



# ***NATIONAL SECURITY AND THE TRUMP ADMINISTRATION***

*KEY FINDINGS FROM A NATIONWIDE SURVEY AMONG 1,205 LIKELY VOTERS  
CONDUCTED APRIL 23 TO 27, 2019*

# Methodology Notes

This survey was conducted online among a nationally representative cross section of people who voted in the 2016 presidential election. Respondents' self-reported vote: 48% Clinton, 46% Trump, 4% Johnson, 2% Stein. Party ID of sample: 46% Democrat, 39% Republican.

In our analysis we pay special attention to three swing groups:

1. **2020 Undecided voters:** voters who are completely undecided about who they will vote for in the 2020 presidential election—13% of the sample.
2. **Mixed view of Trump's national security policy/temperament:** say they are concerned with Trump's temperament or disagree with his policies, but not both—24% of electorate; voted for Trump by 67% to 27%.
3. **Independents:** voters who identify as independents make up 15% of the sample; voters who identify as independent or only lean Democrat or Republican make up 37% of the sample.

# Overview of Key Findings

- Democrats must proactively define Trump’s record on national security and foreign affairs. As key swing groups hear more about his policies, actions, and approach, they increasingly see his foreign policy record as a reason to replace Trump with someone else, particularly among undecided voters.
- Building on National Security Action’s previous nationwide survey from summer 2018, only 38% of voters say Trump has made the United States safer, while 46% say Trump has made it less safe. A majority (57%) say Trump has made us less respected in the world.
- While voters are divided on Trump’s policies, 66% of respondents worry that Trump lacks the judgment and temperament we need in a commander-in-chief and world leader. Only 29% approve of both Trump’s policies and judgement, while 47% rate him negatively on both dimensions (with 24% approving of only one or the other—a group to potentially target).
- By a large margin, voters want a president who is, first and foremost, “smart” in dealing with national security and foreign affairs. By contrast, the attributes most often associated with Trump are “impulsive,” “risky,” and “undiplomatic.” The attributes least often associated with Trump are “smart” and “effective.”

## *Overview of Key Findings (con't)*

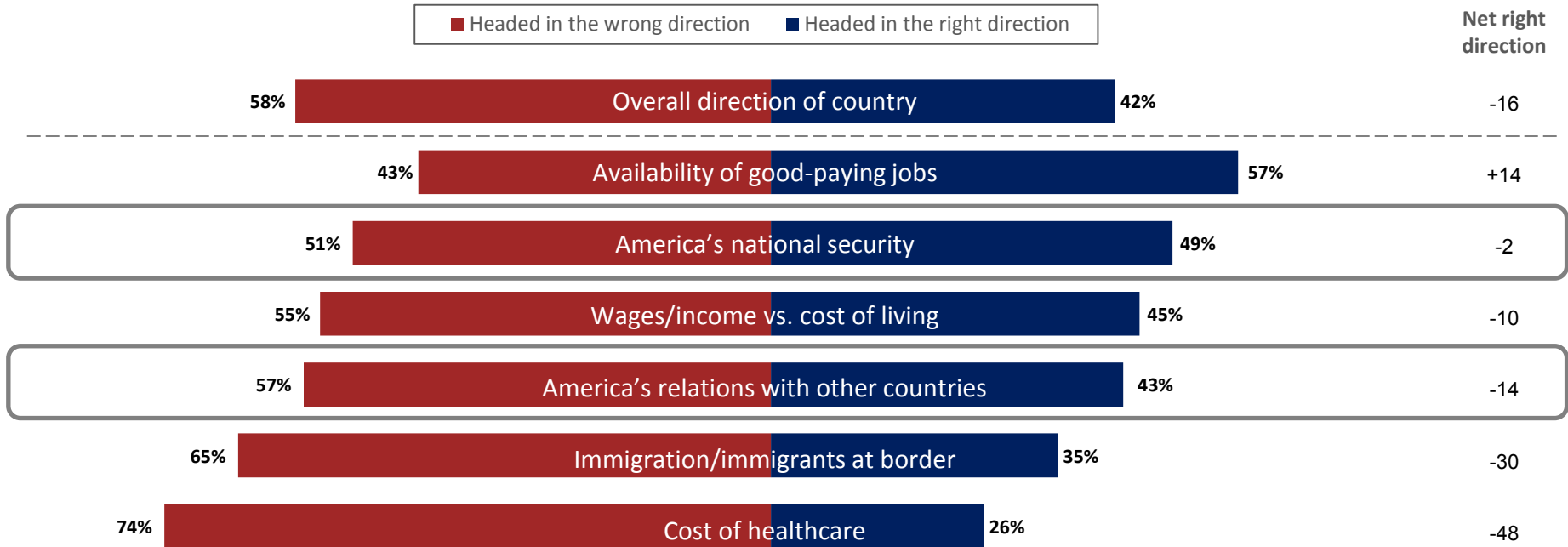
- Trump's failure to achieve foreign policy results is a strong argument against him, and connects with voters' perceptions of Trump's chaotic approach. For example, while voters support a decision to negotiate with North Korea, Trump's inability to deliver—to get North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons—is particularly resonant in this narrative.
- Trump's record of weakening our alliances and alienating our most important democratic allies is also highly concerning to voters, especially because his doing so strengthens Putin's hand at our expense. Relations with Russia continue to be a notable weakness for Trump.
- The negative impact of Trump's trade policies on American workers and farmers is a very important example of the consequences of Trump's impulsive and risky policies. Voters take special note of the 14% drop in farm income last year.

## *Overview of Key Findings (con't)*

- On immigration, it is important for Democrats to press the case that Trump is creating the crisis at the border. There is also a strong case against Trump's immigration priorities—including prosecuting families and children instead of focusing on real threats like drug trafficking, and cutting funding for counterterrorism and emergency management.
- Key priorities among swing voters are protecting Americans from terrorism, keeping America out of war, and standing up for American values like human rights and democracy. Democrats put a high priority on standing up for American values and dealing with global threats like climate change.
- Democrats are more trusted than Republicans on many foreign policy issues (standing up for our values, working with other countries to address threats like climate change), but Republicans are still perceived to be better prepared to protect Americans from terrorist attacks.

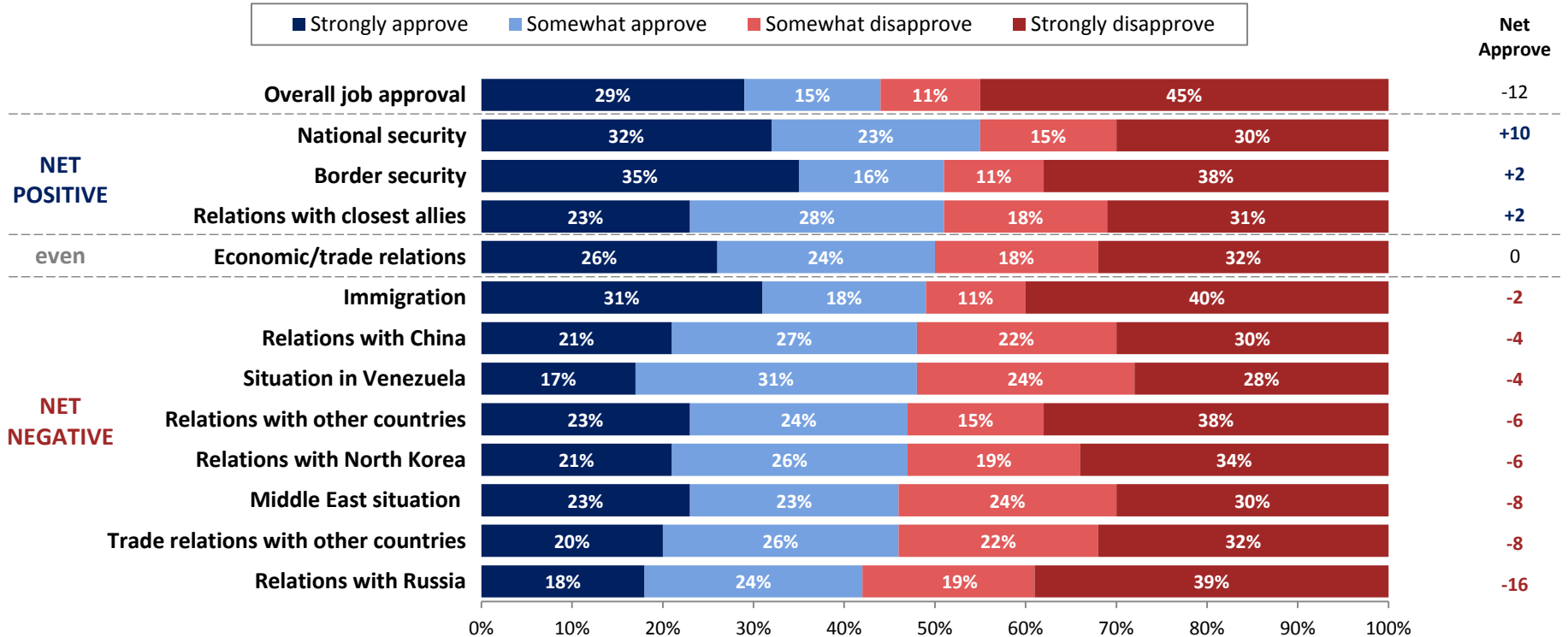
# ***CURRENT PERCEPTIONS AND PRIORITIES ON NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY***

# Americans are evenly divided on the overall direction of America's national security, but are more negative on our foreign relations and the situation with immigration.



# Trump’s approval on national security and foreign policy issues are better than his approval overall, but he continues to get low ratings on Russia.

