



# America's Role in the World / Ukraine Survey

August 10-17, 2023

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# Outline



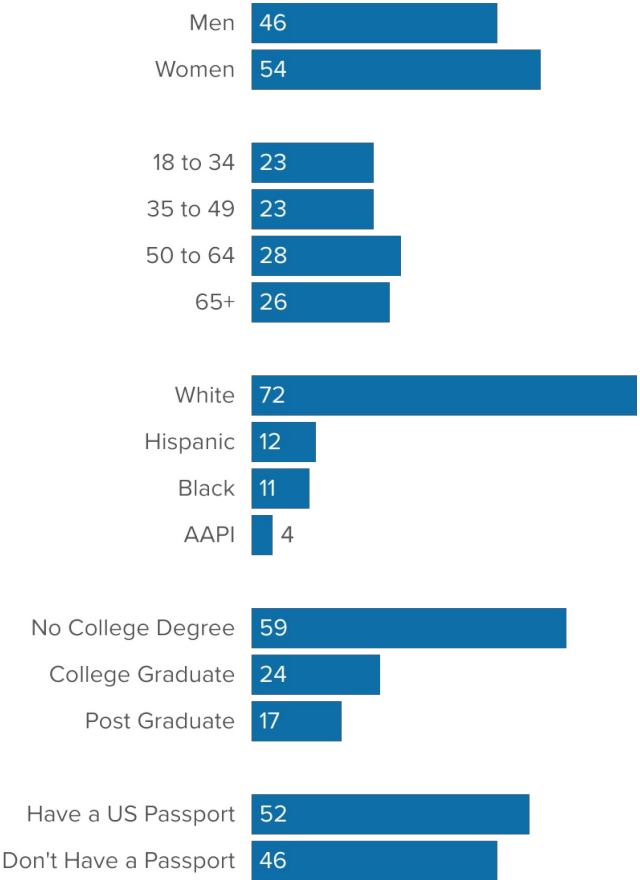
- **Survey Methodology and Audience Segmentation**
- Political Environment
- America's Role in the World
- Views of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine and the American Response to It

# Poll Results - Methodology



- 4,190 Voters – Nationwide
- Interviewing conducted August 10-17, 2023 online using social media recruitment and text messaging
- The final results are weighted to reflect the distribution of voters based on gender, age, ethnicity, education level, Census region, county population density, and 2020 vote preference

# Overall Demographics



# Outline



- Survey Methodology and Audience Segmentation
- **International Environment**
- America's Role in the World
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# Key Findings



- President Zelenskyy is the most popular international figure in the U.S. Putin is largely despised across the board.
- NATO is viewed positively by a majority of voters.

# Opinion of World Leaders



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
30	75	15	-10	President <b>Volodymyr Zelenskyy</b> - Ukraine
-1	7	-7	-9	Prime Minister <b>Rishi Sunak</b> - United Kingdom
-7	-54	-8	39	Prime Minister <b>Benjamin Netanyahu</b> - Israel
-15	-23	-13	-7	Prime Minister <b>Narendra Modi</b> - India
-17	-35	-13	1	Prime Minister <b>Viktor Orbán</b> - Hungary
-47	-59	-43	-37	Crown Prince <b>Mohammed bin Salman</b> - Saudi Arabia
-76	-69	-70	-83	President <b>Xi Jinping</b> - China
-81	-92	-76	-74	President <b>Vladimir Putin</b> - Russia

% Favorable - % Unfavorable

# Opinion of International Nonprofits and Institutions



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
70	84	65	59	Doctors without Borders
55	71	47	42	The Red Cross
33	68	13	5	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
12	70	1	-41	The United Nations
10	51	-2	-27	The European Union
-19	7	-23	-43	The International Monetary Fund (IMF)
-28	2	-42	-56	The World Bank

