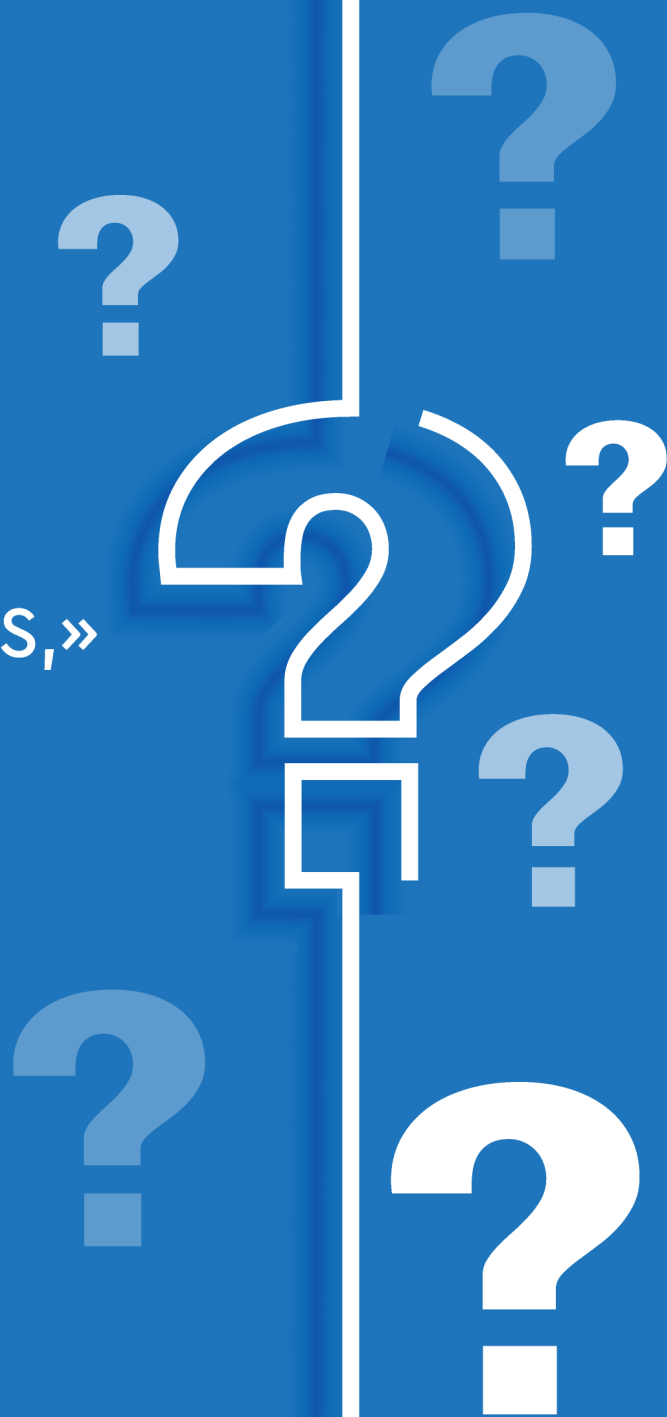


PRECONDITIONS
FOR NEGOTIATIONS,
«SECURITY GUARANTEES,»
AND TRUST
IN FOREIGN LEADERS

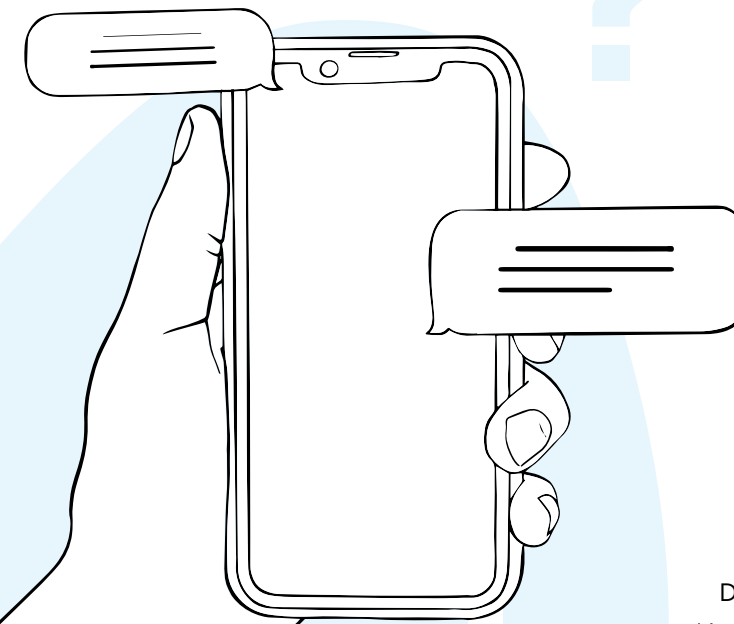
Results of the opinion poll commissioned
by the New Europe Center



