US Policy Regarding the Ukraine-Russia War

- Questionnaire -

SAMPLE PROVIDED BY: Nielsen Scarborough

SAMPLE SIZE: 2,445 Respondents

FIELD DATES: June 15-28, 2023
MARGIN OF ERROR: +/- 2%

[Overview]

This survey will ask you questions about what you think US policy should be regarding the Ukraine-Russian war.

As you may know, this conflict started in 2014 and escalated in 2022, when the Russian government launched a full-scale attack on Ukraine. You will have the opportunity to give your opinion on what US policy should be for the following:

- Whether the US should continue to provide military aid to Ukraine
- Whether the US should continue to provide humanitarian aid to Ukraine
- Whether the US should have agreed to let other NATO countries provide Ukraine with US-made fighter jets, and for the US to train Ukrainian pilots on how to use them
- Whether the US should press Ukraine to start negotiating a peace deal with Russia

First, here is some background information about Ukraine's relation to Russia.

Ukraine shares a border with Russia. In the 1920s, Ukraine became one of the founding republics of the Soviet Union, along with Russia.

In 1991, the Soviet Union came apart. Ukraine became an independent nation recognized by the United Nations, the US and Russia.

Soon after, a number of Eastern European nations who were former members of the Soviet Union expressed interest in joining the military alliance NATO, which includes the US and many western European nations. US leaders were also encouraging them to join, while Russia was strongly opposed. In 1999 Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic became NATO members.

In 2000, Vladimir Putin became President of Russia. He expressed strong concern that nations close to Russia were forming ties with the US and Western Europe.

There has been a lot of controversy over NATO expansion.

According to leaders of the Russian government, after the Soviet Union came apart, the US and other European leaders said NATO would not expand any closer to Russia. When NATO started accepting new members the Russian government felt that promise had been broken, and that their security was at risk.

On the other side, US and Western European leaders have said they made no promise not to expand NATO closer to Russia, and that those nations chose to join NATO on their own. There is a debate among Western scholars about whether at the time the US made such promises, either implicitly or explicitly.

When NATO said that the Republic of Georgia, which is on Russia's border, could eventually become part of NATO, Russia expressed strong disapproval and increased its military presence in Georgia. This led to a military conflict.

¹ George Washington University, National Security Archive. (2017) <u>NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard</u>

Q1. How aware were you of these events?

	Very	Somewhat	Very - Somewhat	Only a little	Not at all	Only a little - Not at all	Ref/DK
National	36.4%	43.3%	79.7%	15.9%	4.2%	20.1%	0.2%
Republicans	35.7%	44.9%	80.6%	15.4%	3.7%	19.1%	0.3%
Democrats	36.7%	42.9%	79.6%	16.8%	3.5%	20.3%	0.1%
Independents	37.2%	40.4%	77.6%	14.9%	7.2%	22.1%	0.3%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	31.0%	43.8%	74.8%	19.7%	5.5%	25.2%	0.0%
Somewhat red	32.5%	44.0%	76.5%	17.2%	5.7%	22.9%	0.5%
Lean red	35.1%	47.4%	82.5%	15.2%	2.0%	17.2%	0.2%
Lean blue	38.9%	43.9%	82.8%	12.6%	4.5%	17.1%	0.1%
Somewhat blue	40.2%	37.9%	78.1%	19.0%	2.6%	21.6%	0.3%
Very blue	38.2%	43.3%	81.5%	12.6%	5.9%	18.5%	0.0%

Here is the situation with Ukraine since they became an independent nation.

There has been a division within Ukraine, between those who want to increase ties with Europe, who are mainly in the western part of Ukraine, and those who want to increase ties with Russia, who are mainly in the eastern part.²

In 2013, the Ukrainian Parliament took steps toward joining the European Union. However, the President at the time blocked it. This contributed to a major political uprising in 2014. The Parliament removed the President, opening the door to moving closer to Europe.³ In response, the Russian government started amassing troops on the border of Ukraine.

During this political uprising, groups in the eastern part of Ukraine that wanted to be closer to Russia overthrew their local governments, with Russian military assistance.

