



**PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION**  
SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND



**SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY**  
**CENTER FOR**  
**INTERNATIONAL &**  
**SECURITY STUDIES**  
**AT MARYLAND**

# Americans on U.S. Role in the Ukraine-Russia War

**A NATIONAL SURVEY OF REGISTERED VOTERS**

**July 2023**

**RESEARCH ANALYSTS**

Evan Fehsenfeld  
Evan Charles Lewitus

**PRIMARY INVESTIGATORS**

Steven Kull  
Nancy Gallagher

**RESEARCH ASSISTANTS**

Davis Bunn  
Bethany Sapp

# Methodology

**Sample Provided by:** Nielsen Scarborough

**Field Dates:** June 15-28, 2023

**Sample Size:** 2,445 Registered Voters

**Margin of Error:** +/-2.0%

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## **Weighting**

Sample weighted by age, income, gender, race, geographic region and party affiliation.

## **Congressional District Analysis**

Sample divided six ways based on Cook's Political Value Index rating of the respondent's Congressional district.

# Background

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.

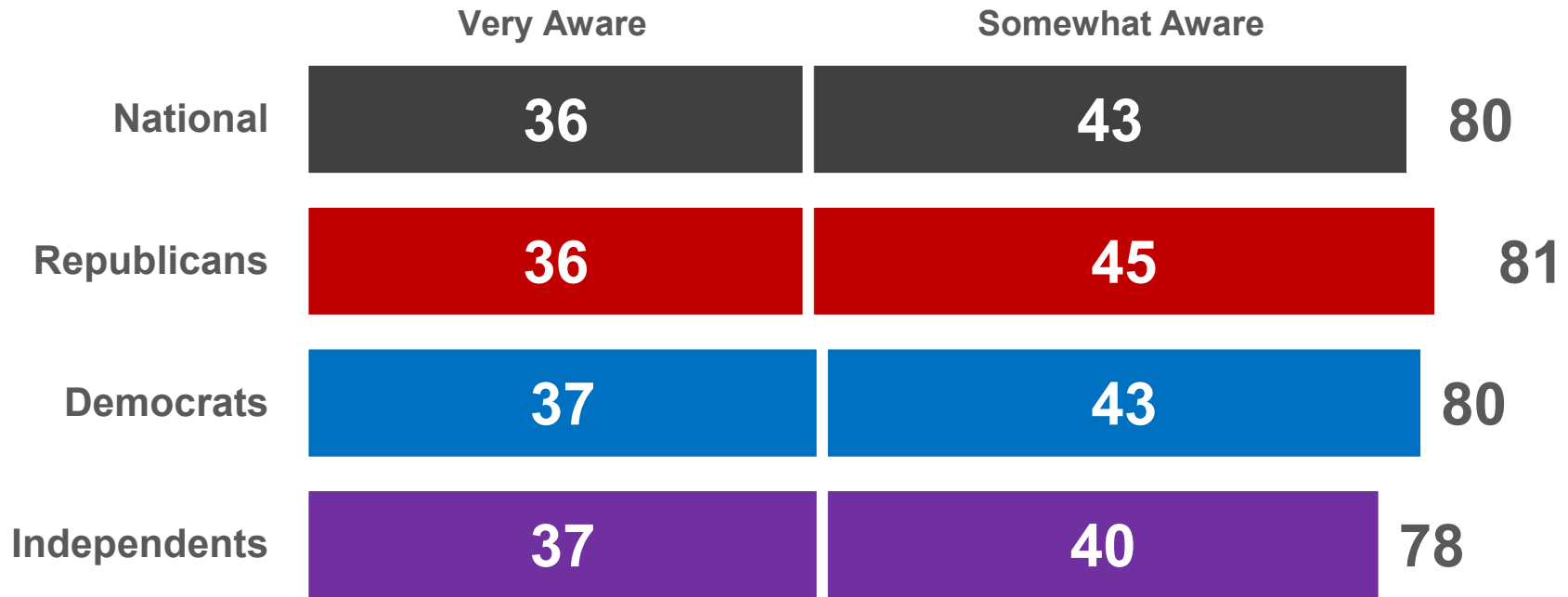
# Background

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.

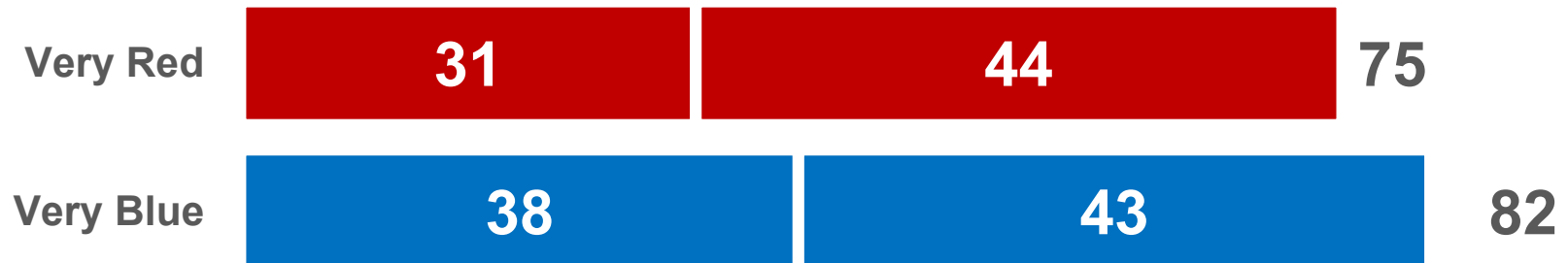
On the other side, US and Western European leaders have said they made no promise not to expand NATO closer to Russia, and that those nations chose to join NATO on their own. There is a debate among Western scholars about whether at the time the US made such promises, either implicitly or explicitly.

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.

