

Rightsizing Defense

Conducted by the Program for Public Consultation, School of Public Policy, University of Maryland

Supplemental Questionnaire

Sample Sizes and Margins of Error:

MD 7: 137 (MoE = 8.4%)

Michigan: 207 (MoE = 6.8%)

North Carolina: 298 (MoE = 5.7%)

OK 4: 152 (MoE: 7.9%)

Pennsylvania: 193 (MoE = 7.1%)

Field Dates: December 20, 2015 – February 1, 2016

DEFENSE BUDGET QUESTIONNAIRE MARCH 2016

As you may know, the US government has been considering how to deal with the question of how to deal with the federal budget deficit—i.e., the amount of money the government spends that exceeds the amount it takes in through taxes.

In 2011 Congress and the President passed legislation requiring reductions to the deficit. The deficit has come down, but for 2015 it is projected to be \$439 billion, including entitlement programs.... The law requires further reductions, though these are not required to occur in 2015.

Reductions in the deficit can come from reducing spending or raising taxes, or both.

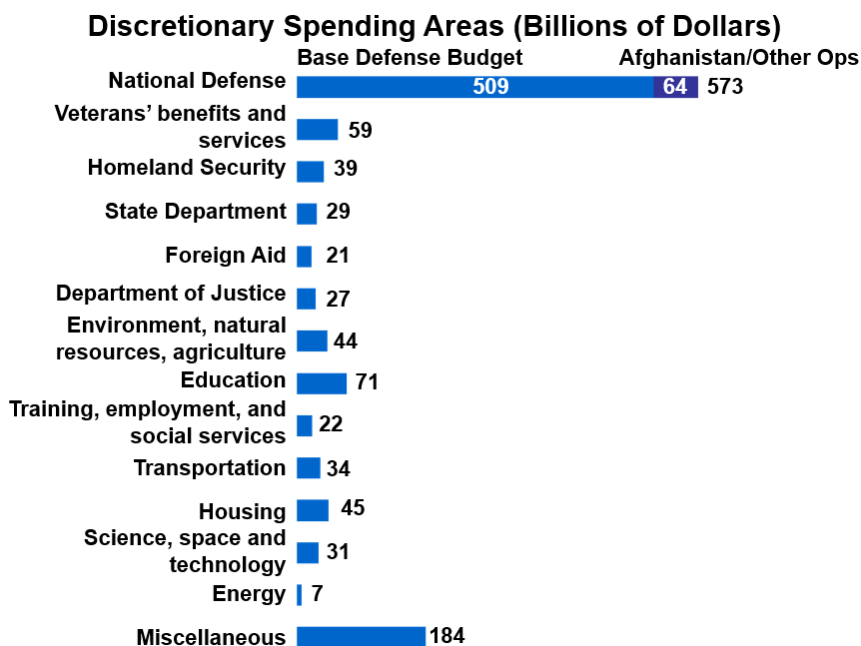
Today we are going to explore whether for 2015 spending on national defense—that is, spending on the military and the development of weapons—should or should not be reduced as part of the effort to reduce the deficit, and if so, how much it should be reduced and which programs should be reduced.

Some people say the national defense budget should be reduced, while others say it should remain the same, or even be increased. Some people think it is important to reduce the deficit, while others think there are other priorities that are more important.

We are going to do our best to help you get a better understanding of the federal deficit and the national defense budget by giving you some information.

First, we want to give you a sense of the size of the defense budget. We will show you five different ways of viewing it. In each case we would like to know if, from this perspective, defense spending is more or less than you expected, or about the same as you expected.

Statement: First here are the main parts of the discretionary budget for 2015. This is the part of the budget that Congress adjusts from year to year.



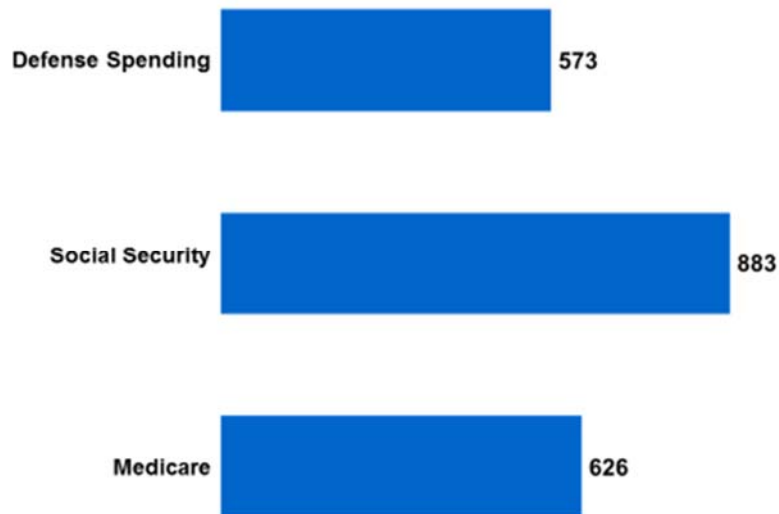
[Q1.] Viewing it this way, is the amount of U.S. defense spending for 2015:

- 1 Much more than you expected
- 2 Somewhat more than you expected
- 3 About what you expected
- 4 Somewhat less than you expected
- 5 Much less than you expected

	Much more	Somewhat more	Total More	About the same	Somewhat less	Much less	Total less	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	30.6%	21.9%	52.5%	32.7%	10.8%	2.6%	13.4%	1.3%
GOP	23.5%	21.8%	45.3%	42.4%	10.1%	2.2%	12.3%	0.0%
Dem.	32.1%	26.5%	58.6%	31.6%	7.3%	0.5%	7.8%	1.9%
Pennsylvania	26.8%	30.4%	57.2%	36.5%	5.0%	1.3%	6.3%	0.0%
GOP	15.5%	29.6%	45.1%	43.3%	8.1%	3.6%	11.7%	0.0%
Dem.	33.8%	31.6%	65.4%	30.6%	4.1%	0.0%	4.1%	0.0%
Michigan	30.5%	20.7%	51.2%	36.3%	10.8%	0.9%	11.7%	0.9%
GOP	22.9%	16.2%	39.1%	42.0%	18.1%	0.8%	18.9%	0.0%
Dem.	40.0%	19.5%	59.5%	31.6%	8.8%	0.0%	8.8%	0.0%
OK-4	21.0%	38.5%	59.5%	36.0%	3.8%	0.3%	4.1%	0.3%
MD-7	31.2%	25.0%	56.2%	31.1%	4.9%	4.5%	9.4%	3.2%

Statement: The second way of viewing defense spending is comparing it to the two other largest areas of Federal spending--Social Security and Medicare. These two programs are not part of the discretionary budget and are funded through payroll taxes.

Defense and Entitlement Programs (Billions of Dollars)



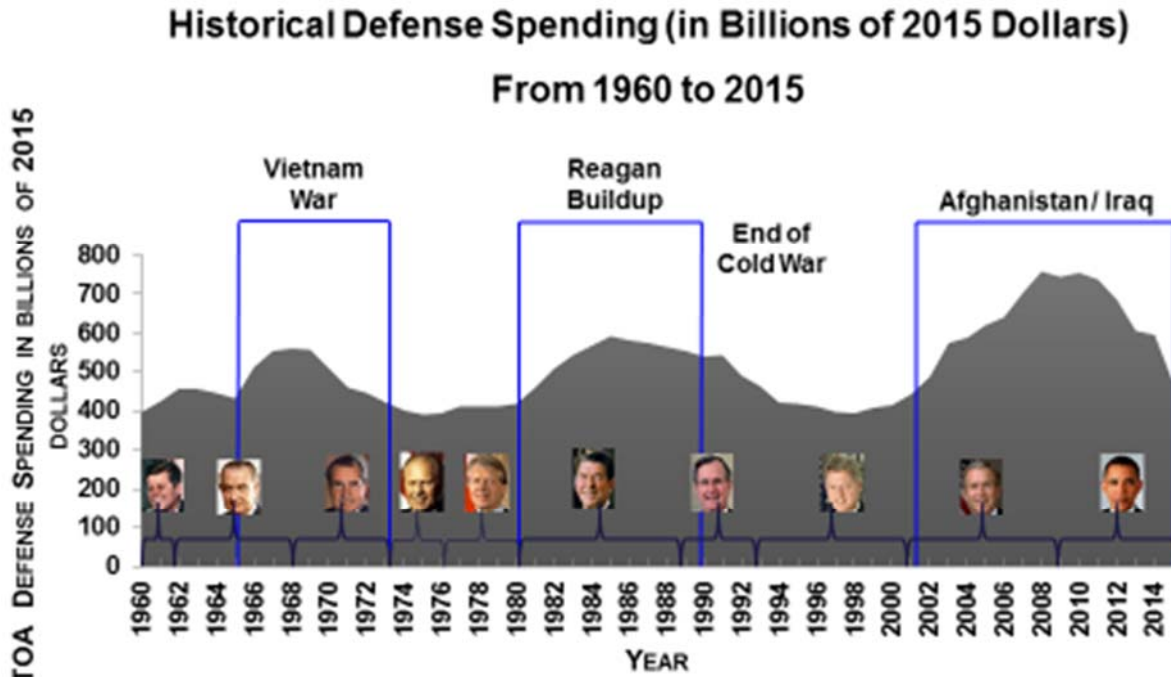
Source: Congressional Budget Office, "Updated Budget Projections: 2015 to 2025" (Mar. 2015)

