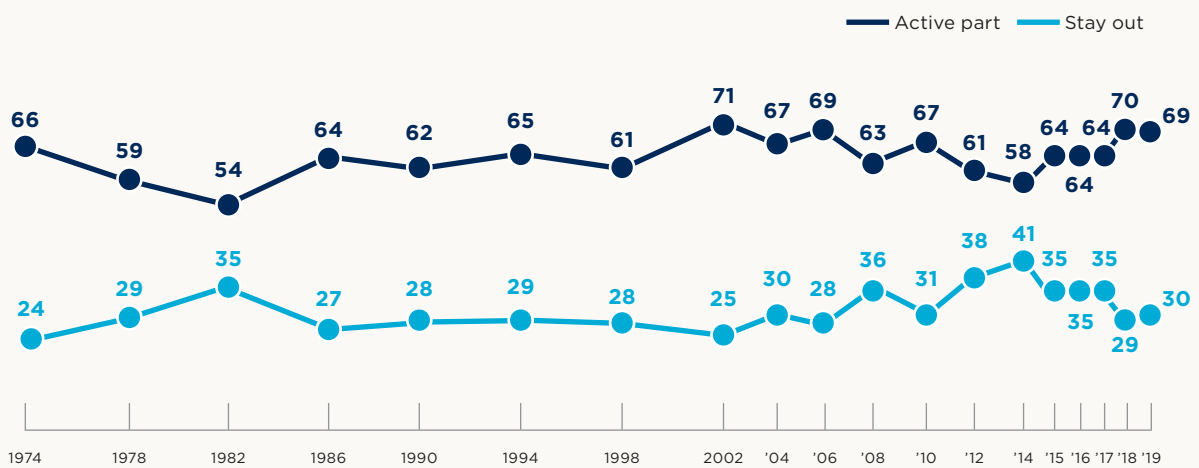
It may be true that Americans are searching for a new way to make sense of the world and America’s place in it. But even after decades of war, a major financial crisis, and new challenges to US power, the American public—regardless of political leanings—does not want to retreat from the world. ■

AMERICANS SUPPORT AN ACTIVE ROLE IN THE WORLD

The 2019 Chicago Council Survey finds that American support for taking an active part in world affairs remains near record-high levels. Today, seven in 10 Americans (69%) say it will be best for the future of the country to take an active part in world affairs, while three in 10 (30%) say the United States should stay out of world affairs (Figure 1). Solid majorities of Democrats (75%), Independents (64%), and Republicans (69%) support an active role for the United States. Moreover, this level of support is near the highest recorded in the 45-year history of the Chicago Council Survey.

Figure 1: **US Role in World Affairs**

Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs? (%)
n = 2,059



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

Since President Trump took office, there has been an increased focus on the costs and benefits of America's international role. The administration has claimed that the costs of these activities outweigh the benefits, prompting a need to restructure the balance sheet.⁵ Roughly four in 10 Americans (38%) agree. But a majority of Americans (61%) say the benefits of maintaining the US role in the world outweigh the costs, including majorities of Democrats (68%), Independents (53%), and Republicans (61%). Those who favor an active US part in world affairs are even more convinced that the benefits exceed the costs (78%).

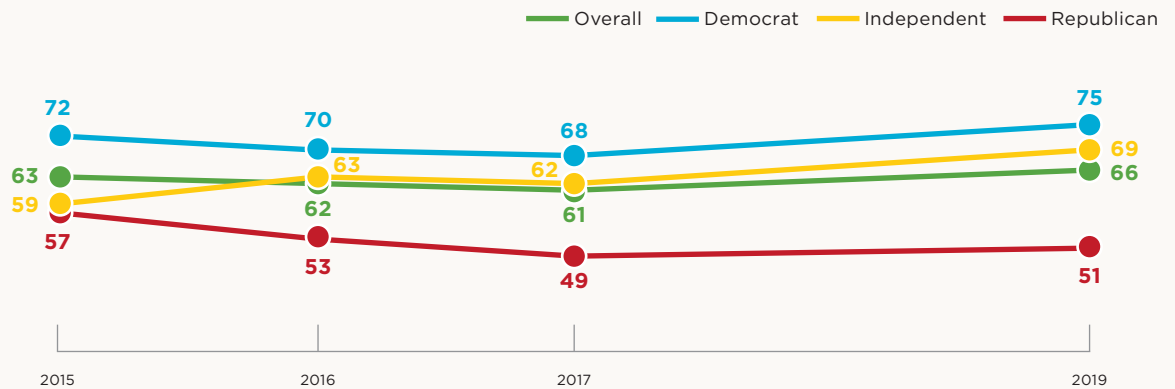
Isolation has never worked for this country. We depend on the world for defense, peace, trade, and all other aspects of existence in this world. Others need us. We need others.

— 81-year-old man from Kansas

Some Washington insiders perceive a turn toward isolationism among Americans. Yet only seven percent of Americans want the United States to have no leadership role. Rather, two-thirds of Americans (66%, up from 61% in 2017) say that the United States should play a shared leadership role, while one-quarter want the United States to be the dominant world leader (26%, down from 32% in 2017). While Republicans are more likely than others to prefer a dominant role (42% compared with 26% overall), the focus on shared leadership is generally agreed upon across party lines (Figure 2). Majorities of Democrats (75%), Independents (69%), and Republicans (51%), prefer this approach.

Figure 2: **US Leadership Role: Shared Leadership**

What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the dominant leader, or should it play a shared leadership role, or should it not play any leadership role at all? (% shared leadership role)
n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

What Americans Mean by an “Active Part in World Affairs”

In open-ended follow-up responses, many Americans who support an active US role point to the international nature of modern problems and the interdependent global economy. As one respondent put it, “In today’s world, nations are interconnected in many ways, including technological, financial, and political. We can’t ignore what is happening in the world because doing so would impact us nonetheless.”

Others also point to the need for American leadership (“we can provide the moral and ethical leadership that the world needs to survive these perilous times”), the long-term benefits of engagement (“although costly in terms of finances, having a say in the world can improve the long-term alliances and relationships that are in the best interests of the USA”), and the dangers of US noninvolvement (“if we don’t, someone worse will”). Some say there is no alternative. One respondent stated, “Realistically, we have no choice but to be very involved.”

For the first time in the Chicago Council Survey, respondents were also presented with a concrete list of potential items they could include or exclude in their own definition of active participation in world affairs (Figure 3). Majorities of Americans say many of the key tools of American foreign policy are part of an active role in world affairs, including engaging in trade (87%), promoting democracy and human rights around the world (82%), and stationing US troops in allied countries (70%). Even as President Trump and others have questioned their utility, each of these aspects has been a cornerstone of traditional US foreign policy since WWII, and survey results show Americans are inclined to preserve them.

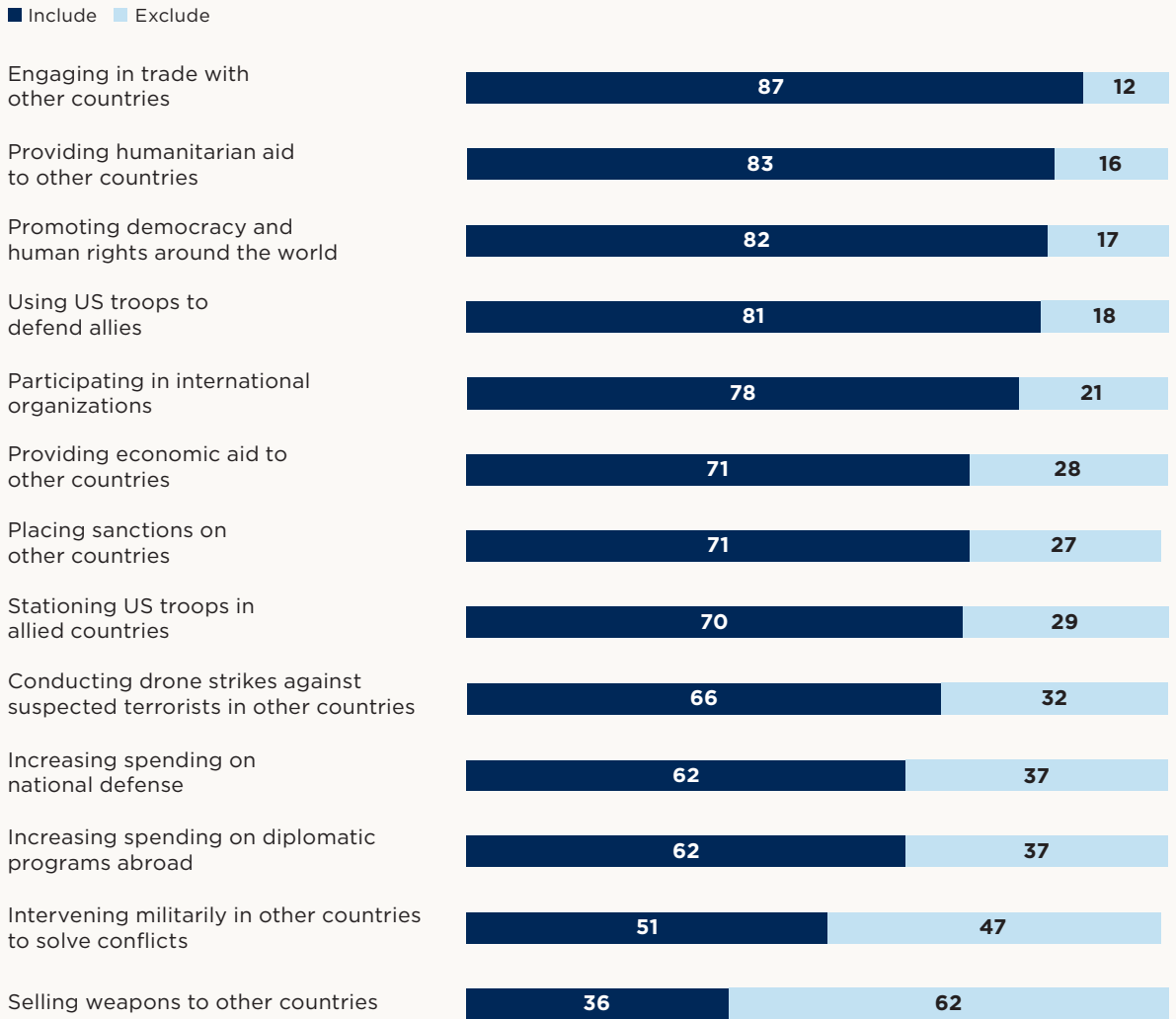
One glaring exception to this list of actions believed to be part of an active US role is selling arms to other countries. Just 36 percent of Americans would include weapons sales as active engagement, with 30 percent of Democrats, 38 percent of Independents, and 43 percent of Republicans saying it fits their definition of an active role. Intervening militarily in other countries to solve conflicts is included by 51 percent of Americans, the second-lowest of any item included as a response option.

Power always fills a vacuum. If we don’t look out for American interests in the international arena, other countries such as China, Iran, or Russia will fill the empty places we leave by not being involved. They will work toward their own advantage, which is usually not to the advantage of the United States.