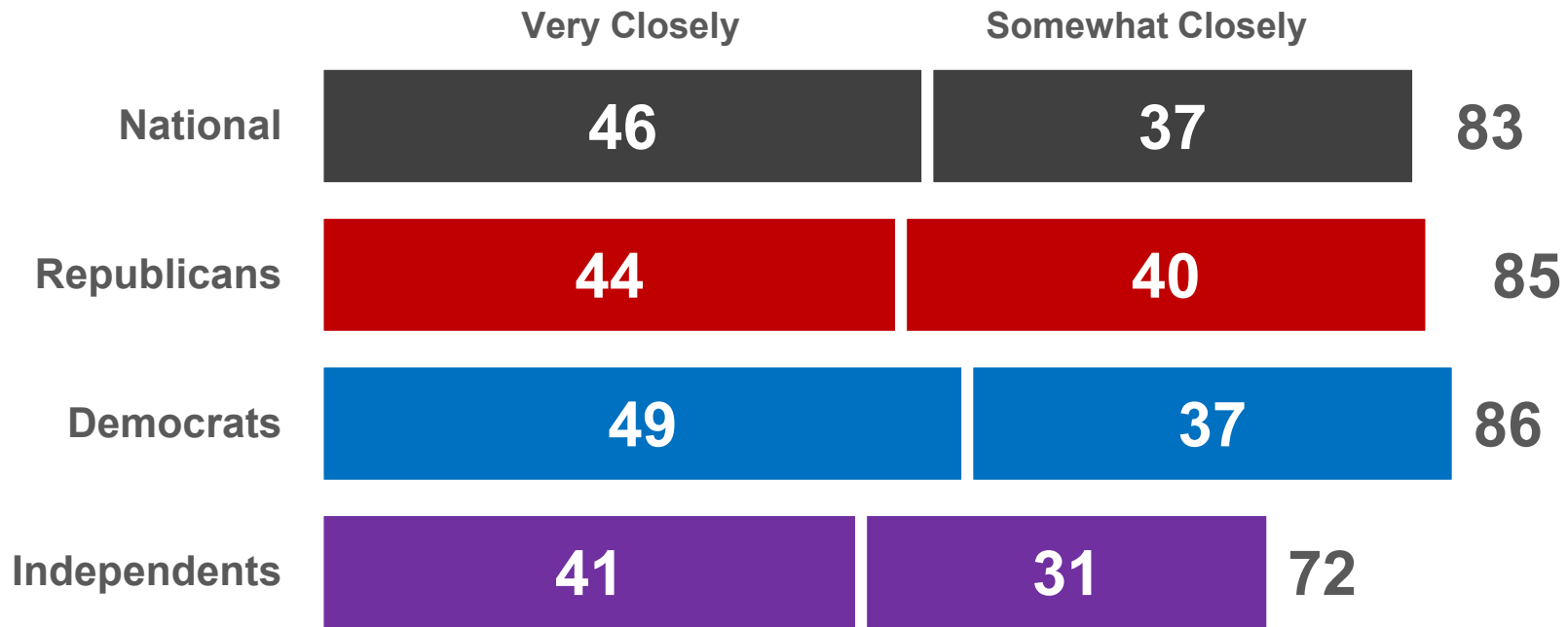
# How aware were you of these events?



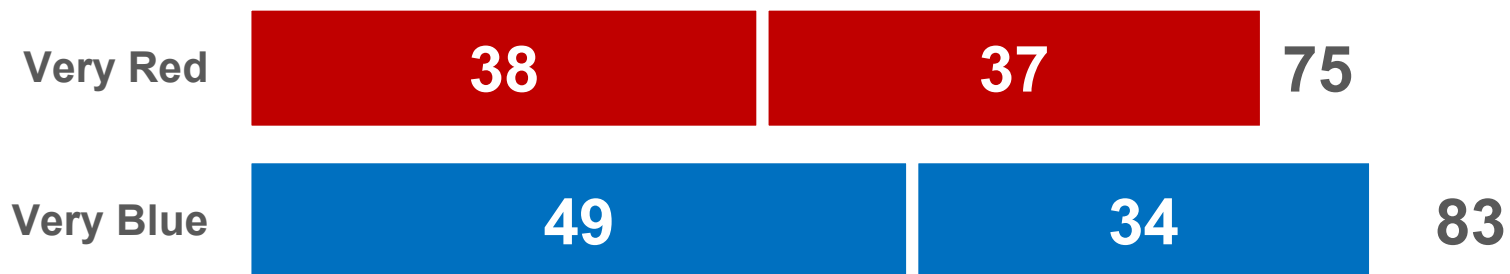
## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



# How closely have you followed these events?



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

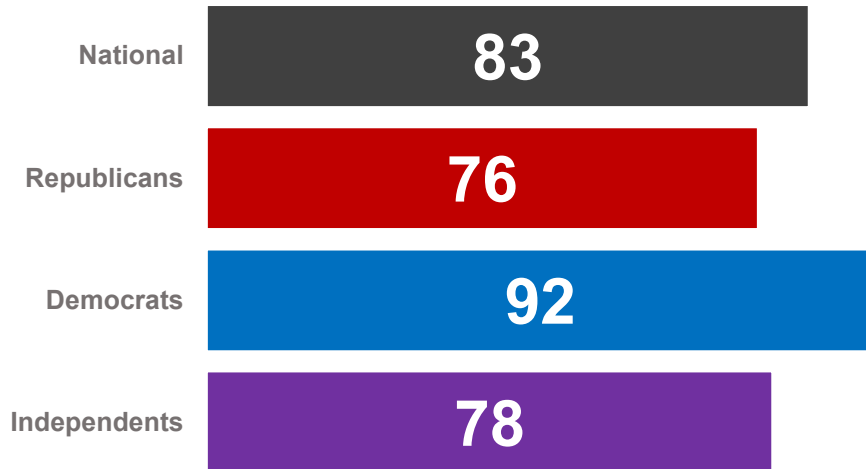


# Whether the US Should Continue to Provide Military Assistance to Ukraine

## ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

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.

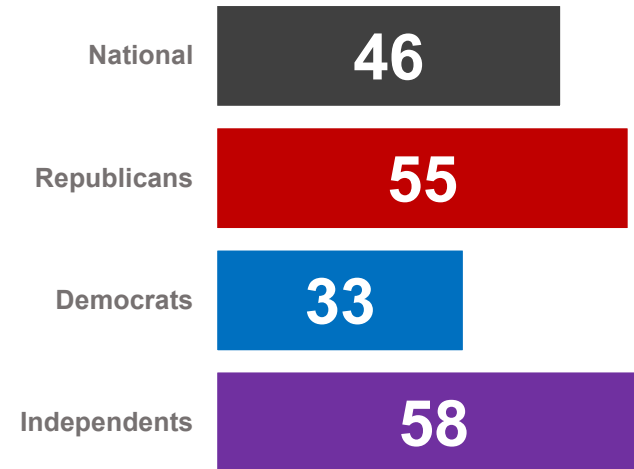
### CONVINCING



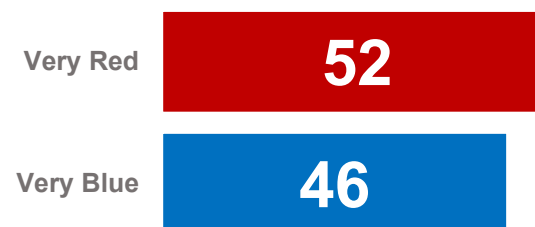
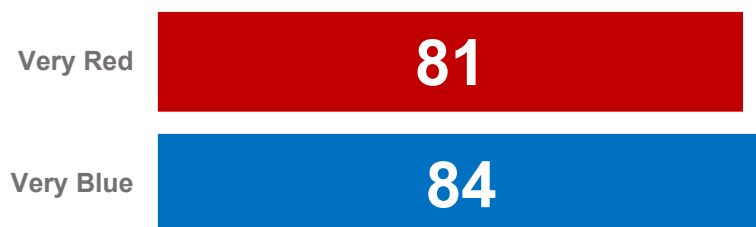
## ARGUMENT AGAINST

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.