% Favorable - % Unfavorable



# Outline



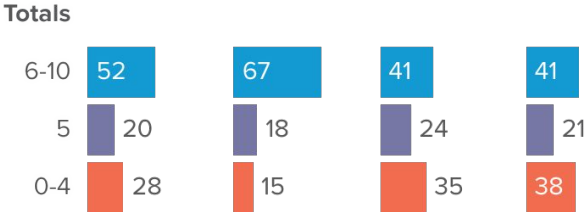
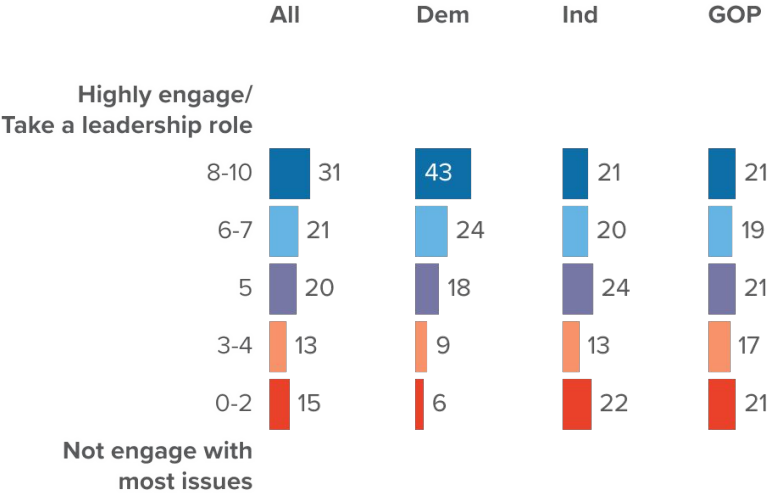
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# Key Findings



- Voters believe America should engage and provide global leadership with Democrats supporting engagement more than Republicans, and older voters prioritizing it more than younger ones.
- A majority believe America should play a shared leadership role in the world and be an equal voice. Minorities think we should play either a central leadership role or no role at all. At the same time, a substantial majority say it's important for the United States to be seen as the most powerful country in the world.
- Standing up to bullies and vulnerable people and defending freedom garner the strongest level of agreement across all groups of voters.
- A majority believe America should come to the aid of our allies when they need us, but policymakers need to make America's interest/benefit in doing so crystal clear as 46% of voters believe we should stay out of a situation unless our direct interests are at stake.
- Democrats have a more cohesive view of America's role in the world. They believe in engagement and shared leadership. Republicans are more split with groups of voters preferring isolationism and others supporting America's global leadership.

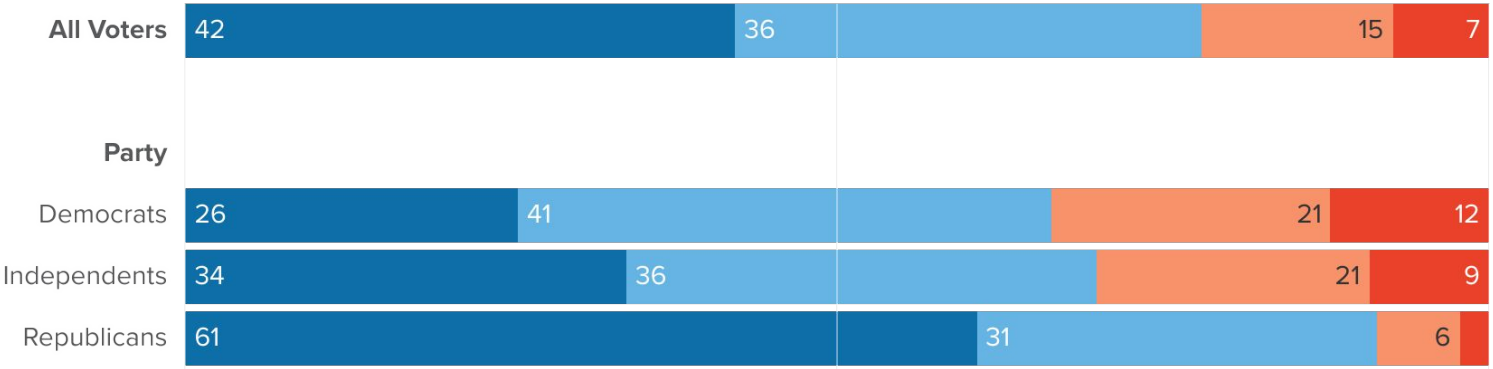
# How America Should Engage with the World