— 58-year-old man from California

Figure 3: An Active Part in World Affairs

Taking an active part in world affairs means different things to different people. For you personally, does it include or exclude the following policies? (%)
 n = 2,059



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.
 2019 Chicago Council Survey

WHAT AMERICANS MEAN BY “STAYING OUT OF WORLD AFFAIRS”

Other survey research organizations find that domestic concerns often outweigh global concerns when the two are pitted against each other.¹ In open-ended remarks, most Chicago Council Survey respondents who prefer the United States stay out of world affairs (30% overall) similarly point to the need to focus on problems here at home, such as poverty, the deficit, race relations, education, and rebuilding infrastructure.

As one respondent put it, “We need to fix our problems first before we try to fix anyone else’s.” Others pointed specifically to recent US military interventions (“American intervention has proven to create more unstable governments than stable in most circumstances”) and their cost (“\$3 trillion wasted in the Middle East”).

It might be tempting to describe those who think the United States should stay out of world affairs as isolationists. But this would only characterize a small segment of this group: only two in 10 of the “stay out” proponents say the United States should play no leadership role (19%, representing 6% of the overall sample). Instead, a majority of those who say the United States should stay out of world affairs also say it should play a shared leadership role (58%, representing 17% of the overall sample).

Proponents of staying out don’t want the United States to stay out completely, either. Like the overall public, they say that US alliances with other countries make the United States safer, though by a smaller margin. Two in three stay-out proponents favor increasing or maintaining the US commitment to NATO, and a majority say that NATO is still essential to US security. And like the overwhelming majority of Americans, they see international trade as good for the US economy, US companies, and US relations with other countries.

A large majority of those who prefer the United States stay out of world affairs believe that the costs of maintaining the US role in the world outweigh the benefits, an argument also frequently put forward by President Trump. These costs seem to refer at least in part to military interventions and the US military presence abroad. Stay-out proponents oppose nearly every potential use of US troops, with the exceptions of stopping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons and stopping immigrants from coming into the United States from Mexico. They also say the United States should reduce or withdraw its military forces from every country and region mentioned in the survey, though they are divided on Japan, the Persian Gulf, and South Korea.

Unless it involves our national security, we have no business interfering in other countries’ affairs. It costs too much and we can’t afford it. It’s none of our business.

— 48-year-old man from Oregon

¹ For example, a 2019 Pew survey found that 44 percent of Americans say, “It is best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs,” compared with 49 percent who say, “We should pay less attention to problems overseas.” See *Large Majorities in Both Parties Say NATO Is Good for the U.S.*, Pew Research Center, April 2, 2019, https://www.people-press.org/2019/04/02/large-majorities-in-both-parties-say-nato-is-good-for-the-u-s/pp_2019-04-02_nato_0-02-2/. And in line with a longstanding Pew/Gallup trend, Americans since the 1960s have consistently agreed that the United States “should concentrate more on our own national problems.” See *Public Uncertain, Divided Over America’s Place in the World*, Pew Research Center, May 5, 2016, <https://www.people-press.org/2016/05/05/1-americas-global-role-u-s-superpower-status/>.

AMERICANS FEEL SAFER WITH CONTINUED US MILITARY STRENGTH AND ALLIANCES

Seven in 10 Americans (72%) say that the world is becoming a more dangerous place (77% Democrats, 67% Independents, and 72% Republicans), with few saying it is becoming safer (7%) or not changing very much (20%). Facing a world they see as increasingly dangerous, Americans identify a range of policies that they believe will make the United States safer—notably ones that rely on US military strength, the US alliance system, and international engagement (Figure 4).

Three-quarters of Americans (74%) say that US military alliances with other countries contribute to US safety. Seven in 10 (69%) also say maintaining US military superiority makes the United States safer; in past Chicago Council Surveys, majorities have consistently named maintaining US military superiority a very important foreign policy goal for the United States.⁶ Half (51%) of Americans say that stationing US troops in allied countries contributes to US safety.

There is consensus across partisan lines for many items that recall the institutions of the post–World War II foreign policy. At least seven in 10 Democrats (77%), Independents (70%), and Republicans (75%) say that US alliances with other countries make the United States safer. Six in 10 Democrats (61%) and Independents (64%) and more than eight in 10 Republicans (87%) say that maintaining US military superiority makes the country safer. (See Appendix Figure 1 for full results.)

We need global allies in order to sustain our economic and democratic standards, as well as to deter the threats of war.

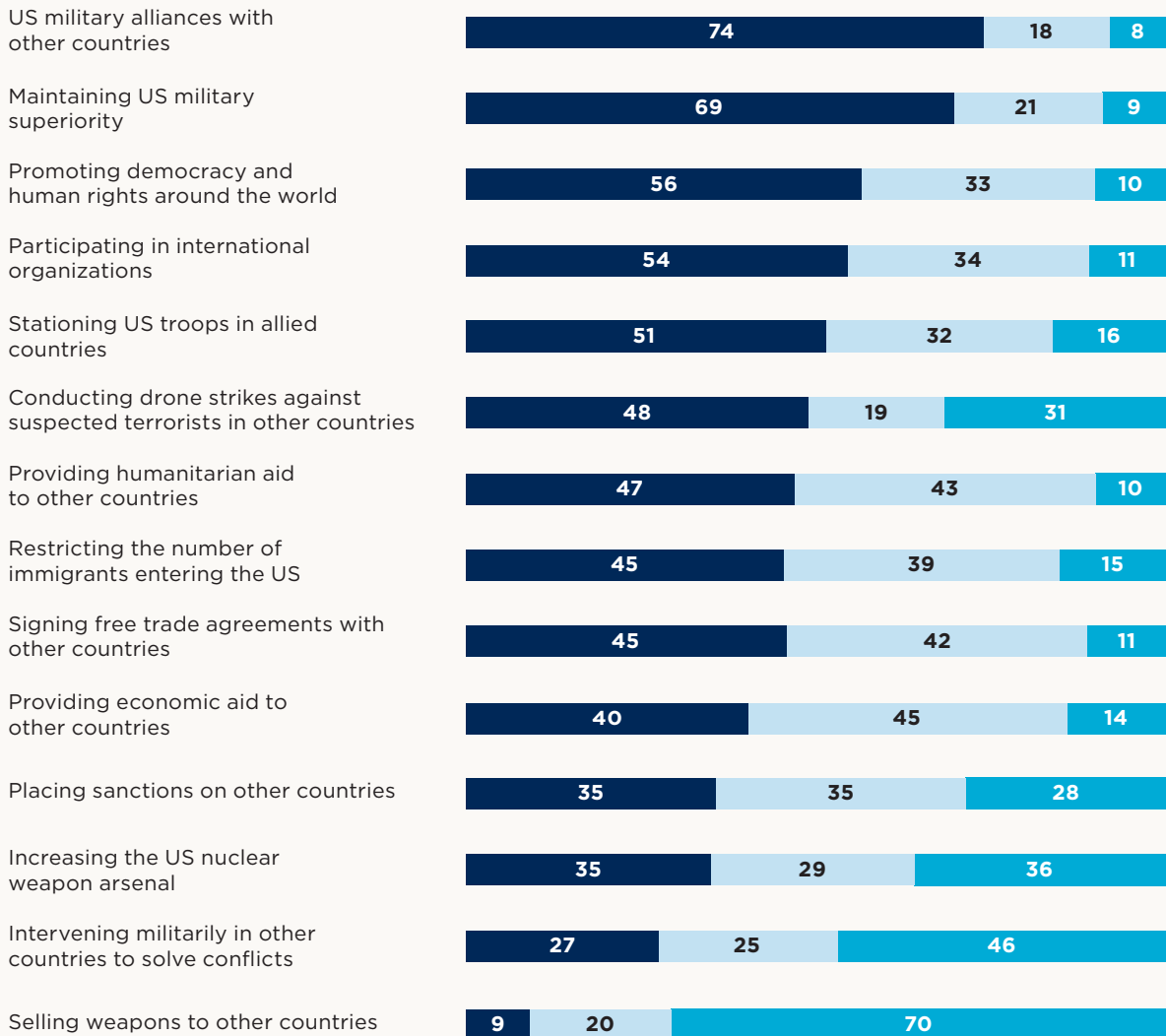
— 66-year-old man from Alabama

Figure 4: Making the United States Safe

In your opinion, do each of the following policy approaches make the United States more safe, less safe, or do they not make a difference? (%)

n = 2,059

■ More safe ■ No difference ■ Less safe



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

In addition to these three security-focused policies, a smaller majority of Americans also see broader forms of international engagement—such as promoting democracy and human rights around the world (56%) and participating in international organizations (54%)—as ways to increase US safety. In this and in previous surveys, Democrats tend to be more convinced of the importance of infusing these values into foreign policy priorities. Moreover, past Chicago Council Surveys show that only minorities of Americans say they should be leading priorities when presented alongside combating terrorism, limiting nuclear proliferation, protecting American jobs, and taking action against leading threats.⁷

However, not all military-focused policies are seen as increasing the safety of the United States. While Americans appreciate the deterrence provided by a strong network of security alliances and military strength, a plurality of Americans (46%) say that intervening militarily in other countries to solve conflicts makes the United States *less safe*; only one in four (27%) say it makes the country safer. At the same time, a plurality of Americans (48%) think conducting drone strikes against suspected terrorists in other countries makes the United States safer, while three in 10 (31%) say it makes the United States less safe (19% say it makes no difference). Americans are split on whether increasing the US nuclear arsenal makes the United States more or less safe (35% say more, 36% say less, 29% see no difference).

Americans are also divided on whether policies that are less explicitly security oriented make the country safer. These policies include providing humanitarian and economic aid to other countries, signing free trade agreements with other countries, and restricting the number of immigrants entering the United States. Placing sanctions on other countries—a more coercive aspect of US trade relations—splits the public, with roughly one-third saying sanctions make America more safe (35%), another one-third saying they make no difference (35%), and the rest saying they make the United States less safe (28%).

Only one policy is seen across political affiliations as decreasing safety: seven in 10 (70%) say selling weapons to other countries makes the United States less safe. (See Appendix Figure 1.)

The Greatly Exaggerated Death of Multilateralism

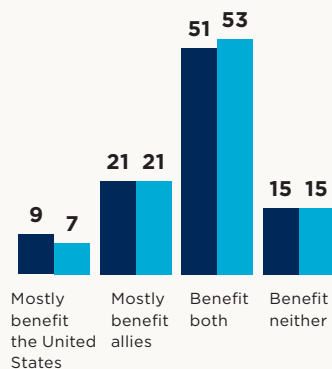
Besides naming alliances as a top item contributing to US safety (74%, see Appendix Figure 1), a majority of Americans say that security alliances in East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East benefit both US allies and the United States (Figure 5). This holds true across parties, with majorities of Democrats and Republicans, and a majority or plurality of Independents, saying alliances in all three regions are mutually beneficial. Moreover, since 2017, the belief that security alliances in each of the regions benefit both the United States and allies alike has increased across the board.