### CONVINCING



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

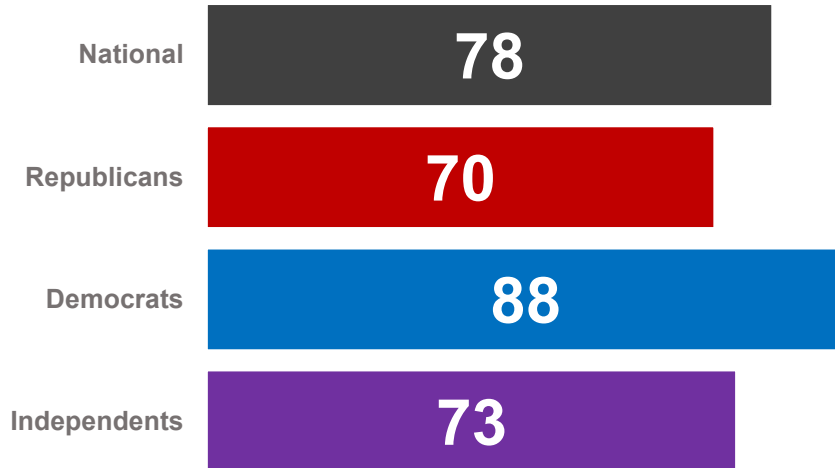


# Whether the US Should Continue to Provide Military Assistance to Ukraine

## ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

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.

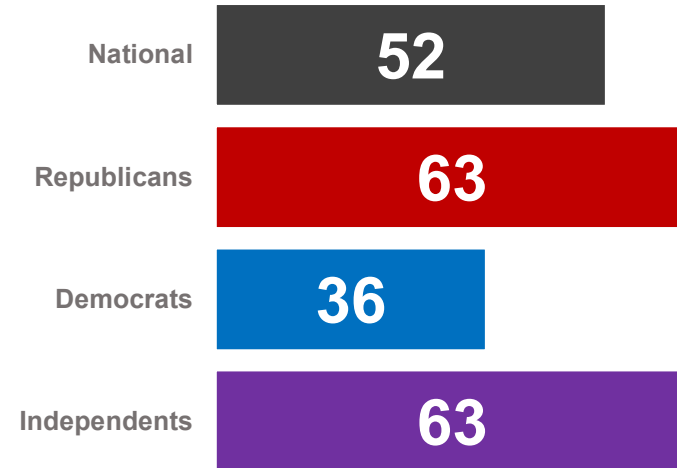
### CONVINCING



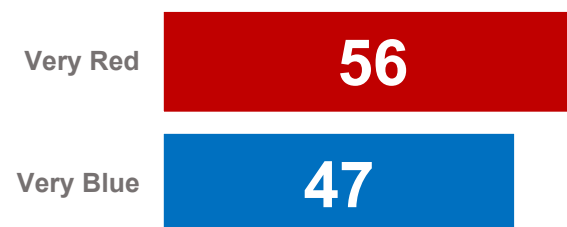
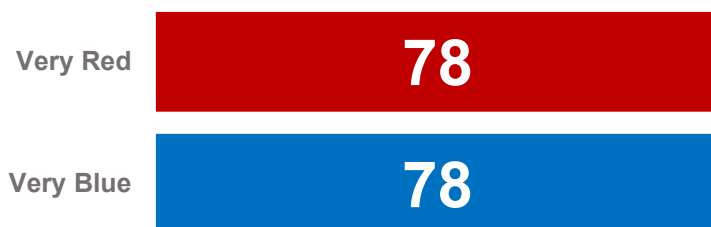
## ARGUMENT AGAINST

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.

