

Program for Public Consultation

Consulting the People on Public Policy

Consulting the American People on National Defense Spending

May 10, 2012

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: April 12-18, 2012

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MoE includes design effect of 1.5642

[DISPLAY]

As you may know, the US government has been struggling 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.

Congress and the President have agreed there should be substantial reductions in the deficit.

Today we are going to explore whether or not spending on national defense—that is, spending on the military and the development of weapons—should be reduced as part of an 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.

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.

[DISPLAY]

The deficit that Congress is struggling to deal with is projected to be \$672 billion for next year, 2013. This does not include deficit spending related to Medicare, as this is dealt with in a separate budget with a separate revenue source.

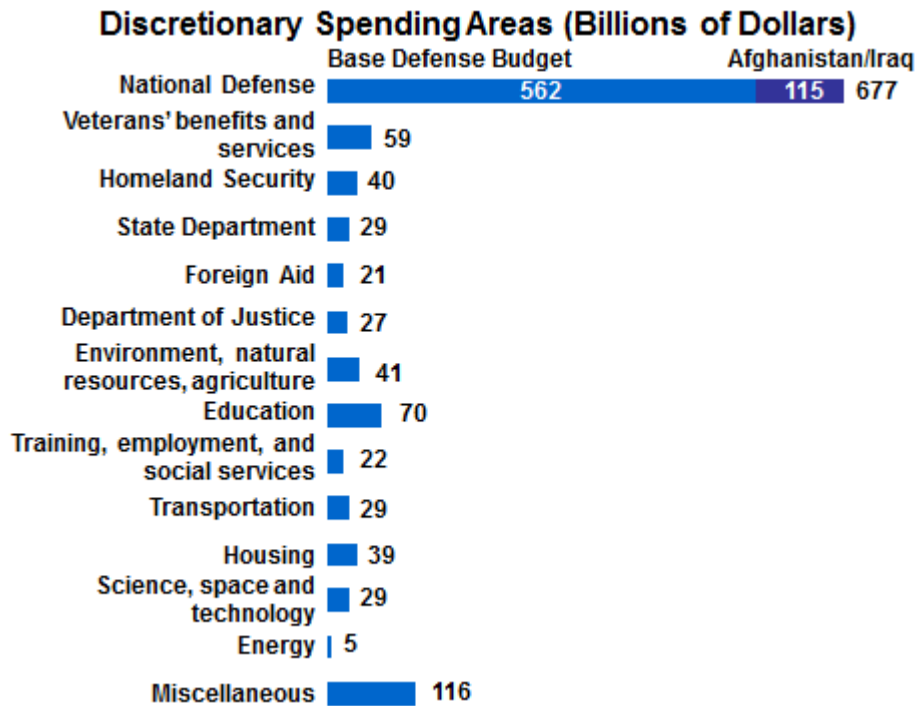
If Congress wants to reduce the \$672 billion deficit, it has two options: it can raise taxes, it can reduce spending or both.

We are going to focus on spending in the part of the budget that Congress has to approve every year, known as the discretionary budget.

A key question we will ask you to consider is: whether and how much the deficit should be dealt with by reducing defense spending, as opposed to increasing taxes or reducing non-defense spending.

But first, we want to show you five different ways of viewing the size of the national defense budget. 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.

First here is the discretionary budget for 2012.



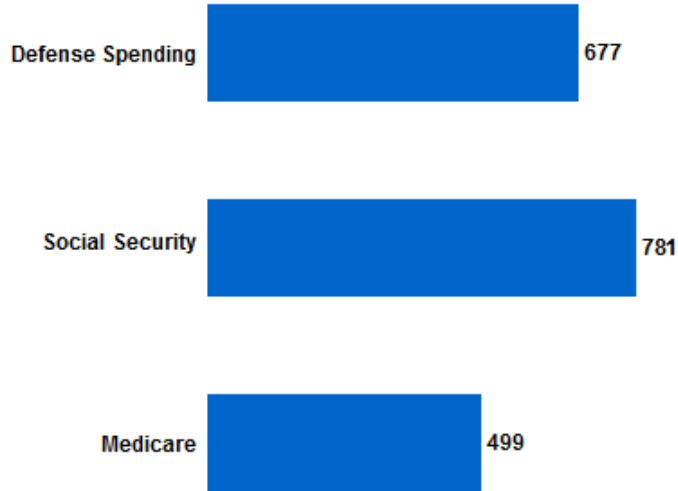
Q1. Viewing it this way, is the amount of defense spending for 2012:

Much more than you expected.....	37%
Republicans.....	27
Democrats.....	44
Independents.....	42
 Somewhat more than you expected.....	 28
Republicans.....	34
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	20
 About what you expected.....	 29
Republicans.....	32
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	29
 Somewhat less than you expected.....	 4
Republicans.....	5
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	6
 Much less than you expected.....	 2
Republicans.....	1
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	2
 Don't know/Refused.....	 1

[DISPLAY]

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)