# How Important Should America Be Viewed as the Most Powerful Country in the World



● Very important ● Somewhat important ● Not too important ● Not important at all

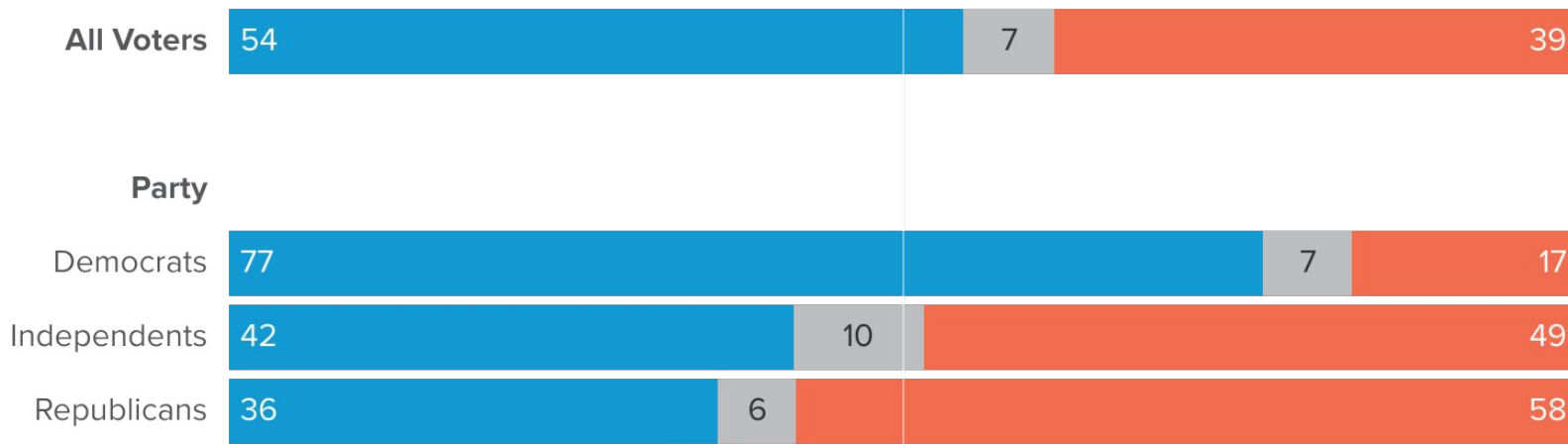


# America's Obligations to Allies



America should help our allied countries deal with their problems when they need us

America should deal with its own problems and let other countries deal with their own problems as best they can