### CONVINCING



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



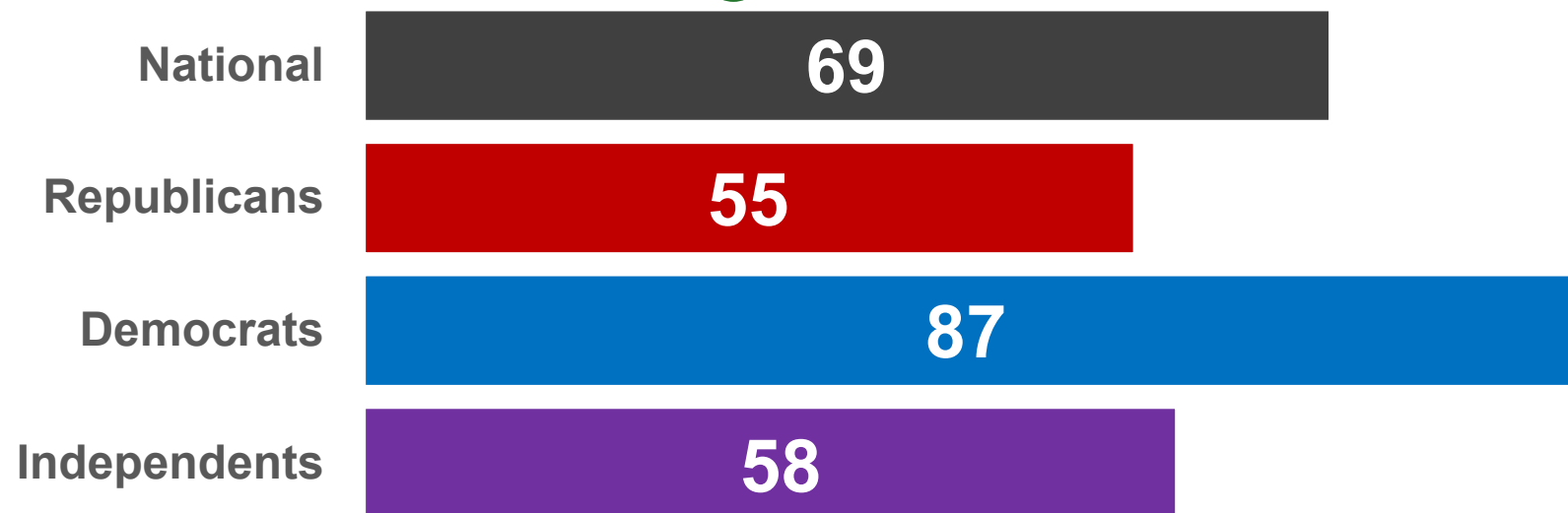


# US Military Assistance to Ukraine

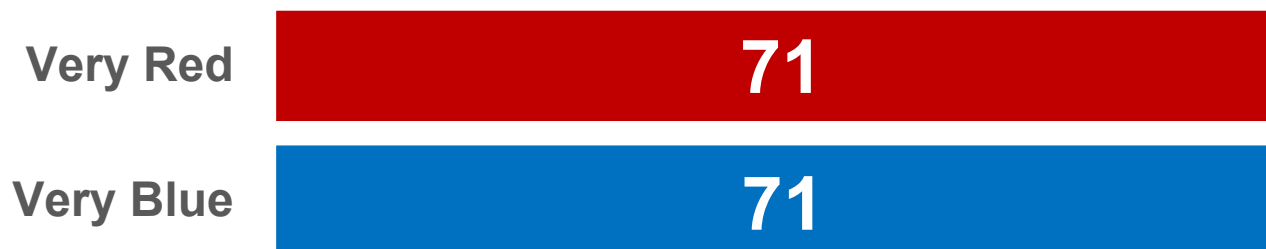
**FINAL  
RECOMMENDATION**

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

✓ **FAVOR**



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

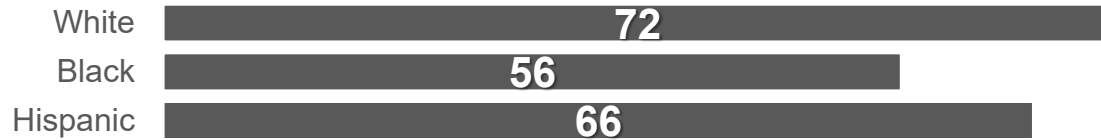


# Military Assistance

BY  
DEMOGRAPHIC

✓ FAVOR

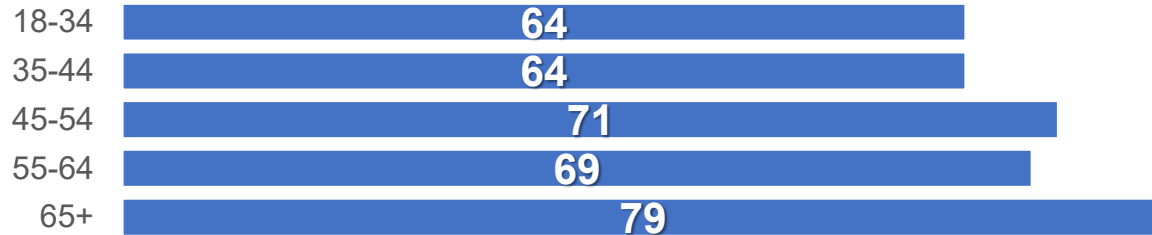
## RACE



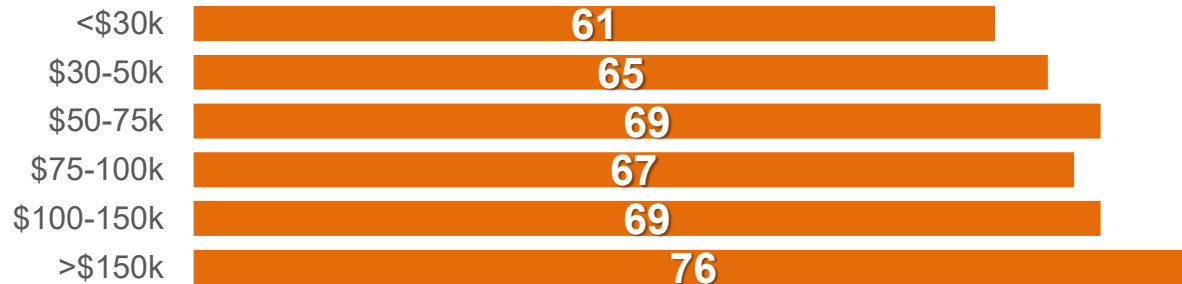
## GENDER



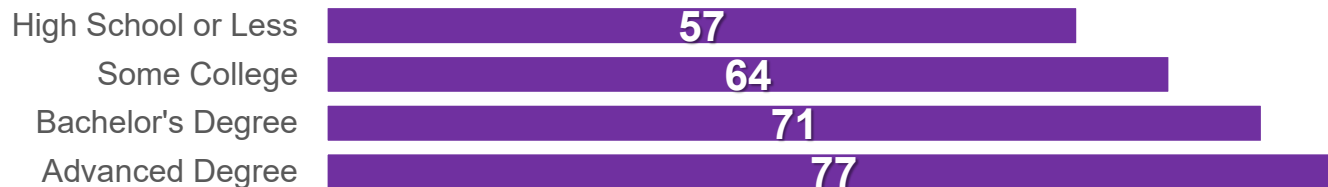
## AGE



## INCOME

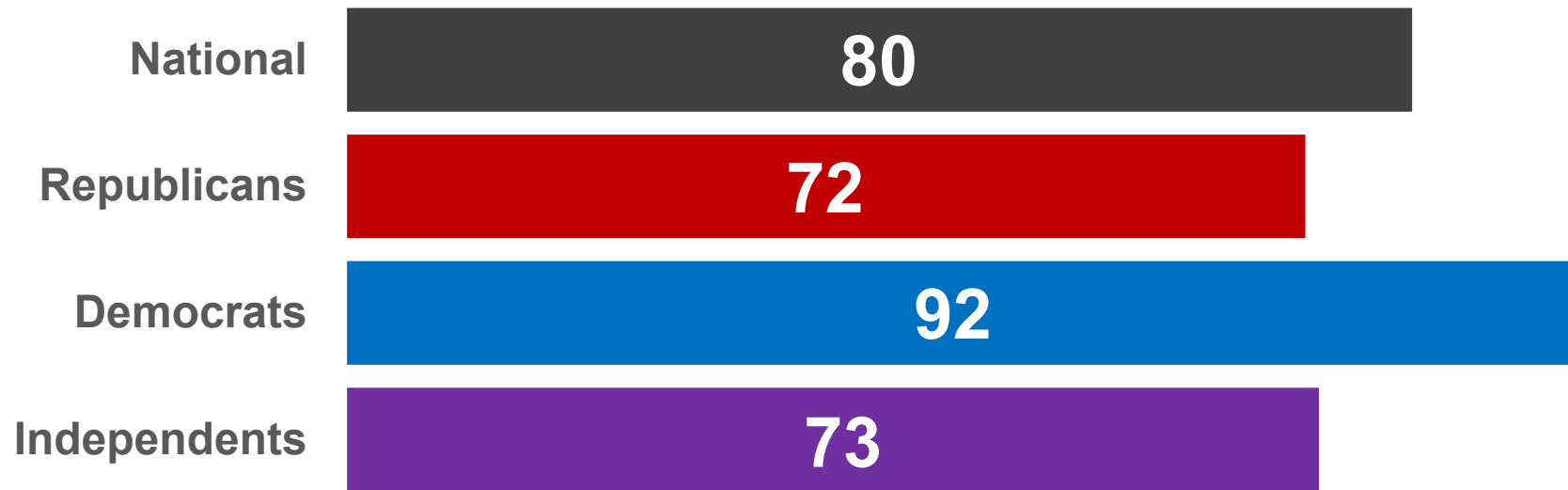


## EDUCATION

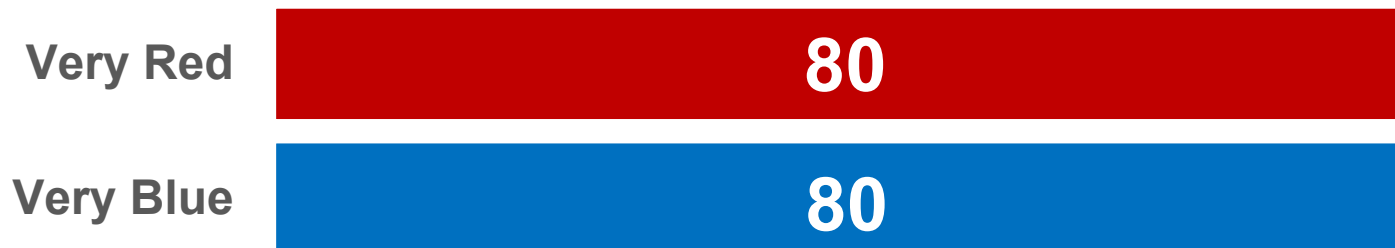


Do you favor or oppose the US continuing to give humanitarian assistance to Ukraine?