Q2. Viewing it this way, is the amount of defense spending for 2012,

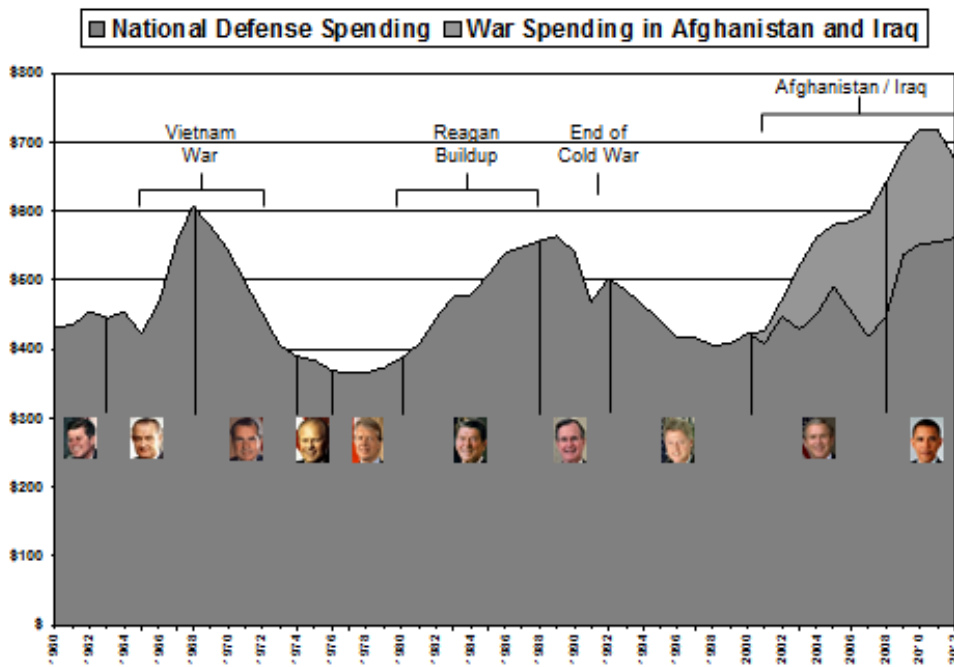
Much more than you expected.....	19%
Republicans.....	12
Democrats.....	22
Independents.....	23
Somewhat more than you expected.....	26
Republicans.....	20
Democrats.....	33
Independents.....	21
About what you expected.....	41
Republicans.....	51
Democrats.....	32
Independents.....	41
Somewhat less than you expected.....	11
Republicans.....	14
Democrats.....	11
Independents.....	7
Much less than you expected.....	3
Republicans.....	3
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	6
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[DISPLAY]

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 spending compares to the past in inflation-adjusted dollars.

As you will see, the costs for conducting the operations in Afghanistan and Iraq are separate from the base defense budget we are focusing on here.

Historical Defense Spending (Constant 2012 Dollars)



Q3. Viewing it this way, is the amount of defense spending for 2012:

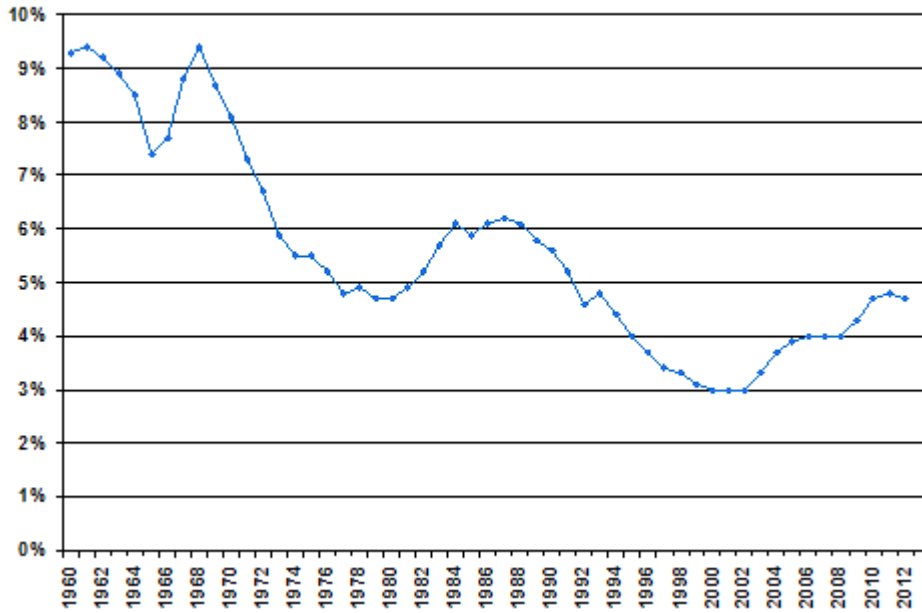
Much more than you expected.....	30%
Republicans.....	25
Democrats.....	29
Independents.....	40
 Somewhat more than you expected.....	30
Republicans.....	25
Democrats.....	38
Independents.....	24
 About what you expected.....	32
Republicans.....	41
Democrats.....	27
Independents.....	30
 Somewhat less than you expected.....	5
Republicans.....	9
Democrats.....	3

Independents	2
Much less than you expected	2
Republicans.....	1
Democrats	3
Independents	3
Don't know/Refused	*

[DISPLAY]

The fourth way of viewing the size of the national defense budget (including war spending) 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.

**Historical Defense Spending as Percentage of Economy
(Gross Domestic Product–GDP)**



Q4. Viewing it this way, is the amount of defense spending for 2012:

Much more than you expected.....	8%
Republicans.....	5
Democrats	8
Independents	12
Somewhat more than you expected	18
Republicans.....	13
Democrats	21
Independents	21