[Q2.] Viewing it this way, is the amount of U.S. defense spending for 2015,

- 1 Much more than you expected
- 2 Somewhat more than you expected
- 3 About what you expected
- 4 Somewhat less than you expected
- 5 Much less than you expected

	Much more	Somewhat more	Total More	About the same	Somewhat less	Much less	Total less	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	12.4%	18.1%	30.5%	37.9%	23.5%	7.4%	30.9%	0.6%
GOP	5.2%	22.1%	27.3%	28.1%	29.4%	15.2%	44.6%	0.0%
Dem.	11.6%	17.6%	29.2%	49.9%	17.4%	2.0%	19.4%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	15.3%	17.0%	32.3%	42.2%	16.8%	8.6%	25.4%	0.0%
GOP	7.8%	12.6%	20.4%	36.5%	25.1%	18.0%	43.1%	0.0%
Dem.	21.7%	18.5%	40.2%	41.9%	13.8%	4.1%	17.9%	0.0%
Michigan	10.0%	19.6%	29.6%	43.0%	21.8%	4.0%	25.8%	1.6%
GOP	3.5%	17.7%	21.2%	44.5%	28.1%	6.2%	34.3%	0.0%
Dem.	15.9%	22.2%	38.1%	50.3%	10.9%	0.7%	11.6%	0.0%
OK-4	4.1%	20.8%	24.9%	41.7%	26.4%	6.9%	33.3%	0.0%
MD-7	19.2%	25.0%	44.2%	24.7%	19.7%	11.4%	31.1%	0.0%

Statement: The third way of viewing the national defense budget is how much the government is currently spending on defense, as compared to how much it has spent in the past. Here is how the current year’s spending compares to the past in inflation-adjusted dollars.



Source: National Defense Budget Estimates for FY 2015
https://www.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/budget/2015/FY15_Green_Book.pdf

[Q3.] Viewing it this way, is the amount of U.S. defense spending for 2015:

- 1 Much more than you expected
- 2 Somewhat more than you expected
- 3 About what you expected
- 4 Somewhat less than you expected
- 5 Much less than you expected

	Much more	Somewhat more	Total More	About the same	Somewhat less	Much less	Total less	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	19.0%	17.6%	36.6%	42.6%	12.4%	7.9%	20.3%	0.6%
GOP	18.9%	15.3%	34.2%	42.6%	11.7%	11.4%	23.1%	0.0%
Dem.	18.8%	17.8%	36.6%	47.9%	11.1%	2.9%	14.0%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	21.6%	22.9%	44.5%	41.8%	10.1%	3.5%	13.6%	0.0%
GOP	10.5%	17.3%	27.8%	55.0%	9.5%	7.6%	17.1%	0.0%
Dem.	29.7%	27.9%	57.6%	29.0%	12.8%	0.5%	13.3%	0.0%
Michigan	11.0%	25.5%	36.5%	48.0%	10.6%	4.4%	15.0%	0.4%

GOP	8.7%	29.4%	38.1%	40.9%	10.3%	10.6%	20.9%	0.0%
Dem.	9.5%	22.6%	32.1%	53.5%	14.0%	0.4%	14.4%	0.0%
OK-4	13.2%	23.5%	36.7%	47.9%	12.2%	3.1%	15.3%	0.0%
MD-7	20.2%	20.8%	41.0%	42.6%	11.6%	3.2%	14.8%	1.6%

Statement: The fourth way of viewing the size of the national defense budget is how much the US spends as a percentage of its overall economy, or GDP. Although the absolute amount of spending has been going up, as you will see, the percentage of the economy devoted to national defense spending has been going down. That is because over this period the size of the US economy has grown five times larger--substantially more than defense spending.

**National Defense as a Percentage of U.S. GDP
1960-2015**



Source: National Defense Budget Estimates for FY 2015
http://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/budget%2015%20Green_Book.pdf

[Q4.] Viewing it this way, is the amount of U.S. defense spending for 2015:

- 1 Much more than you expected
- 2 Somewhat more than you expected
- 3 About what you expected
- 4 Somewhat less than you expected
- 5 Much less than you expected

	Much more	Somewhat more	Total More	About the same	Somewhat less	Much less	Total less	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	8.0%	13.1%	21.1%	23.6%	39.2%	15.4%	54.6%	0.6%
GOP	5.5%	12.5%	18.0%	18.1%	34.2%	29.7%	63.9%	0.0%
Dem.	6.4%	11.4%	17.8%	29.3%	48.7%	2.7%	51.4%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	7.0%	12.6%	19.6%	26.6%	36.8%	17.0%	53.8%	0.0%
GOP	7.1%	2.2%	9.3%	29.6%	36.1%	24.9%	61.0%	0.0%
Dem.	7.8%	18.8%	26.6%	22.9%	37.8%	12.6%	50.4%	0.0%

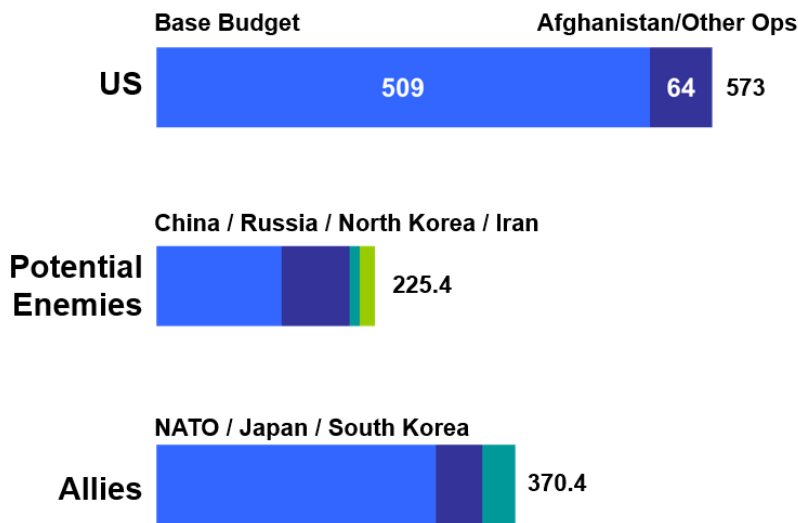
Michigan	2.9%	13.0%	15.9%	25.8%	41.9%	16.0%	57.9%	0.4%
GOP	2.7%	5.4%	8.1%	23.0%	48.1%	20.8%	68.9%	0.0%
Dem.	2.0%	16.3%	18.3%	38.1%	31.0%	12.6%	43.6%	0.0%

OK-4	0.5%	10.5%	11.0%	17.3%	50.4%	21.2%	71.6%	0.0%
MD-7	13.0%	10.9%	23.9%	21.2%	42.8%	10.6%	53.4%	1.6%

Statement: A final way of viewing the size of the national defense budget is to compare how much the US government spends on defense to the amounts spent by America’s potential enemies and major allies.

For this analysis we can consider as potential enemies Russia, China, Iran and North Korea. Labor costs are cheaper in these countries, so these numbers have been adjusted upward based on how much it would cost to produce the same defense capabilities in the United States. As major allies, we are including NATO members, Japan and South Korea.

Defense Spending (Billions of US Dollars)



[Q5.] From this perspective is amount of U.S. defense spending for 2015,

- 1 Much more than you expected
- 2 Somewhat more than you expected
- 3 About what you expected
- 4 Somewhat less than you expected
- 5 Much less than you expected

Much more	Somewhat more	Total More	About the same	Somewhat less	Much less	Total less	Refused / Don't know
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North Carolina	18.4%	27.2%	45.6%	38.9%	11.7%	3.2%	14.9%	0.6%
GOP	18.2%	23.3%	41.5%	43.6%	11.1%	3.8%	14.9%	0.0%
Dem.	15.1%	35.7%	50.8%	40.1%	7.5%	0.0%	7.5%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	18.6%	30.6%	49.2%	41.9%	7.4%	1.6%	9.0%	0.0%
GOP	10.8%	32.0%	42.8%	38.2%	14.7%	4.3%	19.0%	0.0%
Dem.	26.0%	29.7%	55.7%	41.3%	3.0%	0.0%	3.0%	0.0%
Michigan	14.1%	21.8%	35.9%	51.2%	9.1%	3.4%	12.5%	0.4%
GOP	12.3%	19.3%	31.6%	53.6%	10.3%	4.5%	14.8%	0.0%
Dem.	17.8%	19.1%	36.9%	53.0%	6.5%	3.5%	10.0%	0.0%
OK-4	11.5%	28.8%	40.3%	45.7%	11.3%	2.4%	13.7%	0.5%
MD-7	28.0%	24.7%	52.7%	36.0%	6.9%	4.3%	11.2%	0.0%

Statement: Now here are some arguments that are often made about whether the national defense budget should be reduced or not. In each case, both the argument for reducing and against reducing defense spending will be presented on the same screen. For each one, please select whether you find it convincing or unconvincing.