✓ FAVOR



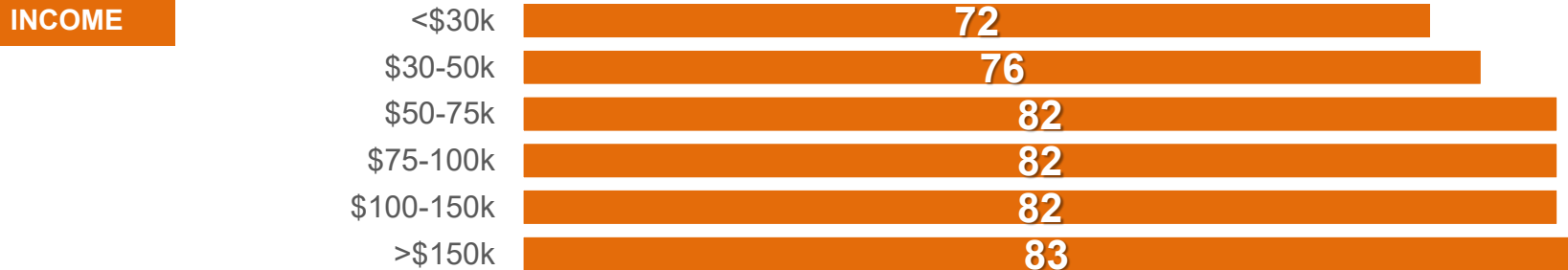
### CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



# Humanitarian Assistance

BY  
DEMOGRAPHIC

✓ FAVOR



# Fighter Jets to Ukraine

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.

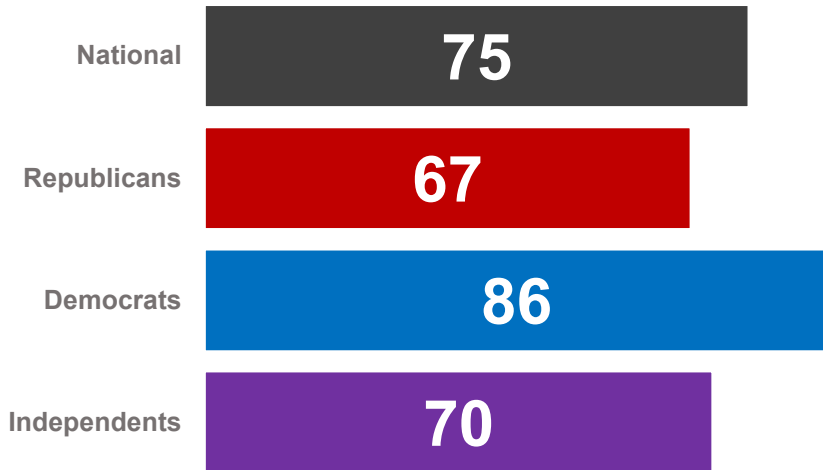
Whether the US should have agreed to this has been debated.

# Fighter Jets to Ukraine

## ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

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.

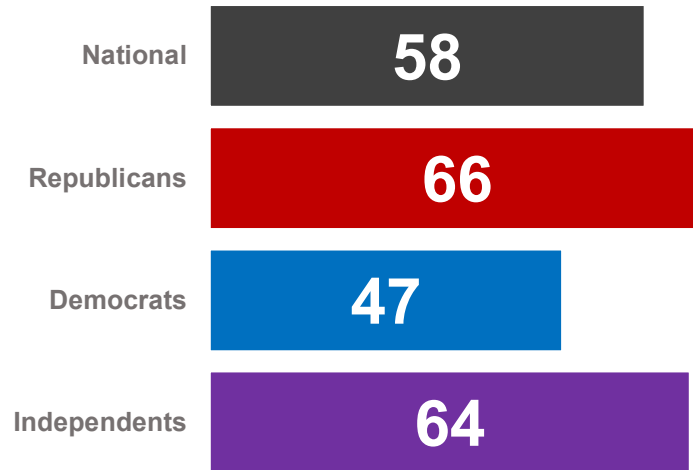
### CONVINCING



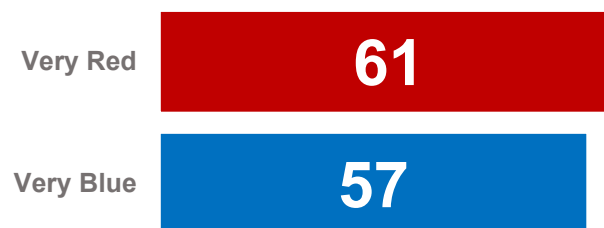
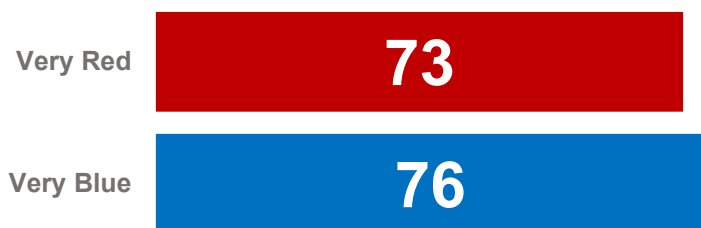
## ARGUMENT AGAINST

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.