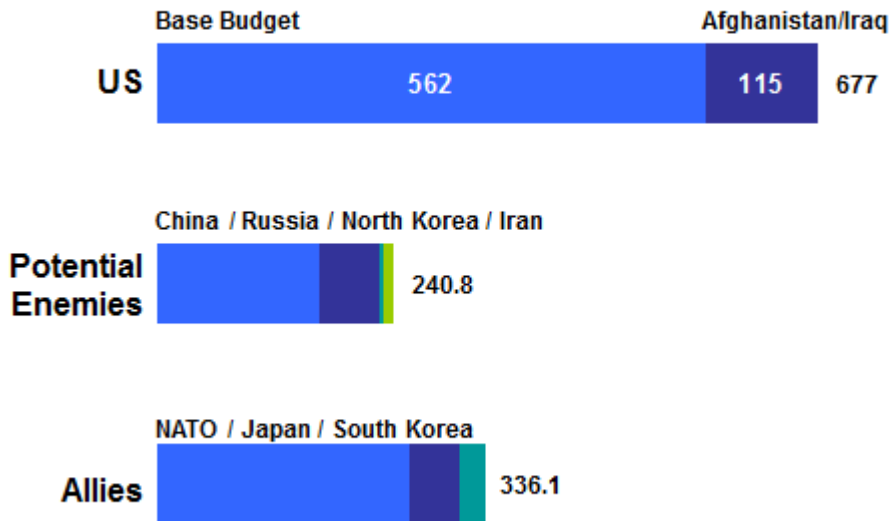
About what you expected.....	34
Republicans.....	34
Democrats.....	34
Independents.....	34
Somewhat less than you expected.....	32
Republicans.....	40
Democrats.....	31
Independents.....	21
Much less than you expected.....	8
Republicans.....	9
Democrats.....	7
Independents.....	8
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[DISPLAY]

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 defense spending for 2012,

Much more than you expected.....	27%
Republicans.....	20
Democrats.....	32
Independents.....	30
Somewhat more than you expected.....	29
Republicans.....	27
Democrats.....	32
Independents.....	25
About what you expected.....	36
Republicans.....	44
Democrats.....	31
Independents.....	35
Somewhat less than you expected.....	5
Republicans.....	8
Democrats.....	3
Independents.....	6
Much less than you expected.....	2
Republicans.....	2
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	1
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[STATEMENT PRECEDES SIX ARGUMENTS THAT ARE PRESENTED TO RESPONDENTS]

Now here are six arguments that are often made about whether the national defense budget should be reduced or not. For each one please select whether you find it convincing or unconvincing. Here are the first two arguments.

[SHOW Q6 AND Q7 ON THE SAME PAGE]

Q6. The United States is exceptional and should be leading the world, not following it. US military power has been a major stabilizing force that has contributed to global peace. The US should have the ability to quickly and decisively project overwhelming military power anywhere in the world. Cutting defense spending 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; adversaries would challenge us; and Asian countries might increasingly come under China's influence.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	19%
Republicans.....	34
Democrats.....	13
Independents.....	8

Somewhat convincing.....	42
Republicans.....	48
Democrats.....	33
Independents.....	50
Somewhat unconvincing.....	26
Republicans.....	13
Democrats.....	37
Independents.....	28
Very unconvincing.....	11
Republicans.....	5
Democrats.....	16
Independents.....	10
Don't know/Refused.....	2

[SHOW Q6 AND Q7 ON THE SAME PAGE]

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, and do it all by ourselves.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	29%
Republicans.....	18
Democrats.....	44
Independents.....	15
Somewhat convincing.....	43
Republicans.....	42
Democrats.....	39
Independents.....	53
Somewhat unconvincing.....	18
Republicans.....	26
Democrats.....	11
Independents.....	22
Very unconvincing.....	8
Republicans.....	13
Democrats.....	5
Independents.....	8
Don't know/Refused.....	2

[SHOW Q8 AND Q9 ON THE SAME PAGE]

Q8. America is threatened by an increasingly hostile world, with threats coming from many corners of the globe. Reducing our military would lower our guard and make us more vulnerable. If problems broke out in more than one place, we would not be able to deal with them all. Furthermore, cutting defense spending would be seen as a sign of weakness and would embolden our enemies to challenge our interests.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	21%
Republicans.....	31
Democrats	12
Independents	19
 Somewhat convincing.....	 39
Republicans.....	41
Democrats	36
Independents	42
 Somewhat unconvincing.....	 29
Republicans.....	25
Democrats	35
Independents	24
 Very unconvincing.....	 11
Republicans.....	4
Democrats	16
Independents	13
 Don't know/Refused.....	 1

[SHOW Q8 AND Q9 ON THE SAME PAGE]

Q9. Even though there is no country in the world that can even come close to matching us militarily, we are spending more than we did at the height of the Cold War. The national defense budget has gone up and up so that it is now more than three times 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:

Very convincing.....	22%
Republicans.....	14
Democrats	29
Independents	26
 Somewhat convincing.....	 42
Republicans.....	37
Democrats	50
Independents	36

Somewhat unconvincing.....	26
Republicans.....	30
Democrats.....	18
Independents.....	32
Very unconvincing.....	9
Republicans.....	18
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	4
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[SHOW Q10 AND Q11 ON THE SAME PAGE]

Q10. We do have deficit problems, but national security cannot be shortchanged. National defense is the first responsibility of government, as called for in the Constitution, 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 4 percent of America's economy and this percentage has been going down for some years.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	18%
Republicans.....	33
Democrats.....	8
Independents.....	13
Somewhat convincing.....	40
Republicans.....	43
Democrats.....	37
Independents.....	40
Somewhat unconvincing.....	29
Republicans.....	21
Democrats.....	39
Independents.....	25
Very unconvincing.....	11
Republicans.....	3
Democrats.....	14
Independents.....	19
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[SHOW Q10 AND Q11 ON THE SAME PAGE]

Q11. These enormous national defense budgets actually 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:

Very convincing.....	25%
Republicans.....	17
Democrats	32
Independents	24
 Somewhat convincing.....	 38
Republicans.....	36
Democrats	43
Independents	34
 Somewhat unconvincing.....	 26
Republicans.....	28
Democrats	20
Independents	31
 Very unconvincing.....	 10
Republicans.....	18
Democrats	4
Independents	9
 Don’t know/Refused.....	 1

[SHOW Q12 AND Q13 ON THE SAME PAGE]

Q12. The US government should not cut defense because many people would lose their jobs if defense factories and military bases were shut down. 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. Also, once this defense industrial base is lost, it is not easy to rebuild.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	14%
Republicans.....	16
Democrats	9
Independents	23
 Somewhat convincing.....	 40
Republicans.....	43
Democrats	41
Independents	34