The opinion poll was conducted by INFO SAPIENS LLC on behalf of the New Europe Center from November 13 to November 21, 2023. The sample for the opinion poll consisted of 1000 respondents. The opinion poll was conducted using the CATI method (Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviews) based on a random selection of mobile phone numbers. The sample is representative of the Ukrainian population aged 16 and above, considering gender, age, region, and settlement size. The theoretical sampling error does not exceed 3.1% with a 0.95% confidence level. The opinion poll was not conducted in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Sevastopol, Luhansk region, as well as in certain temporarily occupied territories of Donetsk, Kherson, Zaporizhzhia, Mykolaiv, and Kharkiv regions where is no Ukraine's mobile coverage.

PRECONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, «SECURITY GUARANTEES,» AND TRUST IN FOREIGN LEADERS

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Europe Center



The opinion poll was conducted with the support of the International Renaissance Foundation and the EU. The conclusions of the material reflect the position of the authors and do not necessarily coincide with the position of the International Renaissance Foundation and the EU.

December 2023
New Europe Center
Kyiv

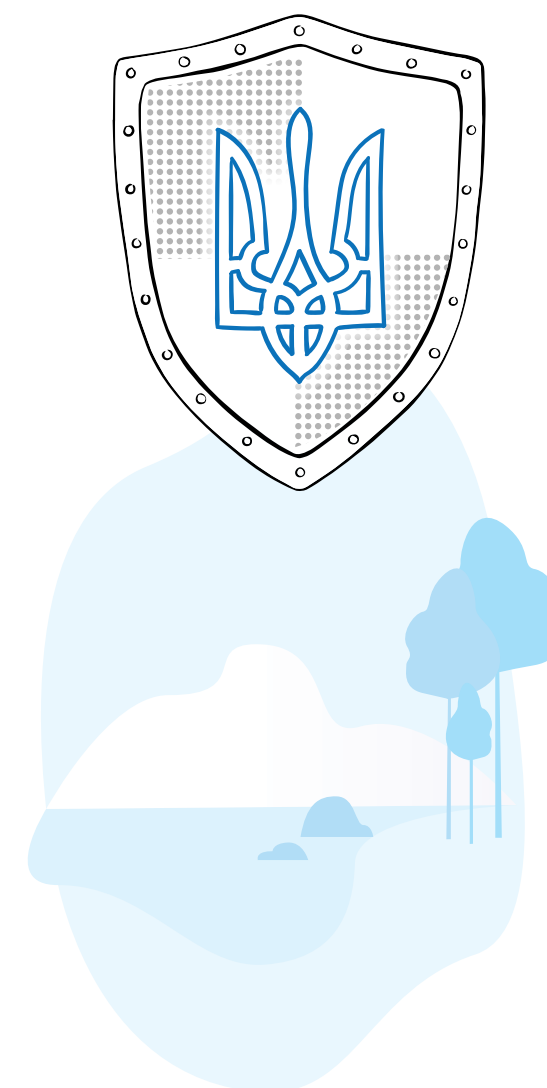


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SUMMARY

The latest opinion poll of the New Europe Center predominantly focuses on security issues. The increase in rumors about negotiations with the aggressor country, discussions on various security models for Ukraine required assessments from Ukrainian society. Apparently, citizens understand that there is no effective alternative to full membership in NATO. However, if they had to choose from other «security guarantees» (aside from full membership over the entire territory), it is evident that Ukrainians are most inclined towards the model often referred to in expert circles as the Western German model (envisaging NATO membership for the territory controlled by Ukraine, with the inclusion of other territories under the Alliance's umbrella in the future—after de-occupation). Ukrainians are quite clear in their expectations from the NATO summit in Washington next July: 65% of respondents expect some progress in Ukraine's integration into the Alliance. Only 30% «expect nothing» from the summit. Our opinion poll also showed that Ukrainians are particularly skeptical about negotiations with Russia. The main precondition for negotiations is seen as the withdrawal of Russian troops from Ukrainian territory. At the same time, the majority of Ukrainians will not accept any concessions from Ukraine. The security factor evidently influences Ukrainians' trust in foreign leaders. This year, the U.S. President, Joseph Biden, took the lead (previously, the champion of sympathies was the leader of Poland). Trust in the leaders of France and Germany has increased. Vladimir Putin remains the undisputed leader of distrust, along with the leaders of Belarus and China (presumably due to their support of Russia).



KEY FINDINGS