### CONVINCING



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

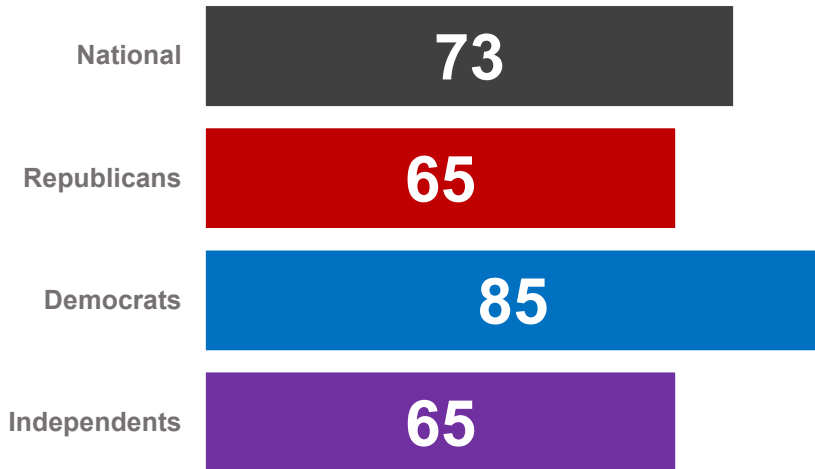


# Fighter Jets to Ukraine

## ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

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.

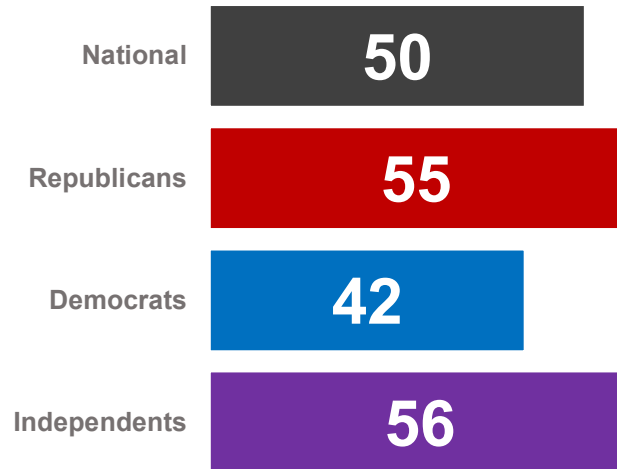
### CONVINCING



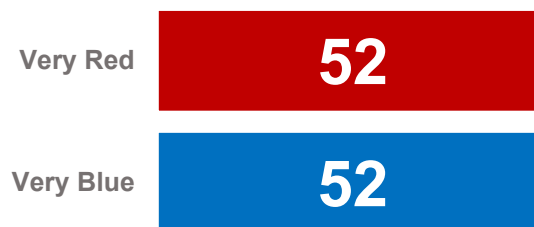
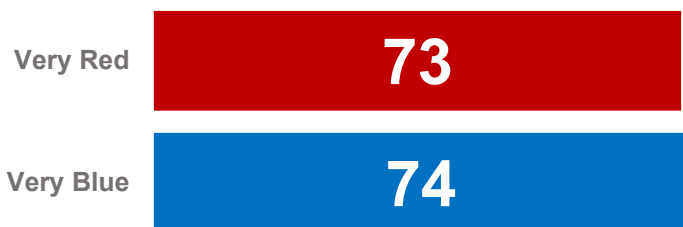
## ARGUMENT AGAINST

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.

### CONVINCING



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



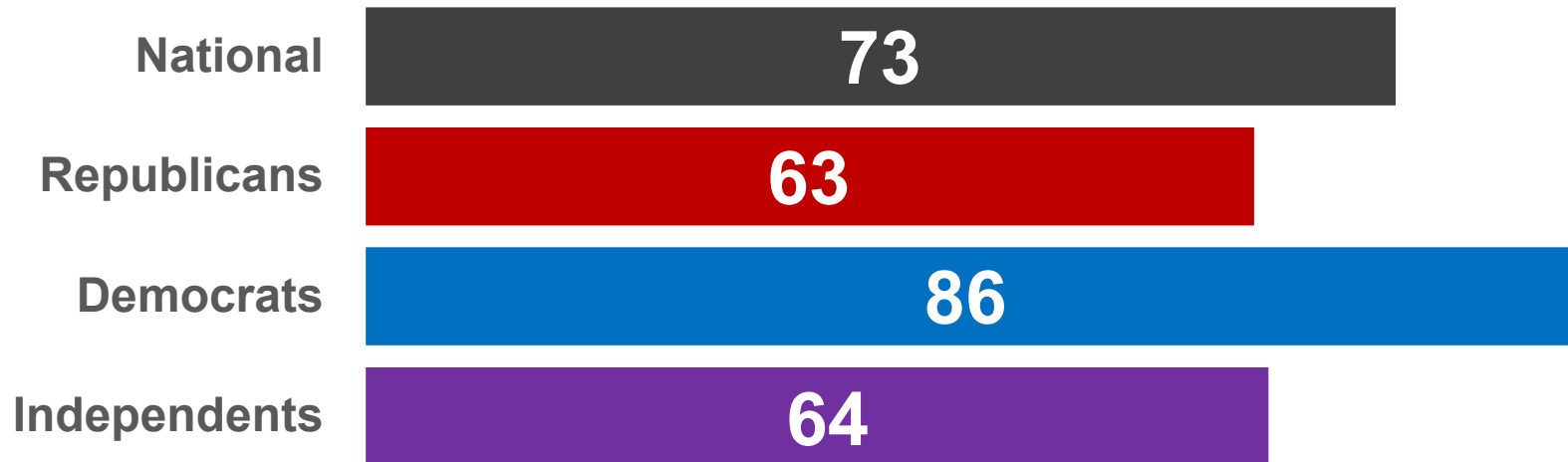
# Fighter Jets to Ukraine

**FINAL  
RECOMMENDATION**

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
- Provide training to Ukrainians on how to operate those fighter jets

 **FAVOR**



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS





# Fighter Jets to Ukraine

BY  
DEMOGRAPHIC

✓ APPROVE



# Whether to Encourage Ukraine to Enter Peace Negotiations Now

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.