Somewhat unconvincing.....	32
Republicans.....	32
Democrats.....	32
Independents.....	30
Very unconvincing.....	13
Republicans.....	8
Democrats.....	16
Independents.....	12
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[SHOW Q12 AND Q13 ON THE SAME PAGE]

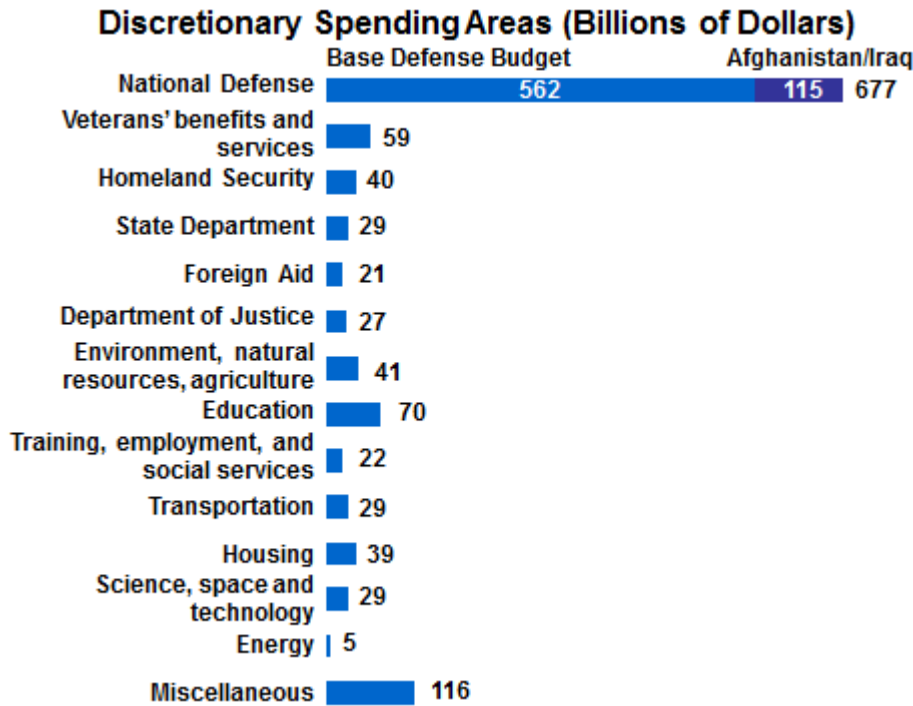
Q13. There is a lot of waste in the national defense budget. Members of Congress often approve unnecessary spending for their districts or keep unneeded bases open, just to benefit their own supporters. The military branches buy duplicates of both weapons and services, and do a poor job of tracking where the money goes. Defense contractors persuade lawmakers to approve weapons that aren't needed by giving them large campaign contributions and other personal benefits. Clearly there is room to reduce the national defense budget without affecting US security.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	39%
Republicans.....	27
Democrats.....	50
Independents.....	38
Somewhat convincing.....	42
Republicans.....	53
Democrats.....	36
Independents.....	38
Somewhat unconvincing.....	15
Republicans.....	14
Democrats.....	12
Independents.....	22
Very unconvincing.....	4
Republicans.....	7
Democrats.....	2
Independents.....	3
Don't know/Refused.....	*

[DISPLAY]

So once again, here is the part of the budget that Congress has to approve every year, known as the discretionary budget.



Q14. Which of the following do you think Congress should do to address the budget deficit? You may check as many options as you think apply.

Raise revenues, through increasing some taxes.....	27%
Republicans.....	17
Democrats.....	40
Independents.....	19
Reduce non-defense spending.....	50
Republicans.....	68
Democrats.....	34
Independents.....	50
Reduce national defense spending.....	62
Republicans.....	49
Democrats.....	78
Independents.....	52
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[NUMBER BOX RANGE 0-2300]

[IF NUMBER EXCEEDS 2300 PROMPT: YOU MUST ENTER A LOWER AMOUNT THAN CHOSEN. THE AMOUNT YOU ENTERED IS CURRENTLY HIGHER THAN THE TOTAL FEDERAL BUDGET FOR 2013.]

Now we would like you to set what you think the national defense budget should be for 2013. First we will focus on the base budget, and later we will focus on the operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Q15. So, once again, the base national defense budget for 2012 is \$562 billion.

At this point, how much would you say the base national defense budget should be for 2013?

Please enter that amount below:

___ billion

Mean	435.1
Republicans.....	479.0
Democrats	406.8
Independents	415.4
Median	499
Republicans.....	500
Democrats	450
Independents	465
Don't know/Refused	3
Percentage who cut	76%
Republicans.....	67
Democrats	90
Independents	68
Percentage who kept same level	11
Republicans.....	18
Democrats	4
Independents	12
Percentage who increased	10
Republicans.....	15
Democrats	4
Independents	12

[SP]

Q16. Now we would like you to consider how much is being spent on the operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Because the operation in Iraq closed down in December, and because we are drawing down in Afghanistan, the amount that will be spent for these operations is to be reduced from \$115 billion in 2012 to \$88 billion in 2013.

Here is an argument in favor of further reducing spending on the operation in Afghanistan.

We have been in Afghanistan for over 10 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.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	43%
Republicans.....	30
Democrats	55
Independents	41
Somewhat convincing.....	42
Republicans.....	53
Democrats	35
Independents	39
Somewhat unconvincing.....	12
Republicans.....	13
Democrats	9
Independents	14
Very unconvincing.....	3
Republicans.....	3
Democrats	1
Independents	5
Don't know/Refused.....	*

Q17. Here is an argument against further reducing spending on this operation.

