



CRITICAL ISSUES POLL

With Nielsen Scarborough

Shibley Telhami, Director
Stella Rouse, Associate Director

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.

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Note: Percentages may not always add to one-hundred due to rounding.

Q2. Please name TWO national or world leader you **dislike** most. [Two Open-ended text boxes]

Q2A(1). Among Republicans

First Choice Selection		Second Choice Selection	
Joe Biden	49%	Vladimir Putin	25%
Vladimir Putin	23	Kamala Harris	12
Kim Jong-Un	4	Xi Jinping	10
Xi Jinping	3	Biden	9
Nancy Pelosi	3	Nancy Pelosi	8

Q2B(2). Among Democrats

First Choice Selection		Second Choice Selection	
Vladimir Putin	56%	Vladimir Putin	20%
Donald Trump	31	Donald Trump	17
Xi Jinping	1	Kim Jong-Un	16
Joe Biden	1	Xi Jinping	10
Kim Jong-Un	<1	Mitch McConnell	3

Q2C(3). Among Independents

First Choice Selection		Second Choice Selection	
Vladimir Putin	39%	Vladimir Putin	17%
Joe Biden	16	Joe Biden	15
Donald Trump	11	Kim Jong-Un	11
Kim Jong-Un	3	Donald Trump	9
Barack Obama	3	Xi Jinping	5

Q2D(4). Total

First Choice Selection		Second Choice Selection	
Vladimir Putin	40%	Vladimir Putin	22%
Joe Biden	23	Kim Jong-Un	10
Donald Trump	17	Donald Trump	9
Xi Jinping	2	Xi Jinping	9
Kim Jong-Un	2	Joe Biden	6

Q4. Name the TWO countries that you think are the most important allies of the United States today. [Two Open-ended text boxes]

Q4A(1). Among Republicans

First Choice Selection	Second Choice Selection
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The United Kingdom	39.2%
Israel	20.0
Canada	16.8
Japan	4.1
Germany	3.5
France	3.2
Poland	1.5
Mexico	1.1
South Korea	1.1

The United Kingdom	26.7%
Canada	13.9
Germany	9.3
Israel	9.3
France	7.5
Japan	7.2
South Korea	4.1
Australia	3.3
Mexico	2.9
Poland	2.5
China	0.8

Q4B(2). Among Democrats

First Choice Selection

The United Kingdom	34.1%
Canada	22.3
Germany	16.7
France	5.1
Japan	3.1
China	2.4
Mexico	1.7
South Korea	0.7
Israel	0.5

Second Choice Selection

The United Kingdom	24.6%
Germany	21.5
Canada	18.0
France	8.5
Japan	8.1
China	3.6
Mexico	3.2
South Korea	2.5
Israel	0.9
Australia	0.9
Poland	0.6

Q4C(3). Among Independents

First Choice Selection

The United Kingdom	43.9%
Germany	11.4
Canada	10.6
Japan	7.3
Israel	4.1
France	4.1
China	4.1
South Korea	2.4
Mexico	0.8

Second Choice Selection

Canada	18.6%
Germany	16.9
The United Kingdom	13.6
Japan	11.9
France	10.2
Mexico	4.2
Israel	3.4
Australia	3.4
China	2.5
South Korea	1.7

Q4D(4). Total

First Choice Selection

The United Kingdom	37.2%
Canada	18.8

Second Choice Selection

The United Kingdom	24.4%
Canada	16.3

Germany	10.5	Germany	15.6
Israel	9.2	France	8.3
France	4.2	Japan	8.1
Japan	3.9	Israel	4.9
China	1.8	Mexico	3.2
Mexico	1.4	South Korea	3.1
South Korea	1.0	China	2.2
Poland	0.8	Australia	2.2
		Poland	1.4

[INTRO] 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?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very important	74%	71%	89%	80%
2. Somewhat important	15	8	8	11
3. Somewhat not important	3	7	1	2
4. Not important	5	8	2	4
5. Don't know	4	6	2	3