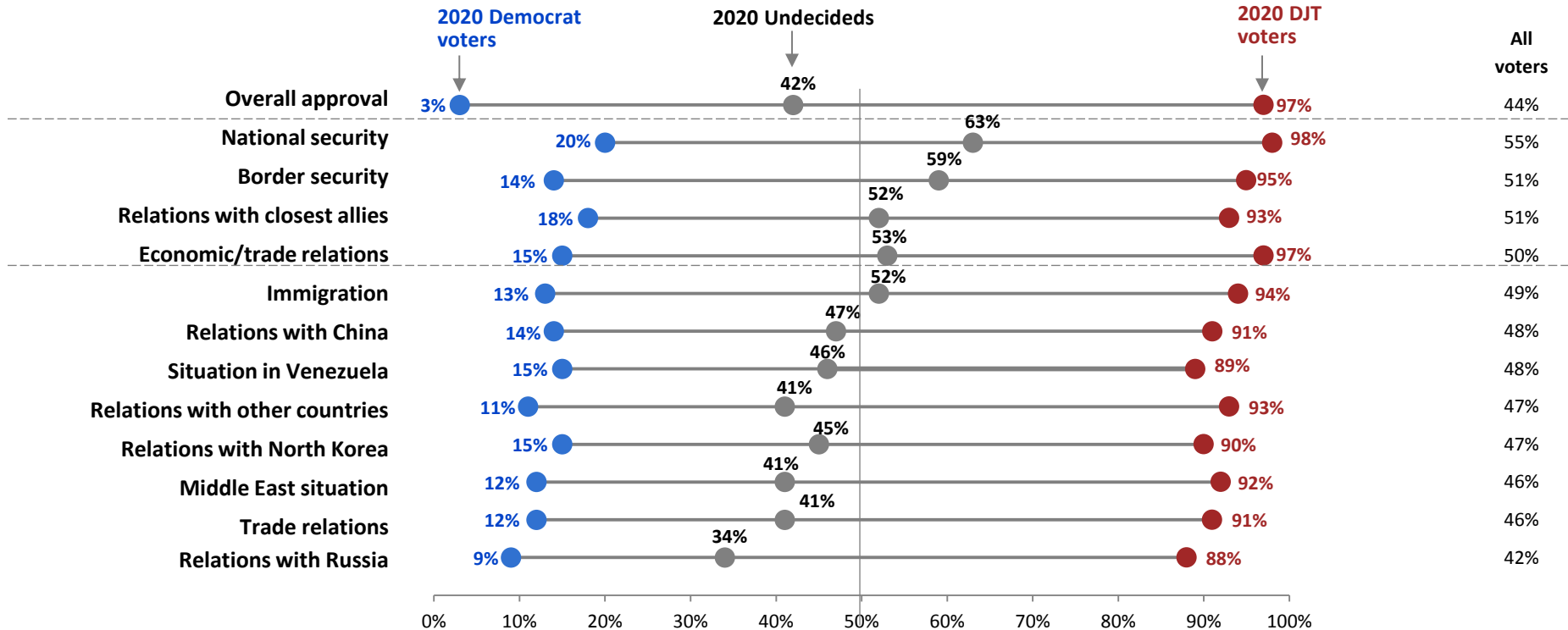
DONALD TRUMP’S JOB APPROVAL ON NATIONAL SECURITY/FOREIGN RELATIONS ISSUES





# Voters who are undecided on how they will vote in 2020 have a mixed view of Trump on foreign policy issues.

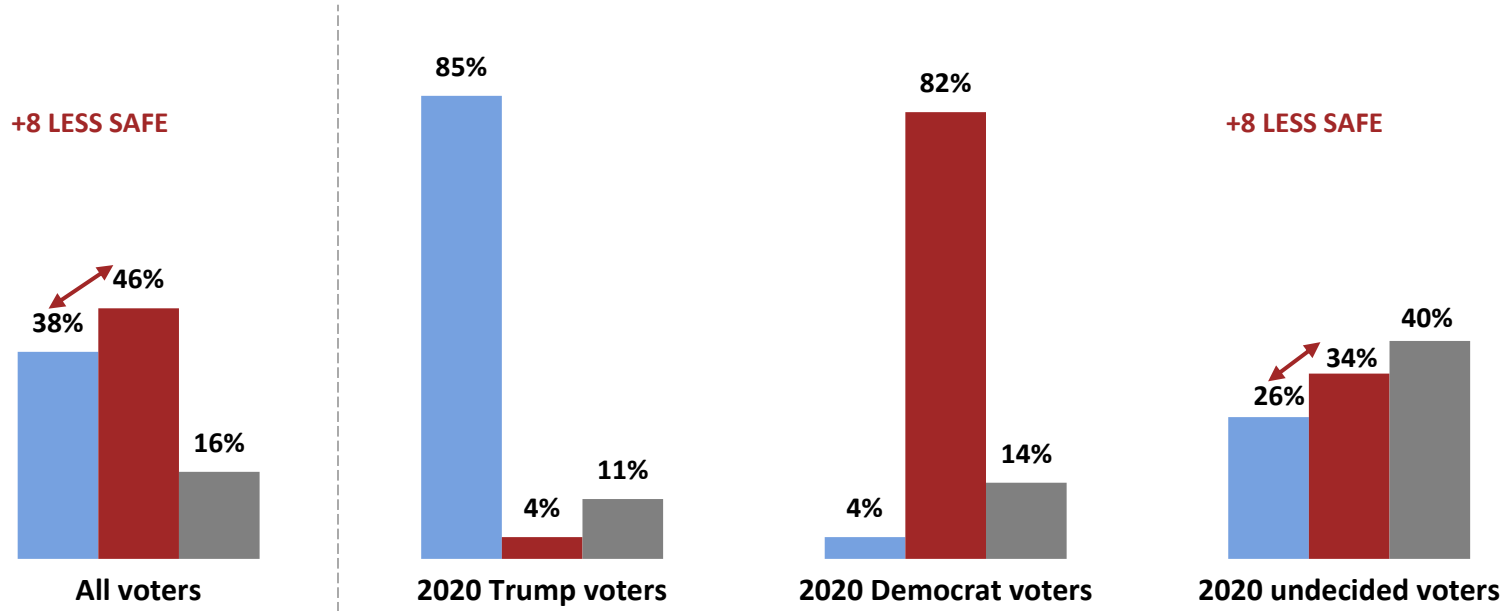
*Proportions who approve of Trump's job performance on each*



# Fewer than 4 in 10 voters say Trump's policies and actions have made America safer.

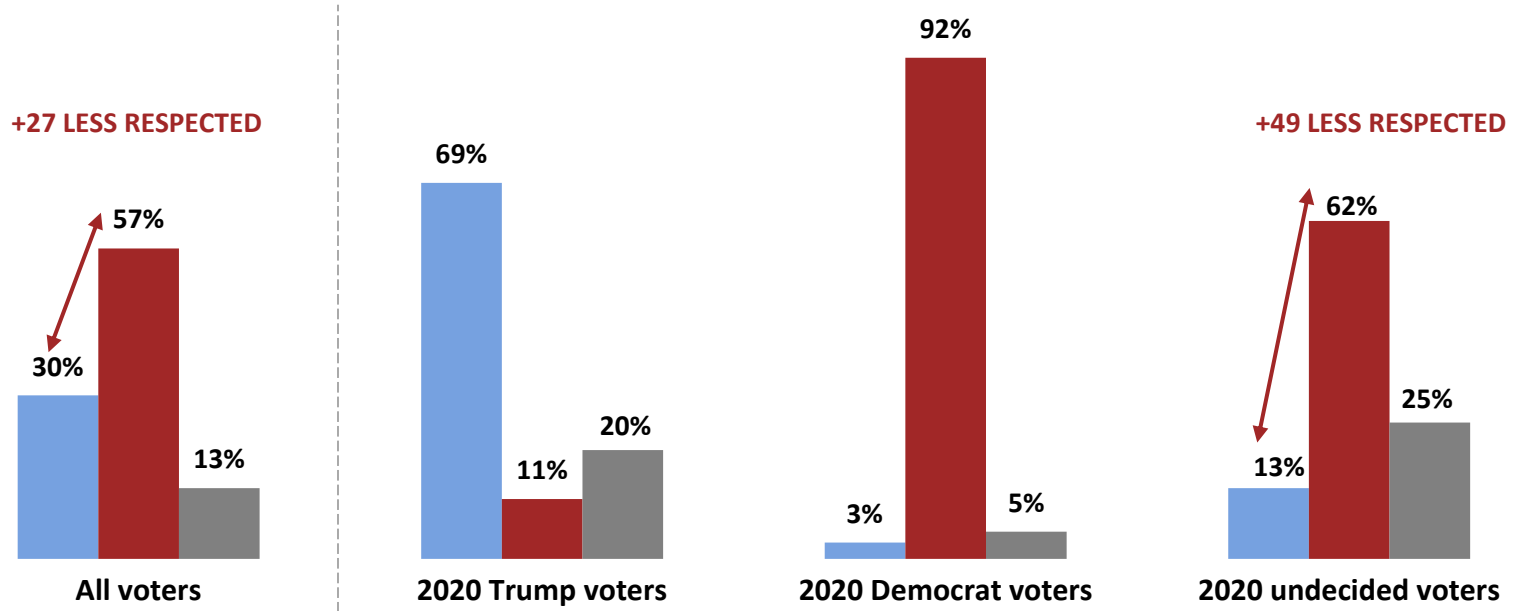
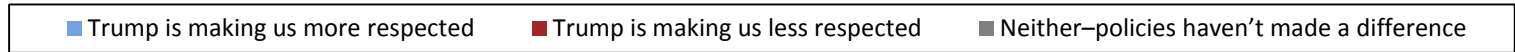
Do you think Donald Trump's policies and actions as president are making America *more safe or less safe*?