Majorities in two areas voted to become independent, and one area – Crimea – voted to become part of Russia. However, these votes have been widely criticized because independent observers were not allowed to witness the vote counting, and Russian and pro-Russian military forces were present at the time of voting. The Russian government then incorporated Crimea into Russia. The Ukrainian government and most countries still consider these areas to be part of Ukraine.

Since 2014, the Ukrainian government has been moving closer to Europe, which has been supported by a growing majority of the Ukrainian public.⁴ Ukraine is moving toward becoming part of the European Union. Ukraine is also making moves toward joining NATO and has been getting military training and weapons from NATO and participating in joint military exercises.

Russia strongly opposed Ukraine moving closer to Europe and NATO and said that it threatened Russia's vital security interests.

Then in February 2022, the Russian government launched a full attack on Ukraine. Russia's stated intention was to overthrow the Ukrainian government and bring Ukraine closer to Russia.

In response, the UN General Assembly condemned the attack as a violation of the UN Charter that prohibits Members from invading another state. The vote was 141 in favor and 5 opposed, with 47 abstaining or absent. China and India abstained and have not condemned the invasion.

The US and several dozen other nations have:

- placed economic sanctions on Russia, primarily by not purchasing Russian oil and making it harder for Russia to do business internationally.
- provided military assistance to the Ukrainian military, such as weapons and training.
- provided humanitarian and financial assistance.

² Institute of National Strategic Studies. (1995) Partnership for Peace: Guaranteeing Success, Strategic Forum 44; NATO. (1998) Mass Public Opinion in Ukraine about NATO and NATO-Ukraine Relationships; Sociological Service of the Ukrainian Centre for Economic and Political Studies Olexander Razumkov (2006); Yaremenko Ukrainian Institute for Social Studies and the Social Monitoring Center. (2007); Pew Research Center. (2010) Ukraine Says 'No' to NATO; PPC. (2014) The Ukrainian People on the Current Crisis

Rada removes Yanukovych from office, schedules new elections for May 25

⁴ IRI. (2021) <u>Public Opinion Survey of Residents of Ukraine</u>; NDI (2023) <u>Opportunities and Challenges Facing Ukraine</u>'s <u>Democratic Transition</u>; trendlines from multiple surveys compiled for Wikipedia: Popular Support to EU Integration of Ukraine in Ukraine.

			Very -			Only a little -	
	Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Only a little	Not at all	Not at all	Ref/DK
National	45.7%	37.3%	83.0%	13.1%	3.4%	16.5%	0.5%
Republicans	44.3%	40.2%	84.5%	12.5%	2.3%	14.8%	0.6%
Democrats	49.0%	37.1%	86.1%	10.3%	3.1%	13.4%	0.5%
Independents	41.2%	30.6%	71.8%	21.4%	6.6%	28.0%	0.2%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	37.9%	37.4%	75.3%	21.6%	3.1%	24.7%	0.0%
Somewhat red	42.7%	40.3%	83.0%	11.8%	5.1%	16.9%	0.0%
Lean red	43.6%	41.2%	84.8%	12.8%	1.4%	14.2%	0.9%
Lean blue	50.4%	33.5%	83.9%	11.9%	3.0%	14.9%	1.2%
Somewhat blue	47.4%	37.6%	85.0%	10.6%	4.0%	14.6%	0.4%
Very blue	49.2%	33.6%	82.8%	13.1%	3.9%	17.0%	0.2%

Since the invasion, Russia has gained military control over about 15% of Ukraine. Russia has declared a large portion of the eastern part of Ukraine to now be part of Russia and has begun to incorporate those areas, for example by introducing Russian currency.

The Ukrainian military has been surprisingly successful in stopping Russian advances, as well as taking back some areas that were captured by Russia.

The US Defense Intelligence Agency estimates that the war has resulted in:

- 17,000 Ukrainians killed and 110,000 injured
- 40,000 Russians killed and 170,000 injured⁵

The UN estimates that about 13 million Ukrainians have fled their homes (about a third of the total Ukrainian population) to get away from the battles.

[Continue to Provide Military Aid]

We will now turn to a key question: whether the US should continue to provide military and other assistance to Ukraine.