[Q6.] The United States is exceptional and should be leading the world, not following it. The US should have the ability to quickly project overwhelming military power anywhere in the world. We have already cut defense spending, and cutting it further would undermine this ability. It would send a signal that we are no longer committed to playing our leadership role; our allies would lose confidence in us; and Asian countries might increasingly come under China's influence.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	27.2%	39.4%	66.6%	21.9%	11.0%	32.9%	0.5%
GOP	44.3%	43.4%	87.7%	7.8%	4.5%	12.3%	0.0%
Dem.	16.3%	41.2%	57.5%	31.4%	9.9%	41.3%	1.2%
Pennsylvania	27.8%	34.3%	62.1%	21.3%	16.2%	37.5%	0.4%

GOP	40.7%	41.5%	82.2%	8.3%	9.5%	17.8%	0.0%
Dem.	19.4%	24.2%	43.6%	32.3%	23.4%	55.7%	0.7%
Michigan	23.7%	47.4%	71.1%	18.1%	10.7%	28.8%	0.0%
GOP	35.6%	50.8%	86.4%	10.0%	3.6%	13.6%	0.0%
Dem.	12.9%	38.0%	50.9%	28.9%	20.2%	49.1%	0.0%
OK-4	30.7%	43.7%	74.4%	17.2%	8.4%	25.6%	0.0%
MD-7	24.5%	30.8%	55.3%	16.7%	28.1%	44.8%	0.0%

[Q7.] The United States has far more military power than any other nation and more than enough to protect itself and its allies. But we are playing the role of world policeman too much, and we are building up our military power to project it everywhere in the world. We can deal with global threats by working together with our allies and sharing the burden. We don't have to have a military so big that we can do everything by ourselves.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	29.8%	38.7%	68.5%	16.1%	14.8%	30.9%	0.5%
GOP	17.0%	34.9%	51.9%	26.9%	21.2%	48.1%	0.0%
Dem.	42.9%	43.0%	85.9%	11.3%	2.8%	14.1%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	32.5%	38.3%	70.8%	17.0%	11.6%	28.6%	0.7%
GOP	18.8%	33.9%	52.7%	22.0%	23.4%	45.4%	1.8%
Dem.	42.8%	43.2%	86.0%	11.2%	2.8%	14.0%	0.0%
Michigan	30.5%	39.3%	69.8%	22.2%	8.0%	30.2%	0.0%
GOP	23.5%	30.3%	53.8%	32.2%	14.0%	46.2%	0.0%
Dem.	40.7%	45.3%	86.0%	11.2%	2.8%	14.0%	0.0%
OK-4	27.8%	25.8%	53.6%	25.6%	20.8%	46.4%	0.0%
MD-7	36.8%	25.5%	62.3%	24.2%	13.5%	37.7%	0.0%

[Q8.] America is threatened by hostile forces in many corners of the world. Reducing our military power lowers our guard and makes us more vulnerable. If major conflicts were to break out in more than one place, we would not be able to deal with them all. Furthermore, cutting defense spending is a sign of weakness and emboldens our enemies to challenge our interests.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	34.4%	26.6%	61.0%	25.9%	11.3%	37.2%	1.8%
GOP	47.2%	29.5%	76.7%	19.3%	2.3%	21.6%	1.7%
Dem.	27.1%	27.7%	54.8%	30.9%	11.9%	42.8%	2.4%
Pennsylvania	28.6%	31.7%	60.3%	22.2%	16.9%	39.1%	0.5%
GOP	49.0%	37.0%	86.0%	8.6%	5.5%	14.1%	0.0%
Dem.	13.4%	25.6%	39.0%	33.1%	28.0%	61.1%	0.0%
Michigan	30.8%	32.6%	63.4%	23.4%	12.8%	36.2%	0.4%
GOP	44.3%	34.9%	79.2%	17.7%	3.1%	20.8%	0.0%
Dem.	18.5%	25.8%	44.3%	30.9%	24.8%	55.7%	0.0%
OK-4	34.9%	32.5%	67.4%	18.6%	9.1%	27.7%	4.9%
MD-7	29.2%	22.0%	51.2%	19.2%	29.0%	48.2%	0.6%

[Q9.] Even though there is no country in the world that can challenge us, the national defense budget is still enormous. We are spending more than we did at the height of the Cold War--almost three times as much as all of our potential enemies combined. This is way out of proportion to the real threats we face and doesn't buy us more security.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	26.7%	34.9%	61.6%	18.7%	18.1%	36.8%	1.5%
GOP	11.3%	35.6%	46.9%	27.3%	24.1%	51.4%	1.7%
Dem.	39.0%	38.0%	77.0%	13.5%	8.4%	21.9%	1.2%
Pennsylvania	34.2%	21.5%	55.7%	24.8%	17.6%	42.4%	1.9%
GOP	13.6%	17.6%	31.2%	35.9%	29.9%	65.8%	3.0%
Dem.	50.0%	24.4%	74.4%	15.9%	9.2%	25.1%	0.6%
Michigan	29.0%	33.6%	62.6%	19.5%	17.4%	36.9%	0.4%
GOP	16.4%	28.2%	44.6%	28.5%	26.9%	55.4%	0.0%
Dem.	44.0%	38.1%	82.1%	9.6%	8.3%	17.9%	0.0%
OK-4	19.4%	26.2%	45.6%	32.0%	17.7%	49.7%	4.6%
MD-7	31.3%	32.2%	63.5%	12.8%	23.7%	36.5%	0.0%

[Q10.] We do have deficit problems, but national security cannot be shortchanged. National defense is the first responsibility of government and it is too important to let fiscal concerns dictate our level of spending on it. The US can clearly afford its current national defense budget--after all, it is just 3.5 percent of America's economy and this percentage has been going down for some years.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	29.2%	44.0%	73.2%	15.0%	9.9%	24.9%	1.9%
GOP	45.6%	39.0%	84.6%	9.6%	5.8%	15.4%	0.0%
Dem.	16.5%	46.8%	63.3%	22.8%	9.5%	32.3%	4.5%
Pennsylvania	29.1%	28.0%	57.1%	24.6%	17.5%	42.1%	0.8%
GOP	49.7%	29.9%	79.6%	14.5%	5.9%	20.4%	0.0%
Dem.	15.5%	23.1%	38.6%	34.5%	26.9%	61.4%	0.0%

Michigan	30.5%	39.7%	70.2%	16.7%	12.1%	28.8%	1.1%
GOP	45.6%	41.3%	86.9%	10.4%	2.7%	13.1%	0.0%
Dem.	14.3%	42.9%	57.2%	16.9%	24.2%	41.1%	1.6%

OK-4	33.1%	42.0%	75.1%	20.0%	4.5%	24.5%	0.3%
MD-7	28.3%	24.0%	52.3%	26.1%	20.5%	46.6%	1.1%

[Q11.] These enormous national defense budgets hurt us by adding to the deficit, weakening the economy, and obligating future generations to repay the debt. Other parts of the economy are short-changed, diverting talent and resources from other goals and weakening America’s economic competitiveness--which hurts our security in the long run. We need to rebalance our priorities and rein in defense spending.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	24.3%	36.7%	61.0%	19.4%	18.2%	37.6%	1.4%
GOP	11.2%	30.0%	41.2%	28.9%	29.9%	58.8%	0.0%
Dem.	35.6%	40.3%	75.9%	16.8%	5.2%	22.0%	2.1%
Pennsylvania	32.8%	27.3%	60.1%	23.5%	15.0%	38.5%	1.4%
GOP	16.9%	19.6%	36.5%	33.2%	28.5%	61.7%	1.8%
Dem.	48.7%	28.9%	77.6%	19.2%	3.1%	22.3%	0.0%
Michigan	28.5%	32.2%	60.7%	22.0%	16.2%	38.2%	1.1%
GOP	20.3%	22.5%	42.8%	32.5%	24.7%	57.2%	0.0%
Dem.	36.9%	40.0%	76.9%	10.7%	10.8%	21.5%	1.6%
OK-4	17.6%	36.0%	53.6%	30.6%	15.8%	46.4%	0.0%
MD-7	37.8%	24.5%	62.3%	22.8%	14.4%	37.2%	0.4%

[Q13.] The US government should not cut defense in the coming year because many people would lose their jobs, as it would surely be necessary to shut down defense factories and military bases. This would be a blow to working Americans and their families, hurt the economy, and drive up government costs to provide a social safety net for the jobless.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	24.6%	27.3%	51.9%	29.0%	16.8%	45.8%	2.2%
GOP	23.5%	32.3%	55.8%	27.5%	12.7%	40.2%	4.0%
Dem.	29.8%	28.5%	58.3%	23.4%	17.2%	40.6%	1.2%
Pennsylvania	16.1%	37.9%	54.0%	33.6%	12.2%	45.8%	0.2%
GOP	21.5%	33.6%	55.1%	36.6%	8.2%	44.8%	0.0%
Dem.	11.6%	41.8%	53.4%	35.2%	10.9%	46.1%	0.5%
Michigan	21.3%	35.4%	56.7%	29.6%	13.0%	42.6%	0.7%
GOP	27.9%	36.8%	64.7%	27.6%	7.0%	34.6%	0.8%
Dem.	20.9%	28.6%	49.5%	31.0%	19.5%	50.5%	0.0%
OK-4	19.9%	49.4%	69.3%	17.8%	12.8%	30.6%	0.0%
MD-7	22.5%	31.4%	53.9%	20.9%	25.2%	46.1%	0.0%

[Q14.] There is much waste in the national defense budget. Members of Congress often approve unnecessary spending for their districts or keep unneeded bases open, just to benefit their own supporters. The military branches buy duplicate weapons, and do a poor job of tracking where the money goes. Defense contractors persuade lawmakers to approve weapons that aren't needed by giving them large campaign contributions. Clearly there is room to cut the national defense budget without affecting US security.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	43.2%	26.0%	69.2%	19.0%	10.4%	29.4%	1.4%
GOP	44.4%	19.8%	64.2%	18.5%	13.8%	32.3%	3.5%
Dem.	50.3%	29.0%	79.3%	16.9%	2.9%	19.8%	0.9%

Pennsylvania	46.3%	34.1%	80.4%	12.7%	5.9%	18.6%	0.9%
GOP	34.3%	36.3%	70.6%	18.7%	8.8%	27.5%	1.8%
Dem.	55.0%	30.2%	85.2%	11.5%	2.8%	14.3%	0.5%

Michigan	43.9%	36.9%	80.8%	14.2%	4.5%	18.7%	0.4%
GOP	34.8%	40.7%	75.5%	15.6%	8.9%	24.5%	0.0%
Dem.	54.4%	33.7%	88.1%	11.8%	0.0%	11.8%	0.0%

OK-4	39.7%	36.3%	76.0%	18.7%	5.3%	24.0%	0.0%
MD-7	44.2%	27.3%	71.5%	24.3%	4.2%	28.5%	0.0%

Statement: Now we would like you to set what you think the national defense budget should be for 2016. First we will focus on the base budget, and later we will focus on the operation in Afghanistan.