1. «Security Guarantees». Ukrainian attitudes are scattered regarding what «security guarantees» would best ensure Ukraine's security before full NATO membership. The most popular option is the approach that involves the country's integration into NATO (with the understanding that the Alliance's protection extends only to the controlled territory). 32.6% of Ukrainians support this option. The dispersion of responses may indicate both that Ukrainians are not very well informed about the details of the «security guarantees» discussion and that citizens do not see an effective alternative to the full membership of the country in NATO. As known, recent opinion polls consistently show a high level of public support for Ukraine's membership in the Alliance (at around 80%).

2. Ukraine should support Taiwan. The majority of Ukrainians believe that Ukraine must provide assistance to the United States and Taiwan in the event of a Chinese attack on Taiwan. This view is shared by practically half of the respondents, at 47.1%. The option 'We need to prioritize our own security' was

supported by 39.5% of those surveyed. To some extent, this may indicate a high level of understanding in Ukraine of the interdependence of global processes: democracies should support each other in resisting the encroachments of authoritarian, aggressive states. This could also be seen as a manifestation of gratitude for the support Ukraine currently receives from the United States.

3. Biden is number one, surpassing Duda. This year, the champion of public trust in Ukraine among foreign leaders is U.S. President Joseph Biden (81.8%). The high level of enthusiasm for American leadership and the United States, in general, is quite indicative, contrasting with the criticism that can be heard in Ukraine regarding the key partner and the 'as long as it takes' strategy. Maintaining a high level of trust in Biden occurs against the backdrop of controversies in the U.S. Congress over allocating funds for Ukraine, blocking the country's NATO accession process, slow progress, and insufficient volumes of arms supply.

Andrzej Duda, who held the top position in our opinion polls for several years, has

KEY FINDINGS

somewhat slipped in the rankings, though he continues to be among the leaders (but this time in second place with a score of 77.7% – last year it was 86.8%). Apparently, elements of tension in Ukrainian-Polish relations could not go unnoticed in Ukrainians' attitudes towards the leadership of the neighboring state.

4. Europeans are gaining sympathy. A year ago, our opinion poll showed a relatively low level of trust in the leaders of France and Germany, especially when compared to the presidents of the USA or Poland. Currently, this indicator has increased for both Emmanuel Macron and Olaf Scholz. The German Chancellor is now trusted by 61.4% of Ukrainians, compared to 49.2% before, and the French President by 54.5%, compared to 43.9%. Symbolically, the trio of leaders in public sympathy, excluding the presidents of the USA and Poland, includes the President of the European Commission, Ursula von der Leyen. This may indicate a high level of trust in European institutions overall.

5. Leaders of distrust. The top three heads of states whom Ukrainians distrust the most probably won't come as a surprise to anyone: Vladimir Putin, Alexander

Lukashenko, and Xi Jinping. The fourth position is occupied by the Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. The level of distrust toward Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has increased by almost 10%.