As you may know, the US has been providing the Ukrainian military: military equipment, ammunition, training and intelligence. It is difficult to put a dollar value on this assistance, as much of the military equipment provided is fairly old and used, but it is roughly some tens of billions of dollars. European countries have been providing an equivalent amount of military assistance.

Here is an argument in favor of the US continuing to provide military assistance to Ukraine:

Q3. Russia has violated the central principle of the UN Charter and international law that says that nations should not invade other nations. The US and other countries have a duty to protect nations that are attacked. If we let Russia get away with this the whole international order will be at risk. When nations failed to stop Hitler's invasion of Poland, it only encouraged him to go further. Clearly, the US, together with other nations, should uphold international law and help Ukraine.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	49.6%	33.4%	83.0%	9.6%	7.1%	16.7%	0.4%
Republicans	37.0%	38.6%	75.6%	14.6%	9.5%	24.1%	0.4%
Democrats	66.4%	25.9%	92.3%	4.5%	2.7%	7.2%	0.4%
Independents	39.4%	38.8%	78.2%	9.9%	11.7%	21.6%	0.2%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	46.0%	35.1%	81.1%	12.3%	6.6%	18.9%	0.0%
Somewhat red	48.6%	34.2%	82.8%	10.9%	6.3%	17.2%	0.0%
Lean red	49.1%	33.5%	82.6%	10.2%	7.0%	17.2%	0.1%
Lean blue	53.4%	33.0%	86.4%	8.7%	4.6%	13.3%	0.3%
Somewhat blue	47.3%	33.2%	80.5%	9.5%	8.9%	18.4%	1.1%
Very blue	51.9%	32.1%	84.0%	6.7%	9.4%	16.1%	0.0%

⁵ Associated Press. (April 12, 2023) Ukraine war, already with up to 354,000 casualties, likely to last past 2023 - U.S. documents, citing U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency

[&]quot;"Russia/Ukraine - Assessed Combat Sustainability and Attrition."

Here is an argument against:

Q4. The US being involved in Ukraine is unnecessary, and risky, especially since Russia and the US have nuclear weapons. Russia has already reminded the world that it has nuclear weapons and implied it might use them before accepting defeat in Ukraine. Things could easily escalate. If the US aiding Ukraine increases the risk of nuclear war by even a small fraction, then it is not worth the US being involved in Ukraine.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	17.9%	28.3%	46.2%	32.4%	21.0%	53.4%	0.4%
Republicans	24.3%	30.7%	55.0%	30.4%	14.1%	44.5%	0.5%
Democrats	9.2%	23.5%	32.7%	37.6%	29.4%	67.0%	0.3%
Independents	23.4%	34.1%	57.5%	24.6%	17.5%	42.1%	0.5%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	18.9%	33.0%	51.9%	27.2%	20.9%	48.1%	0.0%
Somewhat red	18.8%	28.7%	47.5%	33.8%	18.4%	52.2%	0.2%
Lean red	16.2%	31.1%	47.3%	32.0%	20.6%	52.6%	0.0%
Lean blue	18.4%	21.3%	39.7%	34.5%	25.1%	59.6%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	16.7%	30.4%	47.1%	32.9%	19.5%	52.4%	0.5%
Very blue	18.2%	27.5%	45.7%	32.7%	21.2%	53.9%	0.3%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q5. It is important for US security, not just Europe's, for Russia not to gain territory in Europe. If they are able to take over Ukraine, this will strengthen and embolden them. If they attack a NATO member that the US is committed to defending, like the Baltic states, it could easily lead the US into an all-out war with Russia that is likely to go nuclear.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	40.9%	37.0%	77.9%	13.8%	8.0%	21.8%	0.3%
Republicans	34.0%	36.1%	70.1%	19.4%	10.2%	29.6%	0.3%
Democrats	50.4%	37.2%	87.6%	8.8%	3.2%	12.0%	0.3%
Independents	34.4%	38.4%	72.8%	12.8%	14.2%	27.0%	0.2%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	41.6%	35.9%	77.5%	14.1%	8.2%	22.3%	0.2%
Somewhat red	38.0%	40.6%	78.6%	15.0%	6.1%	21.1%	0.3%
Lean red	41.7%	33.9%	75.6%	15.4%	8.8%	24.2%	0.2%
Lean blue	44.1%	35.4%	79.5%	12.8%	7.4%	20.2%	0.3%
Somewhat blue	38.3%	39.7%	78.0%	13.1%	8.4%	21.5%	0.5%
Very blue	41.7%	36.2%	77.9%	11.9%	9.9%	21.8%	0.3%