[Q16.] So, once again, the base national defense budget for 2015 is \$509 billion.

At this point, how much would you say the base national defense budget should be for 2016?

Statement: Now we would like you to consider how much is being spent on the operation in Afghanistan. Because we are drawing down in Afghanistan, the amount that will be spent for this operation is expected to be reduced from \$58 billion in 2015. There are basically two options for Afghanistan that are being considered:

- a) for the US to maintain bases in Afghanistan, but reduce troop levels to a contingent of about 5,500 by the end of 2016 troops. This plan would cost \$50 billion in 2016.
- b) for the US to withdraw nearly all its troops and shut down its combat bases. This plan would cost about \$37 billion in 2016.

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	500	55.3%	8.1%	36.6%	0.0%
GOP	515	39.0%	4.4%	56.6%	0.0%
Dem.	480	61.0%	13.8%	25.2%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	500	56.0%	3.1%	40.4%	0.4%
GOP	512	29.5%	3.7%	65.6%	1.2%
Dem.	409	75.3%	2.9%	21.8%	0.0%
Michigan	500	58.3%	6.1%	35.7%	0.0%
GOP	515	36.3%	6.8%	56.9%	0.0%
Dem.	400	81.3%	3.2%	15.5%	0.0%

OK-4	500	50.9%	8.1%	40.9%	0.0%
MD-7	475	63.4%	8.8%	27.8%	0.0%

[Q17.] Here is an argument in favor of the US maintaining bases in Afghanistan, but reducing troop levels to a contingent of about 5,500 troops.

We have already drawn down our forces a lot, and have largely turned over Afghan security to the Afghans themselves. But we can't rush this. The Afghan military still needs training and advisors. The presence of US troops would also deter attacks. If we pull out too soon we could see a resurgence of extremists as has occurred in Iraq. The country could once again become a safe haven for terrorist groups like al Qaeda, as it was before 9/11. Furthermore, if we leave too hastily, America will be seen as lacking resolve.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	36.8%	34.6%	71.4%	16.5%	11.6%	28.1%	0.5%
GOP	41.7%	35.9%	77.6%	13.3%	9.1%	22.4%	0.0%
Dem.	36.9%	38.1%	75.0%	16.9%	7.0%	23.9%	1.2%
Pennsylvania	28.6%	41.0%	69.6%	20.1%	10.3%	30.4%	0.0%
GOP	43.6%	37.6%	81.2%	11.5%	7.4%	18.9%	0.0%
Dem.	18.0%	41.7%	59.7%	26.7%	13.6%	40.3%	0.0%
Michigan	26.3%	45.9%	72.2%	16.0%	11.4%	27.4%	0.4%
GOP	39.0%	37.4%	76.4%	12.3%	11.3%	23.6%	0.0%
Dem.	14.0%	52.2%	66.2%	22.3%	11.4%	33.7%	0.0%
OK-4	37.0%	39.5%	76.5%	18.7%	4.4%	23.1%	0.4%
MD-7	31.2%	35.5%	66.7%	14.6%	17.7%	32.3%	0.9%

[Q18.] Here is an argument in favor of the US withdrawing nearly all its troops and shutting down its combat bases.

We have been in Afghanistan for over 12 years. We have achieved our primary objective by breaking al Qaeda's central organization and its connection to the Taliban, as well as killing Osama bin Laden. It is time for

the Afghan people to manage their own country and for us to bring our troops home. Furthermore, our military presence in Afghanistan is resented throughout the Muslim world and breeds hostility toward the US.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	24.5%	37.2%	61.7%	19.5%	17.4%	36.9%	1.4%
GOP	16.8%	30.4%	47.2%	19.1%	30.9%	50.0%	2.9%
Dem.	29.7%	46.3%	76.0%	20.8%	3.2%	24.0%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	31.6%	38.2%	69.8%	15.9%	13.7%	29.6%	0.7%
GOP	20.0%	35.3%	55.3%	15.0%	27.9%	42.9%	1.8%
Dem.	41.6%	39.9%	81.5%	16.4%	2.1%	18.5%	0.0%
Michigan	32.2%	34.4%	66.6%	21.2%	11.8%	33.0%	0.4%
GOP	26.6%	22.6%	49.2%	30.9%	20.0%	50.9%	0.0%
Dem.	35.5%	49.6%	85.1%	12.1%	2.8%	14.9%	0.0%
OK-4	35.2%	33.5%	68.7%	22.7%	8.6%	31.3%	0.0%
MD-7	34.1%	43.7%	77.8%	15.7%	6.4%	22.1%	0.0%

[Q19.] So now again, for 2016 do you think that US should:

- a) maintain bases in Afghanistan, but reduce troop levels to a contingent of about 5,500 troops at a cost of \$50 billion in 2016.
- b) withdraw nearly all of its troops and shut down its combat bases at a cost of about \$37 billion in 2016.

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	58.9%	40.4%	0.7%
GOP	65.2%	33.1%	1.7%
Dem.	56.3%	43.2%	0.5%

Pennsylvania	50.6%	46.2%	3.2%
GOP	68.5%	30.4%	1.2%
Dem.	38.3%	56.2%	5.5%

Michigan	48.3%	50.9%	0.8%
GOP	63.6%	36.4%	0.0%
Dem.	34.0%	66.0%	0.0%

OK-4	58.9%	35.9%	5.2%
MD-7	58.4%	41.4%	0.2%

Statement: We are now going to return to the base national defense budget, look at its different areas, and give you a chance to decide in which areas you want to make changes in spending levels.

These areas will include:

- Air power
- Ground forces
- Naval power
- Marines
- The nuclear arsenal
- Special operations forces
- Missile defense

For each area you will see how much is currently being spent on this area. You will also see some arguments for and against changing this spending level. You will then be able to set the level of spending on this area as you see fit.

As you set these levels, you will see an amount in the lower right hand corner of the screen, tracking the total spending changes you have made so far in this area-by-area budgeting. You will also see the amount of change that you initially proposed for the base national defense budget as a whole.

You may decide to try to set spending to match the change you initially proposed, or after considering the issues you may end up with a different amount.

[AIR POWER]

Statement: Let’s explore America’s air power capabilities. This includes bombers, fighters, cargo planes, drones, and other aircraft, and the personnel to maintain and operate them. These forces give the US the capability to control airspace, strike hostile forces or other targets on the ground, and help protect U.S. ground forces. Planes and satellites also provide intelligence.

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating, maintaining and replacing CURRENT air power capabilities: \$114 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending on developing NEW air power capabilities, i.e. research, development, building and testing prototypes, and early production runs: \$22 billion

[Q20.] Now here is an argument against reducing spending on American air power:

Reducing spending on air power capabilities could limit our ability to strike any target on short notice and with precision. It could limit U.S. military access in some regions, such as Asia where the US has growing interests, but has limited ground forces. Furthermore, the Air Force has played a key role in tracking and targeting al Qaeda. Clearly air power is critical and should not be compromised.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	42.0%	39.0%	81.0%	13.4%	4.1%	17.5%	1.5%
GOP	56.8%	29.5%	86.3%	8.8%	5.0%	13.8%	0.0%
Dem.	41.5%	41.3%	82.8%	12.7%	1.8%	14.5%	2.7%
Pennsylvania	34.2%	43.2%	77.4%	16.0%	6.2%	22.2%	0.4%
GOP	49.5%	36.6%	86.1%	7.4%	5.3%	12.7%	1.2%
Dem.	23.2%	46.9%	70.1%	23.4%	6.6%	30.0%	0.0%
Michigan	34.1%	46.3%	80.4%	13.1%	5.8%	18.9%	0.6%
GOP	46.4%	41.8%	88.2%	6.5%	4.8%	11.3%	0.5%
Dem.	22.3%	51.4%	73.7%	17.5%	8.8%	26.3%	0.0%
OK-4	53.2%	32.8%	86.0%	13.2%	0.8%	14.0%	0.0%
MD-7	39.8%	31.8%	71.6%	20.3%	8.0%	28.3%	0.1%

[Q21.] Now here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on American air power:

America's air power is already by far the most powerful and advanced in the world. China's air force is several decades behind the US, while Russia's air force has been deteriorating for two decades. Nonetheless, the defense industry is always coming up with new, fancier, and more expensive technologies. We have more than enough to defend our own territory and that of key allies. Enough is enough.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing

3 Somewhat unconvincing

4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	17.8%	32.3%	50.1%	27.8%	19.3%	47.1%	2.9%
GOP	9.7%	22.0%	31.7%	34.5%	30.9%	65.4%	2.9%
Dem.	20.3%	39.5%	59.8%	27.8%	8.9%	36.7%	3.6%
Pennsylvania	21.8%	30.7%	52.5%	35.6%	10.8%	46.4%	1.1%
GOP	9.0%	27.1%	36.1%	38.8%	22.0%	60.8%	3.0%
Dem.	33.1%	35.4%	68.5%	29.9%	1.7%	31.6%	0.0%
Michigan	18.3%	36.1%	54.4%	30.9%	14.2%	45.1%	0.4%
GOP	11.5%	15.9%	27.4%	46.9%	25.7%	72.6%	0.0%
Dem.	25.3%	53.9%	79.2%	17.9%	2.8%	20.7%	0.0%
OK-4	18.5%	27.5%	46.0%	35.4%	18.6%	54.0%	0.0%
MD-7	23.7%	26.1%	49.8%	24.8%	24.5%	49.3%	0.9%

Statement: So now, how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing air power and on developing new air power capabilities?