Figure 5: **US Security Alliances**

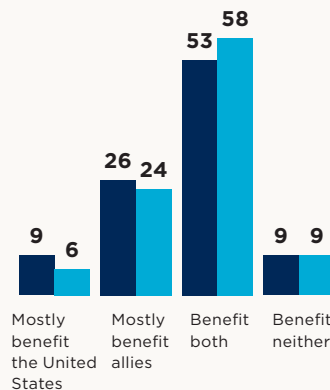
Which of the following comes closest to your view on US security alliances in [East Asia/Europe/the Middle East]? Do they: (%)

■ 2017 ■ 2019

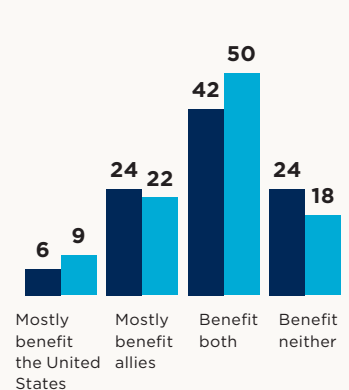
East Asia (n = 688)



Europe (n = 696)



Middle East (n = 675)



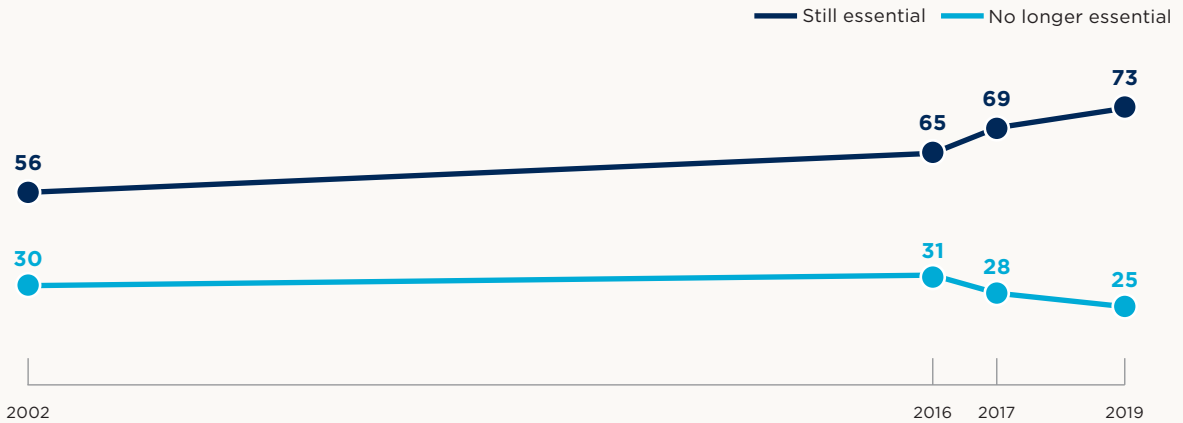
Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

For the first time since the question was introduced in 2002, the largest majority yet (73%) says that NATO is still essential to the security of the United States (Figure 6), with all-time highs recorded in the percentages among Democrats (86%), Independents (68%), and Republicans (62%). Americans also remain committed to the NATO alliance, as they have for decades. Today, eight in 10 Americans (78%) say that the United States should maintain or increase its current commitment to NATO (Figure 7).

Figure 6: Is NATO Still Essential to US Security?

Some people say that NATO is still essential to our country's security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which of these views is closer to your own? (%)
n = 2,059



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.
2019 Chicago Council Survey

But the American public does not view all partnerships and alliances equally. When asked whether relations with specific countries strengthen or weaken US national security, there is a clear stratification. Large majorities of Americans believe that relations with longstanding allies such as Japan (78%), Germany (75%), and South Korea (70%) strengthen US national security. Meanwhile, Americans are divided on whether US relations with Turkey and Saudi Arabia strengthen or weaken US national security. And an outright majority believes that the US relationship with Pakistan weakens US security. (See Appendix Figure 2 for full results.)

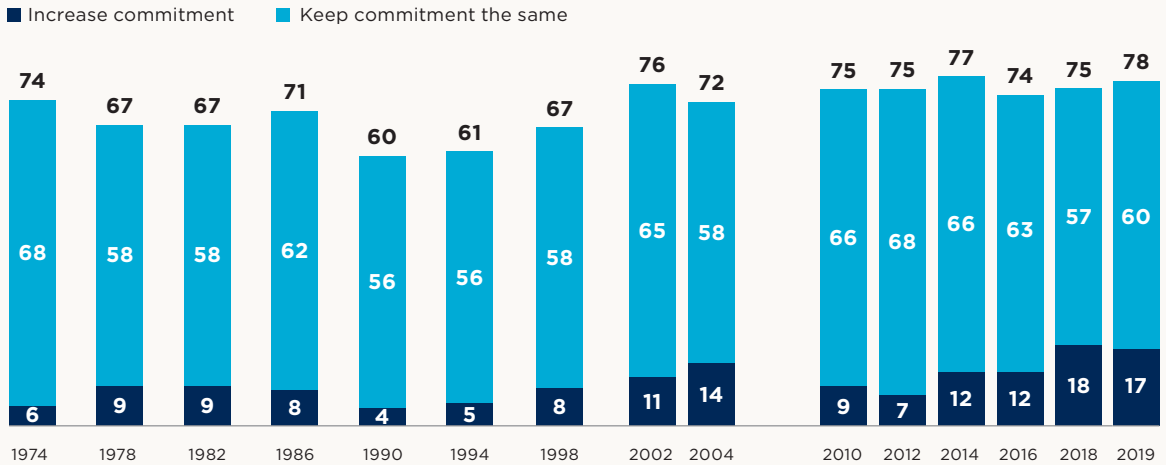
Our roles in NATO and the UN underscore our commitment to involvement in world affairs.

—88-year-old woman from Indiana

Figure 7: NATO Commitment

Do you feel we should increase our commitment to NATO, keep our commitment what it is now, decrease our commitment, or withdraw from NATO entirely? (%)

n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

Americans Support Using Force in Cases of Threat to Homeland or Allies

Over the past two decades, the ongoing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have led some to believe that the American public now opposes the use of force and military intervention. Indeed, the wars have been unpopular with the American public for many years, and a 2019 Pew survey found that six in 10 Americans overall say the wars in Iraq (62%) and Afghanistan (59%) were not worth fighting.⁸ According to the Chicago Council Survey, Americans tend to think that military interventions are not the best approach to make the United States more safe: only one in four Americans (27%) say that military interventions in other countries make the United States safer, while nearly half (46%) say they make the United States less safe.

However, when it comes to critical threats to the United States or to key allies, the American public remains willing to commit US troops.

We would be crazy to let our enemies—Iran, China, North Korea, and Russia—have a free hand to proliferate nuclear weapons, cut off our markets, mess with world oil supplies, interfere in our elections, and terrorize or invade our allies.

— 53-year-old man from Minnesota

Notably, two of the items topping the list of Americans' perceived critical threats could have a substantial impact at home. Three-quarters of Americans (77%) name cyberattacks on US computer networks as a critical threat, and seven in 10 (69%) say the same for international terrorism. Since 2010, cyberattacks and terrorism have consistently been the top two threats named by Americans. Behind these two direct threats to the US homeland are North Korea's (61%) and Iran's (57%) nuclear programs—also of longstanding concern to the American public. (See Appendix Figure 3 for full results.) Majorities of Democrats, Independents, and Republicans describe each of these items as critical threats to the vital interest of the United States.

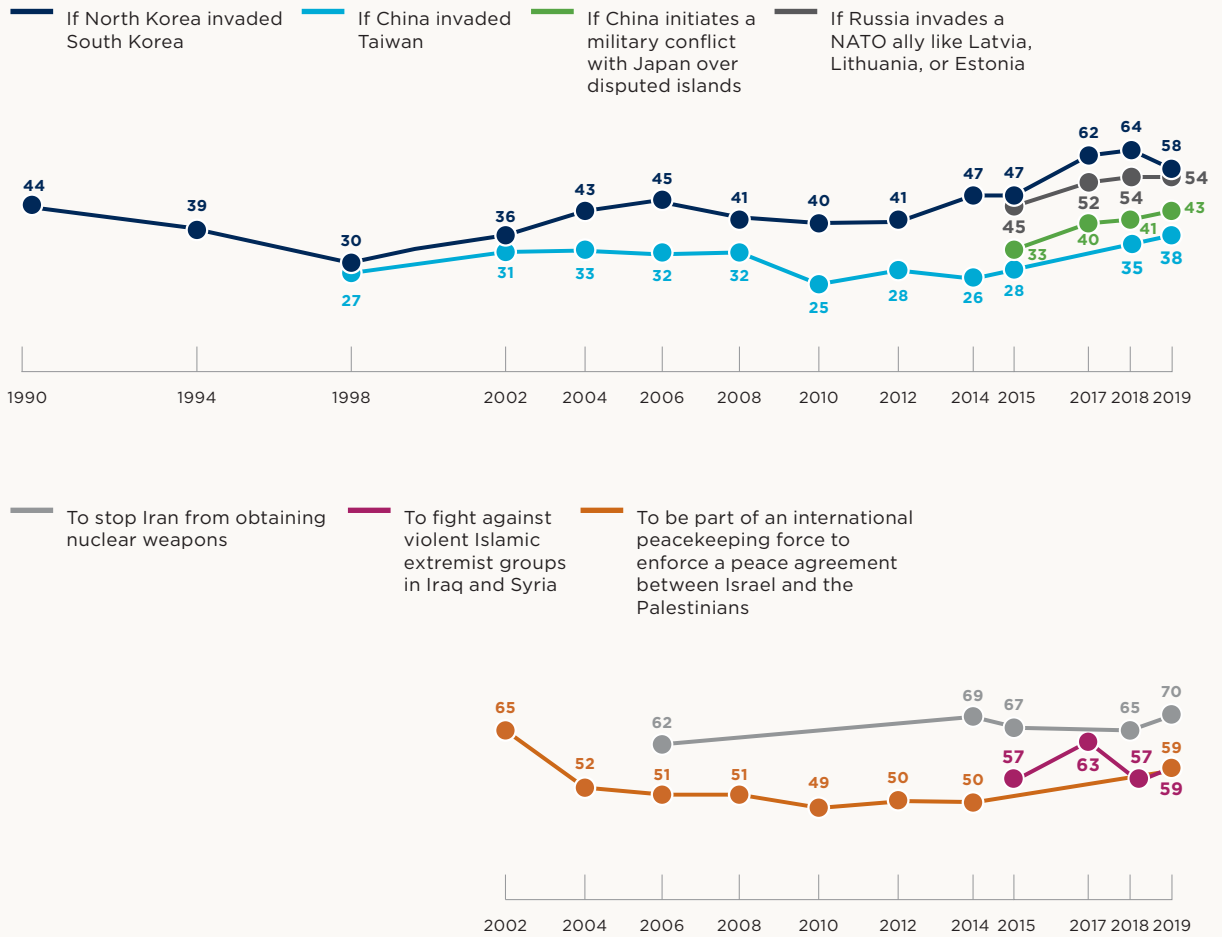
Americans broadly support the use of military force to address these top threats. Whether it is to stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons (70%), to fight violent Islamic extremist groups in Iraq and Syria (59%), or to defend South Korea if North Korea invades (58%), a majority of Americans across party lines support the use of US troops. Bipartisan majorities also support using US troops to defend a NATO ally such as Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia (54%) if Russia invades (Figure 8).