Here is another argument against:

Q6. The US does not need to be involved in every global problem. This war is a European problem, and they should be responsible for dealing with it. The major nations in Europe – like the U.K., Germany, and France – have advanced militaries that are providing support to Ukraine and can provide more. Furthermore, the idea that any time a nation attacks another one, the international order is going to collapse, is unnecessarily alarmist.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	21.4%	30.5%	51.9%	25.5%	22.1%	47.6%	0.5%
Republicans	30.9%	32.0%	62.9%	21.9%	14.8%	36.7%	0.4%
Democrats	9.1%	27.1%	36.2%	30.8%	32.5%	63.3%	0.5%
Independents	27.9%	35.4%	63.3%	21.3%	14.6%	35.9%	0.8%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	22.2%	33.6%	55.8%	21.6%	22.7%	44.3%	0.0%
Somewhat red	20.2%	34.0%	54.2%	27.0%	18.8%	45.8%	0.0%
Lean red	23.5%	30.3%	53.8%	23.3%	22.6%	45.9%	0.2%
Lean blue	22.2%	27.4%	49.6%	25.6%	24.3%	49.9%	0.5%
Somewhat blue	21.0%	31.2%	52.2%	24.7%	21.7%	46.4%	1.3%
Very blue	19.2%	27.9%	47.1%	29.2%	22.8%	52.0%	0.9%

Q7. So, here again is the proposal: whether the US should continue to provide military and other assistance to Ukraine.

How acceptable do you find this proposal on a scale of 0-10, where 0=Not at all acceptable, 5=Just tolerable and 10=very acceptable?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref./DK
National	24.8%	12.4%	62.1%	0.8%
Republicans	35.2%	15.9%	48.2%	0.7%
Democrats	10.4%	6.9%	82.0%	0.8%
Independents	34.4%	17.1%	47.6%	0.8%
Cook's PVI (D-R)				
Very red	24.1%	17.3%	58.6%	0.0%
Somewhat red	25.9%	13.8%	59.2%	1.1%
Lean red	28.5%	11.1%	60.0%	0.4%
Lean blue	22.5%	9.5%	67.8%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	25.8%	10.3%	62.0%	1.9%
Very blue	20.8%	14.1%	64.5%	0.6%

Q8. Do you favor or oppose the US continuing to provide military assistance to Ukraine, including military equipment, ammunition, training and intelligence?

	Favor	Oppose	Ref/DK				
National	68.9%	30.5%	0.7%				
Republicans	55.4%	43.8%	0.8%				
Democrats	87.0%	12.5%	0.5%				
Independents	57.9%	41.5%	0.7%				
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	70.9%	29.0%	0.1%				
Somewhat red	67.6%	32.0%	0.3%				
Lean red	64.2%	35.2%	0.6%				
Lean blue	70.7%	28.7%	0.6%				
Somewhat blue	70.3%	28.5%	1.2%				
Very blue	71.0%	28.5%	0.5%				

Both the US and European countries have also been giving Ukraine humanitarian aid, including providing food and shelter, and helping them repair access to water and electricity. So far, the US has given about \$39 billion in such assistance. The Europeans have contributed an equivalent amount and have also accepted more than a million Ukrainian refugees into their countries.

Another proposal is for the US to continue giving humanitarian assistance to Ukraine.

Q9. How acceptable do you find this proposal?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref./DK
National	21.8%	10.9%	66.6%	0.7%
Republicans	30.7%	13.5%	54.7%	1.1%
Democrats	8.7%	6.7%	84.1%	0.5%
Independents	31.6%	14.6%	53.5%	0.3%
Cook's PVI (D-R)				
Very red	21.6%	14.8%	63.0%	0.6%
Somewhat red	22.2%	10.4%	66.7%	0.8%
Lean red	26.5%	8.3%	64.8%	0.3%
Lean blue	18.7%	12.6%	68.3%	0.4%
Somewhat blue	21.6%	10.1%	67.0%	1.3%
Very blue	20.5%	10.8%	68.4%	0.3%