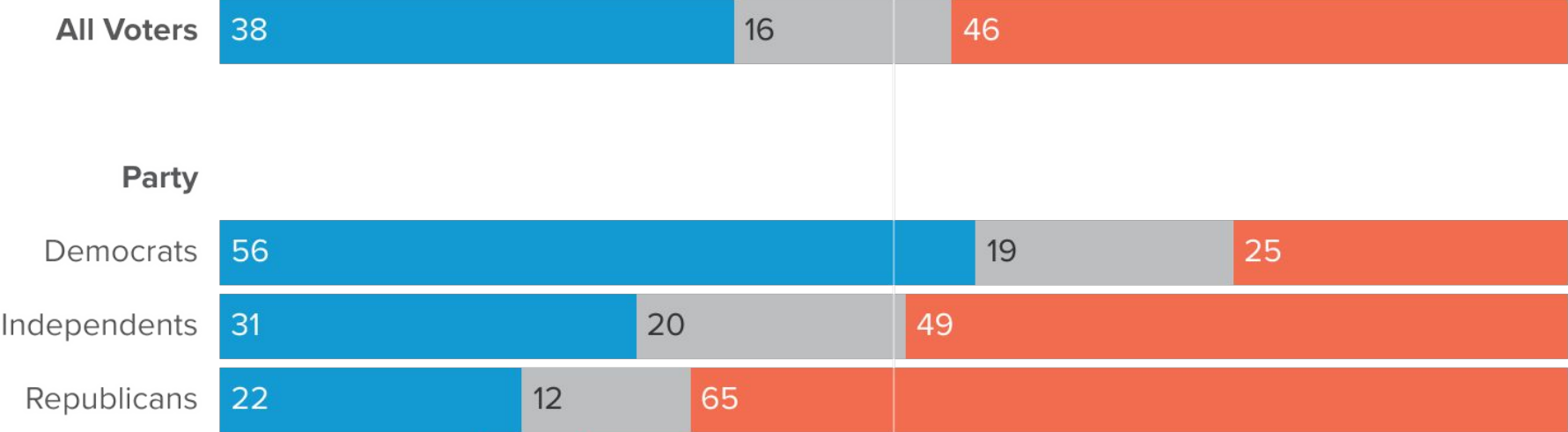


# How America Should React to an Ally Being Invaded



Help the country being invaded  
if they ask for America to help

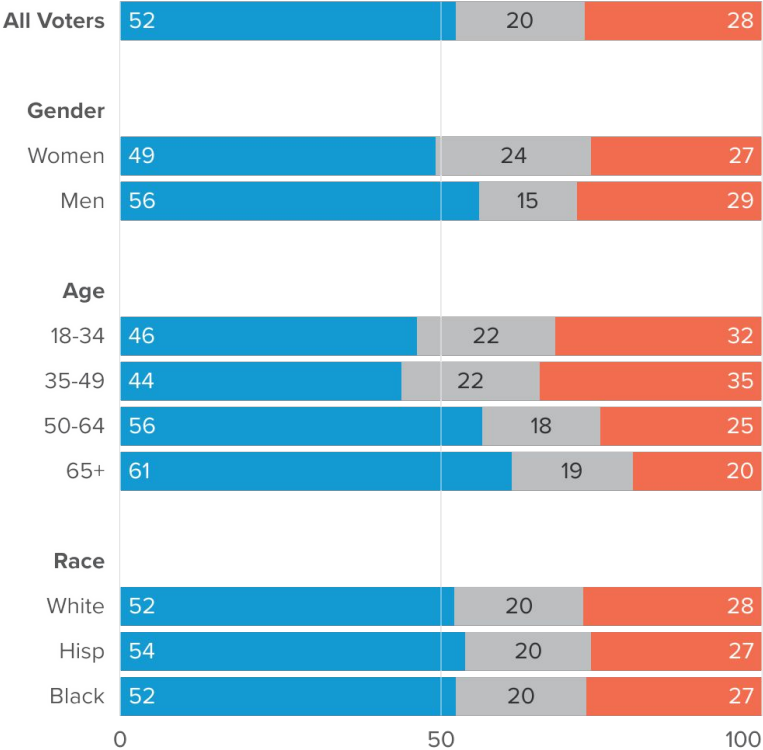
Stay out of it unless American  
interests are directly at stake



# To what extent do you think America should provide international leadership and engage with the world's issues?



● Total Engage/Lead (6-10) ● Middle (5) ● Total Less Engagement (0-4)



# Agreement with Statements about America's Role in the World



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
83	89	74	80	"If bullying countries aren't stopped, they will do more damage"
83	87	69	83	"Everyone has the right to live in freedom. America should stand up for freedom whenever possible"
81	93	72	72	"America should stand up for vulnerable people and their human rights whenever possible"
81	66	77	95	"I am proud to be an American"
78	83	77	74	"Given how disastrous America's wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were, we should be far more cautious in using the military to solve conflicts in other parts of the world"
78	70	70	88	"The American military is essential to maintaining peace and prosperity, both at home and abroad"
78	86	66	73	"America must play a leading role in stopping mass killing and genocide"
69	67	56	74	"What America in the world does matters, and sets the tone for what's right and wrong in the world"

**% Agree**



# Agreement with Statements about America's Role in the World



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
68	55	57	85	"We are all safer if America is seen as the most powerful nation on earth"
68	70	58	70	"The world is safer when everyone knows that America will always help defend its friends and allies from attack"
65	73	56	60	"It's better to help our allies fight Russia or China than to fight them ourselves"
60	67	49	57	"Arming our friends keeps us from having to send American troops to fight"
53	40	53	64	"America should only respond militarily if we are attacked directly like on 9/11"
52	34	57	69	"Any involvement in the Russia-Ukraine war moves us closer to a nuclear war with Russia or China"
51	22	47	80	"Barack Obama's weakness in failing to enforce his 'red line' in Syria emboldened our enemies like Putin to commit acts of aggression against countries like Ukraine"
49	29	57	66	"Spending money to arm allies is a waste. We should spend the money at home"
39	33	41	45	"Morally, the best thing to do is to stay out of all wars"