We are making progress in Afghanistan, but the job is not yet done. If we pull out now, the Taliban could regain power and allow the country to become a safe haven for al Qaeda and other terrorist groups, as they did before 9/11. Furthermore, if we don't stay the course, America will be seen as lacking resolve, and embolden terrorists to take the offensive. Too many lives and too much treasure have been invested.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	10%
Republicans.....	18
Democrats	5
Independents	6

Somewhat convincing.....	41
Republicans.....	45
Democrats.....	35
Independents.....	45
Somewhat unconvincing.....	33
Republicans.....	28
Democrats.....	37
Independents.....	34
Very unconvincing.....	15
Republicans.....	8
Democrats.....	22
Independents.....	14
Don't know/Refused.....	1

[NUMBERBOX RANGE 0-999]

Q18. So now, again, in 2013 the US is projected to spend \$88 billion on the operation in Afghanistan.

How much would you say the US should spend on the operation in Afghanistan in 2013?

Please enter that amount below

\$___ billion

Mean.....	52.9
Republicans.....	63.0
Democrats.....	48.8
Independents.....	44.0
Median.....	50
Republicans.....	70
Democrats.....	50
Independents.....	50
Don't know/Refused.....	1
Percentage who cut.....	82%
Republicans.....	74
Democrats.....	89
Independents.....	79
Percentage who kept same level.....	11
Republicans.....	16
Democrats.....	8
Independents.....	8

Percentage who increased	6
Republicans	9
Democrats	2
Independents	11

[DISPLAY]

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
- The nuclear arsenal
- Special operations forces
- Missile defense

For each area you will see how much is currently being spent. 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 amount you initially proposed, or you may end up with a different number.

[DISPLAY][AIR POWER]

Let's explore America's air power capabilities. This includes bombers, fighters, cargo planes, 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 2012 on operating, maintaining and replacing CURRENT air power capabilities: \$113 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: \$30 billion

Q19. 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 US 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 successfully tracking and targeting al Qaeda. Clearly air power is critical and should not be compromised.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	26%
Republicans.....	32
Democrats	21
Independents	26
Somewhat convincing.....	51
Republicans.....	56
Democrats	52
Independents	43
Somewhat unconvincing.....	17
Republicans.....	11
Democrats	20
Independents	22
Very unconvincing.....	5
Republicans.....	1
Democrats	7
Independents	7
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Q20. 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 the last 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:

Very convincing.....	18%
Republicans.....	9
Democrats	24
Independents	20
Somewhat convincing.....	44
Republicans.....	35
Democrats	53
Independents	43
Somewhat unconvincing.....	29
Republicans.....	41
Democrats	18
Independents	30

Very unconvincing.....	9
Republicans.....	14
Democrats.....	6
Independents.....	6
Don't know/Refused.....	1

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

2012 budget for maintaining **existing** air power capabilities: \$113 billion

Mean.....	93.9
Republicans.....	102.3
Democrats.....	88.0
Independents.....	91.5
Median.....	100
Republicans.....	110
Democrats.....	100
Independents.....	100
Don't know/Refused.....	1
Percentage who cut.....	72%
Republicans.....	61
Democrats.....	85
Independents.....	63
Percentage who kept same level.....	18
Republicans.....	25
Democrats.....	10
Independents.....	23
Percentage who increased.....	9
Republicans.....	14
Democrats.....	4
Independents.....	12

2012 budget for developing **new** air power capabilities: \$30 billion

Mean.....	24.3
Republicans.....	26.8
Democrats.....	21.9
Independents.....	24.7
Median.....	25
Republicans.....	25
Democrats.....	20
Independents.....	23

Don't know/Refused	1
Percentage who cut	66%
Republicans	60
Democrats	74
Independents	60
Percentage who kept same level	20
Republicans	22
Democrats	17
Independents	23
Percentage who increased	13
Republicans	18
Democrats	8
Independents	14

[DISPLAY][GROUND FORCES]

Statement: Now turning to American ground forces. American ground forces include the Army and the Marine Corps. 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 2012 on operating, maintaining and replacing current ground forces: \$160 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: \$10 billion

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

We're still at war in Afghanistan. Reducing ground forces now could limit our ability to fight that war and still respond on short notice to a new emergency elsewhere. This would overstretch our forces and put strains on troop morale. Further, a large ground force contributes to the military's ability to reassure allies and deter enemies.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	14%
Republicans.....	20
Democrats	8
Independents	15
Somewhat convincing.....	43
Republicans.....	47
Democrats	40
Independents	41

Somewhat unconvincing.....	34
Republicans.....	29
Democrats.....	40
Independents.....	32
Very unconvincing.....	9
Republicans.....	4
Democrats.....	12
Independents.....	10
Don't know/Refused.....	1

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:

Very convincing.....	21%
Republicans.....	15
Democrats.....	28
Independents.....	18
Somewhat convincing.....	51
Republicans.....	46
Democrats.....	54
Independents.....	52
Somewhat unconvincing.....	20
Republicans.....	29
Democrats.....	14
Independents.....	17
Very unconvincing.....	7
Republicans.....	10
Democrats.....	4
Independents.....	10
Don't know/Refused.....	1

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

2012 budget for maintaining existing ground forces \$160 billion

Mean	123.8
Republicans.....	136.2
Democrats	115.5
Independents	119.1
Median	140
Republicans.....	150
Democrats	120
Independents	130
Don't know/Refused	1
Percentage who cut	76%
Republicans.....	69
Democrats	88
Independents	65
Percentage who kept same level	15
Republicans.....	21
Democrats	8
Independents	19
Percentage who increased	8
Republicans.....	10
Democrats	3
Independents	13