⁶ CRS. (2023) <u>Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs (SFOPS) Supplemental Funding for Ukraine: In Brief: FY22 and FY23 Economic Support Fund; International Disaster Assistance; Migration and Refugee Assistance</u>

	Favor	Oppose	Ref/DK			
National	80.4%	19.1%	0.5%			
Republicans	72.0%	27.4%	0.6%			
Democrats	91.9%	7.6%	0.5%			
Independents	72.7%	26.7%	0.5%			
Cook's PVI (D-R)						
Very red	79.6%	20.2%	0.3%			
Somewhat red	80.2%	19.2%	0.6%			
Lean red	76.3%	22.9%	0.8%			
Lean blue	83.7%	16.2%	0.1%			
Somewhat blue	81.6%	17.9%	0.5%			
Very blue	80.4%	19.2%	0.4%			

[Fighter Jets]

Now let's turn to a specific type of military equipment that Ukraine has been asking the US and other NATO members for – fighter jets.

Until recently only a few NATO countries provided a limited number of fighter jets to Ukraine, and Ukraine has asked for more. NATO countries did have more fighter jets they had bought from the US, but the US did not permit them to transfer them to Ukraine (A condition of the sale was that the US can say who they may transfer the jets to.)

Recently, at the urging of other NATO members, the US shifted its positions and agreed to allow them to provide those fighter jets to Ukraine. The US also agreed to provide training to Ukrainian pilots on how to operate these fighter jets. Whether the US should have agreed to this has been debated.

Here is an argument in support of the US agreeing to let NATO members send fighter jets to Ukraine:

Q11. The military aid the US and other countries have been giving Ukraine has been just enough to limit Russian advances and only take back small areas. It has not been enough to ensure that Ukraine and Russia are at a standstill. Allowing the transfer of jets is an important step forward in making sure Ukraine has the military capabilities to push back and drive the Russian military out of its territory.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	34.7%	40.6%	75.3%	13.8%	10.6%	24.4%	0.2%
Republicans	27.6%	39.4%	67.0%	16.8%	15.9%	32.7%	0.2%
Democrats	45.8%	40.0%	85.8%	10.0%	3.8%	13.8%	0.4%
Independents	25.1%	44.9%	70.0%	15.6%	14.4%	30.0%	0.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	30.7%	41.9%	72.6%	16.0%	11.2%	27.2%	0.2%
Somewhat red	30.4%	44.7%	75.1%	13.1%	11.8%	24.9%	0.0%
Lean red	34.8%	38.2%	73.0%	16.6%	10.4%	27.0%	0.0%
Lean blue	37.9%	39.5%	77.4%	11.2%	11.3%	22.5%	0.0%
Somewhat blue	34.3%	42.5%	76.8%	12.8%	9.9%	22.7%	0.5%
Very blue	38.2%	37.8%	76.0%	13.5%	10.2%	23.7%	0.3%

Here is an argument against:

Q12. Fighter jets are some of the most advanced and dangerous pieces of military equipment. The US signing off on its NATO allies sending US fighter jets to Ukraine sends yet another signal to Russia that the US is escalating this conflict. It feeds into Russia's propaganda that this is really a war between Russia and the West, which might cause Russia to ramp up their offense. It takes us one step closer to an all-out conflict that could go nuclear.

	Very	Somewhat	Total	Somewhat	Very	Total	D-f/D/
	convincing	convincing	convincing	unconvincing	unconvincing	unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	23.4%	34.3%	57.7%	25.0%	17.0%	42.0%	0.3%
Republicans	32.3%	33.4%	65.7%	21.4%	12.4%	33.8%	0.5%
Democrats	12.6%	34.4%	47.0%	30.9%	21.9%	52.8%	0.2%
Independents	28.1%	36.1%	64.2%	19.7%	16.1%	35.8%	0.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	25.2%	35.6%	60.8%	24.5%	14.5%	39.0%	0.2%
Somewhat red	25.5%	38.1%	63.6%	21.9%	14.2%	36.1%	0.2%
Lean red	23.2%	34.0%	57.2%	23.6%	19.1%	42.7%	0.1%
Lean blue	19.9%	32.5%	52.4%	26.5%	20.9%	47.4%	0.3%
Somewhat blue	23.3%	33.7%	57.0%	28.5%	14.5%	43.0%	0.0%
Very blue	24.8%	32.2%	57.0%	25.8%	17.2%	43.0%	0.0%