[Q22]: Existing air power:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	114	49.4%	17.2%	32.7%	0.6%
GOP	114	34.7%	15.9%	49.3%	0.0%
Dem.	114	49.1%	25.0%	24.4%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	110	53.7%	15.4%	30.5%	0.4%
GOP	115	33.9%	14.8%	50.1%	1.2%
Dem.	100	70.6%	14.0%	15.4%	0.0%
Michigan	111	53.2%	12.8%	34.0%	0.0%
GOP	114	33.3%	20.7%	46.0%	0.0%
Dem.	104	72.7%	5.2%	22.1%	0.0%
OK-4	114	37.2%	30.5%	32.3%	0.0%

MD-7	110	60.9%	18.8%	20.3%	0.0%
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[Q23]: New air power capabilities:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	22	47.1%	11.6%	40.8%	0.6%
GOP	22	40.6%	10.1%	49.3%	0.0%
Dem.	22	48.4%	17.0%	33.1%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	20	51.7%	15.3%	32.5%	0.4%
GOP	23	30.2%	16.6%	52.0%	1.2%
Dem.	16	70.4%	10.9%	18.7%	0.0%
Michigan	20	55.6%	10.2%	34.3%	0.0%
GOP	23	36.5%	12.9%	50.6%	0.0%
Dem.	20	72.2%	6.2%	21.7%	0.0%
OK-4	22	41.8%	15.5%	42.7%	0.0%
MD-7	20	59.0%	11.8%	29.2%	0.0%

Statement: Now turning to American ground forces. American ground forces are primarily the Army. In addition to the troops they include weapons, tanks, artillery, helicopters, and armored personnel carriers. They create the capability to put troops on the ground and to seize and hold territory. They also operate bases in other countries, adding to the US military's worldwide presence.

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating, maintaining and replacing current ground forces: \$120 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending on research and development of new weapons and vehicles, building and testing prototypes, and early production runs: \$7 billion

[Q24.] Here is an argument against reducing spending on American ground forces:

A large ground force contributes to the military's ability to reassure allies and deter enemies. We still have many defense obligations around the world. Reducing ground forces now could limit our ability to meet these obligations and still respond on short notice to unforeseen emergencies that may arise elsewhere. Cutting back would overstretch our forces and strain troop morale.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing

4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	26.0%	47.0%	73.0%	17.1%	9.9%	27.0%	0.1%
GOP	35.6%	47.3%	82.9%	8.8%	8.3%	17.1%	0.0%
Dem.	19.4%	49.6%	69.0%	22.0%	8.9%	30.9%	0.1%
Pennsylvania	26.8%	31.8%	58.6%	33.1%	7.5%	40.6%	0.8%
GOP	45.4%	28.3%	73.7%	20.5%	4.6%	25.1%	1.2%
Dem.	13.0%	34.2%	47.2%	42.3%	9.9%	52.2%	0.6%
Michigan	24.1%	49.4%	73.5%	20.3%	5.7%	26.0%	0.4%
GOP	36.0%	45.5%	81.5%	14.4%	4.1%	18.5%	0.0%
Dem.	13.6%	51.7%	65.3%	26.8%	7.9%	34.7%	0.0%
OK-4	37.6%	36.5%	74.1%	24.5%	1.3%	25.8%	0.0%
MD-7	28.9%	34.1%	63.0%	22.3%	14.7%	37.0%	0.0%

[Q25.] Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on American ground forces:

The US has three quarters of a million soldiers and Marines on active duty and another quarter million in the reserves—troops that are the best trained and equipped in the world. The US built up our active ground forces for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and now that we are drawing them down, we can reduce our active duty ground forces and still have more than enough for whatever need may arise.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	17.6%	41.3%	58.9%	23.5%	16.6%	40.1%	1.0%
GOP	8.2%	34.1%	42.3%	33.0%	22.9%	55.9%	1.7%
Dem.	25.7%	49.8%	75.5%	18.2%	6.3%	24.5%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	23.3%	41.7%	65.0%	19.1%	14.5%	33.6%	1.4%

GOP	11.3%	33.0%	44.3%	26.7%	26.1%	52.8%	3.0%
Dem.	34.5%	47.3%	81.8%	11.5%	6.1%	17.6%	0.6%
Michigan	18.7%	52.1%	70.8%	15.7%	13.1%	28.8%	0.4%
GOP	11.8%	39.5%	51.3%	20.5%	28.2%	48.7%	0.0%
Dem.	24.8%	67.2%	92.0%	8.0%	0.0%	8.0%	0.0%
OK-4	21.4%	25.9%	47.3%	40.7%	12.0%	52.7%	0.0%
MD-7	25.5%	50.2%	75.7%	10.6%	13.7%	24.3%	0.0%

Statement: So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing ground forces and developing new capabilities for ground forces?

[Q26]: Existing ground forces:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	118	51.6%	20.5%	27.9%	0.0%
GOP	120	34.7%	22.9%	42.4%	0.0%
Dem.	115	55.3%	27.8%	16.9%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	115	57.0%	16.1%	26.4%	0.4%
GOP	120	33.6%	23.1%	42.2%	1.2%
Dem.	110	73.9%	13.1%	13.0%	0.0%
Michigan	117	52.7%	20.8%	26.5%	0.0%
GOP	120	34.4%	25.7%	40.0%	0.0%
Dem.	110	74.9%	11.7%	13.4%	0.0%
OK-4	120	42.8%	31.2%	26.0%	0.0%
MD-7	111	61.7%	23.9%	14.4%	0.0%

[Q27]: New capabilities for ground forces:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	7	41.6%	16.1%	42.3%	0.0%
GOP	8	39.1%	10.7%	50.2%	0.0%
Dem.	7	42.3%	23.5%	34.2%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	7	46.6%	21.4%	31.6%	0.4%
GOP	7	24.7%	28.8%	45.3%	1.2%

Dem.	5	64.3%	15.4%	20.3%	0.0%
Michigan	7	44.5%	18.8%	36.7%	0.0%
GOP	8	28.5%	19.9%	51.7%	0.0%
Dem.	6	57.9%	12.3%	29.8%	0.0%
OK-4	7	38.8%	24.6%	36.5%	0.0%
MD-7	6	50.6%	26.6%	22.7%	0.0%

Statement: We will now address American naval forces. Naval forces include ships, submarines, aircraft carriers and their jets, and the personnel who operate and maintain them. Their missions include projecting US power from the seas, patrolling commercial sea-lanes, gathering intelligence, and on occasion responding to humanitarian disasters. Naval forces are stationed in the US and in bases in East Asia, the Persian Gulf, and other parts of the world.

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating, maintaining and replacing current naval forces: \$104 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending on developing new naval forces--i.e. research, development, building and testing prototypes, and early production runs: \$13 billion

[Q28.] Here is an argument against cutting spending on American naval forces:

Any reduction in American naval power would be seen as a signal that the US is not committed to maintaining its preeminent global role. The Navy protects shipping lanes that are important for commerce, as well as for security, including lanes used to deliver oil from the Persian Gulf. As China continues to rise, we need to increase our naval force in East Asia to ensure that our Asian allies in the region do not draw closer to China and restrict our military or commercial access in the region.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	30.8%	43.8%	74.6%	18.5%	4.7%	23.2%	2.3%
GOP	52.3%	32.8%	85.1%	9.5%	1.1%	10.6%	4.3%
Dem.	18.8%	54.8%	73.6%	19.0%	5.2%	24.2%	2.3%
Pennsylvania	28.5%	40.5%	69.0%	23.2%	7.4%	30.6%	0.4%

GOP	50.3%	28.1%	78.4%	14.2%	6.2%	20.4%	1.2%
Dem.	12.6%	44.8%	57.4%	32.9%	9.7%	42.6%	0.0%
Michigan	29.7%	45.5%	75.2%	18.3%	6.1%	24.4%	0.4%
GOP	44.0%	36.6%	80.6%	14.6%	4.8%	19.4%	0.0%
Dem.	17.0%	50.1%	67.1%	24.7%	8.2%	32.9%	0.0%
OK-4	34.1%	45.0%	79.1%	20.0%	0.9%	20.9%	0.0%
MD-7	28.9%	32.8%	61.7%	26.8%	11.4%	38.2%	0.0%

[Q29.] Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on naval forces:

America's naval power is so much greater than that of all other countries that the US can safely trim these forces without any risk to US national security or its interests. Besides hundreds of ships, the US has 11 large aircraft carriers that roam the world, while China and Russia only have one each. Other countries can do their part, policing sea-lanes in their own areas and, in the event of a crisis, we can send our forces. We don't need to be the cops on the beat everywhere at once.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	19.4%	37.5%	56.9%	25.2%	16.5%	41.7%	1.4%
GOP	14.3%	28.4%	42.7%	29.9%	27.4%	57.3%	0.0%
Dem.	29.2%	45.8%	75.0%	17.5%	5.4%	22.9%	2.1%
Pennsylvania	29.3%	32.9%	62.2%	22.1%	15.1%	37.2%	0.7%
GOP	19.9%	26.7%	46.6%	22.7%	28.9%	51.6%	1.8%
Dem.	38.0%	39.9%	77.9%	14.9%	7.1%	22.0%	0.0%
Michigan	24.8%	38.6%	63.4%	27.7%	8.4%	36.1%	0.4%
GOP	20.7%	31.5%	52.2%	32.0%	15.8%	47.8%	0.0%
Dem.	30.3%	45.7%	76.0%	24.0%	0.0%	24.0%	0.0%
OK-4	18.5%	33.3%	51.8%	33.4%	14.8%	48.2%	0.0%
MD-7	28.2%	34.7%	62.9%	21.4%	15.0%	36.4%	0.7%

Statement: So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing naval forces and for developing new capabilities for naval forces?