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very	41%	28%	42%	40%
2. Somewhat	48	45	42	45
3. Not very	8	24	12	12
4. Not at all	2	3	4	3

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. An ally	<1%	1%	3%	2%
2. A friendly country	2	1	3	2
3. Neither friendly or unfriendly	30	40	16	24
4. An unfriendly country	37	37	39	38
5. An enemy	30	21	40	34

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. An ally	18%	9%	22%	19%
2. A friendly country	50	49	58	54
3. Neither friendly or unfriendly	29	36	18	25
4. An unfriendly country	2	1	2	2
5. An enemy	1	5	<1	1

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very favorable	8%	7%	29%	18%
2. Somewhat favorable	23	26	41	31
3. Neither favorable nor unfavorable	20	28	18	20
4. Somewhat unfavorable	32	26	10	21
5. Very unfavorable	17	14	3	10

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	33%	33%	38%	35%
2. No	68	67	62	65

Q13B (2). Supply Ukraine with military equipment

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	82%	72%	86%	83%
2. No	19	28	14	17

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	52%	56%	61%	56%
2. No	48	44	40	44

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	85%	80%	95%	89%
2. No	16	20	5	11

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	86%	78%	94%	89%
2. No	14	22	6	11

Q13F (6). Do nothing

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	12%	16%	7%	10%

2. No	88	85	93	90
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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?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	26%	23%	22%	24%
2. No	49	49	48	49
3. Don’t know	25	28	30	28

Q14A. [ONLY ASKED IF Q14 = 1(Yes)] Would you consider Ukraine to be in Russia’s sphere of influence?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	65%	58%	43%	55%
2. No	29	27	44	35
3. Don’t know	6	15	14	10

Q15. Do you believe that Russia had the right to invade Ukraine?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	5%	8%	2%	4%
2. No	89	85	94	91
3. Don’t know	6	7	4	5

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?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Will make it harder	76%	69%	80%	77%
2. Will make it easier	5	7	9	7
3. Will have no impact	19	25	11	16

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

Q17A (1). Russia

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. A lot	92%	85%	95%	93%
2. Some	6	8	5	6
3. Not much	1	6	<1	1
4. Not at all	0	2	0	<1

Q17B (2). Ukraine

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. A lot	9%	12%	4%	7%
2. Some	25	21	20	22
3. Not much	34	39	22	29

4. Not at all	33	28	54	43
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Q17C (3) U.S.

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. A lot	20%	21%	5%	13%
2. Some	30	20	18	23
3. Not much	20	25	28	24
4. Not at all	31	34	50	40

Q17D (4). NATO

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. A lot	19%	21%	5%	13%
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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	58%	59%	72%	65%
2. Somewhat concerned	27	25	25	25
3. Not very concerned	12	12	2	7
4. Not at all concerned	4	4	2	3

Q18B (2). Disruption of Russian energy supplies

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	19%	26%	18%	19%
2. Somewhat concerned	33	30	34	33
3. Not very concerned	28	31	28	28
4. Not at all concerned	20	14	21	20

Q18C (3). Russian threats to other neighboring countries

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	57%	56%	71%	63%
2. Somewhat concerned	29	25	25	27
3. Not very concerned	10	14	2	7
4. Not at all concerned	4	5	2	3

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	59%	61%	62%	61%
2. Somewhat concerned	26	26	29	28
3. Not very concerned	11	9	7	9
4. Not at all concerned	4	4	2	3

Q18E (5). Potential nuclear confrontation with Russia

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	54%	59%	62%	58%
2. Somewhat concerned	26	20	24	24
3. Not very concerned	15	15	11	13
4. Not at all concerned	5	6	4	5

Q18F (6). Possible negative consequences for the U.S. economy

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	57%	55%	33%	46%
2. Somewhat concerned	27	26	41	33
3. Not very concerned	10	13	21	16
4. Not at all concerned	5	6	5	5

Q18G (7). Russian non-military attacks (such as cyber-attacks) on U.S. interests including at home

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very concerned	55%	60%	55%	56%
2. Somewhat concerned	29	33	24	30
3. Not very concerned	14	10	11	12
4. Not at all concerned	3	3	4	3