Here is another argument in support:

Q13. NATO allies have already been providing other types of advanced weapons to Ukraine, including fighter jets not made in the US, and that has not led to some major escalation or the use of nuclear weapons. We should not let Russia's empty threats of using nuclear weapons deter us from helping Ukraine. Russia does not want an all-out nuclear war any more than we do.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	34.1%	39.1%	73.2%	17.1%	9.0%	26.1%	0.6%
Republicans	25.9%	39.3%	65.2%	21.1%	13.0%	34.1%	0.7%
Democrats	45.3%	39.2%	84.5%	11.9%	3.2%	15.1%	0.4%
Independents	27.1%	38.3%	65.4%	20.0%	13.5%	33.5%	1.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	32.8%	39.8%	72.6%	18.1%	9.0%	27.1%	0.3%
Somewhat red	32.2%	40.2%	72.4%	18.5%	9.0%	27.5%	0.1%
Lean red	36.4%	38.1%	74.5%	15.9%	9.1%	25.0%	0.5%
Lean blue	35.4%	39.4%	74.8%	14.7%	9.3%	24.0%	1.2%
Somewhat blue	30.9%	40.1%	71.0%	20.3%	8.3%	28.6%	0.4%
Very blue	35.7%	38.0%	73.7%	16.0%	10.0%	26.0%	0.4%

Here is another argument against:

Q14. According to the US Department of Defense and various military analysts, this is fundamentally a land war and thus fighter jets aren't really going to help Ukraine. The US has provided Ukraine with air defense missiles, and these have been effective to help defend against incoming Russian missiles and to help keep Russian fighter jets out of Ukrainian airspace. Agreeing to let NATO send fighter jets was unnecessary.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	15.5%	34.4%	49.9%	28.8%	21.0%	49.8%	0.3%
Republicans	19.6%	35.5%	55.1%	28.1%	16.3%	44.4%	0.4%
Democrats	8.9%	33.0%	41.9%	31.2%	26.6%	57.8%	0.3%
Independents	21.4%	35.0%	56.4%	24.7%	18.8%	43.5%	0.0%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	17.1%	35.2%	52.3%	28.2%	19.5%	47.7%	0.0%
Somewhat red	14.4%	35.3%	49.7%	32.3%	17.5%	49.8%	0.5%
Lean red	17.2%	33.0%	50.2%	25.3%	24.2%	49.5%	0.4%
Lean blue	13.5%	34.8%	48.3%	27.5%	23.9%	51.4%	0.3%
Somewhat blue	14.8%	33.9%	48.7%	32.2%	18.9%	51.1%	0.2%
Very blue	17.1%	34.8%	51.9%	26.7%	21.4%	48.1%	0.0%

Q15. Here again is the proposal.

- let other NATO countries provide Ukraine with fighter jets they bought from the US and to
- provide training to Ukrainians on how to operate those fighter jets

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref./DK
National	24.5%	14.3%	60.3%	0.9%
Republicans	33.1%	14.5%	51.7%	0.7%
Democrats	12.5%	12.9%	73.3%	1.3%
Independents	32.9%	17.2%	49.6%	0.4%
Cook's PVI (D-R)				
Very red	25.3%	14.4%	60.1%	0.3%
Somewhat red	26.2%	16.7%	56.1%	1.0%
Lean red	28.5%	11.9%	58.2%	1.4%
Lean blue	23.1%	11.6%	64.8%	0.5%
Somewhat blue	22.6%	15.9%	60.3%	1.3%
Very blue	21.7%	16.7%	61.4%	0.1%

Q16. So, in conclusion, do you approve or disapprove of the US agreeing to:

- let other NATO countries provide Ukraine with fighter jets they bought from the US and to
- provide training to Ukrainians on how to operate those fighter jets

	Approve	Disapprove	Ref/DK
National	72.8%	26.3%	0.9%
Republicans	63.1%	36.0%	1.0%
Democrats	86.0%	13.2%	0.8%
Independents	64.3%	34.8%	0.9%
Cook's PVI (D-R)			
Very red	73.6%	26.3%	0.1%
Somewhat red	69.4%	29.5%	1.1%
Lean red	71.0%	27.7%	1.3%
Lean blue	78.1%	21.2%	0.7%
Somewhat blue	72.0%	27.1%	0.9%
Very blue	72.6%	27.2%	0.2%

[Press for Entering Negotiations]

Currently, there is a debate about whether the US should encourage Ukraine to enter into negotiations with Russia.