[Q30]: Existing naval forces:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	104	49.7%	16.0%	34.3%	0.0%
GOP	105	31.0%	17.8%	51.2%	0.0%
Dem.	102	53.0%	18.3%	28.6%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	100	54.0%	19.7%	26.2%	0.0%
GOP	104	34.7%	21.1%	44.2%	0.0%
Dem.	99	70.6%	19.1%	10.3%	0.0%
Michigan	103	52.8%	16.6%	30.6%	0.0%
GOP	104	32.0%	26.9%	41.1%	0.0%
Dem.	100	71.4%	5.7%	22.9%	0.0%
OK-4	104	41.3%	32.3%	26.4%	0.0%
MD-7	100	70.8%	13.8%	15.4%	0.0%

[Q31]: New capabilities for naval forces:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	13	43.0%	14.3%	42.7%	0.0%
GOP	14	34.8%	11.3%	53.8%	0.0%
Dem.	13	47.4%	18.6%	34.1%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	12	52.1%	15.2%	32.6%	0.0%
GOP	13	33.2%	18.2%	48.6%	0.0%
Dem.	10	65.0%	13.4%	21.6%	0.0%
Michigan	12	53.1%	11.9%	34.9%	0.0%
GOP	13	40.7%	12.1%	47.2%	0.0%
Dem.	11	62.3%	9.2%	28.5%	0.0%
OK-4	13	42.5%	21.6%	35.8%	0.0%
MD-7	12	57.3%	16.8%	25.9%	0.0%

Statement: We will now address the Marine Corps. The Marine Corps is unique in that it is set up to act very quickly to deal with crises. Marines are expected to have a wide diversity of skills. They also have specialized equipment that allows them to move quickly and smoothly from sea to land.

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating, maintaining and replacing current Marine Corps forces and capabilities forces: \$31 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending on developing new capabilities for the Marine Corps--i.e. research, development, building and testing prototypes, and early production runs: \$2 billion

[Q32.] Here is an argument against cutting spending on the Marine Corp.

The Marine Corps has unique capabilities that are the kind that the US needs in today's world. Big land and sea wars are largely part of the past. Today we mostly need to move swiftly into crisis areas, do the job and get out. Today's Marine Corps can prevent the growth of potentially large crises by taking prompt and vigorous action. When the big lumbering services like the army come in they move slowly in getting and are slow in getting out. Thus the Marines are the part of the military that should be maintained fully.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	39.8%	43.8%	83.6%	12.9%	3.1%	16.0%	0.4%
GOP	53.7%	31.2%	84.9%	11.1%	3.1%	14.2%	1.0%
Dem.	32.3%	58.8%	91.1%	8.5%	0.3%	8.8%	0.1%
Pennsylvania	38.6%	41.6%	80.2%	15.7%	3.1%	18.8%	0.9%
GOP	60.6%	29.4%	90.0%	9.6%	0.0%	9.6%	0.4%
Dem.	27.0%	48.3%	75.3%	20.0%	4.7%	24.7%	0.0%
Michigan	41.4%	41.2%	82.6%	11.8%	4.7%	16.5%	0.9%
GOP	55.1%	35.4%	90.5%	5.2%	3.3%	8.5%	1.1%
Dem.	30.0%	43.8%	73.8%	19.1%	7.1%	26.2%	0.0%
OK-4	48.8%	32.0%	80.8%	16.5%	2.5%	19.0%	0.3%
MD-7	43.1%	26.2%	69.3%	16.3%	13.7%	30.0%	0.6%

[Q33.] Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on the Marine Corps

While the flexibility of the Marine Corps is needed for some specific purposes, the size of the Marine Corps—184,000 Marines—is out of proportion to this need. To justify this size the Marine Corps has gotten away from its core function and tried to expand into areas that are better handled by other services. It is less expensive and better for the Marine Corps itself to keep it a trim fighting force for a specific type of purpose, rather than letting it grow into a force that is bloated and straying from its central mission.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	14.8%	39.9%	54.7%	27.0%	17.5%	44.5%	0.8%
GOP	10.6%	32.1%	42.7%	31.7%	24.7%	56.4%	1.0%
Dem.	20.3%	45.3%	65.6%	26.2%	8.2%	34.4%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	20.4%	37.1%	57.5%	24.2%	17.1%	41.3%	1.3%
GOP	10.6%	18.2%	28.8%	30.3%	37.5%	67.8%	3.4%
Dem.	25.1%	52.0%	77.1%	20.9%	2.1%	23.0%	0.0%
Michigan	18.1%	45.2%	63.3%	20.2%	16.0%	36.2%	0.4%
GOP	14.1%	44.8%	58.9%	19.5%	21.7%	41.2%	0.0%
Dem.	24.2%	46.7%	70.9%	20.7%	8.3%	29.0%	0.0%
OK-4	14.6%	31.6%	46.2%	36.6%	17.2%	53.8%	0.0%
MD-7	25.0%	44.4%	69.4%	17.8%	12.8%	30.6%	0.0%

Statement: So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining the Marine Corps and for developing new capabilities for the Marine Corps?

[Q34]: Maintaining Marine Corps:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	31	47.7%	20.9%	31.4%	0.0%
GOP	31	37.0%	19.8%	43.2%	0.0%
Dem.	31	48.6%	28.2%	23.2%	0.0%

Pennsylvania	30	50.4%	22.2%	27.0%	0.4%
GOP	31	25.8%	28.6%	44.4%	1.2%
Dem.	29	68.3%	17.8%	13.8%	0.0%
Michigan	30	51.9%	17.9%	30.3%	0.0%
GOP	31	38.3%	22.9%	38.7%	0.0%
Dem.	30	65.2%	10.8%	24.0%	0.0%
OK-4	0	39.3%	32.7%	28.0%	0.0%
MD-7	0	57.4%	29.3%	13.3%	0.0%

[Q35]: New capabilities for the Marine Corps:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	2	23.6%	35.7%	40.7%	0.0%
GOP	2	24.3%	28.6%	47.1%	0.0%
Dem.	2	26.0%	46.7%	27.2%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	2	30.3%	34.0%	35.3%	0.4%
GOP	2	15.9%	34.1%	48.8%	1.2%
Dem.	2	40.3%	35.0%	24.6%	0.0%
Michigan	2	26.1%	36.7%	37.1%	0.0%
GOP	2	25.5%	37.8%	36.7%	0.0%
Dem.	2	21.9%	35.9%	42.3%	0.0%
OK-4	2	21.4%	35.5%	43.2%	0.0%
MD-7	2	38.7%	39.7%	21.6%	0.0%

Statement: We will now address nuclear weapons capabilities. The United States has bombers, submarines, and land-based missiles, armed with nuclear weapons. Ballistic missile submarines are always on patrol, and nuclear-capable bombers are stationed at, or rotate through, bases around the world. Nuclear weapons are primarily meant to deter nuclear attacks by another state, by threatening nuclear retaliation after an attack. Some nuclear weapons are also designed for first use in highly limited circumstances.

Here is the total amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating, maintaining and replacing current nuclear weapons capabilities: \$18 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending on designing and developing new nuclear weapons capabilities: \$6 billion

[Q36.] Here is an argument against cutting nuclear weapons:

A nuclear arsenal ensures the country’s survival and helps protect its influence in a world with many threats and at a relatively modest cost. It provides assurance to our allies and communicates our resolve to be a global power. It also deters threatening actions by our enemies. Developing newer models of nuclear warheads, as well as more modern bombers and submarines to carry them, ensures that the arsenal remains reliable and an impressive deterrent.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	29.1%	35.4%	64.5%	19.4%	15.1%	34.5%	0.9%
GOP	37.6%	39.5%	77.1%	15.4%	7.6%	23.0%	0.0%
Dem.	29.7%	29.4%	59.1%	19.9%	18.9%	38.8%	2.2%
Pennsylvania	21.3%	46.6%	67.9%	19.2%	12.5%	31.7%	0.4%
GOP	39.0%	42.5%	81.5%	13.5%	3.9%	17.4%	1.2%
Dem.	7.2%	49.2%	56.4%	21.8%	21.8%	43.6%	0.0%
Michigan	31.0%	45.2%	76.2%	15.1%	7.7%	22.8%	1.0%
GOP	39.6%	46.4%	86.0%	7.8%	6.2%	14.0%	0.0%
Dem.	21.6%	46.2%	67.8%	21.6%	10.1%	31.7%	0.6%
OK-4	34.6%	44.5%	79.1%	17.7%	3.2%	20.9%	0.0%
MD-7	31.5%	26.8%	58.3%	24.6%	17.1%	41.7%	0.0%