**% Agree**

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# Key Findings

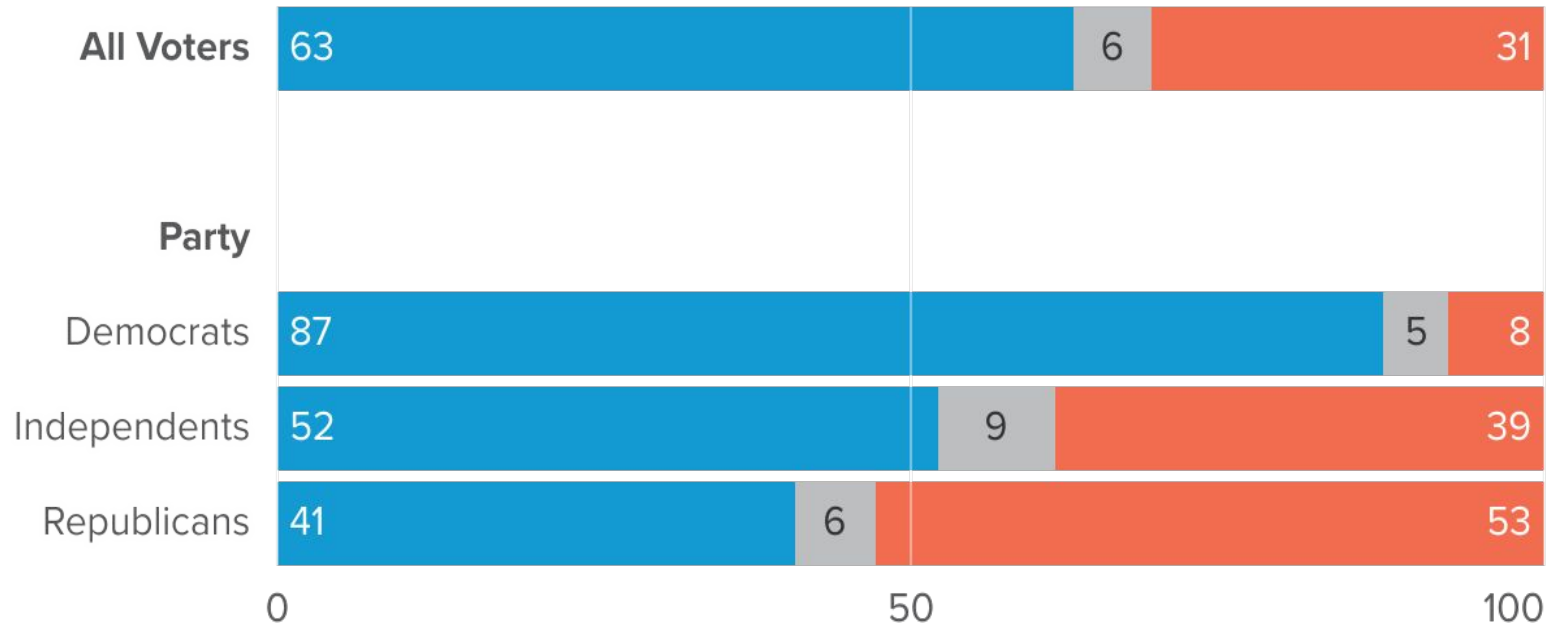


- Majorities of voters largely support the American aid to Ukraine so far, want it included in next year's federal budget, and are more likely to vote for a candidate who articulates this vision over someone opposed to American aid.
- Voters are more concerned with America not going far enough to defend Ukraine or be forced to send troops than they are that Russia will use nuclear weapons.
- A majority of voters believe US sanctions on countries can be effective. Fewer believe the sanctions on Russia have been effective so far, but 80% support continuing them.
- Solid majorities support keeping US troops in NATO countries, admitting Ukrainian refugees, and defining success as ending military aid when Russia leaves Ukraine entirely and the region becomes stable.
- Voters oppose setting arbitrary dates for withdrawal. The messaging from the Iraq/Afghanistan wars used in the 2000s against setting "date certain" continue to hold.
- Stability of the region and defeating Putin and Russia are seen as the key benefit to America. Voters desire victory for Ukraine, the end of hostilities, and Russian withdrawal.