■ Trump has made us more safe    
 ■ Trump has made us less safe    
 ■ Neither—policies haven't made a difference



# A significant majority say Trump has made America less respected in the world. This is particularly pronounced with undecided voters.

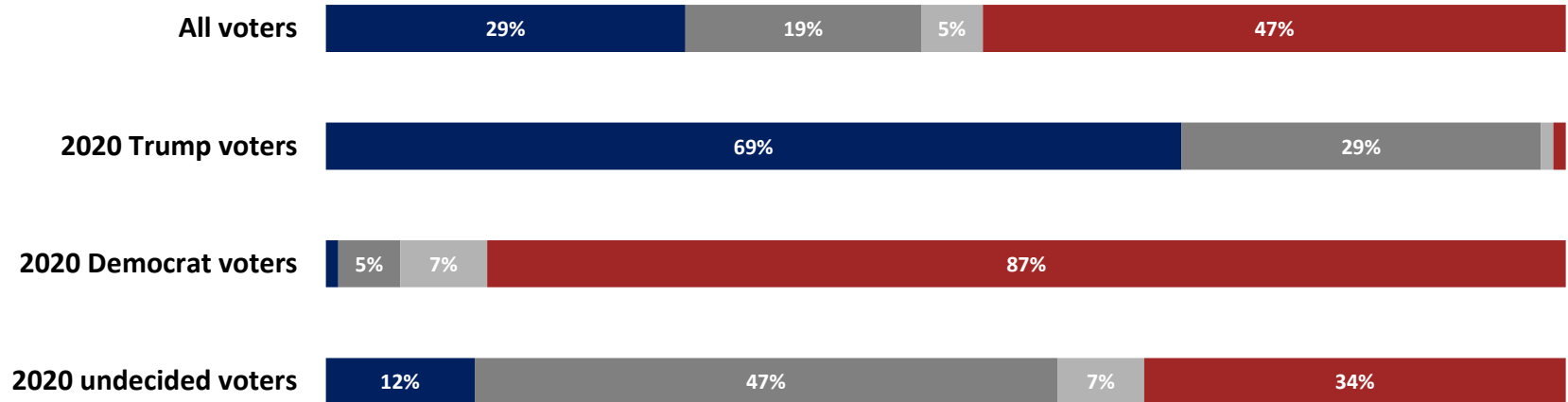
Are Donald Trump's policies and actions as president making America *more respected* or *less respected* in the world?



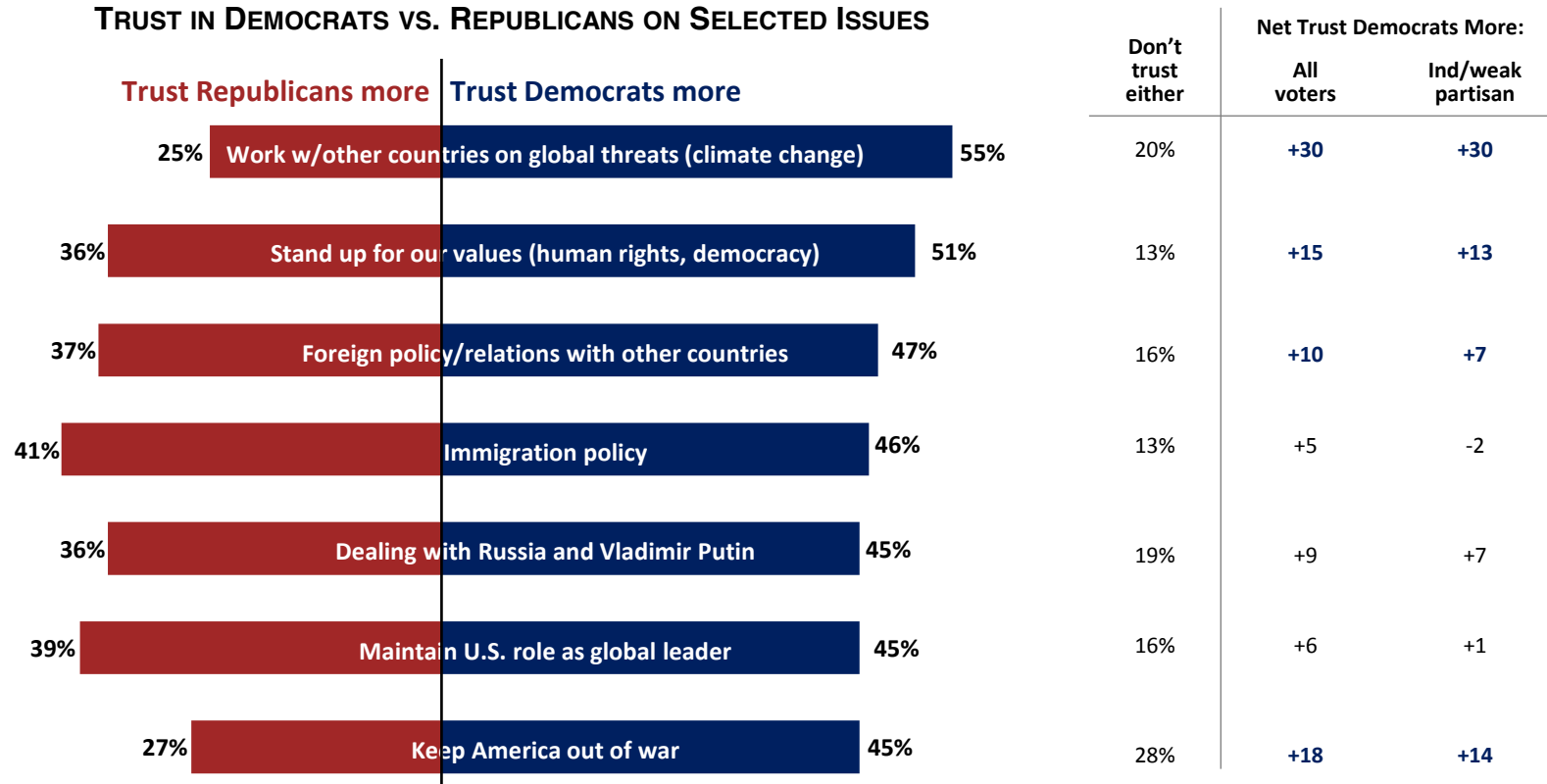
**We asked voters to rate Trump on two dimensions: policy and temperament/judgment. Only 29% say he is good on both, while 47% say he is bad on both and 24% are mixed.**

*Which statement comes closest to your own point of view?*

- Approve of Trump’s policies on national security/he has the temperament we need in a commander-in-chief/world leader
- Approve of Trump’s policies on national security/worry that he lacks the temperament we need in a commander-in-chief/world leader
- Disapprove of Trump’s policies on national security/he has the temperament we need in a commander-in-chief/world leader
- Disapprove of Donald Trump’s policies on national security/worry that he lacks the temperament we need in a commander-in-chief/world leader

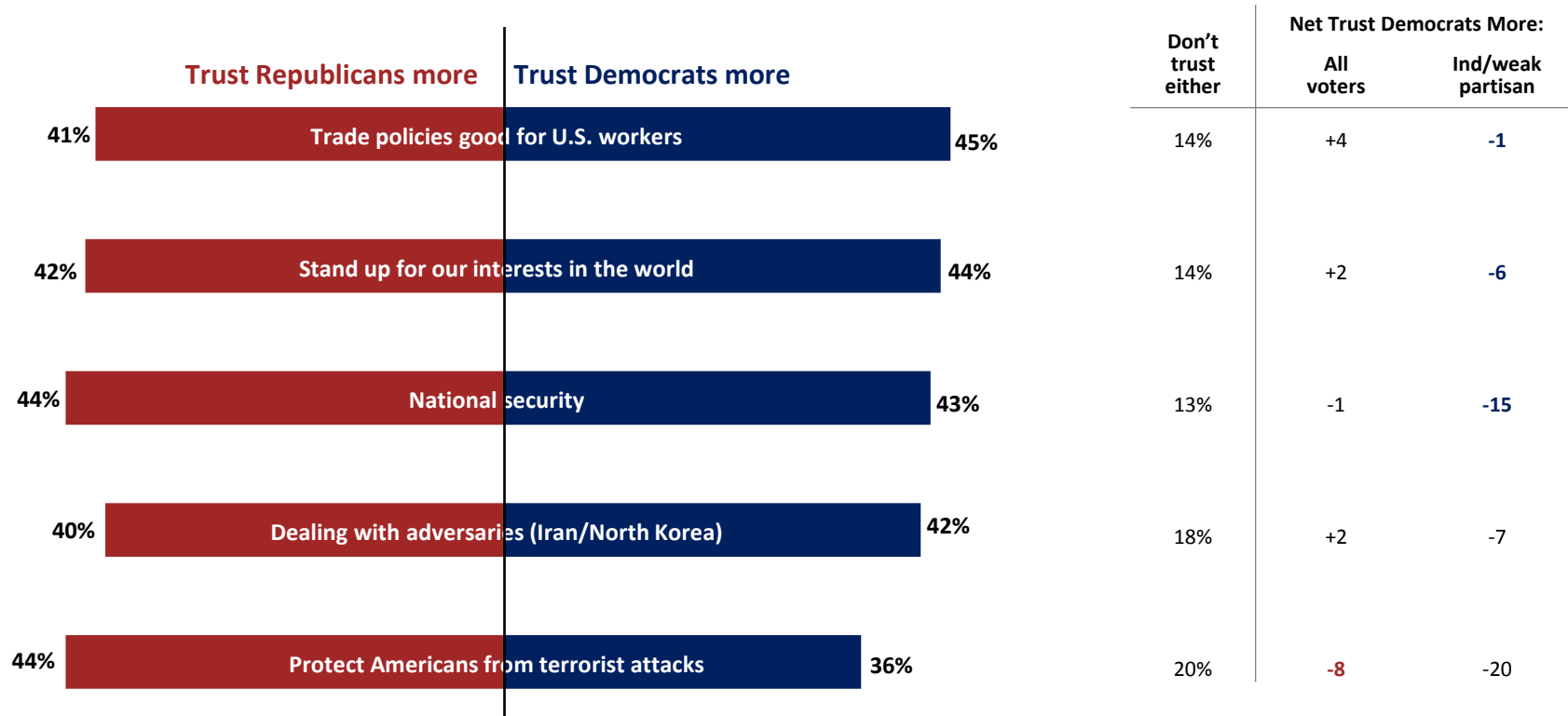


# Democrats are more trusted than Republicans to work on global threats like climate change and to stand up for American values.