6. There is no basis for negotiations. Respondents believe that Ukraine can engage in talks with Russia only if Moscow decides to withdraw its troops from Ukrainian territory (34.8%). Third of those participating in the opinion poll chose the option «under no circumstances».

7. No concessions to the aggressor. We proposed to assess the acceptability of concessions in possible negotiations. Ukrainians are quite categorical in this regard – the majority of respondents deemed almost all proposed options in the opinion poll as entirely unacceptable: temporarily giving up the reclamation of occupied territories (76.2%); abandoning NATO membership (56.9%); reducing the Ukrainian army (83.2%); granting state status to the Russian language (73%); renouncing EU membership (61%); reducing reparations from Russia (66.8%); and waiving criminal prosecution of Russian leaders and war criminals (77%).

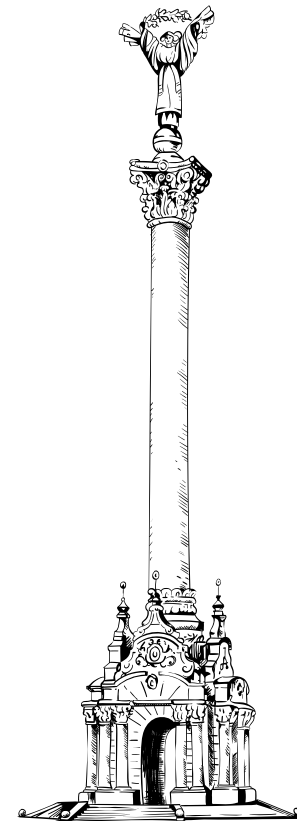
KEY FINDINGS

8. Negotiations on behalf of Ukraine will be conducted solely by Ukraine. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainians believe that only Ukraine can participate in potential negotiations with Russia (71.7%). No other country can fulfill this role on behalf of Ukraine. Only 14.2% of Ukrainians believe that the United States could assume such a role, and 5% mention the European Union.

9. Criticism from abroad regarding corruption? Welcome. Ukrainians have a positive attitude towards critical statements from the EU and the USA that highlight issues with corruption in our country. The majority of respondents (70.4%) believe that the EU and the USA are doing the right thing, as Ukraine needs such external pressure to overcome corruption.

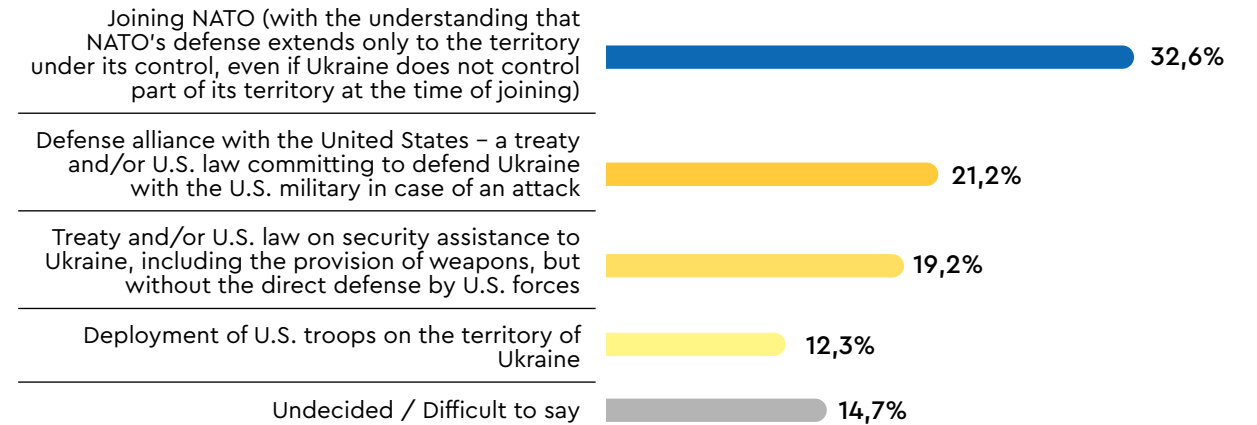
10. What are the anticipated outcomes of the upcoming NATO summit? Ukrainian opinions diverge regarding the expectations for the Washington NATO Summit scheduled for July 2024. One-third of respondents express no expectations whatsoever. Discounting these 30% of skeptics, the next most prevalent anticipation is an invitation for Ukraine to join NATO and the

commencement of the accession process (25%). Nearly 20% foresee Ukraine achieving full membership in NATO. An invitation without the initiation of the accession process is the preference of 10%. When aggregating the total number of expectations foreseeing various levels of progress in Ukraine's integration into the Alliance, it reaches 65%.

