



PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

US Role in the Ukraine – Russia War

- Questionnaire -

Fielded By: Quantify AI
Field Dates: May 7-29, 2024

Sample Size: 604 Adult Residents of Maryland's 8th Congressional District
Weighting: No post-stratification weight was higher than 4.34

Survey Methods

The Program for Public Consultation (PPC) obtained a sample of 604 respondents that was recruited from the general adult population of Maryland's 8th Congressional District. The sample was drawn from three large NPS panels: Cint, Prodege, and Dynata. The survey was fielded May 7-29, 2024, and was available in both English and Spanish.

PPC designed the questionnaire and programmed it online in the Alchemer platform, where respondents with a link can take the survey via computer or mobile phone. Survey responses were collected directly on the Alchemer platform, which adheres to the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation policies for data privacy and security.

Sample collection was managed by Quantify AI with consultation from PPC. Respondents were invited to participate via email invitation, push notification from the sample management company, or SMS among some cell phone users. Respondents were offered an incentive to participate in the survey, which varied but was offered in cash or an equivalent such as reward points. Incentives were administered by the panel companies. The overall response rate was 6.2%.

Consistent with industry-wide practices, PPC requested that the sample be pre-stratified to meet primary demographic benchmarks. To meet the pre-stratification quotas, sample recruitment accounted for differing response rates among demographic groups, in order to reduce the errors for the final primary demographic benchmarks. Thus, demographic groups that tend to have lower response rates were over-invited, including people of color, young people, and those with lower education. Respondents were required to answer all primary demographic questions so there was no missing data for these benchmarks.

Sample collection also involved the industry-wide practice of completion quotas to meet pre-stratification requirements, which disqualify respondents based on their primary demographic characteristics once the benchmark for a particular demographic has been met.

Quality control measures were included in the survey to disqualify respondents from completing the survey if they were engaging in dishonest, mischievous behavior, or simply not paying attention. This included an attention-check question and a speed limit. Ninety-seven respondents were disqualified during the survey if they violated the speed limit or failed to correctly answer an attention question or the quality control question (e.g. answered that they had won a gold medal at the Olympics in the past week). Among the sample who completed the survey, 82 respondents were removed as duplicates.

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 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.¹ 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.

Q1. How aware were you of these events?

	Very	Somewhat	Very - Somewhat	Only a little	Not at all	Only a little - Not at all	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	27.7%	45.8%	73.5%	20.3%	6.1%	26.4%	0.1%
Republicans	24.0%	45.9%	69.9%	27.0%	3.1%	30.1%	0.0%
Democrats	29.1%	46.0%	75.1%	18.0%	6.8%	24.8%	0.2%
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%

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.

¹ George Washington University, National Security Archive. (2017) [NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard](#)

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](#)

³Rada removes Yanukovich from office, schedules new elections for May 25

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.

Q2. How closely have you followed these events?

	Very	Somewhat	Very - Somewhat	Only a little	Not at all	Only a little - Not at all	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	31.8%	43.6%	75.4%	18.9%	5.1%	24.0%	0.6%
Republicans	25.5%	42.7%	68.2%	27.2%	2.0%	29.2%	2.6%
Democrats	35.5%	43.6%	79.1%	15.3%	5.6%	20.9%	0.0%
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%

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:

- up to 70,000 Ukrainians killed and 120,000 injured
- up to 100,000 Russians killed and 200,000 injured⁵

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

⁵ New York Times. (Dec 2023) [Troop Deaths and Injuries in Ukraine War Near 500,000, U.S. Officials Say](#), citing declassified U.S. Defense estimates; Reuters (Feb 2024) [U.S. intelligence assesses Ukraine war has cost Russia 315,000 casualties](#), citing declassified U.S. Defense estimates; estimates used in original questionnaire came from: 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 "Russia/Ukraine - Assessed Combat Sustainability and Attrition."

The UN estimates that about 14 million Ukrainians have fled their homes (about a third of the total Ukrainian population) to get away from the battles.⁶

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	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	37.0%	49.1%	86.1%	9.2%	3.4%	12.6%	1.3%
Republicans	23.3%	60.5%	83.8%	11.6%	2.7%	14.3%	1.8%
Democrats	43.7%	44.4%	88.1%	7.1%	3.4%	10.5%	1.3%
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%

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	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	24.9%	34.6%	59.5%	25.8%	13.8%	39.6%	0.8%
Republicans	29.4%	43.1%	72.5%	18.8%	6.3%	25.1%	2.4%
Democrats	24.5%	31.1%	55.6%	27.0%	16.9%	43.9%	0.4%
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%

⁶ International Organization for Migration. (2024) Ukraine & Neighboring Countries 2022-2024: 2 Years of Response.