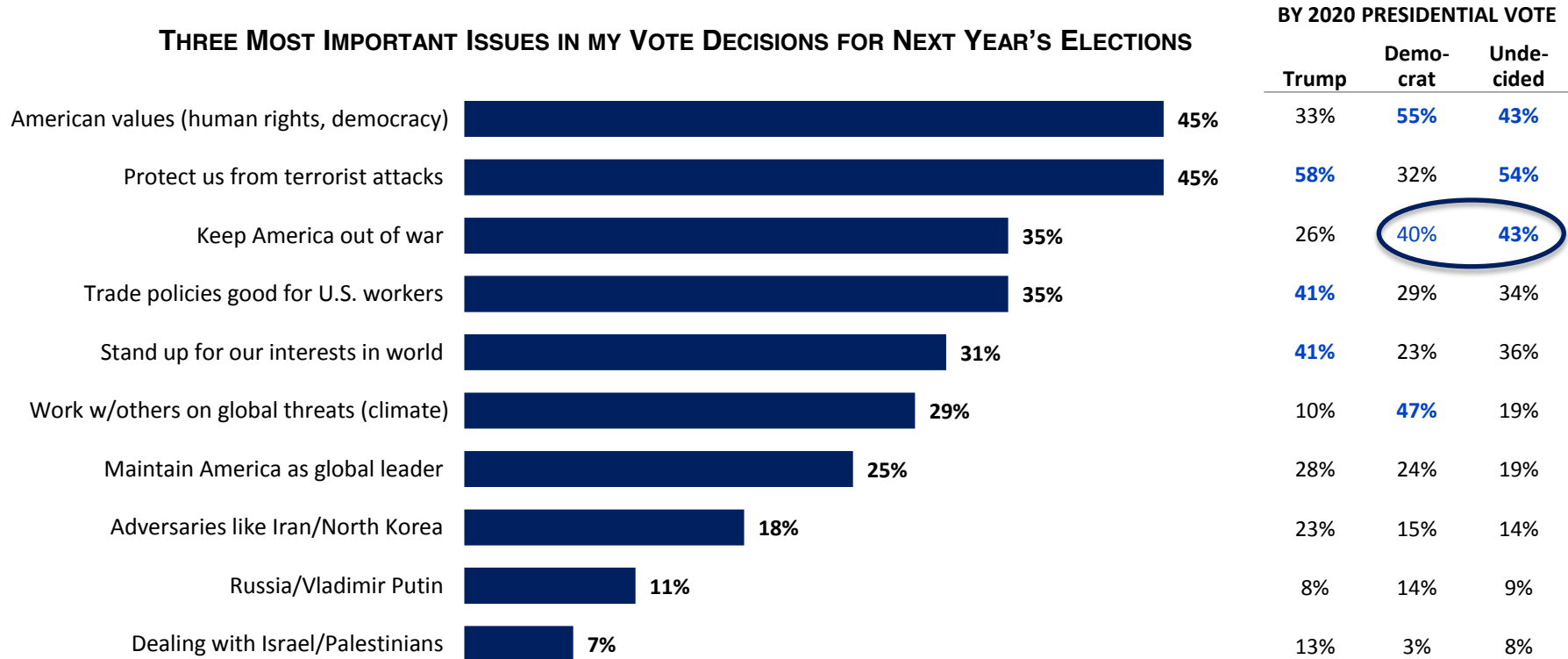


# But Democrats are less trusted to protect Americans from terrorism.

TRUST IN DEMOCRATS VS. REPUBLICANS ON SELECTED ISSUES

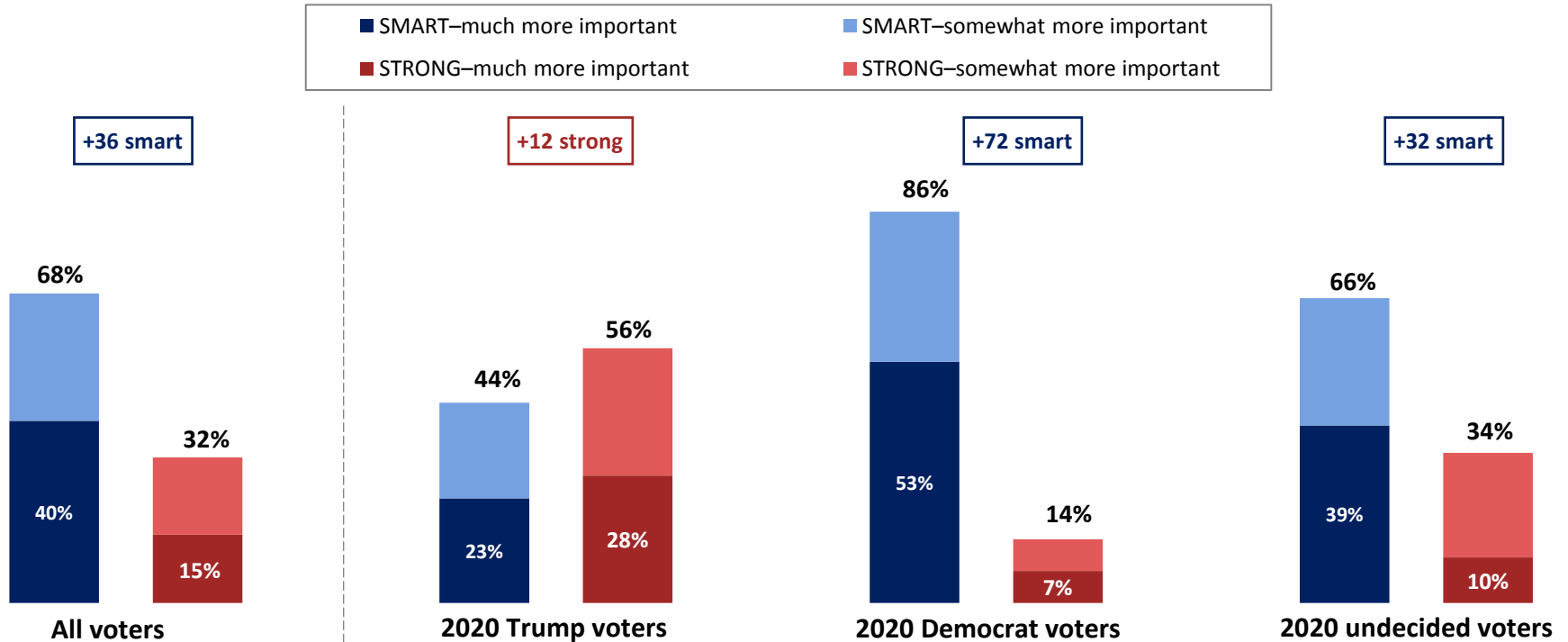


**Democratic Voter Priorities: Values, global threats like climate.  
 Trump Voter Priorities: Terrorism, trade, standing up for the United States.  
 Undecided Voter Priorities: Values, terrorism, staying out of war.**



# By a large margin, voters want a president who is smart first and foremost in dealing with national security and foreign affairs.