2012 budget for developing new capabilities for ground forces \$10 billion

Mean	10.9
Republicans.....	10.8
Democrats	9.5
Independents	13.7
Median	8
Republicans.....	10
Democrats	7
Independents	10
Don't know/Refused	1
Percentage who cut	57%
Republicans.....	49
Democrats	70
Independents	46
Percentage who kept same level	25
Republicans.....	30
Democrats	22
Independents	24

Percentage who increased	17
Republicans	21
Democrats	8
Independents	26

[DISPLAY][NAVAL POWER]

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 2012 on operating, maintaining and replacing current naval forces: \$113 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: \$24 billion

Q29. Here is an argument against reducing spending on American naval forces:

Reductions 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. It is also capable of quickly responding to humanitarian crises caused by natural disasters. 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:

Very convincing	19%
Republicans	27
Democrats	13
Independents	18
Somewhat convincing	50
Republicans	49
Democrats	51
Independents	48
Somewhat unconvincing	23
Republicans	19
Democrats	26
Independents	23
Very unconvincing	6
Republicans	3
Democrats	9
Independents	8

Don't know/Refused1

Q30. 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:

Very convincing.....	22%
Republicans.....	13
Democrats.....	30
Independents.....	21
 Somewhat convincing.....	 46
Republicans.....	46
Democrats.....	48
Independents.....	42
 Somewhat unconvincing.....	 24
Republicans.....	28
Democrats.....	18
Independents.....	28
 Very unconvincing.....	 8
Republicans.....	12
Democrats.....	4
Independents.....	7
 Don't know/Refused.....	 1

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

2012 budget for maintaining existing naval forces \$113 billion

Mean.....	98.4
Republicans.....	100.7
Democrats.....	101.1
Independents.....	89.4
 Median.....	 100
Republicans.....	110
Democrats.....	100
Independents.....	100

Don't know/Refused	1
Percentage who cut	73%
Republicans	65
Democrats	85
Independents	64
Percentage who kept same level	17
Republicans	22
Democrats	10
Independents	21
Percentage who increased	10
Republicans	13
Democrats	5
Independents	12

2012 budget for developing new capabilities for naval forces \$24 billion

Mean	19.3
Republicans	21.3
Democrats	17.5
Independents	19.7
Median	20
Republicans	20
Democrats	18
Independents	20
Don't know/Refused	1
Percentage who cut	70%
Republicans	63
Democrats	84
Independents	55
Percentage who kept same level	14
Republicans	18
Democrats	8
Independents	21
Percentage who increased	15
Republicans	19
Democrats	8
Independents	21

[DISPLAY][NUCLEAR WEAPONS]

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 2012 on operating, maintaining and replacing current nuclear weapons capabilities:

\$19 billion

Q34. Here is an argument against reducing nuclear weapons:

America’s nuclear arsenal is our country’s ultimate insurance policy against aggression. It helps protect our influence in a world with many threats and at a relatively modest cost. It provides assurance to our allies, decreasing incentives to develop their own nuclear weapons, 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, more accurate missiles, and submarines to carry them, ensures that the deterrent remains reliable, useable, and therefore credible.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	22%
Republicans.....	28
Democrats.....	19
Independents.....	17
Somewhat convincing.....	43
Republicans.....	46
Democrats.....	42
Independents.....	43
Somewhat unconvincing.....	24
Republicans.....	23
Democrats.....	24
Independents.....	28
Very unconvincing.....	10
Republicans.....	3
Democrats.....	15
Independents.....	9
Don’t know/Refused.....	1

Q35. Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on nuclear weapons:

America’s nuclear arsenal consists of thousands of weapons, most 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:

Very convincing.....	26%
Republicans.....	20
Democrats.....	34
Independents.....	23
Somewhat convincing.....	41
Republicans.....	46
Democrats.....	38
Independents.....	39
Somewhat unconvincing.....	22
Republicans.....	21
Democrats.....	22
Independents.....	27
Very unconvincing.....	9
Republicans.....	13
Democrats.....	6
Independents.....	8
Don’t know/Refused.....	1

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

2012 budget for the total US nuclear weapons program \$19 billion

Mean.....	13.9
Republicans.....	15.5
Democrats.....	12.3
Independents.....	14.2
Median.....	15
Republicans.....	15
Democrats.....	13
Independents.....	15
Don’t know/Refused.....	1

Percentage who cut	68%
Republicans	64
Democrats	78
Independents	57
Percentage who kept same level	21
Republicans	22
Democrats	17
Independents	29
Percentage who increased	10
Republicans	14
Democrats	4
Independents	11

[DISPLAY][SPECIAL OPERATIONS]

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 2012 on special operations forces:
\$14 billion

Q37. Here is an argument against reducing special operations forces:

US Special Operations Forces provide a less expensive, rapid and more precise way than regular soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines to counter immediate threats from terrorists (such as the operation against bin Laden), pirates, paramilitary criminal groups, and nuclear proliferators. Using them to train partner states' militaries may help head off the need for US military operations in the future. Reducing Special Operations Forces could affect the US's ability to discreetly and precisely target adversaries' leaders and military assets.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing	36%
Republicans	45
Democrats	35
Independents	24
Somewhat convincing	43
Republicans	44
Democrats	40
Independents	48
Somewhat unconvincing	14
Republicans	10
Democrats	18
Independents	15

Very unconvincing.....	5
Republicans.....	1
Democrats.....	7
Independents.....	9
Don't know/Refused.....	1

Q38. Here is an argument in favor of reducing spending on Special Operations 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:

Very convincing.....	15%
Republicans.....	12
Democrats.....	14
Independents.....	21
Somewhat convincing.....	44
Republicans.....	33
Democrats.....	55
Independents.....	43
Somewhat unconvincing.....	25
Republicans.....	33
Democrats.....	22
Independents.....	19
Very unconvincing.....	14
Republicans.....	20
Democrats.....	9
Independents.....	14
Don't know/Refused.....	1

So now how much do you think the US should spend on special operations forces?