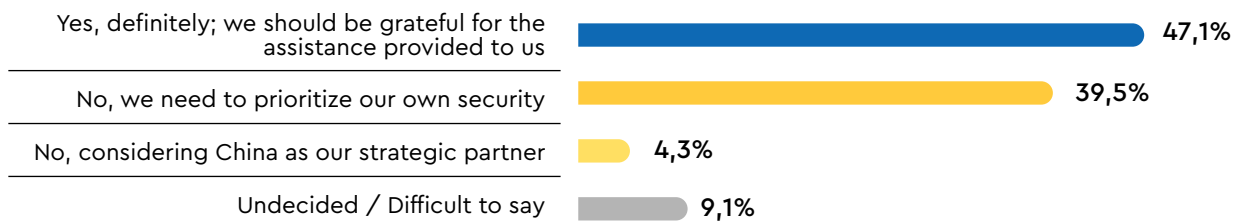


«SECURITY GUARANTEES»

1. WHAT DO YOU CONSIDER THE BEST «SECURITY GUARANTEE» FOR UKRAINE?



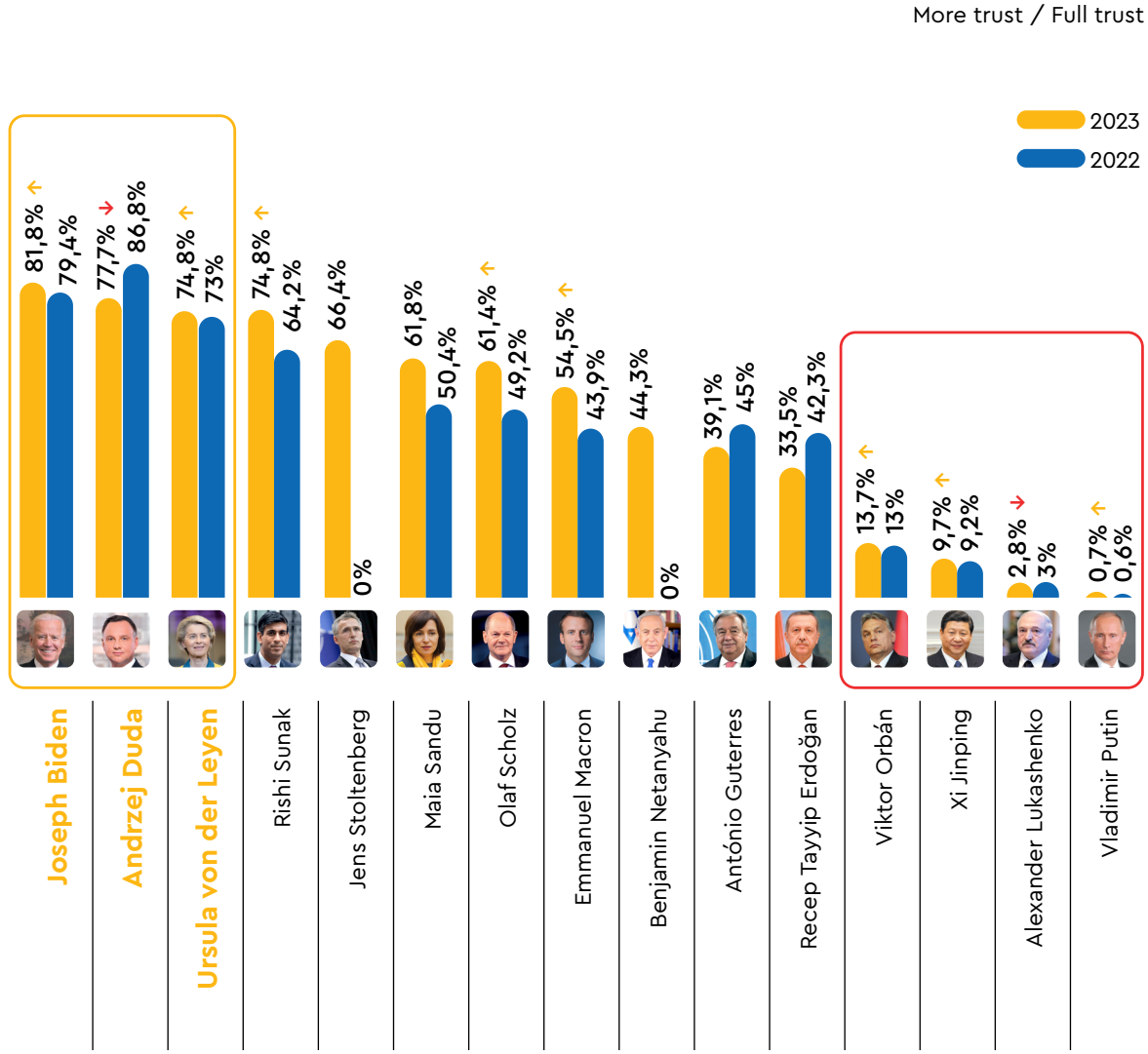
2. SHOULD UKRAINE PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES AND TAIWAN IN THE EVENT OF A CHINESE ATTACK ON TAIWAN?