[Q37.] Here is an argument in favor of cutting spending on nuclear weapons:

America’s nuclear arsenal consists of thousands of weapons, most of them far more destructive than the one that obliterated Hiroshima. The idea that we need thousands of weapons to deter an adversary is absurd: We can effectively destroy a country with a small number of weapons. Their use is also highly unlikely against today’s foes— some of whom use crude road bombs. Advanced conventional arms can accomplish virtually every mission that nuclear arms can, without killing thousands of civilians and producing long-lasting nuclear fallout.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing

4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	29.2%	37.7%	66.9%	19.0%	13.7%	32.7%	0.5%
GOP	21.3%	40.0%	61.3%	16.5%	20.4%	36.9%	1.7%
Dem.	38.2%	40.2%	78.4%	15.6%	6.0%	21.6%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	35.3%	32.8%	68.1%	21.5%	9.8%	31.3%	0.7%
GOP	15.2%	31.9%	47.1%	31.2%	19.8%	51.0%	1.8%
Dem.	51.5%	32.3%	83.8%	13.7%	2.5%	16.2%	0.0%
Michigan	29.0%	45.9%	74.9%	16.3%	8.4%	24.7%	0.4%
GOP	24.4%	41.3%	65.7%	17.2%	17.1%	34.3%	0.0%
Dem.	36.1%	49.8%	85.9%	13.3%	0.8%	14.1%	0.0%
OK-4	29.4%	32.1%	61.5%	23.6%	14.0%	37.6%	0.9%
MD-7	31.4%	29.9%	61.3%	23.1%	15.7%	38.8%	0.0%

So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing nuclear weapons and for developing new nuclear weapons?

[Q38]: Maintaining existing nuclear weapons:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	18	48.8%	26.4%	24.7%	0.0%
GOP	18	40.1%	30.7%	29.2%	0.0%
Dem.	16	52.7%	24.6%	22.7%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	17	52.5%	24.5%	23.0%	0.0%
GOP	18	39.2%	27.4%	33.4%	0.0%
Dem.	15	63.6%	22.1%	14.4%	0.0%
Michigan	16	60.0%	20.0%	20.0%	0.0%
GOP	18	43.0%	29.8%	27.2%	0.0%
Dem.	15	80.5%	8.3%	11.2%	0.0%
OK-4	18	40.0%	40.7%	19.3%	0.0%
MD-7	16	63.0%	20.6%	16.4%	0.0%

[Q39]: Developing new nuclear weapons:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	6	50.0%	21.1%	29.0%	0.0%
GOP	6	47.2%	23.5%	29.3%	0.0%
Dem.	5	55.7%	16.1%	28.2%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	5	53.4%	21.9%	24.7%	0.0%
GOP	6	35.6%	31.3%	33.1%	0.0%
Dem.	4	70.0%	15.0%	15.0%	0.0%
Michigan	5	59.8%	14.8%	25.3%	0.0%
GOP	5	51.6%	22.3%	26.1%	0.0%
Dem.	4	69.3%	8.8%	21.9%	0.0%
OK-4	5	50.1%	26.4%	23.5%	0.0%
MD-7	5	58.0%	23.0%	19.0%	0.0%

Statement: We will now address special operations forces. Special operations forces are highly trained forces that include the Green Berets, Army Rangers, Delta Force, and Navy SEALs, as well as elite aviators and Marines. They undertake covert missions (such as against terrorist groups), fight adversaries' elite or irregular forces, and frequently train and advise other countries' militaries.

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating, maintaining and replacing current special operations forces: \$14 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on developing new special operations capabilities: \$1 billion

[Q40.] Here is an argument against cutting special operations forces:

Special operations forces provide a less expensive and more precise way than regular soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines to counter terrorists, pirates, paramilitary criminal groups, and nuclear proliferators. Using them to train partner states' militaries may help head off the need for U.S. military operations in the future. Reducing special operations forces could affect the U.S.'s ability to discreetly and precisely target adversaries' leaders and military assets.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	50.5%	32.3%	82.8%	11.7%	3.8%	15.5%	1.6%
GOP	64.1%	28.8%	92.9%	1.6%	2.5%	4.1%	3.0%
Dem.	46.2%	39.6%	85.8%	9.9%	2.6%	12.5%	1.8%
Pennsylvania	43.3%	46.0%	89.3%	7.2%	3.1%	10.3%	0.4%
GOP	58.4%	36.8%	95.2%	3.6%	0.0%	3.6%	1.2%
Dem.	29.9%	55.6%	85.5%	9.3%	5.2%	14.5%	0.0%
Michigan	49.7%	37.8%	87.5%	7.8%	4.2%	12.0%	0.4%
GOP	60.8%	33.0%	93.8%	3.3%	2.8%	6.1%	0.0%
Dem.	35.7%	44.2%	79.9%	13.0%	7.1%	20.1%	0.0%
OK-4	54.4%	34.7%	89.1%	11.0%	0.0%	11.0%	0.0%
MD-7	52.3%	29.4%	81.7%	7.6%	9.0%	16.6%	1.7%

[Q41.] Here is an argument in favor of cutting spending on special forces:

US special operations forces need to be used very selectively. They operate mostly out of the public eye and thus are less accountable. Some operations have been legally and morally questionable—such as assassinations and kidnappings-- and have provoked hostility toward the US. Additionally, special operations forces have recently been expanded to over 60,000 personnel, making it larger than the militaries of 100 countries. This is too big: it dilutes their quality and increases the likelihood that they will be overused.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	12.0%	34.9%	46.9%	27.2%	24.9%	52.1%	1.0%
GOP	5.3%	35.2%	40.5%	23.2%	35.8%	59.0%	0.5%
Dem.	21.0%	37.8%	58.8%	23.8%	17.3%	41.1%	0.1%
Pennsylvania	15.8%	35.0%	50.8%	24.9%	23.2%	48.1%	1.1%

GOP	1.4%	16.4%	17.8%	31.0%	48.3%	79.3%	3.0%
Dem.	30.7%	44.7%	75.4%	20.8%	3.8%	24.6%	0.0%
Michigan	17.8%	39.4%	57.2%	25.9%	16.4%	42.3%	0.4%
GOP	14.8%	36.2%	51.0%	21.8%	27.2%	49.0%	0.0%
Dem.	23.2%	39.4%	62.6%	33.5%	3.9%	37.4%	0.0%
OK-4	13.9%	28.5%	42.4%	33.9%	23.7%	57.6%	0.0%
MD-7	25.2%	29.9%	55.1%	18.2%	26.6%	44.8%	0.0%

Statement: So now how much do you think the US should spend on special operations forces.

[Q42]: Existing special operations forces:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	14	36.1%	25.8%	38.1%	0.0%
GOP	14	23.6%	28.2%	48.2%	0.0%
Dem.	14	42.0%	26.8%	31.2%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	14	41.9%	21.9%	35.8%	0.4%
GOP	15	21.4%	24.6%	52.8%	1.2%
Dem.	13	54.5%	24.6%	20.8%	0.0%
Michigan	14	45.8%	24.4%	29.7%	0.0%
GOP	14	35.5%	27.1%	37.5%	0.0%
Dem.	13	55.2%	23.5%	21.3%	0.0%
OK-4	14	22.3%	48.2%	29.4%	0.0%
MD-7	14	46.8%	33.4%	19.8%	0.0%

[Q43]: New capabilities for special forces:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	1	5.9%	51.4%	42.7%	0.0%
GOP	2	4.0%	40.8%	55.1%	0.0%
Dem.	1	6.0%	62.8%	31.2%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	1	7.7%	50.1%	41.8%	0.4%

GOP	2	2.6%	44.0%	52.2%	1.2%
Dem.	1	12.9%	56.2%	30.9%	0.0%
Michigan	1	7.9%	52.8%	39.3%	0.0%
GOP	1	5.1%	52.7%	42.2%	0.0%
Dem.	1	10.4%	50.2%	39.4%	0.0%
OK-4	1	2.6%	55.6%	41.5%	0.3%
MD-7	1	7.1%	66.5%	26.5%	0.0%

Statement: We will now address missile defense. Missile defense is a program that seeks to defend the US and allies in Europe and East Asia from incoming missiles by creating the capacity to shoot them down before they land on their target.

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on operating and maintaining the current missile defense program: \$2 billion

Here is the amount the US is spending in 2015 on developing new missile defense capabilities: \$6 billion

[Q44.] Here is an argument against reducing spending on missile defense:

Freeing the US from the threat of attack by missiles carrying nuclear warheads would mitigate, or even eliminate, the most catastrophic risk our country faces. This technology is fundamentally peaceful because it is defensive, and we could extend it to our allies as well. Even if we have not succeeded so far, we have made progress and should keep trying.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	33.9%	36.8%	70.7%	24.1%	5.2%	29.3%	0.0%
GOP	45.7%	38.7%	84.4%	14.7%	0.8%	15.5%	0.0%
Dem.	27.1%	44.6%	71.7%	23.9%	4.4%	28.3%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	31.3%	41.3%	72.6%	22.1%	5.0%	27.1%	0.3%
GOP	46.9%	34.5%	81.4%	15.7%	2.6%	18.3%	0.4%
Dem.	19.6%	46.7%	66.3%	25.5%	8.2%	33.7%	0.0%
Michigan	33.7%	40.9%	74.6%	17.8%	6.9%	24.7%	0.7%

GOP	47.9%	32.8%	80.7%	12.4%	6.8%	19.2%	0.0%
Dem.	23.8%	44.2%	68.0%	22.4%	9.1%	31.5%	0.6%
OK-4	38.9%	39.6%	78.5%	19.0%	2.0%	21.0%	0.4%
MD-7	30.0%	45.9%	75.9%	11.3%	12.3%	23.6%	0.4%

[Q45.] Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on missile defense:

After 28 years of research and spending \$150 billion, national missile defense systems have largely failed to stop ballistic missiles, even in tests conducted in ideal conditions. . And even if we succeeded with missile defense, it would not be effective against the most likely nuclear threats today. We are no longer facing the Soviet Union, but smaller nations or groups. Even if we had a defense against ballistic missiles, they could just use another delivery method, such as low-flying cruise missiles, small boats, or smuggled suitcases.