There is also bipartisan consensus about when not to use US troops, particularly when it comes to China. Six in 10 across party lines say they oppose using US troops if China were to invade Taiwan (59%) or initiate a military conflict with Japan over disputed islands (55%). And a majority of Americans oppose using US troops to remove Nicolás Maduro from power in Venezuela (59%).

In line with the sentiment that stationing US troops in allied countries increases US safety, majorities of Americans say the United States should increase or maintain its military forces in most countries and regions asked about. That includes Japan (57%) and South Korea (69%), both key allies, as well as the Persian Gulf (60%), an important region for US security. However, Americans are divided over troop levels in Afghanistan, Germany, and Poland—nearly as many say the United States should maintain or increase troops stationed there as say they should decrease them or withdraw entirely. (See Appendix Figure 4 for full results.) While Independents are generally inclined to reduce or withdraw US troops, Democrats and Republicans tend to support maintaining or increasing them.

Figure 8: Use of US Troops

There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using US troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of US troops: (% favor)
n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE STILL CLIMBING

Growing support for international trade presents further evidence that Americans want to actively engage with the world. More Americans identify engaging in trade (87%) as a potential component of active US global engagement than any other item presented to them (see Figure 3, p. 13). Additionally, public support for trade that was apparent in last year's Chicago Council Survey continues to solidify.

Americans More Likely to See Trade as Win-Win than Zero-Sum

More than in any previous Chicago Council Survey, the public says that international trade is good for the US economy (87%) and American companies (83%). (See Figure 9.) These results are a stark change from 2016, when just 59 percent said that international trade was good for the US economy. These changes are also bipartisan. In past years there were partisan differences on the benefits of international trade, but since 2016, Americans across party lines have grown more likely to see trade as beneficial.

More Americans now (63%) than when last asked in 2017 (51%) also believe that trade deals benefit both the United States and its trading partners. This includes majorities of Democrats (74%), Independents (59%), and Republicans (54%). Americans also say that international trade is good for US relations with other countries (89%).

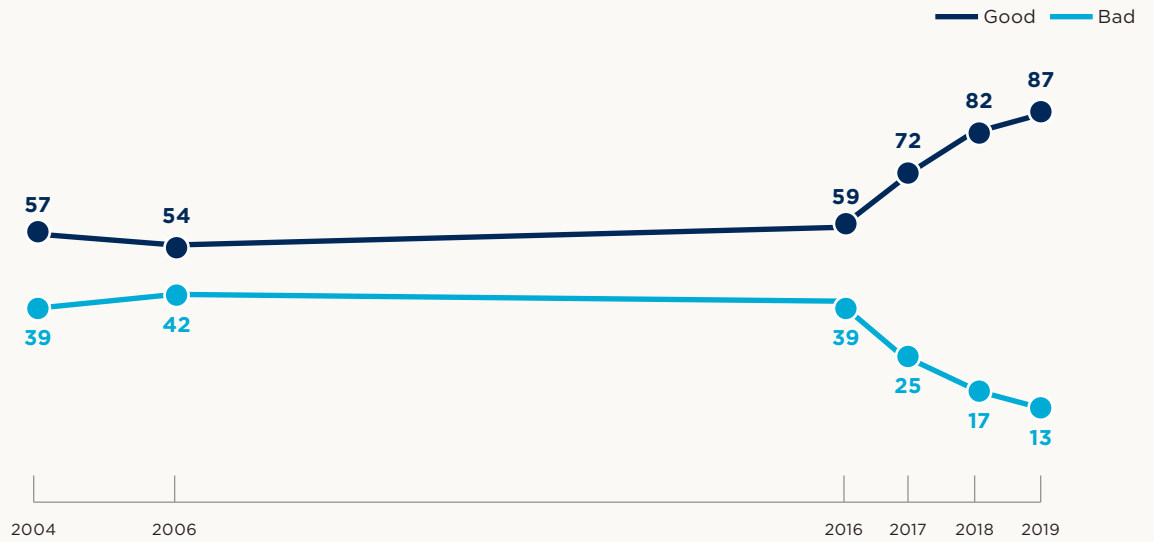
Support for trade also extends to the World Trade Organization (WTO). Three-quarters of the public (77%) now say that the United States should comply with the WTO's decisions if it rules against the United States in complaints filed against it by other member nations. That is up five percentage points from 2008 (when last asked), and finds support among Democrats (87%), Independents (76%), and Republicans (65%) alike.

The United States is a major contributor to the world economy, and decisions that are made by the United States or by other leading global powers impact US markets, which trickles down to US citizens, affecting quality of life.

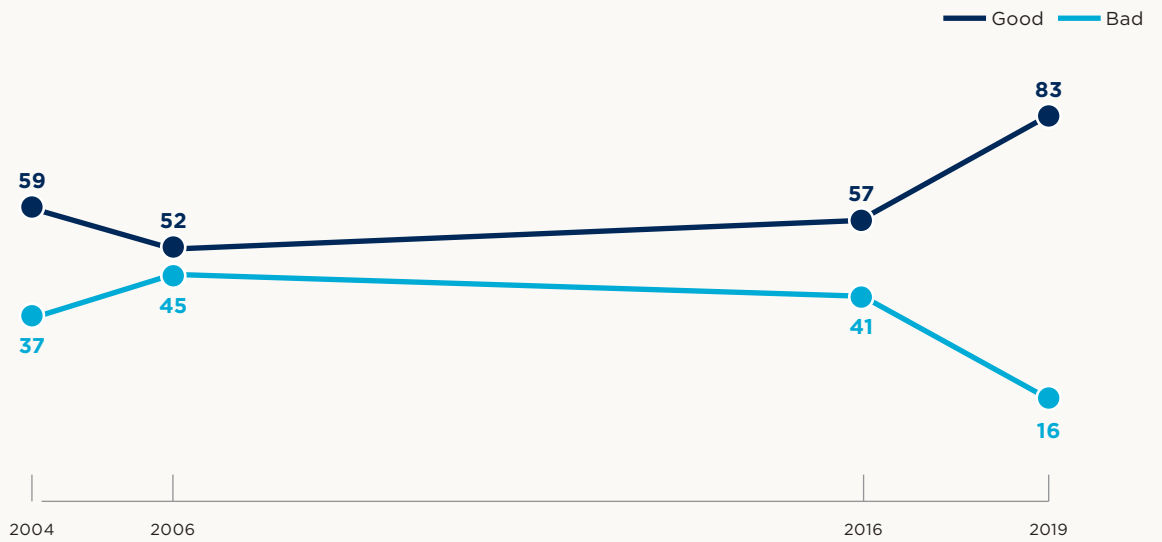
— 40-year-old woman from New York

Figure 9: International Trade

Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for: *The US economy* (%)
n = 2,059



Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for: *American companies* (%)
n = 2,059



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

Americans Favor Trade with Allies and Mexico, China, and Cuba

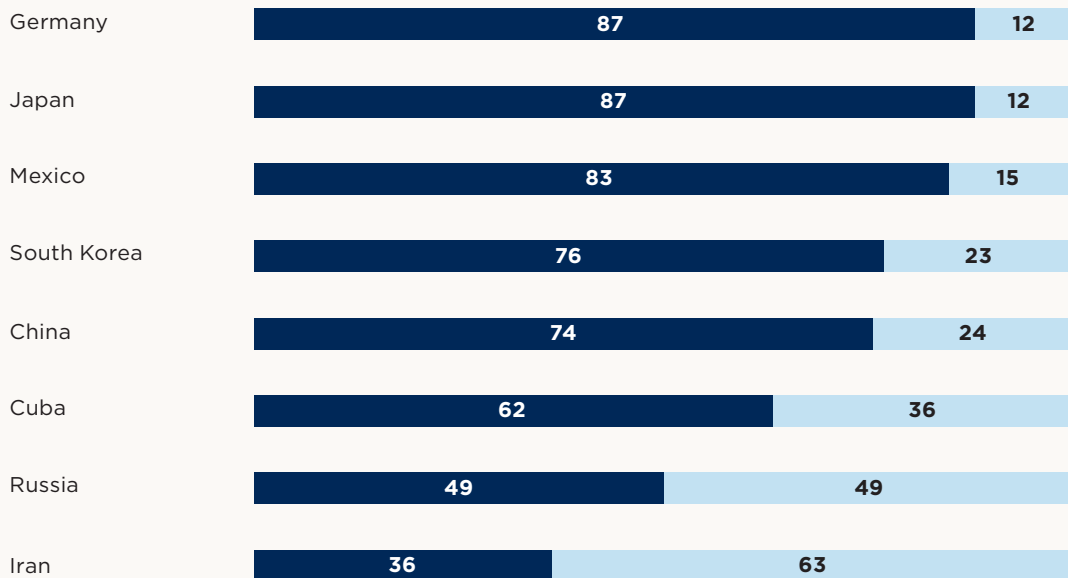
The 2019 Chicago Council Survey reveals that Americans broadly favor trade with other countries, regardless of whether or not they are close allies (Figure 10). Eight countries were presented in the survey: the public favors trading with Germany, Japan, Mexico, South Korea, China, and Cuba; is split on Russia; and opposes trade with Iran. Consensus on whether to engage in trade is bipartisan for most of these options—the two countries that split the public are Russia and Cuba. Democrats (75%) and Independents (63%) favor trade with Cuba, while a majority of Republicans (54%) oppose it. Russia presents the opposite balance, with a majority of Independents (53%) and Republicans (55%) favoring trade and a majority of Democrats (57%) opposing, reflecting Democrats' more negative views of Russia since 2016.

Figure 10: **US Trade Partners**

Do you favor or oppose engaging in trade with the following countries? (%)

n = 2,059

■ Favor ■ Oppose



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

DEEPENING DIVIDES ON IMMIGRATION, CLIMATE, AND CHINA

While these data underscore widespread consensus among Americans on the benefits of alliances, military deterrence, and international trade, three issues sharply divide the American public along partisan lines: immigration, climate change, and the development of China as a world power. Partisan groups are at odds on how great a threat each issue poses to US security.