*Which is the more important quality for a president in dealing with America's national security and foreign affairs?*





# Voters most often see Trump as impulsive, risky, and undiplomatic; he is least often seen as smart and effective.

Top Trump words

**Impulsive**

(57% all, 52% undecideds\*)

**Undiplomatic**

(49% all, 41% undecideds\*)

**Risky**

(51% all, 44% undecideds\*)

**Erratic**

(47% all, 45% undecideds\*)

**Chaotic**

(49% all, 41% undecideds\*)

**Out for himself**

(49% all, 41% undecideds\*)

Reckless

Inconsistent

Destructive

Dangerous

Strong

Bigoted

Cruel

Ignorant

Ineffective

Tough

Smart

Successful

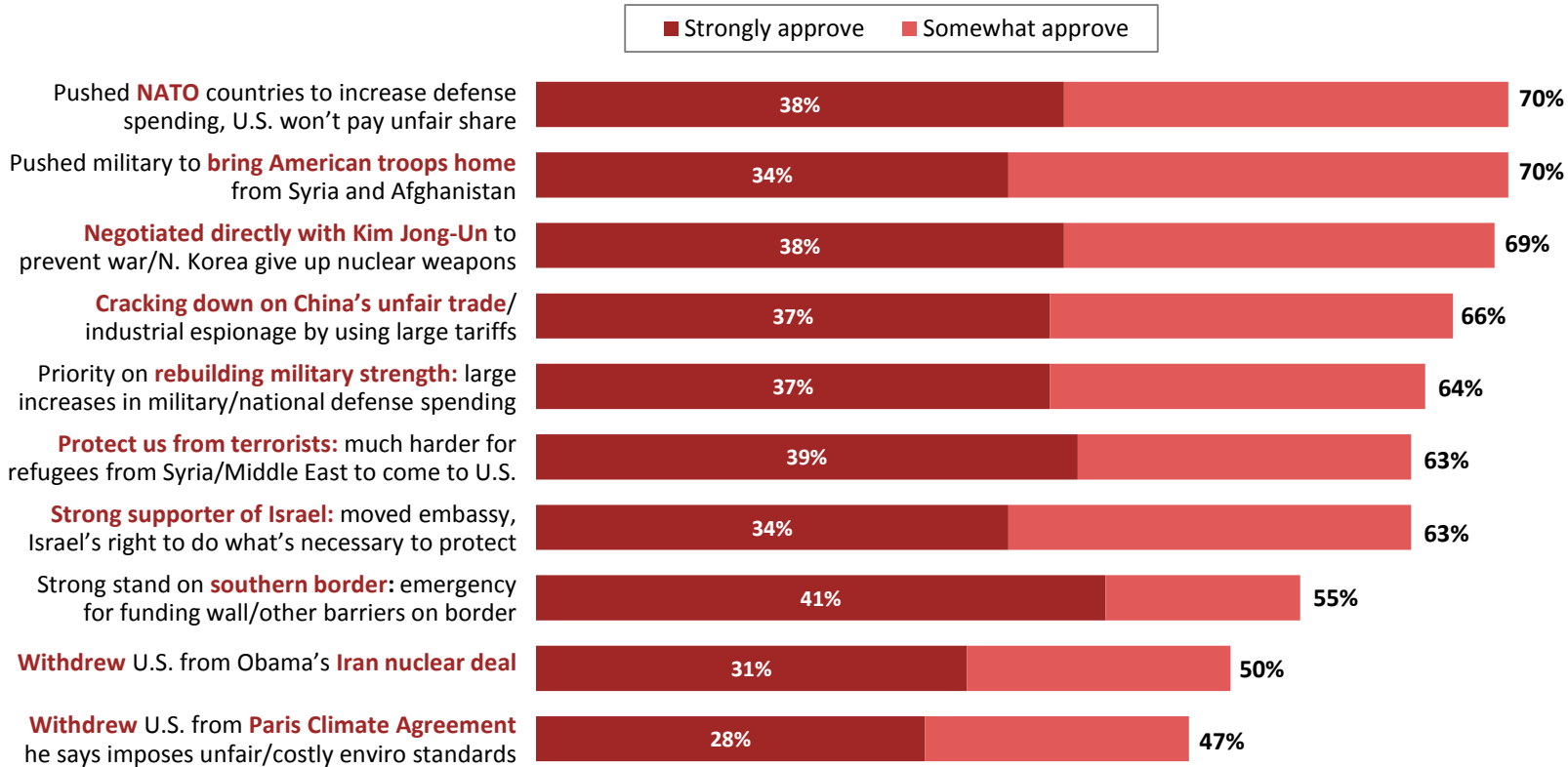
Effective

Bottom Trump words

\* Proportions who feel each describes Donald Trump very well: 8-10 ratings on 0-to-10 scale

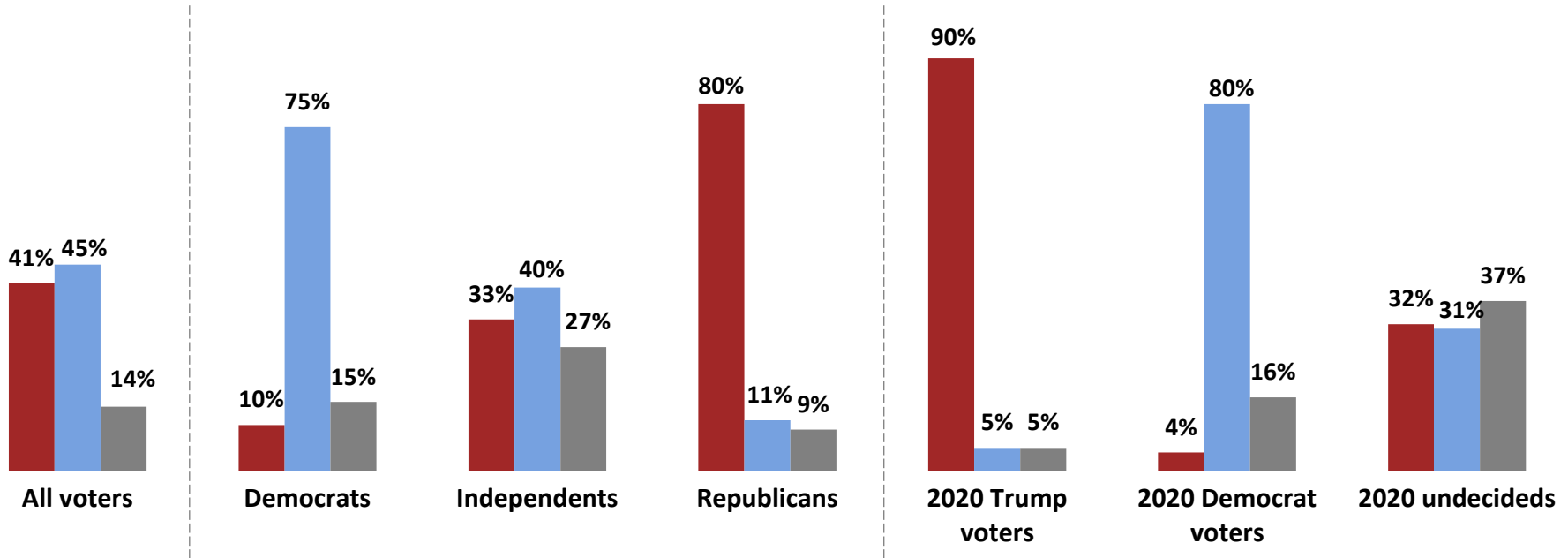
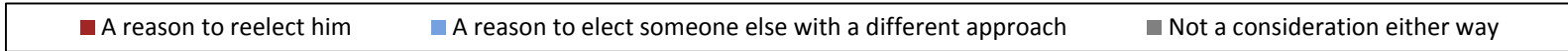
# ***MESSAGING***

# When Trump promotes his own record, there are many aspects that win voters' approval.



Even after hearing about many Trump policies they like, most voters do not see Trump’s national security and foreign policy record as a reason to reelect him.

*The way President Trump has handled national security and foreign relations is:*



# Negative Messages Tested

Donald Trump's **trade policies have left America's workers and farmers worse off**. Trump's trade wars have put American jobs at risk, slowed manufacturing, and impacted the U.S. economy more than China's. Trump's trade wars have made it impossible for American farmers to export many of their crops. Farm income dropped by 14% last year—pushing many farmers into bankruptcy.

Despite his bragging and bluster, Donald Trump has **failed to achieve foreign policy results**. There is constant turnover and in-fighting in his national security team, and many key positions are unfilled, making it impossible to do the hard work of diplomacy. Trump failed to get North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons. He's nowhere near securing a "better deal" with Iran. Trump's trade deals just tinker at the edges, and our trade deficits continue to grow. The situation at our border and in Central America is getting worse rather than better.

Donald Trump **consistently weakens our alliances**, leaving America more isolated on the world stage and playing into the hands of our adversaries. Trump has gone out of his way to alienate many of our oldest and most important democratic allies, reducing the likelihood that we can count on them to support us when we need them in the future. Trump has undermined NATO, America's most important military alliance, strengthening Putin's aggressive efforts to destabilize democracy in Europe.

Donald Trump has been **erratic and reckless as commander-in-chief**. Trump casually authorized the first operation of his administration—a commando raid in Yemen that led to the death of a Navy SEAL—over dinner, with the input of Steve Bannon and Jared Kushner. He took our allies and his own advisers by surprise when he announced the U.S. would cancel military exercises with South Korea. Most recently, his impulsive announcement to pull out of Syria without a clear plan to prevent terrorists from returning left our military leaders in the dark and drove a wedge between America and its allies.

There are far too many instances of **conflicts, cronyism, and corruption** in the way Donald Trump's administration handles our foreign relations. Trump family businesses have received special deals from China, and Trump and his family members have raised their own private interests during official meetings with world leaders. Trump's overseas business dealings have left him in debt to foreign powers and compromise his ability to act in America's national interest. The Mueller investigation revealed that Trump was not honest about his financial dealings in Russia and his family's ties to Russian oligarchs.

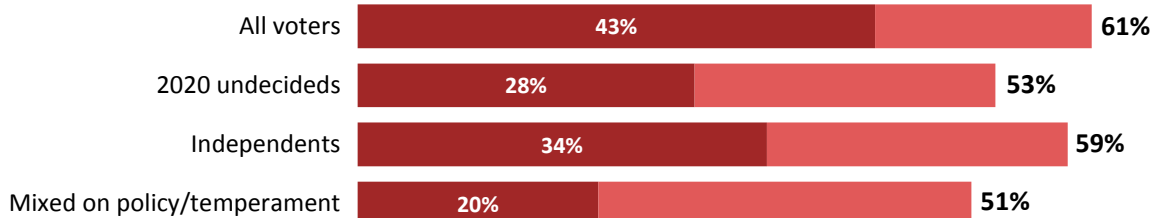
Donald Trump's **approach to border security leaves us less safe**. His obsession with building a border wall and extreme policies have forced law enforcement officials to prosecute children and families, instead of focusing on real threats like drug traffickers. To pay for his wall, Trump proposed cutting funding for counterterrorism programs, emergency management, and countering drug smugglers. While slashing programs that counter gangs and address the root causes of migration in Central America, Trump refuses to provide resources to streamline the asylum process and address backlogs. Stoking fears and skewing priorities, Trump is creating the real crisis.