2012 budget for special operations forces \$14 billion

Mean.....	12.6
Republicans.....	13.5
Democrats.....	10.8
Independents.....	14.7

Median	12
Republicans.....	14
Democrats	10
Independents	12
Don't know/Refused	1
Percentage who cut	58%
Republicans.....	42
Democrats	74
Independents	54
Percentage who kept same level	25
Republicans.....	33
Democrats	18
Independents	26
Percentage who increased	16
Republicans.....	24
Democrats	9
Independents	18

[DISPLAY][MISSILE DEFENSE]

We will now address missile defense. Missile defense is a program that seeks to defend the US and allies in Europe 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 2012 on the missile defense program:
\$8 billion

Q40. Here is an argument against reducing spending on missile defense:

Actively protecting 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. Some countries, such as Iran and North Korea, are trying to develop offensive ballistic missiles that could eventually be capable of reaching the United States and its allies. Even if we have not succeeded so far, we have made progress and should keep trying.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	27%
Republicans.....	39
Democrats	21
Independents	19
Somewhat convincing.....	47
Republicans.....	43
Democrats	49
Independents	51

Somewhat unconvincing.....	17
Republicans.....	16
Democrats.....	20
Independents.....	15
Very unconvincing.....	7
Republicans.....	2
Democrats.....	10
Independents.....	10
Don't know/Refused.....	2

Q41. 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 work, even in tests conducted in ideal conditions. . And even if we succeeded with missile defense, it is not relevant to the most likely nuclear threats today. We are no longer facing the Soviet Union, but smaller nations or groups that could just use another delivery method, such as low flying cruise missiles, small boats, or smuggled suitcases.

Do you find this argument:

Very convincing.....	20%
Republicans.....	11
Democrats.....	26
Independents.....	22
Somewhat convincing.....	44
Republicans.....	44
Democrats.....	48
Independents.....	38
Somewhat unconvincing.....	23
Republicans.....	28
Democrats.....	17
Independents.....	27
Very unconvincing.....	10
Republicans.....	16
Democrats.....	7
Independents.....	8
Don't know/Refused.....	2

So now how much do you think the US should spend on missile defense?

2012 budget for missile defense \$ 8 billion

Mean	6.9
Republicans.....	7.4
Democrats	5.7
Independents	8.5
Median	6
Republicans.....	8
Democrats	6
Independents	8
Don't know/Refused	2
Percentage who cut	58%
Republicans.....	47
Democrats	73
Independents	47
Percentage who kept same level	28
Republicans.....	32
Democrats	22
Independents	33
Percentage who increased.....	12
Republicans.....	21
Democrats	5
Independents	15

[DISPLAY]

While we have focused on military capabilities so far, a major part of the defense budget is devoted to covering the costs of healthcare and other benefits for military personnel and their families, both active duty and retired.

A number of possible ways for reducing these costs have been proposed.

Let's first focus on health care costs for the military, also known as TRICARE.

As you may know, active-duty personnel and their families get full health care coverage. After they retire from the military, and are still of working age, they pay \$520 a year for family coverage. In the private sector families pay far more——on average more than \$4,000.

Some people argue that people who have been in the military have contributed so much to our security that they deserve to pay little for this health benefit.

Others say that, with deficit pressures, people who have been in the military should pay closer to what most Americans pay for similar services.

Here are three proposals for reducing healthcare costs. None of these apply to active duty personnel, but do affect their family members and military retirees.

If you choose to support any of these proposals, the savings will be added below to the changes you have made so far, area by area.

Proposal 1

Q43. Members of military families and retirees would pay a typical co-pay for drug prescriptions. For instance, the co-pay for a 30-day prescription for a generic drug would cost \$15, instead of the current \$3. This would not apply to active-duty personnel. This would save about \$3 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

Favor	59%
Republicans	62
Democrats	62
Independents	49
Oppose	38
Republicans	36
Democrats	37
Independents	45
Don't know/Refused	2

Proposal 2

Q44. Military retirees younger than 65 would have their family's annual premium rise from \$520 per year to \$1100. This would save \$3 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

Favor	44%
Republicans	52
Democrats	38
Independents	42
Oppose	53
Republicans	47
Democrats	61
Independents	50
Don't know/Refused	2

Proposal 3

Q45. Military retirees would be on a plan that would not be as generous as it is now. The cap on out-of-pocket costs for a family would rise from \$3,000 per year to \$7,500. This would save about \$11 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

Favor	34%
Republicans.....	36
Democrats	31
Independents	35
Oppose	63
Republicans.....	62
Democrats	66
Independents	58
Don't know/Refused	3

[DISPLAY]

Another possible area for reductions lies in salaries and financial benefits the Defense Department pays to military personnel.

Some people say reducing salaries and benefits would not be fair to military families, risk hurting morale and make recruitment more difficult.

Others say that military personnel get very generous benefits and, like other Americans, they need to do their share to deal with the current budget crisis.

Here are three proposals for reducing financial benefits. If you choose to support any of these proposals, the savings will be added below to the changes you have made so far, area by area.