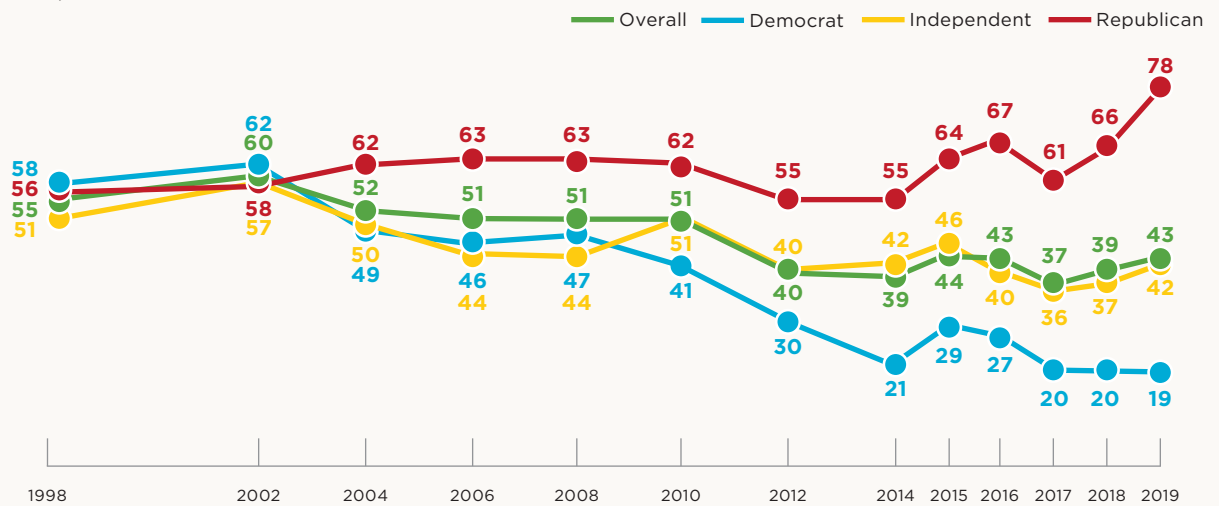
Largest Partisan Differences on Immigration

Immigration is proving to be a heated issue for the 2020 elections, set against a backdrop of a surge of migrants seeking to enter the United States and acute partisan differences over how to manage the influx of people. As in past years, Democrats and Republicans are at opposite ends of the spectrum when it comes to immigration (Figure 11).

Today, more Republicans consider large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the United States a critical threat than any of the other 13 potential threats presented (78%). While immigration is the top threat for Republicans, only two in 10 Democrats (19%) view it as a critical threat—ranked lowest among all threats presented. This 59-percentage-point difference between partisan groups is the highest registered gap since the Council first asked the question in 1998. Independents fall in the middle, with 42 percent naming an influx of immigrants and refugees as a critical threat.

Figure 11: Immigration as a Threat

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: *Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the US* (% critical threat)
n = 2,059



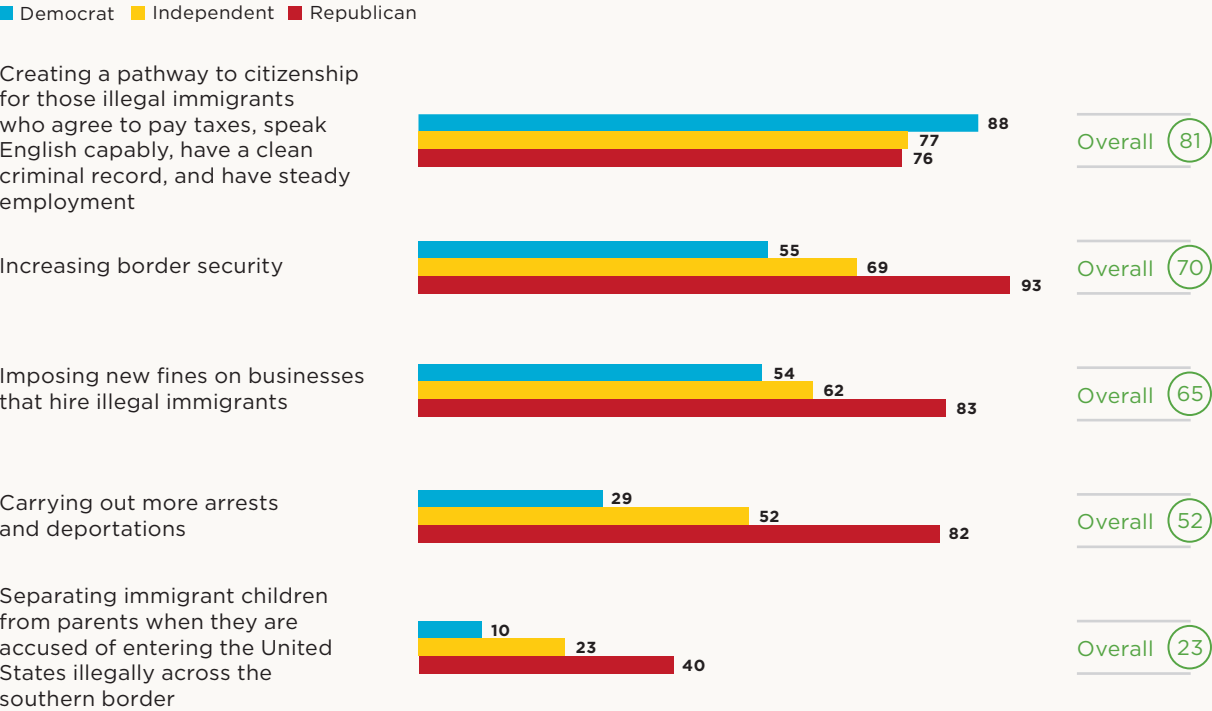
2019 Chicago Council Survey

There are also sharp differences between Democrats' and Republicans' views on several of President Trump's immigration policies. Republicans (81%) are far more likely than Democrats (23%) to support the use of US troops to stop immigrants from entering the United States from Mexico—a 58-percentage-point gap—while Independents again fall in the middle (47%). Republicans are also far more likely than Democrats to say that carrying out more arrests and deportations is an effective way of dealing with illegal immigration (82%, compared with 29% of Democrats and 52% of Independents).

Still, some policy areas show overlap. Majorities of both parties say that increasing border security, imposing new fines on businesses that hire illegal immigrants, and creating a pathway to citizenship for illegal immigrants (specifically, those who agree to pay taxes, speak English capably, have a clean criminal record, and have steady employment) are all effective means of dealing with the issue (Figure 12). And majorities across party lines say that the Trump administration's highly controversial family separation policy is not an effective way of dealing with the problem—though a considerably higher minority among Republicans (40%) than Democrats (10%) view it as effective.

Figure 12: Measures to Deal with Illegal Immigration

Please tell me whether you think each of the following measures is very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not at all effective in dealing with the issue of illegal immigration? (% very or somewhat effective)
 n = 2,059



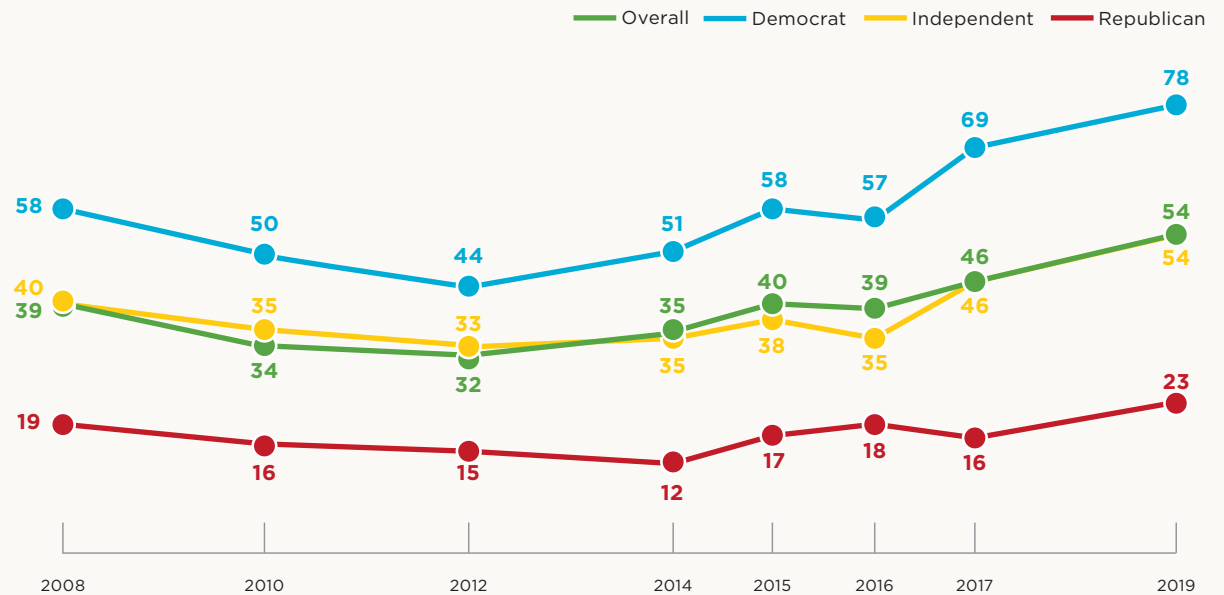
2019 Chicago Council Survey

Majority of Americans Consider Climate Change a Critical Threat

For the first time since the question was introduced in 2008, an overall majority of Americans (54%) consider climate change a critical threat (Figure 13). That trend is mainly propelled by shifts in opinion among Democrats and Independents. A growing majority of Democrats have considered climate change a critical threat since 2014; today, more Democrats name climate change a critical threat facing the United States than any other issue (78%). By contrast, only 23 percent of Republicans say climate change is a critical threat. A majority of Independents (54%) also name climate change a critical threat, an increase of 19 percentage points since 2016. At 55 percentage points, the difference between Democrats and Republicans on the threat of climate change is at its largest point in Chicago Council Survey history.

Figure 13: **Climate Change as a Threat**

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: *Climate change* (% critical threat)
n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

As Democrats have grown more alarmed about climate change, they have also grown more convinced that it is a serious problem requiring immediate action regardless of significant costs (Figure 14). Today, just over three in four Democrats agree with this position (76%, up from 61% in 2016). Independents have also grown supportive of taking immediate action on climate change regardless of cost (49%, up from 37% in 2016). But only two in 10 Republicans (20%) say the same. Instead, a plurality of Republicans say that because the effects of climate change will be gradual, we can deal with the problem by taking gradual steps that are low in cost (46%).

Figure 14: Actions on Climate Change

There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including the United States, should do about the problem of climate change. Here are three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view: (%)

n = 2,059

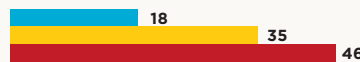
■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican

Climate change is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs



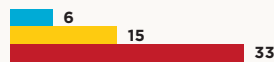
Overall (51)

The problem of climate change should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in costs



Overall (31)

Until we are sure that climate change is really a problem we should not take any steps that would have economic costs



Overall (17)

Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

Republicans Most Concerned about Threat from China

The Trump administration's more confrontational approach to China appears to be having an impact on Republican views of China: for the first time since 2002, a majority (54%) of Republicans see the rise of China as a critical threat, an increase of 12 percentage points over 2018 (Figure 15). However, minorities of Democrats (36%) and Independents (40%)—and the American public overall (42%)—view China similarly, as they have since 2004.