Right now, the US takes the position that it is entirely up to Ukraine to decide whether to start negotiating a peace deal with Russia, and under what conditions. Ukraine has expressed interest in such negotiations, but on the condition that Russia first commits to withdraw its troops from all of Ukraine, which Russia has refused to do.

Some people have proposed that the US should encourage Ukraine to enter into negotiations, whether or not Russia first commits to withdraw from all of Ukraine.

Here is an argument in favor:

Q17. Ukraine needs to understand that if Russia feels like it's going to be defeated, it might resort to nuclear weapons. The US and other NATO countries are not willing to escalate to nuclear war to defend Ukraine. We should not feed Ukrainian fantasies that they can somehow regain all their territory by fighting for however long that takes. A negotiated compromise is the only realistic option.

	Very	Somewhat	Total	Somewhat	Very	Total	
	convincing	convincing	convincing	unconvincing	unconvincing	unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	19.3%	37.7%	57.0%	25.0%	17.5%	42.5%	0.4%
Republicans	24.4%	38.2%	62.6%	22.8%	14.2%	37.0%	0.4%
Democrats	11.3%	37.3%	48.6%	29.0%	21.9%	50.9%	0.4%
Independents	26.4%	37.7%	64.1%	20.9%	14.6%	35.5%	0.4%

Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	17.2%	38.0%	55.2%	22.0%	22.8%	44.8%	0.0%
Somewhat red	18.9%	39.0%	57.9%	27.4%	14.5%	41.9%	0.2%
Lean red	18.9%	41.2%	60.1%	23.9%	15.3%	39.2%	0.7%
Lean blue	21.2%	33.6%	54.8%	26.7%	18.0%	44.7%	0.4%
Somewhat blue	17.4%	39.3%	56.7%	25.5%	17.5%	43.0%	0.3%
Very blue	22.8%	35.0%	57.8%	24.7%	17.5%	42.2%	0.0%

Here is an argument against:

Q18. The clear implication here is that Ukraine should make concessions in terms of territory or at least not being part of NATO. We should not tell Ukrainians to accept Russia stealing a portion of their territory or Russia telling them they cannot join NATO. It would reward Russia for violating international law. They would soon push to dominate other countries they see as in their sphere of influence, some of them NATO members. Giving any ground to Russia will only push off the day of reckoning.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	32.5%	35.2%	67.7%	19.1%	12.9%	32.0%	0.3%
Republicans	25.3%	35.0%	60.3%	23.6%	15.8%	39.4%	0.3%
Democrats	40.4%	36.3%	76.7%	14.2%	8.7%	22.9%	0.4%
Independents	30.8%	33.0%	63.8%	20.1%	15.9%	36.0%	0.2%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	30.8%	36.7%	67.5%	20.8%	11.3%	32.1%	0.5%
Somewhat red	27.1%	39.3%	66.4%	19.7%	13.0%	32.7%	0.9%
Lean red	33.9%	32.0%	65.9%	20.9%	13.1%	34.0%	0.0%
Lean blue	34.5%	33.5%	68.0%	16.4%	15.5%	31.9%	0.1%
Somewhat blue	32.5%	36.7%	69.2%	18.3%	12.6%	30.9%	0.0%
Very blue	34.7%	34.3%	69.0%	19.3%	11.8%	31.1%	0.0%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q19. People are dying every day, millions have been forced to flee their homes, and towns are being destroyed. There is no end in sight. Russia ultimately has many more resources than Ukraine and Ukraine is very unlikely to win a long-term battle. Therefore, delaying negotiations or failing to initiate them, is simply prolonging the losses of Ukraine. The US should encourage Ukraine to try to end this brutal war as soon as possible.