Proposal 1

Q46. Since 1982 military pay has risen faster than private-sector pay. Military wage increases could be capped at half a percentage point below an average of private-sector wage increases. This would save \$2 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

Favor	41%
Republicans.....	38
Democrats	42
Independents	42
Oppose	57
Republicans.....	62
Democrats	58
Independents	50

Don't know/Refused2

Proposal 2

Q47. Right now the military receives tax-exempt allowances for housing and food and these have been growing at a faster rate than basic military wages. One proposal is to slow the rate of growth of these tax-exempt allowances (though not to reduce them). This would save \$6 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

Favor	61%
Republicans.....	64
Democrats	64
Independents	52
Oppose	36
Republicans.....	35
Democrats	34
Independents	41
Don't know/Refused	3

Proposal 3

Q48. Currently military personnel can retire after 20 years and receive a pension for the rest of their lives, no matter their age when they retire. The pension is 50 percent of the average of their last 3 years of salary. This could be changed for new recruits so that they will receive a pension only beginning at age 60, and with the pension being 40 percent of the average of the last 5 years of salary. Because the military is always making payments into the pension fund, this change would immediately save \$9 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

Favor	52%
Republicans.....	55
Democrats	49
Independents	53
Oppose	45
Republicans.....	42
Democrats	50
Independents	39
Don't know/Refused	3

[DISPLAY]

Q49. Congratulations, you have completed the national defense budget exercise.

Last, we would like you to consider a few specific programs that are controversial. Because they are within areas that have been explored above, they will not affect your budget tally.

[F-35]

The F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program is designed to produce a jet fighter with more advanced features, especially high stealth capabilities, including the ability to evade detection by some radar. 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 would save approximately \$5 billion a year in 2013, and \$382 billion over the remaining life of the program.

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

Favor	54%
Republicans.....	48
Democrats	59
Independents	53
 Oppose	 44
Republicans.....	52
Democrats	40
Independents	40
 Don't know/Refused	 2

Q50. The V-22 Osprey is an aircraft that has the capability to take off like a helicopter and fly like a plane.

Some say the V-22 Osprey is too complicated, its costs have ballooned way beyond the original estimates and it has major safety and maintenance problems. Others say the aircraft provides the Marine Corps with the ability to move troops and materiel much further than a helicopter can, and that many of the safety and maintenance problems are being addressed.

Cancelling the V-22 Osprey would save about \$1 billion next year.

Do you favor or oppose cancelling the V-22 Osprey aircraft?

Favor	42%
Republicans.....	35
Democrats	51
Independents	35

Oppose	56
Republicans.....	65
Democrats	48
Independents	55
Don't know/Refused	2

Q51. 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 years old—which the Air Force is now spending \$2 billion to upgrade—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’ range is not enough and that we don’t have enough of them, so we need a new bomber.

Work on this program will cost about \$6 billion over the next few years, and ultimately about \$55 billion to produce the planned fleet.

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

Favor	52%
Republicans.....	49
Democrats	56
Independents	51
Oppose	46
Republicans.....	50
Democrats	44
Independents	43
Don't know/Refused	2

Q52. Right now the US has three different ways to deliver nuclear weapons: land- based missiles, submarines, and bombers. The US could eliminate bombers as a means of delivering nuclear weapons.

Some people say that, given how powerful nuclear weapons are and the low likelihood that they will be used, having just two systems for delivering them is enough and we should save the money. Others say that it is better to have three ways of delivering nuclear weapons than two, and that bombers have a unique value because they can be recalled at the last minute. Submarine-launched or ground-launched missiles cannot be recalled once they are fired.

Eliminating bombers as one of the three means of delivering nuclear weapons, and relying on ground-launched and submarine-launched missiles, would save about \$4 billion a year.

Do you favor or oppose eliminating bombers as one of the three means of delivering nuclear weapons?

Favor	38%
Republicans.....	32
Democrats	45
Independents	36
Oppose	60
Republicans.....	68
Democrats	54
Independents	58
Don't know/Refused	2

Q53. Currently the US Navy has 11 aircraft carriers. It is planning to retire one of them next year and to build a new one to replace it.

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 more than adequate—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.

If the aircraft carrier was not replaced and its jets were retired, this would save about \$7 billion.

Do you favor or oppose NOT building a new aircraft carrier and allowing the number of US aircraft carriers to decline from 11 to 10?

Favor	59%
Republicans.....	51
Democrats	71
Independents	47
Oppose	39
Republicans.....	48
Democrats	28
Independents	44
Don't know/Refused	2

Demographics

D1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a:

Republican	25%
Independent.....	23
Democrat.....	31
Other	2
No preference.....	17
Don't know/Refused	2

[ASK IF D1 ="Independent" OR "Other" OR "No preference" OR "Don't know/Refused"]

D1a. Do you think of yourself as closer to the:

Republican Party.....	11%*
Democratic Party	11
Neither.....	20
Don't know/Refused	2

D1-D3a. Overall party identification combined

Republican Party/Lean Republican.....	36%
Democratic Party/Lean Democrat.....	42
Independent.....	22
Refused/Don't know	0

[D2 AND D3 PRESENTED ON SAME SCREEN]

D2. Did you vote for a candidate for Congress in the last election in 2010?

Yes	63%
No.....	35
Don't know/Refused	2

D3. Do you typically vote in the PRIMARY elections for a political party?

Yes	54%
No.....	44
Don't know/Refused	2

D4a. How sympathetic are you to the Tea Party movement?

Very sympathetic	9%
Somewhat sympathetic	30
Somewhat unsympathetic	25
Very unsympathetic	32

* Percent of total

Don't know/Refused 4

D4b. How sympathetic are you to the Occupy Wall Street movement, which often describes itself as “representing the 99 percent”?

Very sympathetic 9%
Somewhat sympathetic 30
Somewhat unsympathetic 24
Very unsympathetic 36

Don't know/Refused 4

Gender

Male 49%
Female 51

Age

18-29 21%
30-44 26
45-59 28
60+ 26

Education

Less than high school 13%
High school 29
Some college 29
Bachelor's degree or higher 29

Region

Northeast 18%
Midwest 22
South 36
West 23

Race

White, Non-Hispanic 68%
Black, Non-Hispanic 11
Other, Non-Hispanic 5
Hispanic 14
2+ Races, Non-Hispanic 2