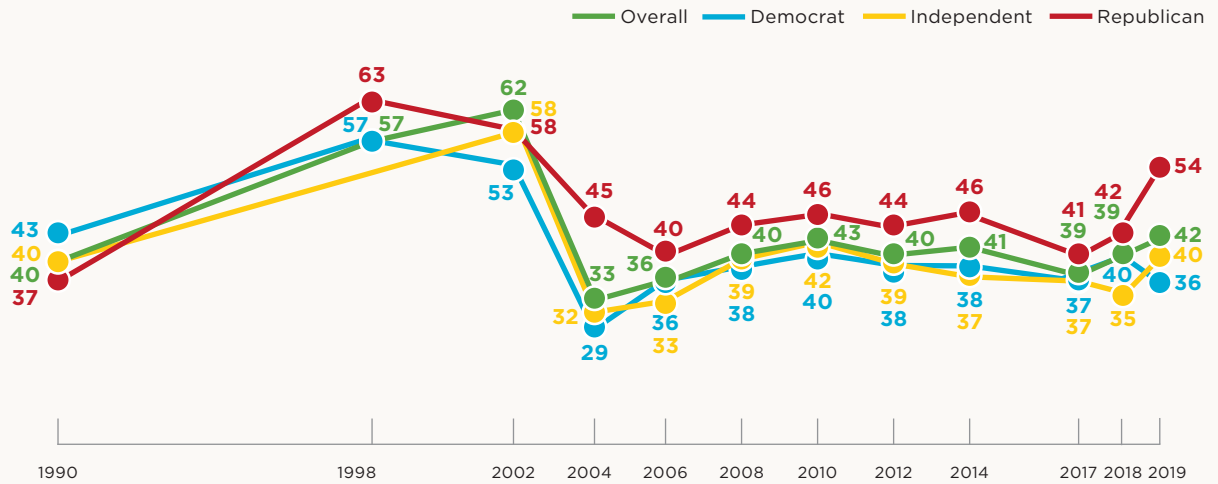
In addition, while a growing number of Washington insiders perceive China as a grave military and economic threat requiring confrontation, the American public prefers cooperation. As has been the case since the Council first asked the question in 2006, two-thirds of Americans (68%) say they prefer to undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China, rather than actively working to limit the growth of China's power (31%). Regardless of party affiliation, majorities prefer a policy of friendly cooperation and engagement (74% Democrats, 69% Independents, and 58% Republicans).

Americans across party lines also support engaging in trade with China, but they are divided over US tariffs placed on Chinese products (Figure 16). Following the lead of the president, Republicans (74%) are far more likely than Democrats (30%) to support placing tariffs on products imported from China; half of Independents (50%) support doing so.

Figure 15: Threat of China as a World Power

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: *The development of China as a world power* (% critical threat)

n = 2,059



2019 Chicago Council Survey

Democrats and Republicans also differ on other aspects of the bilateral relationship. While a majority of Republicans (57%) support limiting the number of students from China studying in the United States, Democrats (68%) and Independents (58%) are opposed. Republicans also support restricting the exchange of scientific research between China and the United States (63%, compared with 41% of Democrats and 48% of Independents).

Despite these partisan differences, majorities across political affiliations support negotiating arms-control agreements between China and the United States and cooperating on international development assistance projects. Americans across partisan lines also oppose selling arms to Taiwan and inviting China to participate in joint military exercises with the United States and its allies.

Russia, China, and the Middle East cannot be left unwatched and unchecked . . . the United States needs to play an active role in their spheres of influence to keep them contained.

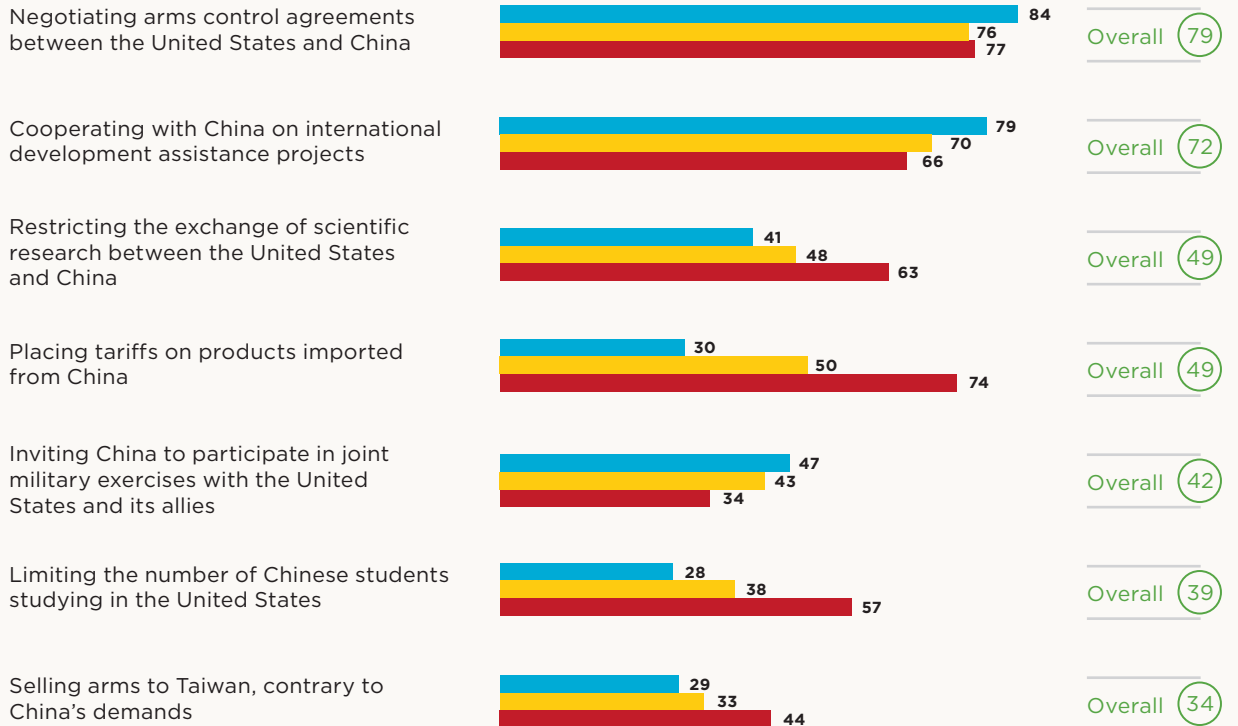
— 48-year-old man from Virginia

Figure 16: US Policies towards China

Would you support or oppose the following US policies towards China? (% support)

n = 2,059

■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



2019 Chicago Council Survey

CONCLUSION

The 2019 Chicago Council Survey confirms that the American public continues to support an engaged foreign policy for the United States. That foreign policy is based on shared leadership, US alliances, and the deterrent provided by a US military deployed in key areas of the world. When necessary, Americans favor the selective use of military force to defend the United States and its allies against critical threats. They believe international trade is good for the United States and American companies and that promoting democracy and human rights around the world makes the United States safer. And overall, they believe that the benefits of the US role in the world outweigh the costs.

Moreover, these pillars of US foreign policy are not partisan issues. They receive broad support from Republicans and Democrats alike. The American public is not seeking to overturn decades of established US foreign policy. Instead, Americans want to reinvigorate that foreign policy for the 21st century. Of course, not all policies are bipartisan. Immigration and climate change, focal points of partisan polarization for more than a decade, now show some of the deepest partisan divisions ever recorded in Chicago Council Survey data. There is also an emerging partisan gap on the threat posed by a rising China, as well as what policies the United States should pursue in response.

But overall, the American public broadly supports the kind of measured, active engagement pursued by administrations from both political parties for decades. Far from embracing America First or the retrenchment policies of the Democratic progressives, the vast majority of Americans favors working and trading with others, notably with our most important allies. There are no signs of Americans wanting to withdraw from the world; to the contrary, they want America to be engaged, and they reject any idea of retreat.

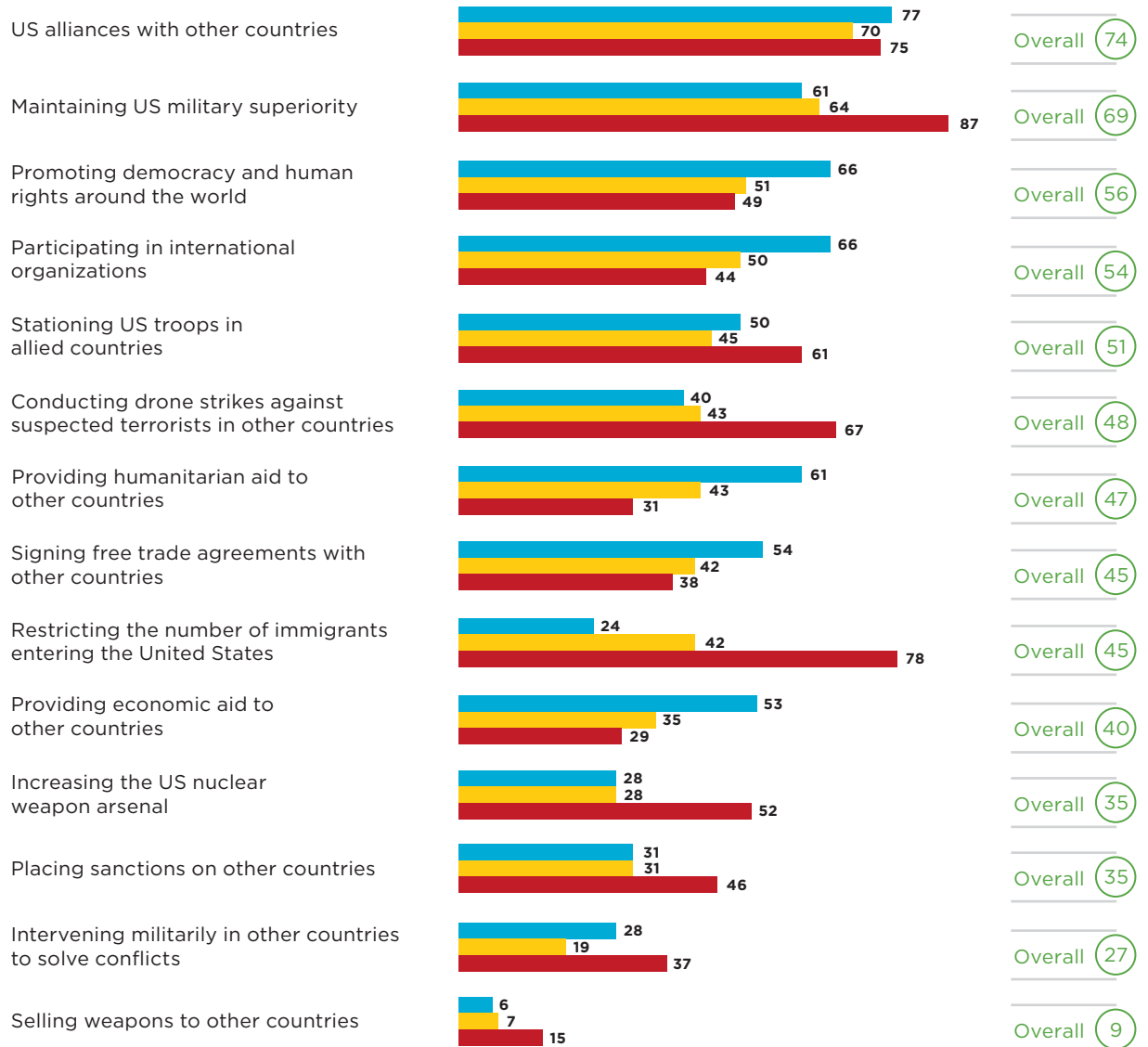
APPENDIX

Appendix Figure 1: **Effects of Foreign Policy Approaches on US Safety**

In your opinion, do each of the following policy approaches make the United States more safe, less safe, or do they not make a difference? (% more safe)

