American Views on the Ukraine War

Survey Methodology

The survey was carried out March 16-28, 2022 online from a nationally representative sample of Nielsen Scarborough's probability-based panel, originally recruited by mail and telephone using a random sample of adults provided by Survey Sampling International. The poll was conducted among a national poll of 1,320 respondents, with a margin of error of +/- 2.7%. Overall, the sample was adjusted to reflect population estimates (Scarborough USA+/Gallup) for Americans. The survey variables balanced through weighting were: age, gender, race/ethnicity, household income, level of education, census regional division, and political party affiliation.

Valuable assistance was provided by Jessica Lichtenfeld and Defne Coklar from Nielsen Scarborough. Kirsten Langlois and Elin Berlin were particularly helpful.

Note: Percentages may not always add to one-hundred due to rounding.
We are now going to ask you questions on the Ukraine-Russia crisis.

Q7. Ukraine became an independent country in 1991 after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In February 2022, Russia invaded Ukraine. How important is it that Ukraine remains an independent, sovereign country?

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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very important</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat important</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Somewhat not important</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not important</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Don’t know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q8. How closely are you following the crisis between Ukraine and Russia?

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>

Q9. How would you describe Russia’s relationship with the U.S.?

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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. An ally</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A friendly country</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither friendly or unfriendly</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. An unfriendly country</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. An enemy</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q10. How would you describe Ukraine’s relationship with the U.S.?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. An ally</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A friendly country</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither friendly or unfriendly</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. An unfriendly country</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. An enemy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>&lt;1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q11. What is your opinion of the way the U.S. has reacted to the Ukraine crisis so far?

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<tr>
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<th>Dem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very favorable</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat favorable</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither favorable nor unfavorable</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Somewhat unfavorable</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Very unfavorable</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q12. Overall how would you describe the way the U.S. has acted in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine?

<table>
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</thead>
</table>
1. Overreacted 13% 14% 2% 8%
2. Acted at an appropriate level 31 51 70 51
3. Underreacted 56 35 28 41

Q13. Which of the following should the U.S. do if the Russian invasion of Ukraine persists?

Q13A (1). Send troops with NATO allies to the Ukraine

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13B (2). Supply Ukraine with military equipment

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<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13C (3). Enforce a no-fly zone over Ukraine, together with NATO allies

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<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13D (4). Continue to impose tough economic sanctions on Russia, together with allies

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13E (5). Intensify diplomatic efforts to end the Russian invasion

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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q13F (6). Do nothing

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q14. Would you agree that big powers, including the U.S., Russia, and China, should have “spheres of influence”: meaning a region in close proximity to their territories, where they are expected to have more influence than other countries?

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<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q14A. [ONLY ASKED IF Q14 = 1(Yes)] Would you consider Ukraine to be in Russia’s sphere of influence?
Q15. Do you believe that Russia had the right to invade Ukraine?

<table>
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<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q16. After Ukraine became an independent country following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, it had the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world, but agreed to destroy its weapons in 1994. How do you believe the Russian invasion impacts the U.S. and other international efforts to curtail the proliferation of nuclear weapons?

<table>
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<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Will make it harder</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will make it easier</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Will have no impact</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>16%</td>
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</table>

Q17. How much of the blame for the Ukraine-Russia crisis falls on each of the following actors:

Q17A (1). Russia

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<th>Rep</th>
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<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>&lt;1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q17B (2). Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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</table>

Q17C (3) U.S.

<table>
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<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>40%</td>
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Q17D (4). NATO

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<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Some.................................................. 34 31 25 29
3. Not much.............................. 27 20 27 26
4. Not at all................................. 20 28 44 32

Q18. How concerned are you about the following consequences of the Russian invasion of Ukraine:

Q18A (1). Russian occupation of Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very concerned</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all concerned</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q18B (2). Disruption of Russian energy supplies

<table>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very concerned</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all concerned</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>20%</td>
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</table>

Q18C (3). Russian threats to other neighboring countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very concerned</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all concerned</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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</table>

Q18D (4). Potential U.S. military confrontation with Russia

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very concerned</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all concerned</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Q18E (5). Potential nuclear confrontation with Russia

<table>
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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
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<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very concerned</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all concerned</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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Q18F (6). Possible negative consequences for the U.S. economy

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<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very concerned</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>33%</td>
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</table>
Q18G (7). Russian non-military attacks (such as cyber-attacks) on U.S. interests including at home

<table>
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<th>Concern Level</th>
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<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very concerned</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat concerned</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very concerned</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all concerned</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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</table>

Q19. Do you think the U.S. should accept Ukrainian refugees to resettle in the U.S.?