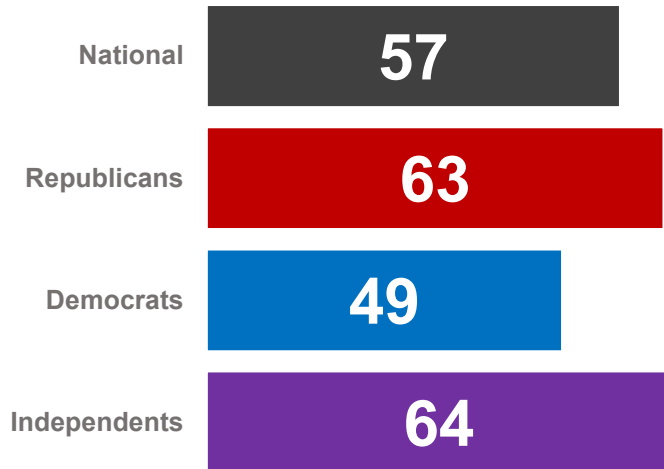
Some people have proposed that the US should encourage Ukraine to enter into negotiations, whether or not Russia first commits to withdraw from all of Ukraine.

# Whether to Encourage Ukraine to Enter Peace Negotiations Now

## ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

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.

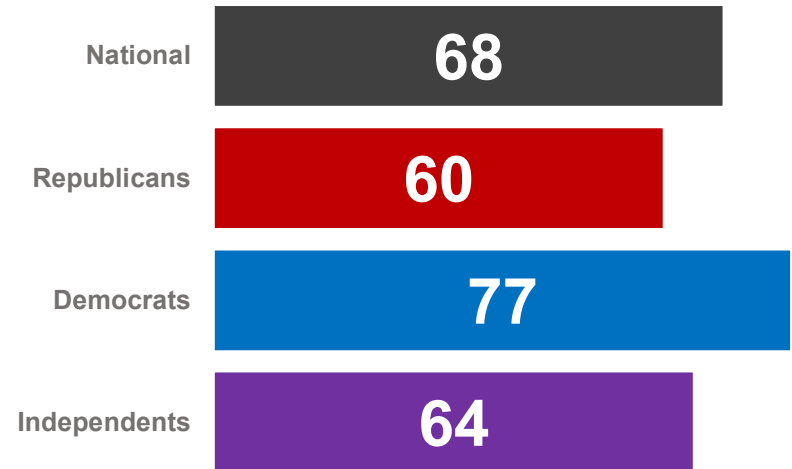
### CONVINCING



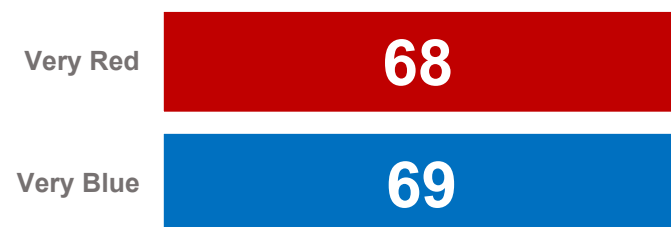
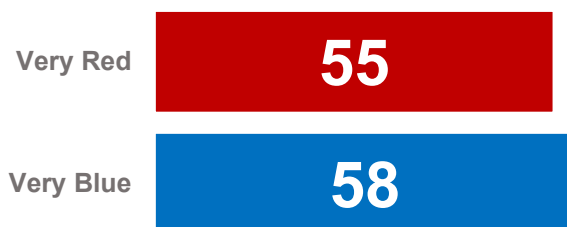
## ARGUMENT AGAINST

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.

### CONVINCING



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

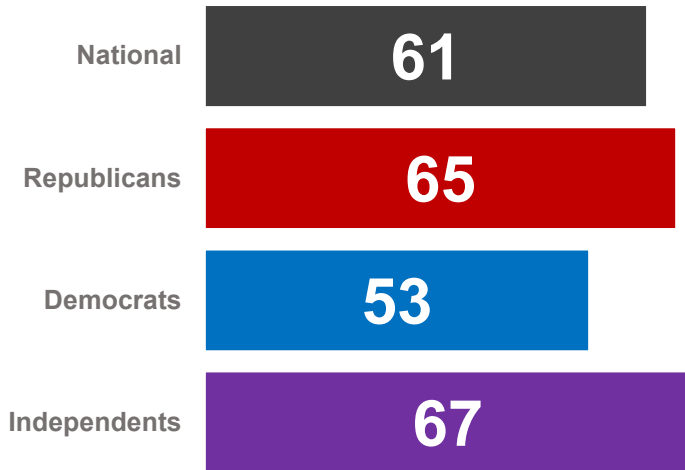


# Whether to Encourage Ukraine to Enter Peace Negotiations Now

## ARGUMENT IN FAVOR

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.