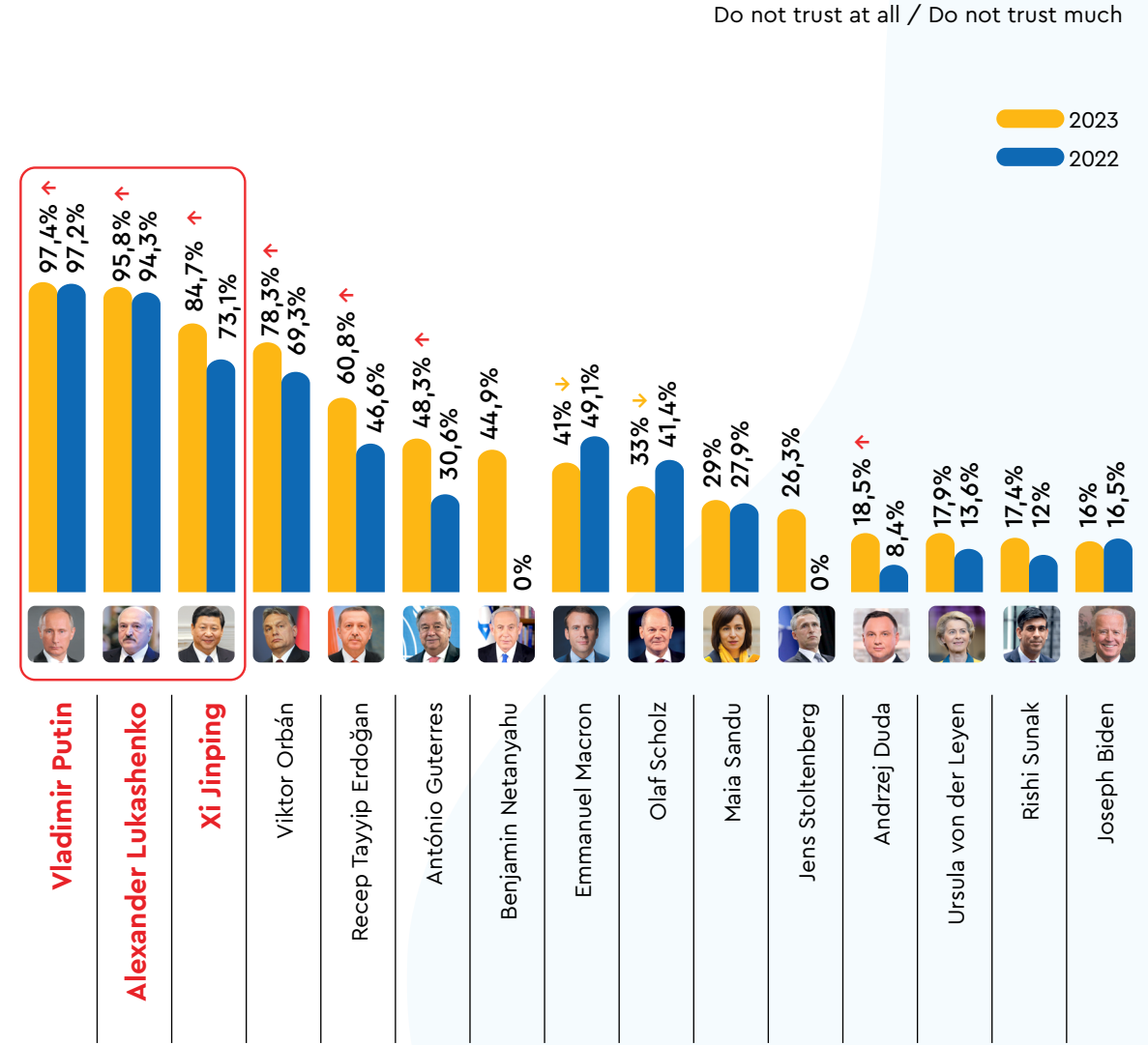
TRUST IN LEADERS

3. AMONG FOREIGN LEADERS, WHO INSPIRES THE GREATEST