**America is less respected and has less influence around the world under President Trump**. Global approval of American leadership has fallen to just 31%—the lowest level of any of the past three administrations, and lower than approval of China's leadership. Polling reveals that our closest allies don't trust Trump to do the right thing. Trump withdrew the U.S. from the UN Human Rights Council, leaving authoritarian states to fill the void, and Trump's Muslim ban and family separation policy have earned widespread condemnation from world leaders and eroded America's moral leadership.

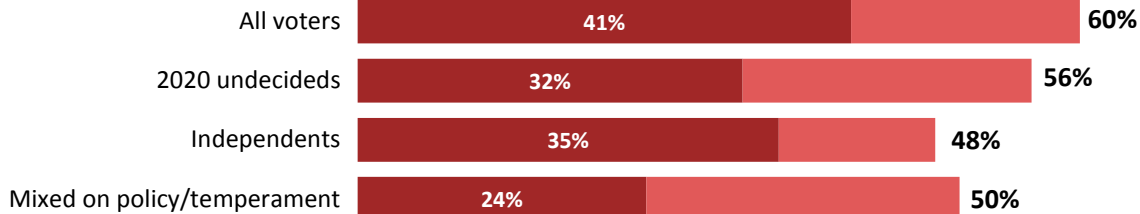
# Messaging about Trump’s trade policies, ineffectiveness, and weakening alliances performs well among important swing audiences.

■ VERY MAJOR concern about Trump's handling of national security/foreign affairs ■ Fairly major concern

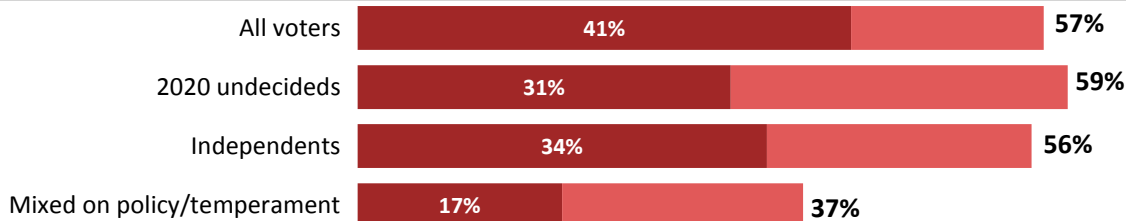
**Trade policies have left America’s workers and farmers worse off**



**Failed to achieve foreign policy results**



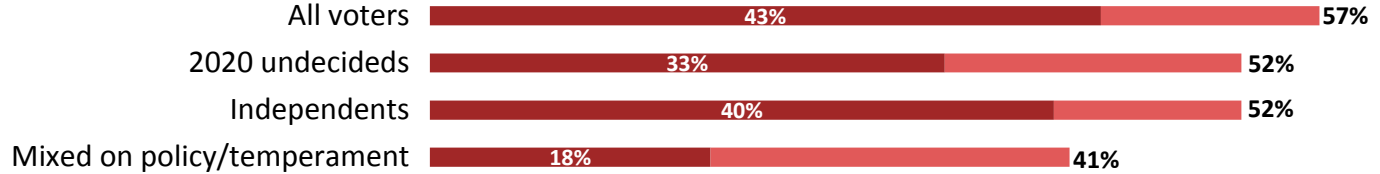
**Consistently weakens our alliances**



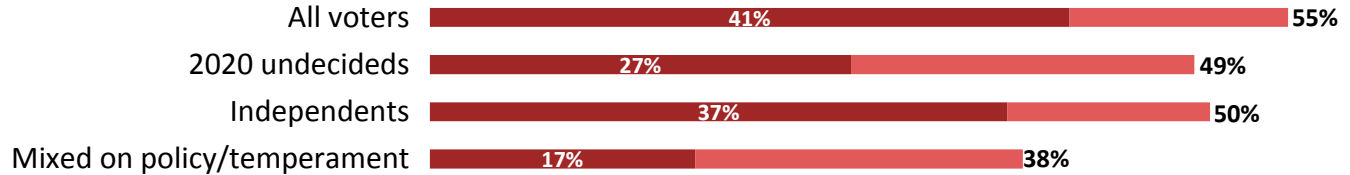
# Other negative Trump messaging also yields majority concerns.

■ VERY MAJOR concern about Trump's handling of national security/foreign affairs ■ Fairly major concern

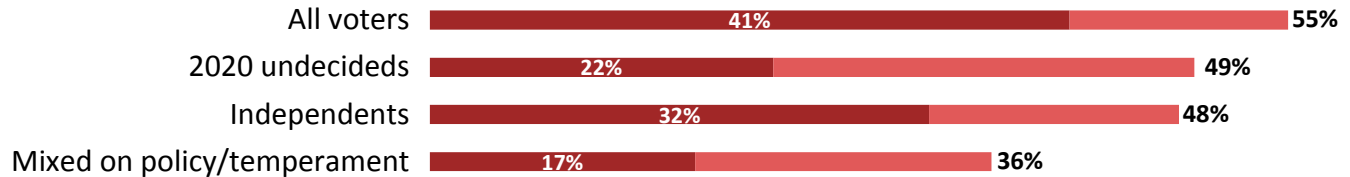
## Erratic and reckless as Commander-in-Chief



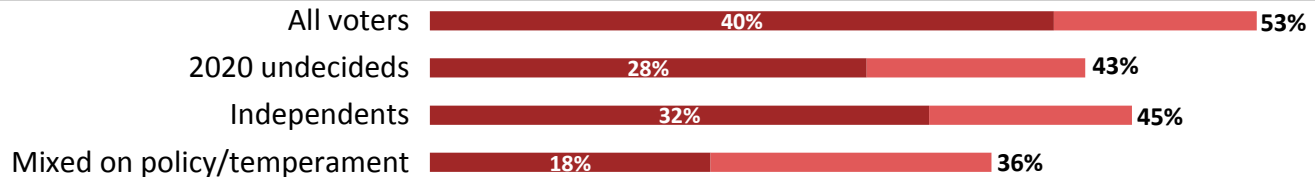
## Conflicts, cronyism, corruption in Trump administration handling foreign relations



## Approach to border security leaves us less safe



## America is less respected/has less influence around the world



# Shorter Negative Messages Tested

**When foreign dictators** like Kim Jong-Un and Mohammed bin Salman **murder Americans**, as occurred with college student Otto Warmbier and journalist Jamal Khashoggi, **Donald Trump defends the dictators**, makes excuses for them, and continues doing business as usual with them.

Many of Donald Trump's **immigration policies—including the separation of families and keeping children in cages**—are cruel and inhumane.

**By siding with dictators** like North Korea's Kim Jong-Un, Saudi Arabia's Mohammed bin Salman, and Russia's Vladimir Putin, Donald Trump is sending a signal that **America can no longer be counted on to stand up for freedom, democracy, and human rights**.

Donald Trump has **spent billions and billions of dollars on wasteful Pentagon programs that line the pockets of defense contractors** but do not actually meet the most important needs of our military.

Donald Trump's reckless **trade policies have raised prices, cost jobs, slowed manufacturing, and taken away markets for American farmers**.

Donald Trump's decision to spend billions on new nuclear weapons and pull out of arms control treaties is **leading to a new nuclear arms race** that could spin out of control.

By withdrawing from the seven-country agreement to stop Iran from developing a nuclear weapon, and surrounding himself with advisors who champion war over diplomacy, Donald Trump is **increasing the chances that the United States will be dragged into another war in the Middle East**.

Donald Trump has continued to turn a blind eye to Russia's attack on our democracy, even to the point of **siding with Vladimir Putin over our own intelligence** agencies at the Helsinki summit.

By making the United States less respected in the world and giving up America's leadership role, Donald Trump is **creating new openings for China and Russia to increase their global influence at America's expense**.

The military has identified climate change as an important threat to our national security, but Donald Trump's **refusal to be part of a global solution to climate change leaves America more isolated and more at risk**.