n = 2,059

■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



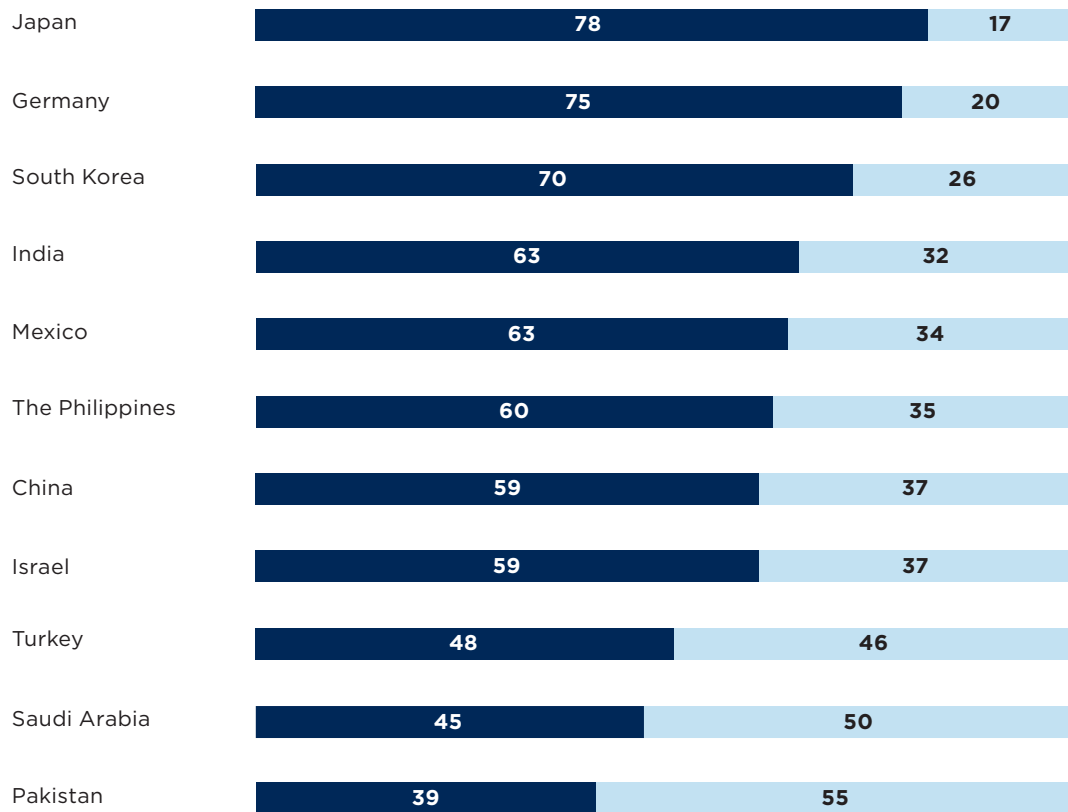
2019 Chicago Council Survey

Appendix Figure 2: US Relationships Abroad

Does the US relationship with the following countries do more to strengthen US national security or weaken US national security? (%)

n = 2,059

■ More to strengthen ■ More to weaken



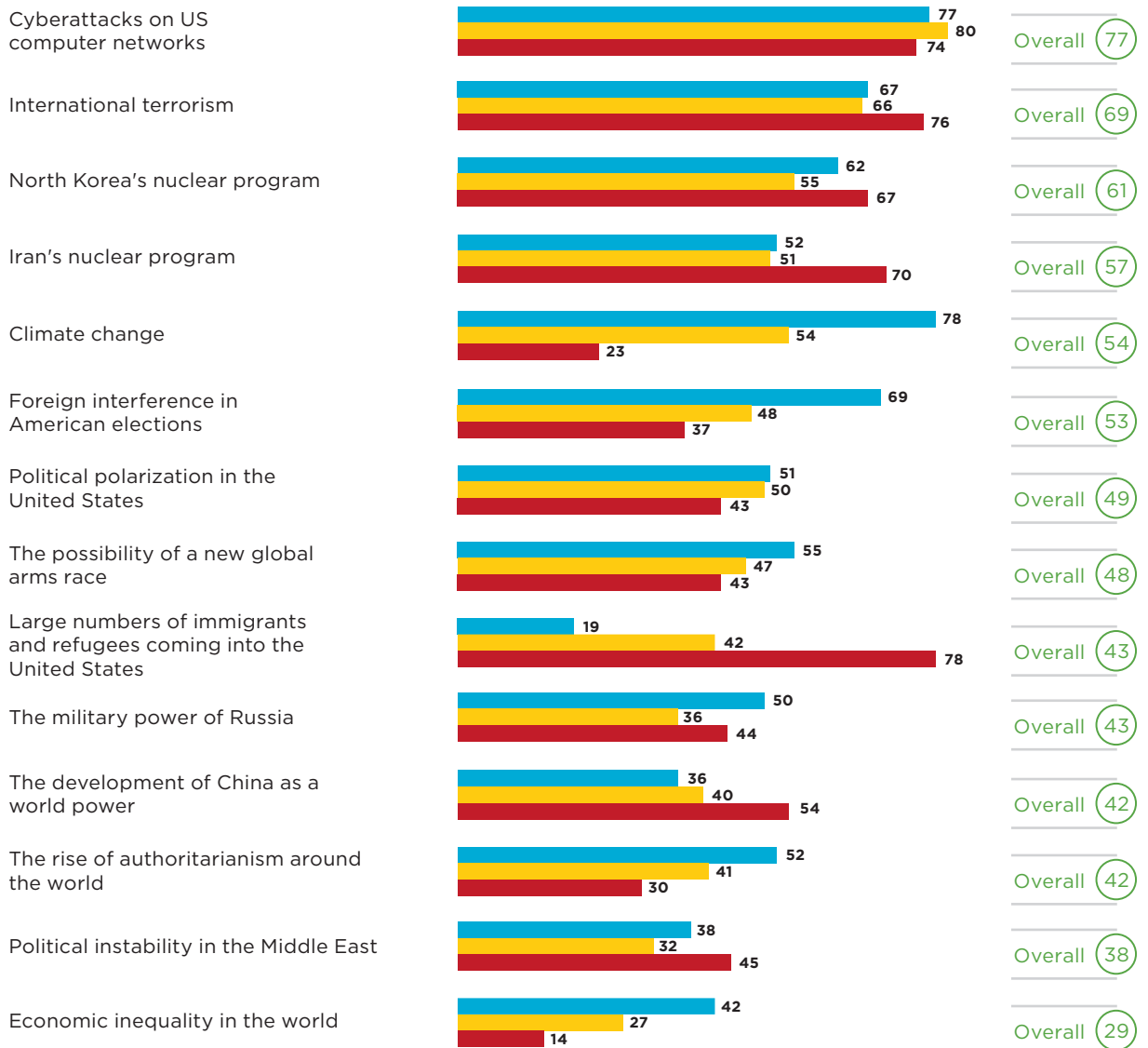
Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.
2019 Chicago Council Survey

Appendix Figure 3: Threats to the United States

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: (% critical threat)

n = 2,059

■ Democrat ■ Independent ■ Republican



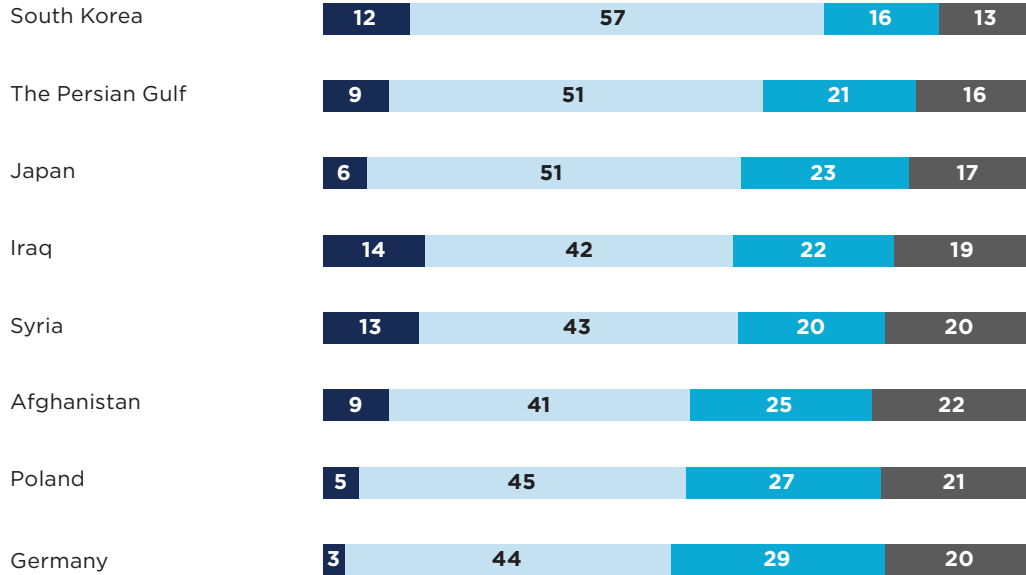
2019 Chicago Council Survey

Appendix Figure 4: US Military Forces Around the World

Should the United States increase, maintain, reduce, or withdraw its military forces from the following countries or regions: (%)

n = 2,059

■ Increase ■ Maintain ■ Reduce ■ Withdraw



Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding, as well as the exclusion of "don't know" and other responses.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

METHODOLOGY

This report is based on the results of a survey commissioned by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. The 2019 Chicago Council Survey, a project of the Lester Crown Center on US Foreign Policy, is the latest effort in a series of wide-ranging surveys on American attitudes toward US foreign policy. The 2019 Chicago Council Survey is made possible by the generous support of the Crown family and the Korea Foundation.

The survey was conducted from June 7 to 20, 2019, among a representative national sample of 2,059 adults. The margin of sampling error for the full sample is ± 2.3 , including a design effect of 1.1607. The margin of error is higher for partisan subgroups or for partial-sample items.

Partisan identification is based on respondents' answer to a standard partisan self-identification question: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?"

The survey was conducted by Ipsos Public Affairs, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Palo Alto, California, using a randomly selected sample of Ipsos' large-scale nationwide research panel, KnowledgePanel® (KP). The survey was fielded to a total of 3,567 panel members yielding a total of 2,186 completed surveys (a completion rate of 61.3%). The median survey length was 23 minutes. Of the 2,186 total completed surveys, 127 cases were excluded for quality control reasons, leaving a final sample size of 2,059 respondents.