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resettlement Method</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes, but in small numbers</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Yes, but in moderate numbers</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Yes, without a limit</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. No</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q20. How likely do you believe that the sanctions enacted by the US and allied countries will deter Russia from the following:

Q20A (1). Continuing its apparent plans to take over Ukraine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood Level</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very likely</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat likely</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very likely</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all likely</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q20B (2). Attacking other countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood Level</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very likely</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat likely</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very likely</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all likely</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q21. Do you approve or disapprove of President Biden’s decision to stop importing Russian energy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approval Level</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Strongly approve</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat approve</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Somewhat disapprove</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Strongly disapprove</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q22. How much of a cost are you prepared to see the U.S. pay in helping Ukraine?

Q22A (1). Higher energy prices
[INTRODUCTION TO SECTION]
We would now like to ask you two questions about NATO expansion. After the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, NATO expanded into 14 countries that used to be in the orbit of the Soviet Union. Ukraine had been working to join NATO, but had not yet meet the standards of NATO membership.

Q23. In your opinion, which one of the following is closer to your view about the Russian invasion of Ukraine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NATO expansion played a small but not key role</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO expansion played a key role</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO expansion was not a factor</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q24. In your view, how has NATO’s expansion in these former Soviet orbit countries impacted the prospect of Russian invasion of some of them?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Option</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Significantly decreased it</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat decreased it</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither decreased nor increased it</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat increased it</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significantly increased it</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q25. How likely do you believe that Russia would have invaded Ukraine under the following circumstances:
Q25A. Trump was president

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very likely</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat likely</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very likely</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all likely</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q25B. Ukraine had retained its nuclear weapons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very likely</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat likely</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very likely</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all likely</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q25C. Ukraine had been able to join NATO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Likelihood</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Very likely</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat likely</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Not very likely</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Not at all likely</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q26. [ONLY ASKED Q26 ONLY IF Q25A (Trump was president) = 3 (Not very likely) or 4 (Not at all likely)] Why do you think it would have been unlikely for Russia to invade Ukraine had Trump been president? [RANDOMIZE]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Because Russia would have feared a more massive response from a President Trump</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Because Trump and his team would have been able to resolve the issue diplomatically</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Because President Trump and President Putin were close in their views of Ukraine, so Putin would not have needed to invade Ukraine to achieve his objectives</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Because Trump was helpful to Putin on multiple issues, so Putin would not have wanted to undercut him</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q27. Do you agree that the Russian invasion of Ukraine has ended an already weakened post-Cold War era as we have known it for the past 3 decades?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agreement</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yes</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. No</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Don’t know</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q28. [ONLY ASKED IF Q27 = 1 (Yes)] How much of a role did Russia and U.S. behavior in the world contribute to the demise of the post-Cold War order?

Q28A (1). The U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q28B (2). Russia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A lot</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not much</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q29. Who do you think has played the most central role in leading the way to impose the broad international sanctions against Russia?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The United States</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The European Union</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The United Nations</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of these</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q30. Do you believe that the United States should be the one to lead the international efforts to oppose the Russian invasion of Ukraine?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q31. [ONLY ASKED IF Q30 = 1(Yes)] What do you think is the strongest argument for U.S. leadership of international efforts to oppose the Russian invasion of Ukraine?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Argument</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American democratic values</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American military strength</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American wealth</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q32. Has the Russian invasion of Ukraine and America's response made your views of President Joe Biden and former President Donald Trump more or less positive?

Q32A (1). President Biden

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


1. Much more positive                   4%    7%    33%   18%
2. Somewhat more positive               3     12    34    18
3. Neither more positive nor more negative 14    37    28    23
4. Somewhat more negative                19    9     3     10
5. Much more negative                   61    35    3     31

Q32B (2). Former President Trump

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Rep</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Dem</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Much more positive</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Somewhat more positive</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Neither more positive nor more negative</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Somewhat more negative</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Much more negative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>