Do you find this argument:

- 1 Very convincing
- 2 Somewhat convincing
- 3 Somewhat unconvincing
- 4 Very unconvincing

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	20.9%	37.5%	58.4%	26.3%	14.8%	41.1%	0.5%
GOP	13.5%	27.8%	41.3%	34.6%	22.4%	57.0%	1.7%
Dem.	28.3%	42.2%	70.5%	21.6%	7.8%	29.4%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	28.1%	39.8%	67.9%	21.9%	9.6%	31.5%	0.7%
GOP	11.2%	36.3%	47.5%	32.3%	18.4%	50.7%	1.8%
Dem.	43.2%	41.5%	84.7%	13.9%	1.4%	15.3%	0.0%
Michigan	24.8%	42.4%	67.2%	23.5%	8.8%	32.3%	0.4%
GOP	14.5%	35.2%	49.7%	35.8%	14.5%	50.3%	0.0%
Dem.	31.4%	47.8%	79.2%	19.2%	1.6%	20.8%	0.0%
OK-4	27.3%	37.9%	65.2%	18.5%	15.3%	33.8%	1.0%
MD-7	29.1%	33.6%	62.7%	15.8%	21.0%	36.8%	0.4%

Statement: So now, how much do you think the US should spend on operating and maintaining the current missile defense program and for developing missile defense capabilities?

[Q46]: Operating and maintaining current missile defense program:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	2	24.6%	49.2%	26.2%	0.0%
GOP	2	15.3%	51.4%	33.3%	0.0%
Dem.	2	26.6%	53.2%	20.1%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	2	32.0%	45.9%	22.1%	0.0%
GOP	2	20.9%	49.3%	29.8%	0.0%
Dem.	2	41.3%	44.0%	14.7%	0.0%
Michigan	2	26.7%	48.1%	25.2%	0.0%
GOP	2	18.5%	50.2%	31.3%	0.0%
Dem.	2	30.8%	49.0%	20.2%	0.0%
OK-4	2	18.3%	61.4%	20.4%	0.0%
MD-7	2	23.7%	63.8%	12.5%	0.0%

[Q47]: Developing missile defense capabilities:

	Median	Decrease	Keep the Same	Increase	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	5	51.0%	21.1%	27.9%	0.0%
GOP	6	38.4%	23.8%	37.8%	0.0%
Dem.	5	57.9%	23.7%	18.4%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	5	55.8%	19.3%	24.9%	0.0%
GOP	6	41.6%	23.7%	34.7%	0.0%
Dem.	4	69.0%	16.2%	14.8%	0.0%
Michigan	5	54.9%	17.8%	27.3%	0.0%
GOP	6	44.9%	23.6%	31.6%	0.0%
Dem.	5	57.6%	15.2%	27.2%	0.0%
OK-4	6	49.3%	22.7%	27.7%	0.3%
MD-7	5	57.6%	24.8%	17.6%	0.0%

Statement: Below you can see a summary of all the changes you have made so far. At this point, if you would like to change anything you've done, you can do so here.

The last questions for you to consider concern a few specific weapons programs. Because they are within areas that have been explored above, they will not affect your budget tally.

Here is the first one:

[Q48.] The F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program is designed to produce a jet fighter with more advanced features, especially the ability to evade detection by some radar and a smart software system that gives the pilot much greater control over the aircraft and its weapons. One proposal is to cancel the F-35 program and instead buy more of the current generation of fighters and upgrade them.

Some say the F-35 is a more sophisticated plane than we need, that it has many design problems, and is way over budget already, with more overruns likely. Others say that alternative aircraft, even after upgrading, will not be stealthy enough and will have less capability in combat as other countries develop better fighters of their own.

This proposal to cancel the program and upgrade current fighters instead would save approximately \$6 billion in 2015, and \$97 billion through 2037.

Do you favor or oppose cancelling and replacing the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	53.8%	42.8%	3.4%
GOP	47.5%	49.9%	2.6%
Dem.	54.0%	41.0%	5.1%
Pennsylvania	49.6%	46.4%	4.0%
GOP	31.9%	63.5%	4.6%
Dem.	63.8%	33.1%	3.1%
Michigan	50.6%	47.3%	2.1%
GOP	33.9%	64.1%	2.1%
Dem.	64.3%	35.7%	0.0%
OK-4	52.9%	46.4%	0.7%
MD-7	68.2%	31.3%	0.5%

[Q49.] The Air Force is beginning the development of a new long-range stealth bomber (called “Next Generation”) that may carry nuclear weapons and operate either manned or unmanned. It is intended to go into service sometime in the 2020s.

Some argue that the Air Force has B-2 stealth bombers only 10-20 years old that are far more advanced than those of any other country and are more than adequate for the foreseeable future. Others argue that the B-2s' technological advantage is slipping and that we don't have enough of them, so we need a new bomber.

Work on this program will cost about \$32 billion over the next ten years for research, development, testing and starting production.

Do you favor or oppose beginning development of a new long range bomber?

1 Favor

2 Oppose

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	59.9%	38.9%	1.3%
GOP	66.0%	32.8%	1.2%
Dem.	52.4%	45.4%	2.2%
Pennsylvania	55.9%	44.1%	0.0%
GOP	68.9%	31.1%	0.0%
Dem.	44.5%	55.5%	0.0%
Michigan	51.3%	48.2%	0.4%
GOP	62.4%	37.6%	0.0%
Dem.	42.8%	57.2%	0.0%
OK-4	67.1%	32.2%	0.7%
MD-7	48.7%	51.3%	0.0%

[Q50.] The Navy is starting to develop a new model of nuclear-powered submarine whose function would be to carry missiles with nuclear warheads. This future submarine type would replace the existing subs that perform the same function of nuclear deterrence. These types of subs are not used for any other additional purpose.

There are 14 of these subs in the current fleet, and all of those will be retired. To replace them, the Navy plans to buy 12 of the new subs. This could be reduced even further to a fleet of 8 by retiring the old subs quicker and waiting longer to purchase new ones.

Some people argue that 8 submarines are fully adequate for a robust sea-going nuclear deterrent, because they could still carry over 1,000 warheads when added together. Others argue that an eight-sub fleet would offer too little spare capacity if one is sunk, and that it would be stretched too thin to properly cover the vast geographic area covered by the current fleet.

Four other countries currently have nuclear strike subs that are also nuclear-powered. Russia has 11, China has 4, the United Kingdom has 4, and France has 4.

Reducing the Navy’s planned fleet from 12 to 8 would save approximately \$16 billion over the next ten years.

Do you favor or oppose reducing the Navy’s planned fleet of new nuclear strike submarines from 12 subs to 8?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

	Favor	Oppose	Refused / Don't know
North Carolina	45.0%	53.8%	1.2%
GOP	33.1%	65.2%	1.7%
Dem.	50.6%	47.9%	1.5%
Pennsylvania	46.4%	53.2%	0.4%
GOP	28.2%	70.6%	1.2%
Dem.	56.8%	43.2%	0.0%
Michigan	49.1%	48.7%	2.2%
GOP	32.4%	63.0%	4.5%
Dem.	66.1%	33.9%	0.0%
OK-4	32.4%	67.6%	0.0%
MD-7	34.8%	65.2%	0.0%

[Q51.] The Navy is considering a reduction in the number of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers from 11 to 10 over the next five years. Making this reduction would save \$7 billion. A few years from now, the Navy will have the option of cutting another aircraft carrier, which could reduce the fleet further to 9. Cutting two aircraft carriers would save \$14 billion over the next ten years.

Some say we don’t need large aircraft carriers as much as we did during the Cold War, and our current force of 11 carriers is already more than necessary—China and Russia have a total of two. Others say reducing America’s force of aircraft carriers would limit our reach around the world, by cutting our ability to project air power into areas where we do not have bases.

Please select your preferred size for the US fleet of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers:

- 1 -- 11 aircraft carriers, the same as today
- 2 -- 10 aircraft carriers
- 3 -- 9 aircraft carriers

11 aircraft carriers	10 aircraft carriers	9 aircraft carriers	Don't know/ Refused
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North Carolina	40.4%	30.3%	28.4%	0.9%
GOP	51.3%	29.3%	16.4%	3.0%
Dem.	33.6%	35.7%	30.7%	0.0%
Pennsylvania	33.3%	38.1%	28.6%	0.0%
GOP	47.8%	35.2%	16.9%	0.0%
Dem.	19.3%	42.7%	38.0%	0.0%
Michigan	30.8%	30.7%	38.0%	0.4%
GOP	49.1%	23.0%	27.9%	0.0%
Dem.	14.4%	36.4%	49.2%	0.0%
OK-4	56.6%	28.6%	14.8%	0.0%
MD-7	29.0%	38.6%	32.4%	0.0%