# Do you support or oppose America continuing military support for Ukraine in next year's federal budget?



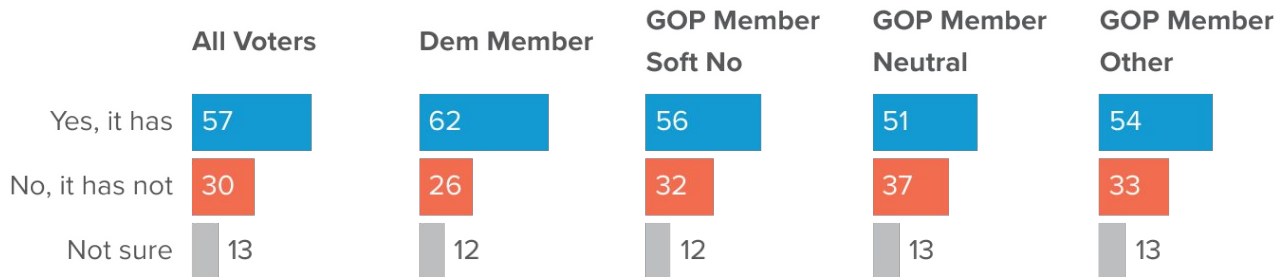
● Support ● Oppose ● Not sure



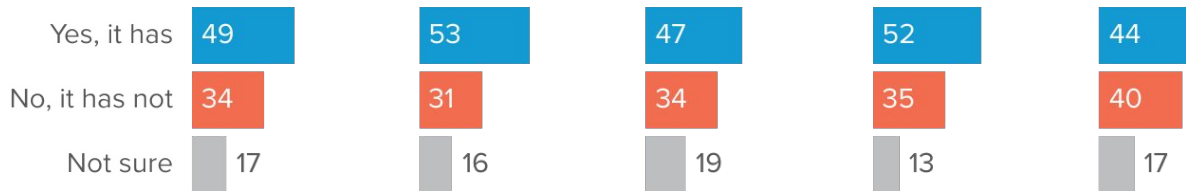
# Has the Aid to Ukraine Been Worth It?



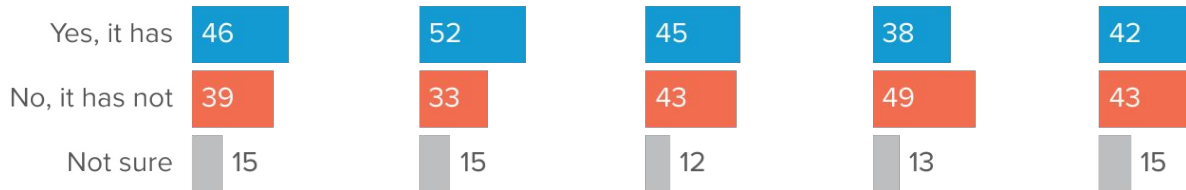
America has spent roughly \$24 billion on military aid to Ukraine, which is roughly 3% of the American military's own budget. Ukraine remains in control of roughly 83% of its territory and American intelligence believes the war has severely degraded Russia's military power and its ability to threaten NATO allies. Knowing this, do you think American aid to Ukraine has been worth the cost, or not?



So far, do you think American aid to Ukraine has been worth the cost, or not?



So far, do you think American military aid to Ukraine has been worth the cost, or not?