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	24.9%	35.6%	60.5%	24.2%	14.7%	38.9%	0.5%
Republicans	29.2%	36.2%	65.4%	23.4%	10.4%	33.8%	0.9%
Democrats	17.6%	35.5%	53.1%	26.8%	19.9%	46.7%	0.2%
Independents	32.2%	34.3%	66.5%	20.0%	12.9%	32.9%	0.6%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	22.7%	35.5%	58.2%	24.2%	16.8%	41.0%	0.8%
Somewhat red	26.1%	37.3%	63.4%	26.1%	10.5%	36.6%	0.0%
Lean red	26.6%	36.8%	63.4%	21.1%	15.0%	36.1%	0.6%
Lean blue	22.7%	34.0%	56.7%	26.2%	16.4%	42.6%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	23.4%	39.8%	63.2%	22.9%	13.7%	36.6%	0.1%
Very blue	28.0%	30.4%	58.4%	24.6%	16.5%	41.1%	0.6%

Here is another argument against:

Q20. No one knows what will happen in this war. Ukraine has far superseded expectations, which can happen when people are defending their homeland. After all that Ukrainians have sacrificed to defend their country, it should not be our role to press them into negotiations. This could weaken them and undermine their efforts to take back their country from foreign invaders. We should continue to say that it is their choice, not ours.

	Very	Somewhat	Total	Somewhat	Very	Total	D-UDV
	convincing	convincing	convincing	unconvincing	unconvincing	unconvincing	Ref/DK
National	39.7%	35.5%	75.2%	16.6%	7.8%	24.4%	0.4%
Republicans	35.8%	32.4%	68.2%	21.3%	10.2%	31.5%	0.3%
Democrats	45.1%	40.0%	85.1%	10.9%	3.7%	14.6%	0.3%
Independents	35.7%	32.6%	68.3%	19.1%	11.8%	30.9%	0.8%
Cook's PVI (D-R)							
Very red	39.2%	35.2%	74.4%	17.5%	7.4%	24.9%	0.7%
Somewhat red	34.8%	39.7%	74.5%	18.2%	7.4%	25.6%	0.0%
Lean red	38.2%	33.2%	71.4%	19.9%	8.8%	28.7%	0.0%
Lean blue	45.1%	32.2%	77.3%	13.1%	9.3%	22.4%	0.2%
Somewhat blue	39.6%	36.1%	75.7%	16.7%	7.4%	24.1%	0.2%
Very blue	40.1%	37.9%	78.0%	15.0%	6.3%	21.3%	0.7%

Q21. Encourage Ukraine to enter into negotiations with Russia, whether or not Russia first commits to withdraw from all of Ukraine.

How acceptable do you find this proposal?

	(0-4)	5	(6-10)	Ref./DK
National	47.1%	19.4%	32.8%	0.7%
Republicans	39.6%	17.6%	41.9%	0.9%
Democrats	55.6%	20.5%	23.2%	0.7%
Independents	44.9%	21.2%	33.8%	0.1%
Cook's PVI (D-R)				
Very red	48.1%	19.7%	31.7%	0.5%
Somewhat red	42.7%	22.5%	33.6%	1.2%
Lean red	44.7%	20.1%	34.7%	0.5%
Lean blue	49.7%	18.3%	32.0%	0.0%
Somewhat blue	48.9%	17.8%	32.3%	1.0%
Very blue	49.0%	18.3%	32.3%	0.3%

Q22. Do you think the US should or should not encourage Ukraine to enter into negotiations with Russia, **whether or not** Russia first commits to withdraw from all of Ukraine?

	Should	Should Not	Ref/DK
National	43.0%	56.4%	0.6%
Republicans	52.5%	46.9%	0.6%
Democrats	32.0%	67.5%	0.5%
Independents	46.7%	52.8%	0.5%
Cook's PVI (D-R)			
Very red	39.6%	60.4%	0.0%
Somewhat red	44.2%	55.6%	0.3%
Lean red	45.1%	54.5%	0.4%
Lean blue	41.7%	57.7%	0.6%
Somewhat blue	46.5%	52.5%	1.0%
Very blue	40.3%	59.5%	0.2%