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes, but in small numbers	30%	24%	12%	21%
2. Yes, but in moderate numbers	35	36	36	36
3. Yes, without a limit	16	20	45	30
4. No	20	19	7	14

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very likely	8%	8%	13%	10%
2. Somewhat likely	17	24	38	27
3. Not very likely	44	37	35	39
4. Not at all likely	32	32	14	24

Q20B (2). Attacking other countries

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very likely	11%	14%	19%	15%
2. Somewhat likely	25	31	40	33
3. Not very likely	36	26	29	32
4. Not at all likely	29	29	12	21

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Strongly approve	56%	49%	80%	67%
2. Somewhat approve	26	26	18	22
3. Somewhat disapprove	9	12	1	6
4. Strongly disapprove	9	13	1	5

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

Q22A (1). Higher energy prices

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. A lot	26%	33%	44%	35%
2. Some	32	33	44	38
3. Not much	20	13	10	15
4. Not at all	22	22	2	13

Q22B (2). Increased inflation

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
5. A lot	28%	23%	32%	29%
6. Some	23	42	46	36
7. Not much	23	14	18	20
8. Not at all	26	22	4	15

Q22C (3). Loss of lives of U.S. troops

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
9. A lot	18%	15%	14%	16%
10. Some	11	14	20	16
11. Not much	24	21	33	28
12. Not at all	47	50	33	41

[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:

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
NATO expansion played a small but not key role	35%	41%	47%	41%
NATO expansion played a key role	41	43	35	38
NATO expansion was not a factor	24	17	19	21

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?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Significantly decreased it	11%	5%	18%	14%
2. Somewhat decreased it	14	19	20	17
3. Neither decreased nor increased it	27	34	23	26
4. Somewhat increased it	31	23	29	29
5. Significantly increased it	18	19	11	15

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

Q25A. Trump was president

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very likely	6%	33%	64%	36%
2. Somewhat likely	9	24	21	16
3. Not very likely	28	16	10	19
4. Not at all likely	57	27	5	30

Q25B. Ukraine had retained its nuclear weapons

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very likely	7%	20%	20%	13%
2. Somewhat likely	22	29	31	27
3. Not very likely	46	37	34	40
4. Not at all likely	27	14	14	20

Q25C. Ukraine had been able to join NATO

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Very likely	14%	28%	23%	20%
2. Somewhat likely	20	22	20	20
3. Not very likely	38	37	33	36
4. Not at all likely	27	13	24	24

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]

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Because Russia would have feared a more massive response from a President Trump	67%	48%	8%	57%
2. Because Trump and his team would have been able to resolve the issue diplomatically	18	21	11	18
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	6	13	32	11

4. Because Trump was helpful to Putin on multiple issues, so Putin would not have wanted to undercut him	3	5	38	8
5. Other	5	13	12	7

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?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	59%	52%	56%	57%
2. No	13	17	15	14
3. Don't know	28	21	29	29

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.

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. A lot	30%	35%	29%	30%
2. Some	41	49	44	43
3. Not much	24	16	21	22
4. Not at all	5	0	6	5

Q28B (2). Russia

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
5. A lot	57%	58%	72%	54%
6. Some	29	38	24	28
7. Not much	13	4	5	8
8. Not at all	2	0	0	1

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. The United States	41%	35%	51%	45%
2. The European Union	23	17	15	18
3. NATO	15	26	20	19
4. The United Nations	5	6	5	5
5. None of these	16	17	9	13

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Yes	42%	30%	55%	47%
2. No	58	70	45	53

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?

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. American democratic values	37%	41%	57%	48%
2. American military strength	50	29	28	37
3. American wealth	1	14	3	3
4. Other	12	17	13	13

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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
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

	Rep	Ind	Dem	Total
1. Much more positive	47%	20%	3%	24%
2. Somewhat more positive	19	8	3	11
3. Neither more positive nor more negative	26	45	22	26
4. Somewhat more negative	4	4	11	7
5. Much more negative	3	23	61	33