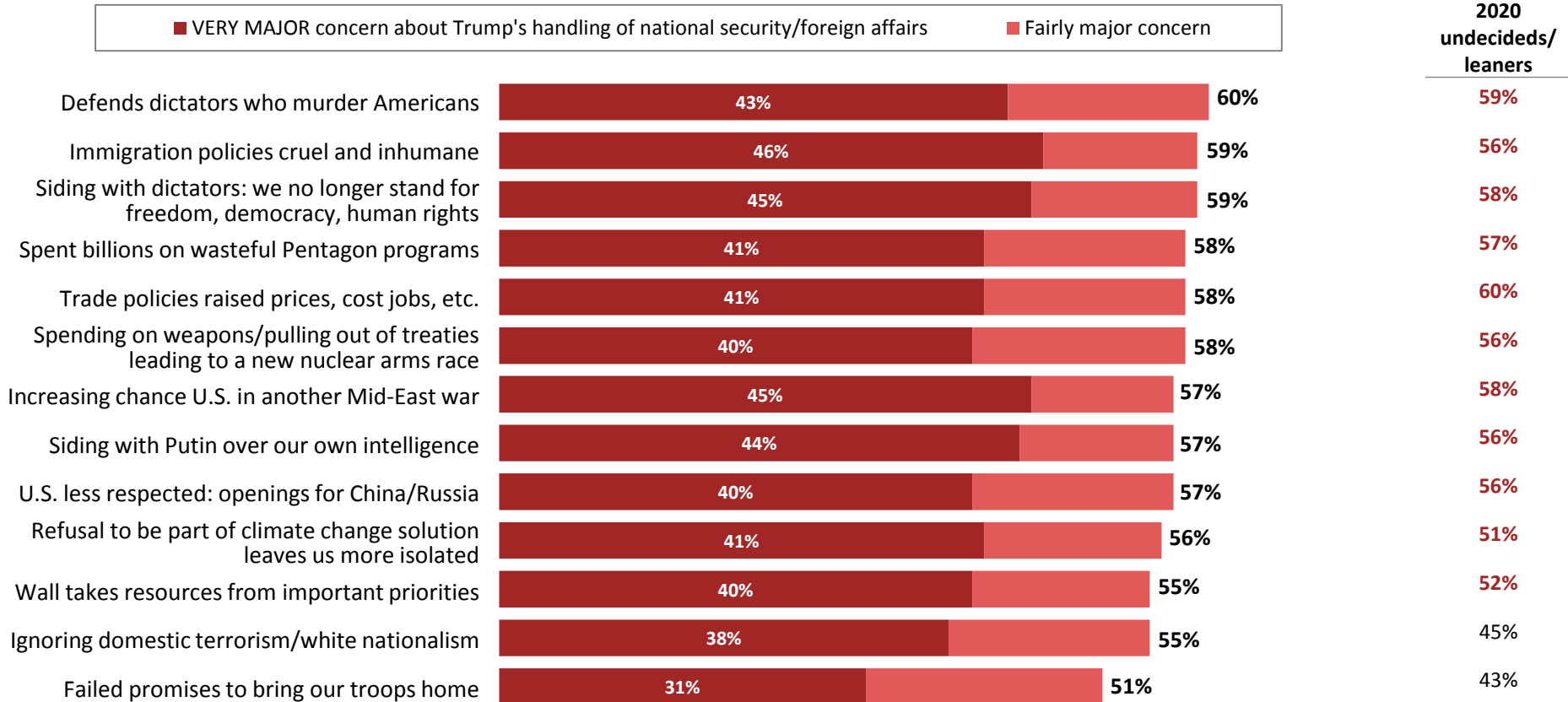
Donald Trump's single-minded **focus on building the border wall has taken resources away from more important priorities** like stopping drug trafficking and violent crime. By his political decision to send troops to the border and shifting money from the military budget to the border wall, Donald Trump is leaving us less prepared to deal with real threats to our security.

Donald Trump has **made Americans less safe at home by ignoring the problem of domestic terrorism** and failing to address the rise of violent white nationalism.

After campaigning on ending America's wars, Trump has **failed to live up to his promises to bring our troops home** from the war in Afghanistan, now in its 18th year and where two generations of American service members have fought.

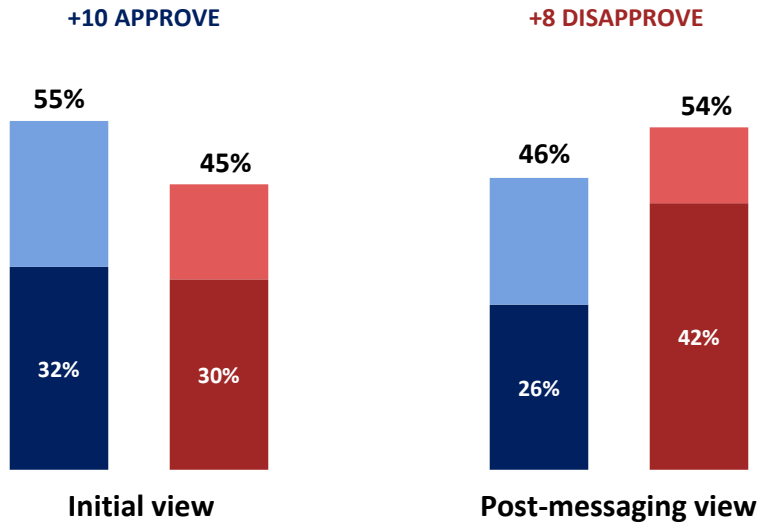


# Majorities express major concerns about Trump's national security/foreign policy record on a variety of key fronts.

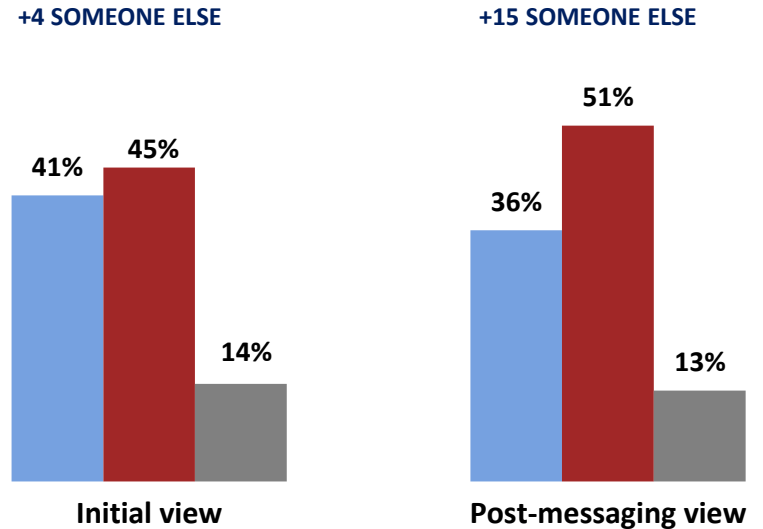
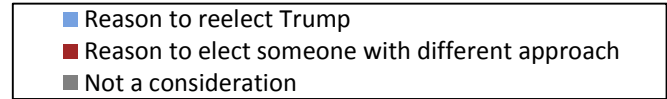


# Laying out the case against Trump on national security and foreign affairs moves voters away from him.

*Trump's Job Approval on National Security and Foreign Relations*

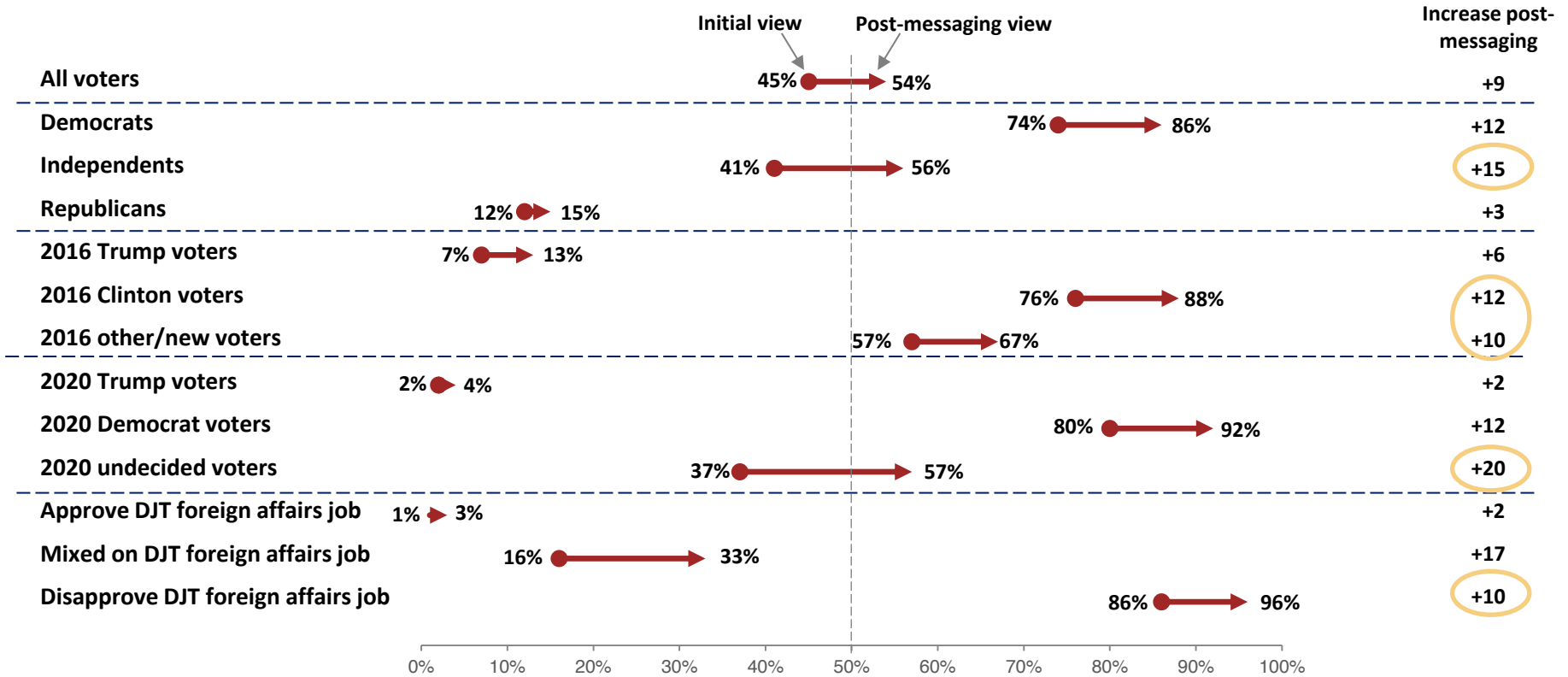


*The way President Trump has handled national security and foreign relations is:*