Respondents were excluded if they failed at least one of three key checks:

- Respondents who completed the survey in eight minutes or less.
- Respondents who refused to answer half or more of the items in the survey.
- Respondents who failed two or three of the following checks:
 - Refused or skipped question Q3_1, which was specifically designed to make sure respondents were paying attention. ("In order to make sure that your browser is working correctly, please select number 4 from the list below.")
 - Refused one or more full battery that included five items or more (of which there were 12 such lists).
 - Respondents who gave exactly the same answer ("straight-lined") to every item on one of four grid questions in the survey (Q5, Q9, Q240A, or Q406).

The Ipsos Knowledge Panel (KP) was originally based exclusively on a national Random Digit Dialing (RDD) sampling methodology. To improve the representation of the panel, Ipsos migrated to using an Address Based Sampling (ABS) methodology via the Delivery Sequence File (DSF) of the USPS for recruiting panel members in 2009. This probability-based sampling methodology improves population coverage and provides a more effective sampling infrastructure for recruitment of hard-to-reach individuals, such as young adults and those from various minority groups. It should be noted that under the ABS recruitment, households without an internet connection are provided with a web-enabled

device and free internet service. Thus, the sample is not limited to those in the population who already have internet access.

In general, the specific survey samples represent an equal probability selection method (EPSEM) sample from the panel for general population surveys. The raw distribution of KP mirrors that of the US adults fairly closely, barring occasional disparities that may emerge for certain subgroups due to differential attrition.

To ensure selection of general population samples from KP behave as EPSEM, additional measures are undertaken, starting by weighting the pool of active members to the geodemographic benchmarks secured from the latest March supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS) along several dimensions. Using the resulting weights as measure of size, in the next step a PPS (probability proportional to size) procedure is used to select study specific samples. It is the application of this PPS methodology with the imposed size measures that produces fully self-weighting samples from KP, for which each sample member can carry a design weight of unity. Moreover, in instances where a study design requires any form of oversampling of certain subgroups, such departures from an EPSEM design are accounted for by adjusting the design weights in reference to the CPS benchmarks for the population of interest.

The geodemographic benchmarks used to weight the active panel members for computation of size measures include:

- Gender (male, female)
- Age (18–29, 30–44, 45–59, 60 or older)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (white, non-Hispanic; black, non-Hispanic; other, non-Hispanic; two or more races, non-Hispanic; Hispanic)
- Education (less than high school, high school, some college, bachelor’s degree or higher)
- Census region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)
- Household income (less than \$10,000, \$10,000–\$24,999, \$25,000–\$49,999, \$50,000–\$74,999, \$75,000–\$99,999, \$100,000–\$149,999, \$150,000 or more)
- Home ownership status (own, rent/other)
- Metropolitan area (yes, no)

Once the study sample has been selected and the survey administered, and all the survey data are edited and made final, design weights are adjusted to account for any differential nonresponse that may have resulted during the field period. Depending on the specific target population for a given study, geodemographic distributions for the corresponding population are obtained from the CPS, the American Community Survey (ACS), or in certain instances from the weighted KP profile data. For this purpose, an iterative proportional fitting (raking) procedure is used to produce the final weights. In the final step, calculated weights are examined to identify and, if necessary, trim outliers at the extreme upper and lower tails of the weight distribution. The resulting weights are then scaled to aggregate to the total sample size of all eligible respondents.

For this study, the following benchmark distributions of US adults (18 and older) from the March 2018 Current Population Survey (CPS) Supplement Data were used for the raking adjustment of weights:

- Gender (male, female) by age (18–29, 30–44, 45–59, 60 or older)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (white, non-Hispanic; black, non-Hispanic; other, non-Hispanic; two or more races, non-Hispanic; Hispanic)
- Census region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West) by metropolitan status (metro, nonmetro)
- Education (high school or less, some college, bachelor’s degree or higher)
- Household income (less than \$25,000, \$25,000–\$49,999; \$50,000–\$74,999, \$75,000–\$99,999, \$100,000–\$149,999, \$150,000 or more)

For more information about the sample and survey methodology, please consult the Ipsos Panel Book at www.ipsos.com.

For more information about the Chicago Council Survey, please contact Craig Kafura, Assistant Director of Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, at ckafura@thechicagocouncil.org.

ABOUT THE SURVEY SAMPLE

Weighted	Democrat	Independent	Republican
% of 2019 sample n = 2,059	37	35	27
Average age	46	48	50
Racial composition (%)			
White, non-Hispanic	47	66	82
Black, non-Hispanic	22	9	2
Hispanic	22	16	9
Other, non-Hispanic	9	9	7
Gender (%)			
Female	54	50	50
Male	46	50	50
Education (%)			
High school or less	36	38	46
Some college/ associate's degree	27	31	27
College graduates	37	31	28

	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Ideology (%)			
Conservative	9	28	75
Moderate	33	49	19
Liberal	56	22	5
Age (%)			
18-29	24	21	17
30-44	25	27	22
45-59	24	25	29
60+	27	28	32

Note: Figures may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

2019 Chicago Council Survey

ABOUT THE CHICAGO COUNCIL SURVEY

The Chicago Council Survey, conducted every four years since 1974, biennially since 2002, and annually since 2014, is a trusted and widely cited source of longitudinal data on American public opinion about a broad range of US foreign policy and international issues. Since its inception, the survey has captured the sense of particular eras—post-Vietnam, post-Cold War, post-9/11—and identified critical shifts in American public thinking. With its combination of time series and comprehensive coverage, the Chicago Council Survey is a valuable resource to policymakers, academics, media, and the general public. The Chicago Council Surveys are highly respected and widely used in policy circles and academic research both in the United States and abroad. Several scholarly works have drawn on Chicago Council survey data, including *The Foreign Policy Disconnect* (Page, Bouton), *Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy* (Holsti), *Faces of Internationalism* (Wittkopf), and *The Rational Public* (Page, Shapiro). All of the Chicago Council Survey data sets are available to the public via the Roper Center and the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, and the 2019 data will soon be available on www.thechicagocouncil.org.

In addition to the annual Chicago Council Survey of American public opinion and US foreign policy, the Council's polling has often expanded to international polling in Asia, Europe, Mexico, and Russia. In fact, the Council was awarded a two-year grant from the Carnegie Corporation to conduct public and elite opinion surveys in partnership with the Levada Analytical Center in Moscow. The Council has also reintroduced a leaders' survey as an important component of the 2014, 2016, and 2018 Chicago Council Surveys. Besides these comprehensive reports, the Chicago Council Survey team publishes and disseminates short opinion briefs on topical issues such as international trade, immigration, North Korea's nuclear program, and Iran. These short reports can be found on the Council's website and on the Chicago Council Survey blog www.thechicagocouncil.org/RunningNumbers.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ David Brooks, "Voters, Your Foreign Policy Views Stink!" *New York Times*, June 13, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/13/opinion/foreign-policy-populism.html>; Antony J. Blinken and Robert Kagan, "'America First' Is Only Making the World Worse. Here's a Better Approach," *Washington Post*, January 1, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/america-first-is-only-making-the-world-worse-heres-a-better-approach/2019/01/01/1272367c-079f-11e9-88e3-989a3e456820_story.html. See also Anne Applebaum, "Non-Americans, be warned: There will be no return to normal after Trump," *Washington Post*, August 2, 2019, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/non-americans-be-warned-there-will-be-no-return-to-normal-after-trump/2019/08/02/a3b83784-b551-11e9-8f6c-7828e68cb15f_story.html; Ariana Berengaut and Edward Fishman, "Why Americans Should Fight Donald Trump's Isolationism," *Time*, June 15, 2017, <https://time.com/4820160/trump-america-first-global-leadership/>; and Simon Tisdall, "America is retreating from world affairs and circling the wagons...." *Guardian*, January 20, 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/jan/20/donald-trump-foreign-policy-peace-casualty>.
- ² Brooks, "Voters, Your Foreign Policy Views Stink!"
- ³ Robert Kagan, "'America First' Has Won," *New York Times*, September 23, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/opinion/trump-foreign-policy-america-first.html>.
- ⁴ Blinken and Kagan, "'America First Is Only Making the World Worse."
- ⁵ Philip H. Gordon, "The Worst Deals Ever," *Foreign Affairs*, August 23, 2018, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2018-08-23/worst-deals-ever>.
- ⁶ Most recently in the 2018 Chicago Council Survey. See *America Engaged*, Ivo Daalder, Dina Smeltz, Karl Friedhoff, Craig Kafura, Lily Wojtowicz, Chicago Council on Global Affairs, October 2, 2018, <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/publication/lcc/america-engaged>.
- ⁷ For example, the 2017 Chicago Council Survey found that 50 percent of Democrats, 33 percent of Independents, and 19 percent of Republicans said that promoting and defending human rights in other countries was a very important goal for US foreign policy.
- ⁸ About four in 10 or fewer say they were worth fighting. See Ruth Igielnik and Kim Parker, "Majorities of U.S. Veterans, Public Say the Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan Were Not Worth Fighting," Pew Research Center, July 10, 2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/10/majorities-of-u-s-veterans-public-say-the-wars-in-iraq-and-afghanistan-were-not-worth-fighting/>.
- ⁹ While 70 percent say they support the use of US troops to stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, those numbers decline when the scenario becomes more specific. When asked separately what actions respondents would support if Iran withdrew from the Iran nuclear agreement, only 48 percent support conducting airstrikes against Iran's nuclear facilities and only 40 percent favor sending US troops to destroy Iran's nuclear facilities.

Additional reports based on surveys conducted by the Chicago Council are available at www.thechicagocouncil.org:

"Americans Consider US Arms Sales a Hazard to US Security," Dina Smeltz, Karl Friedhoff, Craig Kafura, Brendan Helm, July 10, 2019.

"Public and Opinion Leaders' Views on US-China Trade War," Craig Kafura, June 27, 2019.

"Mexicans, Americans Share Positive Views of USMCA Trade Agreement," Craig Kafura, Jorge Buendía, Esteban Guzmán Saucedo, May 6, 2019.

"Both Russian and American Publics Sense a Transatlantic Rift," Dina Smeltz, Lily Wojtowicz, March 28, 2019.

"Russians Say Their Country Is A Rising Military Power; And a Growing Percentage of Americans View Russia as a Threat," Dina Smeltz, Lily Wojtowicz, March 21, 2019.

"Americans and Russians Agree: We're Heading towards a New Arms Race," Lily Wojtowicz, Dina Smeltz, March 18, 2019.

"Under AMLO, Mexican Views of the US Rebound from All-Time Low," Jorge Buendía, Esteban Guzmán Saucedo, Dina Smeltz, Craig Kafura, March 6, 2019.

"American and South Korean Publics Doubtful about Success of Talks with North Korea," Karl Friedhoff, Lily Wojtowicz, Dina Smeltz, February 19, 2019.

"Majority of Americans Oppose Expanding US-Mexico Border Wall," Craig Kafura, Dina Smeltz, January 24, 2019.

"South Koreans See Improved Security, Confident in US Security Guarantee," Dina Smeltz, Karl Friedhoff, Lily Wojtowicz, January 18, 2019.

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