# Agreement with Statements about the Russia's War in Ukraine



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
79	94	72	66	"Russia is committing human rights atrocities and bombing innocent civilian areas and apartment buildings. They must be stopped and made to pay for the destruction they have caused."
72	91	65	55	"Ukraine is fighting for their freedom. Helping them is the morally right thing to do."
71	83	61	61	"Ukrainians remind us of the best of Americans - people with grit, willing to work hard and fight for freedom against the greatest of odds."
69	82	63	58	"In addition to Ukraine, Russia is waging war in Africa and the Middle East. Russia is a global threat."
68	85	58	55	"Russia is attempting genocide in Ukraine, murdering innocent civilians in a bid to restore its former glory."
65	82	56	50	"Ukraine, Europe, and America will not be safe until Vladimir Putin is removed from power and tried for war crimes."
63	78	57	51	"Appeasement didn't work with Adolf Hitler and it won't work with Vladimir Putin. Unless we stop him now, he will roll into Poland and other Baltic countries to reunite the Soviet Union."
63	74	55	53	"Putin is jealous of America and obsessed with defeating America. He supports our enemies like the Venezuelan, Syrian, and Iranian regimes and undermines democracies all around the world. We need to defeat him now."
60	72	50	51	"We need to punish American and European companies that are continuing to do business in Russia more severely."
60	78	50	45	"America providing military support from Ukraine has helped stop Russia from going into NATO countries which would require a direct military response by American troops and escalate the conflict exponentially."

% Agree

# Agreement with Statements about the Russia's War in Ukraine



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
57	73	43	44	"Standing up for Ukraine and successfully driving Russia out of their country will show America's strength."
54	70	48	41	"Ukraine is functioning as a shield for NATO, keeping Putin from invading the rest of Europe."
47	23	54	69	"While America has many vital national interests, becoming further entangled in a territorial dispute between Ukraine and Russia is not one of them. Funding this conflict for 'as long as it takes' distracts from America's most pressing challenges."
42	24	49	58	"Supporting Ukraine prolongs the war, spiking the price of food and gas."
35	47	29	25	"Supporting allies like Ukraine increases world supplies of food and gas, lowering prices for working families."
30	13	31	48	"Ukraine is losing the war. Continuing to support it will only cause more suffering for the Ukrainian people. We should only be supporting getting both sides to the peace table, not more war."
26	7	29	44	"Ukraine has committed just as many atrocities as Russia in this war. The media simply refuses to cover it."
26	5	30	46	"Ukraine is not a democracy and is hopelessly corrupt. We should not be helping them."
18	7	22	29	"Ukraine should settle this war now and cede territory to Russia to save human lives."
16	4	16	29	"America should not support Ukraine unless Russia uses a nuclear weapon against Ukraine"

**% Agree**

# Support for Actions Taken in Ukraine



All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
83	93	73	76	Placing strict economic sanctions on Russia
81	93	73	72	Bringing together other nations to lead a global effort to stop Putin's invasion of Ukraine
70	89	59	53	Sending military equipment and weapons to Ukraine
62	75	55	51	Stationing large numbers of American military forces in NATO countries near Ukraine