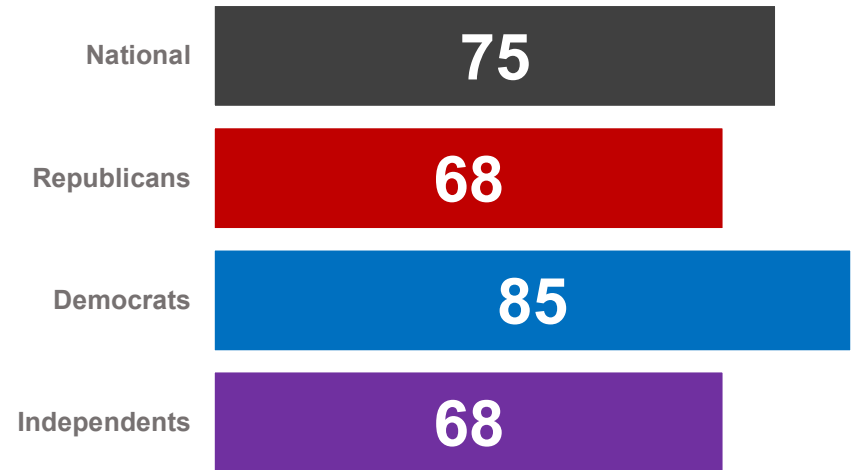
### CONVINCING



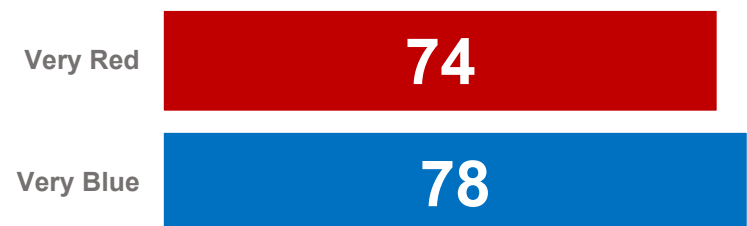
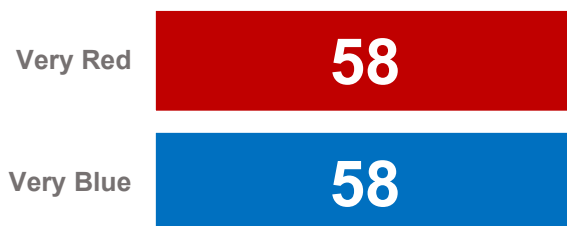
## ARGUMENT AGAINST

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.

### CONVINCING



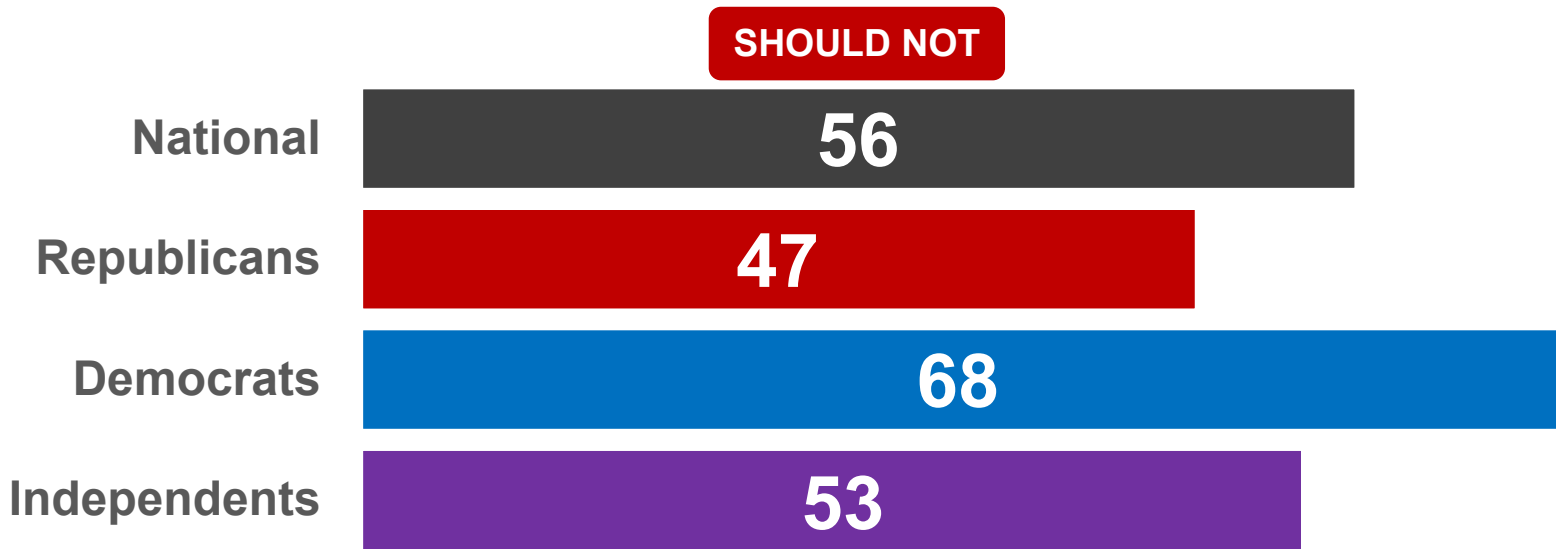
## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS



# Whether to Encourage Ukraine to Enter Peace Negotiations Now

**FINAL  
RECOMMENDATION**

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?



## CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Very Red

60

Very Blue

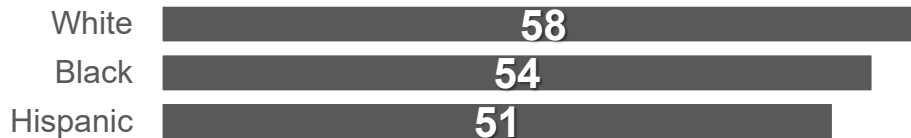
60

# Whether to Encourage Ukraine to Enter Peace Negotiations Now

BY  
DEMOGRAPHIC

SHOULD NOT

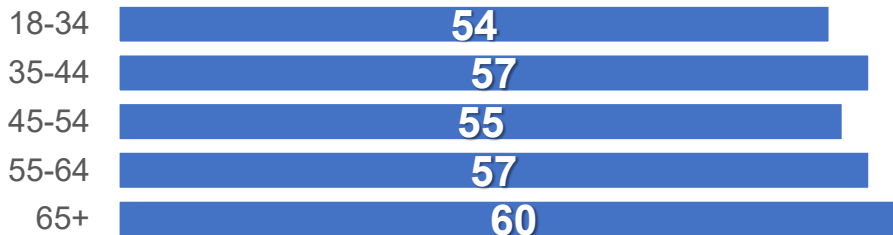
## RACE



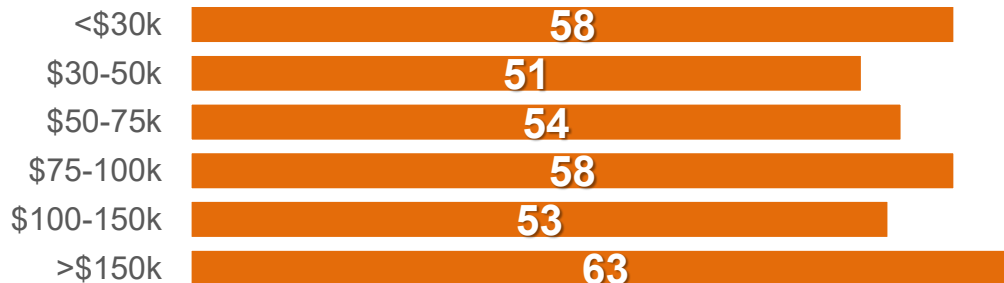
## GENDER



## AGE



## INCOME



## EDUCATION