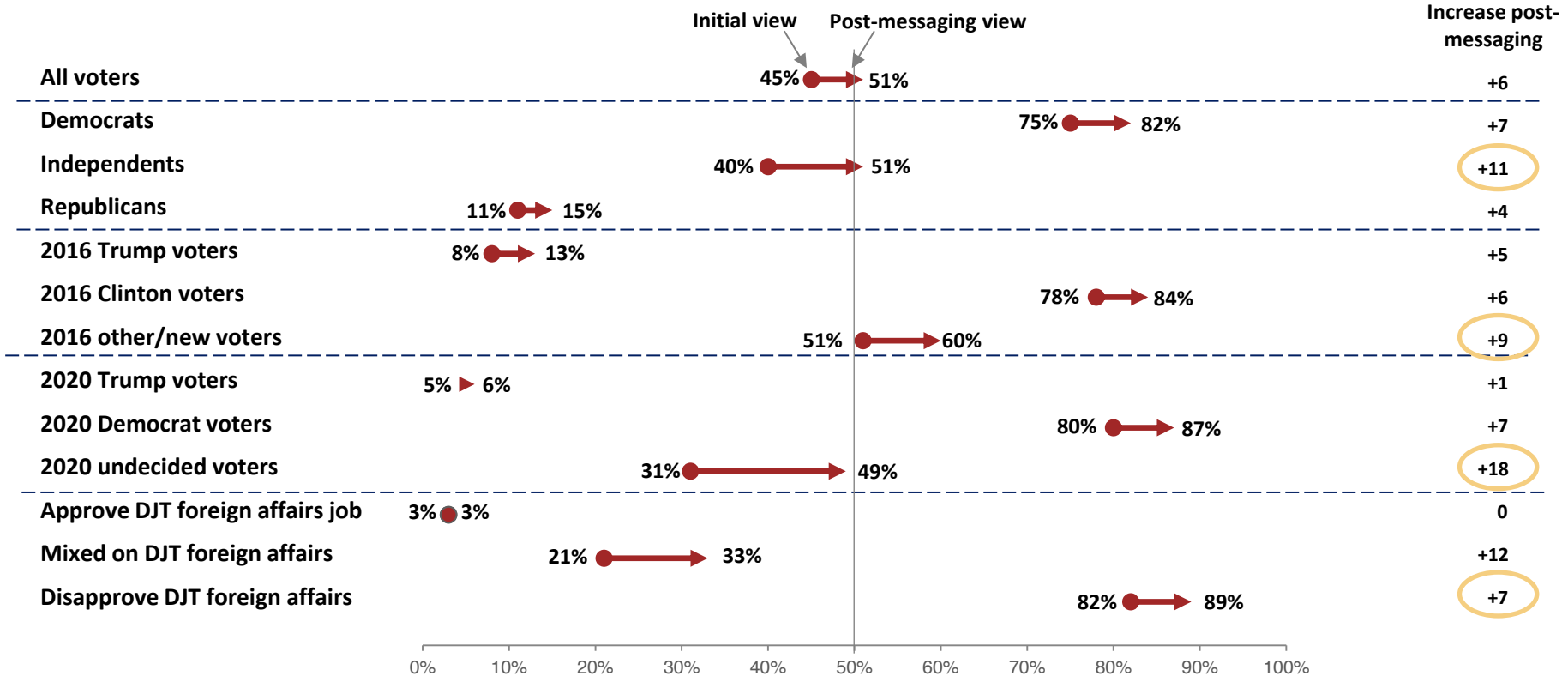
# Encouragingly, we move important swing groups on Trump disapproval.

Proportions who DISAPPROVE of Trump's handling of national security/foreign relations



# And after both positive and negative messaging voters move to want to elect a new president.

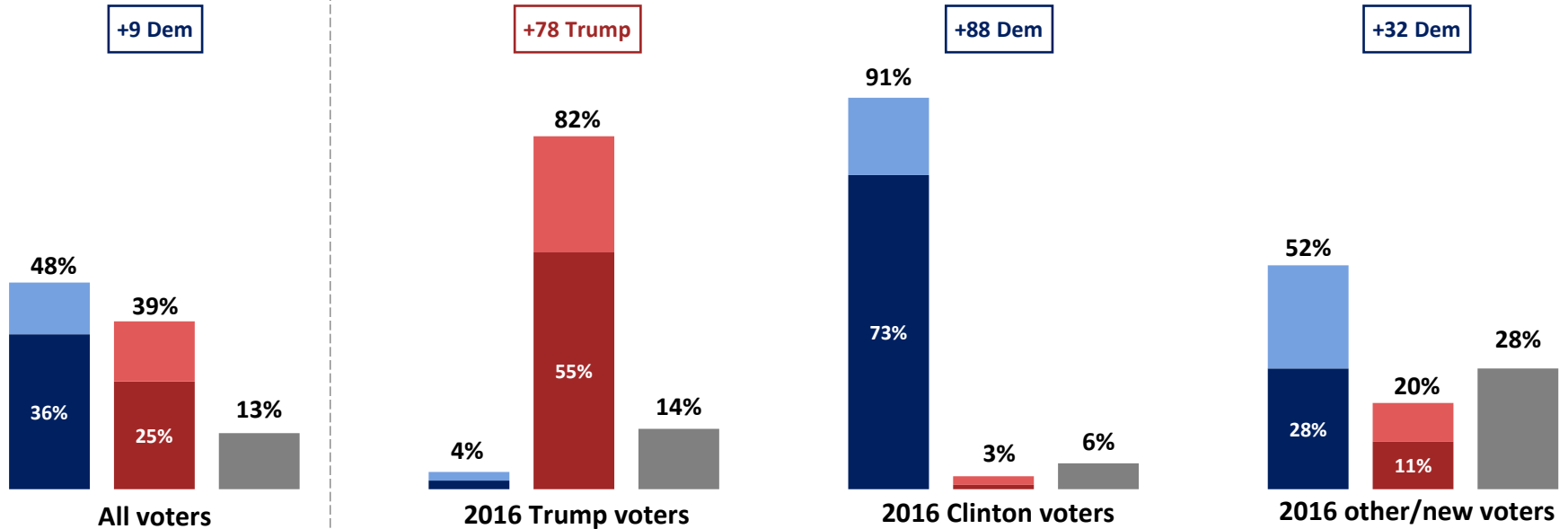
*Proportions who say Trump's handling of national security/foreign relations is more reason to ELECT SOMEONE NEW*



# ***APPENDIX***

# Looking toward 2020, Trump is facing headwinds and does not have his 2016 voters fully solidified for his reelection.

## TRIAL HEAT FOR PRESIDENT



When asked to volunteer their own views of what they liked/disliked about Trump's national security, voter's negative comments focus on his temperament.

VOLUNTEERED FAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS OF THE WAY TRUMP HAS HANDLED AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY



VOLUNTEERED UNFAVORABLE IMPRESSIONS OF THE WAY TRUMP HAS HANDLED AMERICA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

POOR TEMPERAMENT



# MESSAGE HIGHLIGHTING RESULTS: TRADE

RESPONDENTS HIGHLIGHTED SPECIFIC POINTS THAT RAISED THE BIGGEST DOUBTS AND CONCERNS

Focus on American workers and jobs



Donald Trump's trade policies have left America's workers and farmers worse off. Trump's trade wars have put American jobs at risk, slowed manufacturing, and impacted the U.S. economy more than China's. Trump's trade wars have made it impossible for American farmers to export many of their crops. Farm income dropped by 14% last year—pushing many farmers into bankruptcy.



Highlight concrete effects of Trump trade policies



# MESSAGE HIGHLIGHTING RESULTS: FAILED TO ACHIEVE RESULTS

## RESPONDENTS HIGHLIGHTED SPECIFIC POINTS THAT RAISED THE BIGGEST DOUBTS AND CONCERNS

Voters respond to language about administration dysfunction

Despite his bragging and bluster, Donald Trump has failed to achieve foreign policy results. There is constant turnover and in-fighting in his national security team, and many key positions are unfilled, making it impossible to do the hard work of diplomacy. Trump failed to get North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons. He's nowhere near securing a "better deal" with Iran. Trump's trade deals just tinker at the edges, and our trade deficits continue to grow. The situation at our border and in Central America is getting worse rather than better.

North Korea example generates concerns for voters

# MESSAGE HIGHLIGHTING RESULTS: WEAKENED ALLIANCES

RESPONDENTS HIGHLIGHTED SPECIFIC POINTS THAT RAISED THE BIGGEST DOUBTS AND CONCERNS

Voters value our democratic allies



Donald Trump consistently weakens our alliances, leaving America more isolated on the world stage and playing into the hands of our adversaries. Trump has gone out of his way to alienate many of our oldest and most important democratic allies, reducing the likelihood that we can count on them to support us when we need them in the future. Trump has undermined NATO, America's most important military alliance, strengthening Putin's aggressive efforts to destabilize democracy in Europe.

The Putin example is a powerful messaging point



# MESSAGE HIGHLIGHTING RESULTS: IMMIGRATION

RESPONDENTS HIGHLIGHTED SPECIFIC POINTS THAT RAISED THE BIGGEST DOUBTS AND CONCERNS

In talking about immigration voters are concerned about Trump's treatment of children

Donald Trump's approach to border security leaves us less safe. His obsession with building a border wall and extreme policies have forced law enforcement officials to prosecute children and families, instead of focusing on real threats like drug traffickers. To pay for his wall, Trump proposed cutting funding for counterterrorism programs, emergency management, and countering drug smugglers. While slashing programs that counter gangs and address the root causes of migration in Central America, Trump refuses to provide resources to streamline the asylum process and address backlogs. Stoking fears and skewing priorities, Trump is creating the real crisis.

Counterterrorism programs are an effective talking point