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	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	31.5%	53.2%	84.7%	10.8%	3.7%	14.5%	0.8%
Republicans	23.3%	56.2%	79.5%	14.0%	5.6%	19.6%	0.9%
Democrats	35.3%	51.9%	87.2%	9.1%	2.9%	12.0%	0.8%
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%

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	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	24.2%	34.2%	58.4%	25.6%	15.5%	41.1%	0.5%
Republicans	26.5%	43.3%	69.8%	25.0%	5.2%	30.2%	0.0%
Democrats	23.7%	30.4%	54.1%	26.2%	19.0%	45.2%	0.7%
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%

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?

	Not acceptable (0-4)	Tolerable 5	Acceptable (6-10)	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	15.9%	13.3%	70.8%	0.0%
Republicans	20.8%	9.6%	69.7%	0.0%
Democrats	11.6%	13.3%	75.1%	0.0%
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%

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

	Favor	Oppose	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	64.0%	35.9%	0.1%
Republicans	57.6%	42.2%	0.3%
Democrats	68.0%	32.0%	0.1%
National	68.9%	30.5%	0.0%
Republicans	55.4%	43.8%	0.0%
Democrats	87.0%	12.5%	0.0%
Independents	57.9%	41.5%	0.0%

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 \$48 billion in such assistance.⁷ The Europeans have contributed an equivalent amount and have also accepted about 4 million Ukrainian refugees into their countries.⁸

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

Q9. How acceptable do you find this proposal?

	Not acceptable (0-4)	Tolerable 5	Acceptable (6-10)	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	14.7%	14.3%	70.8%	0.3%
Republicans	18.9%	9.2%	71.6%	0.3%
Democrats	11.2%	14.6%	73.9%	0.3%
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%

Q10. Do you favor or oppose the US continuing to give humanitarian assistance to Ukraine?

	Favor	Oppose	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	76.7%	23.3%	0.0%
Republicans	68.6%	31.4%	0.0%
Democrats	80.5%	19.5%	0.0%
National	80.4%	19.1%	0.0%
Republicans	72.0%	27.4%	0.0%
Democrats	91.9%	7.6%	0.0%
Independents	72.7%	26.7%	0.0%

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.

⁷ CRS. (2023) [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; in addition to the recently passed aid package, which included \$9 billion in new humanitarian assistance.

⁸ Council of the European Union. (2024) [Refugees from Ukraine in the EU](#)

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:

Q11. 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 Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	17.9%	51.6%	69.5%	21.8%	8.0%	29.8%	0.8%
Republicans	23.5%	51.4%	74.9%	19.1%	6.0%	25.1%	0.0%
Democrats	15.4%	51.9%	67.3%	22.7%	8.9%	31.6%	1.1%
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%

Here is an argument against:

Q12. 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	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	26.3%	40.1%	66.4%	25.9%	7.0%	32.9%	0.8%
Republicans	24.5%	44.6%	69.1%	28.2%	1.2%	29.4%	1.5%
Democrats	28.3%	38.0%	66.3%	23.9%	9.0%	32.9%	0.7%
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%

Here is another argument in favor:

Q13. 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	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	24.7%	44.7%	69.4%	20.0%	10.0%	30.0%	0.6%
Republicans	32.4%	46.0%	78.4%	12.8%	7.0%	19.8%	1.8%
Democrats	22.2%	43.5%	65.7%	22.4%	11.6%	34.0%	0.3%
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%

Here is another argument against:

Q14. 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 Convincing	Somewhat Convincing	Total Convincing	Somewhat Unconvincing	Very Unconvincing	Total Unconvincing	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	30.9%	41.0%	71.9%	22.1%	5.9%	28.0%	0.1%
Republicans	24.8%	41.1%	65.9%	25.6%	8.5%	34.1%	0.0%
Democrats	33.7%	39.4%	73.1%	21.2%	5.4%	26.6%	0.2%
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%

So, here again is the proposal:

Q15. 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?

	Not acceptable (0-4)	Tolerable 5	Acceptable (6-10)	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	28.8%	16.5%	54.4%	0.4%
Republicans	13.4%	12.1%	73.0%	1.5%
Democrats	32.7%	16.8%	50.5%	0.1%
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%

Q16. 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?

	Favor	Oppose	Refused/ Don't Know
MD-8	60.3%	38.6%	1.1%
Republicans	82.1%	17.3%	0.6%
Democrats	54.9%	44.2%	0.9%
National	43.0%	56.4%	0.0%
Republicans	52.5%	46.9%	0.0%
Democrats	32.0%	67.5%	0.0%
Independents	46.7%	52.8%	0.0%

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