**% Support**



# Support for Policies



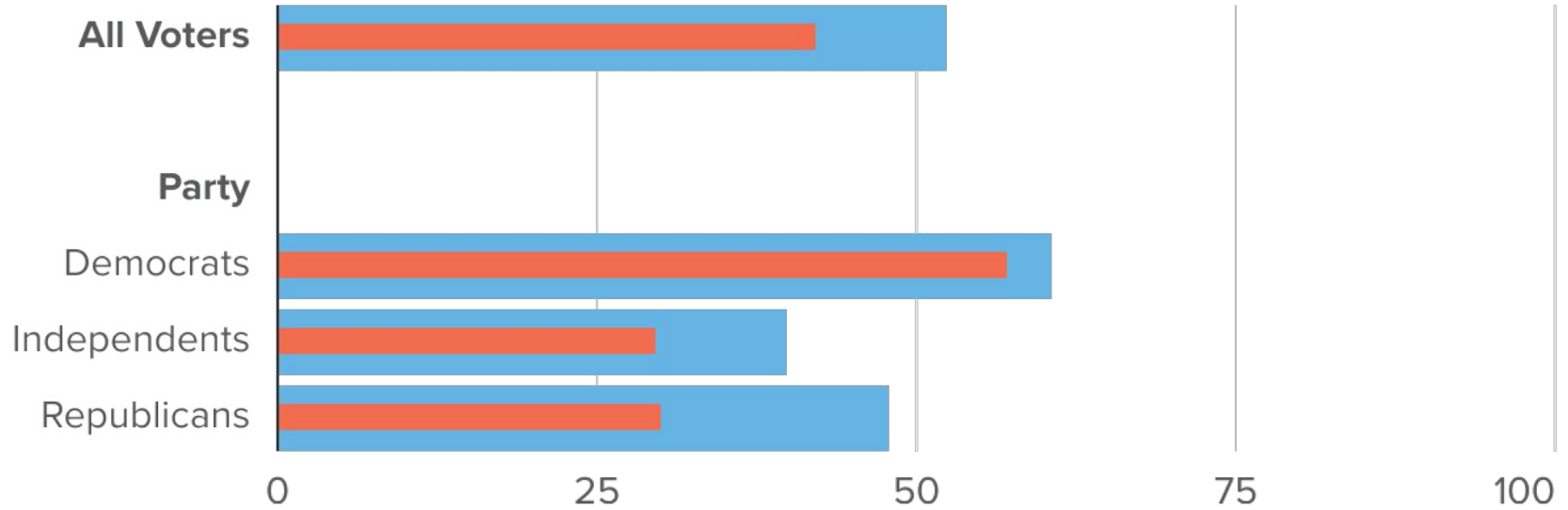
All	Dem	Ind	GOP	
81	91	69	74	Keeping strict economic sanctions on Russia
61	73	52	51	Keeping large numbers of American military forces in NATO countries near Ukraine
59	71	52	50	Ending our financial military support for Ukraine only when the region again becomes stable and Russia leaves all Ukrainian territory
57	82	55	33	Admitting thousands of Ukrainian refugees into America
39	53	31	26	Supporting Ukraine's military and providing air operations even if it risks a nuclear conflict with Russia
29	12	39	43	Setting a specific date to ending military support for Ukraine
23	28	21	20	Telling Russia that the US will continue to provide support to Ukraine for a year, at which point, the US will escalate against Russia directly, unless Russia withdraws by that date

**% Support**

# Belief in Effectiveness of Sanctions



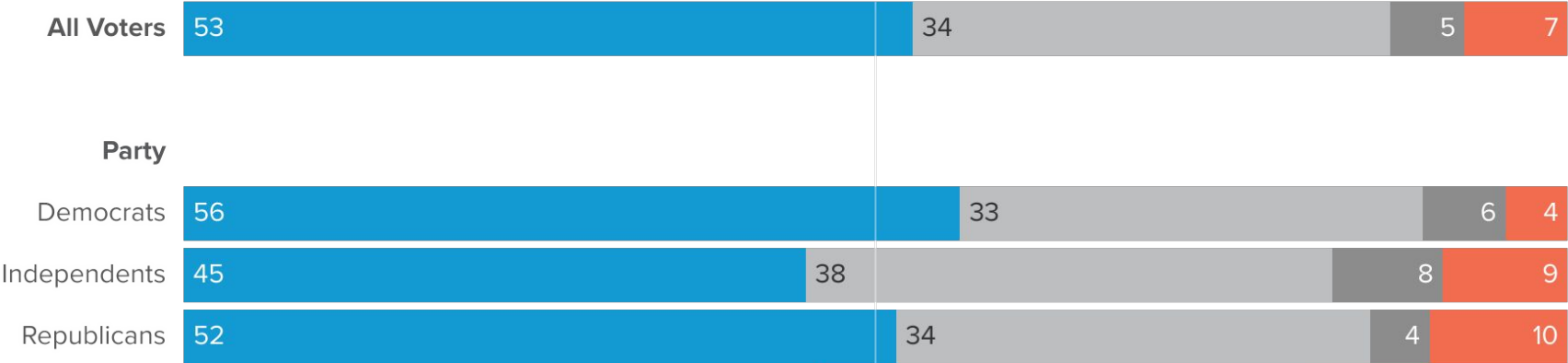
● Effective Overall ● Effective Against Russia



# Support for Military Aid with Corruption Controls



● More Likely to Support Sending Aid ● Would make no difference to you ● Not sure ● Less Likely to Oppose Sending Aid



# Change in Candidate Support



Which candidate would you be more likely to support:

“The United States needs to do whatever we can to help Ukraine win the war against Russia and drive the Russian army out of their country without sending in American troops.”

“The United States needs to end its support for Ukraine now and work to get Russia and Ukraine to the table to negotiate to end the war, even if that means Ukraine is forced to surrender territory to Russia.”