TRUST IN YOU?



TRUST IN LEADERS

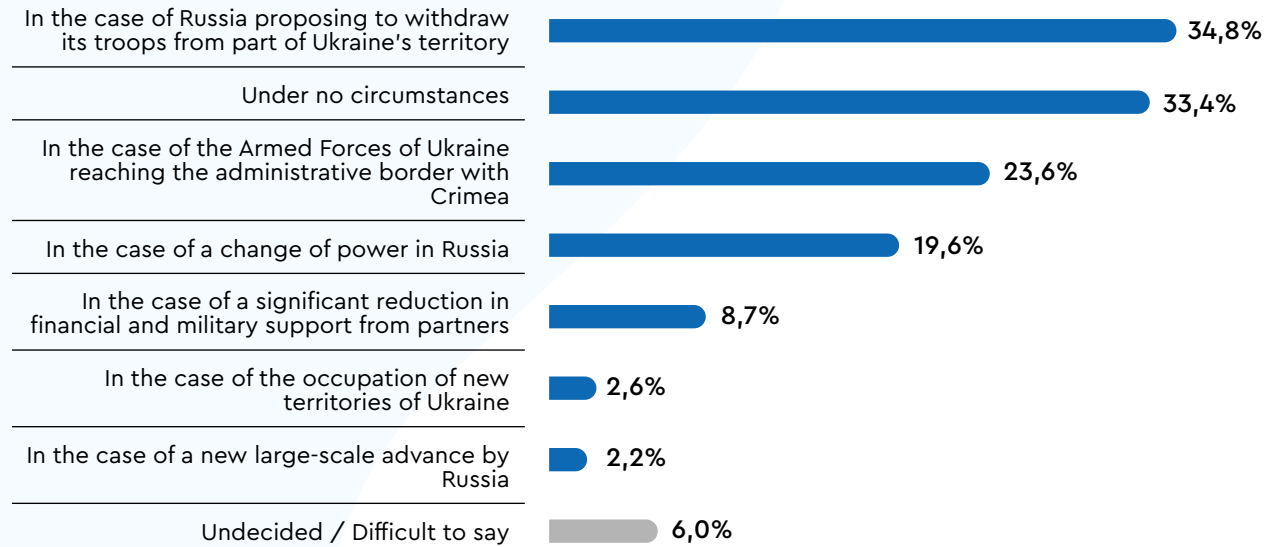
WHOM DO UKRAINIANS NOT TRUST?





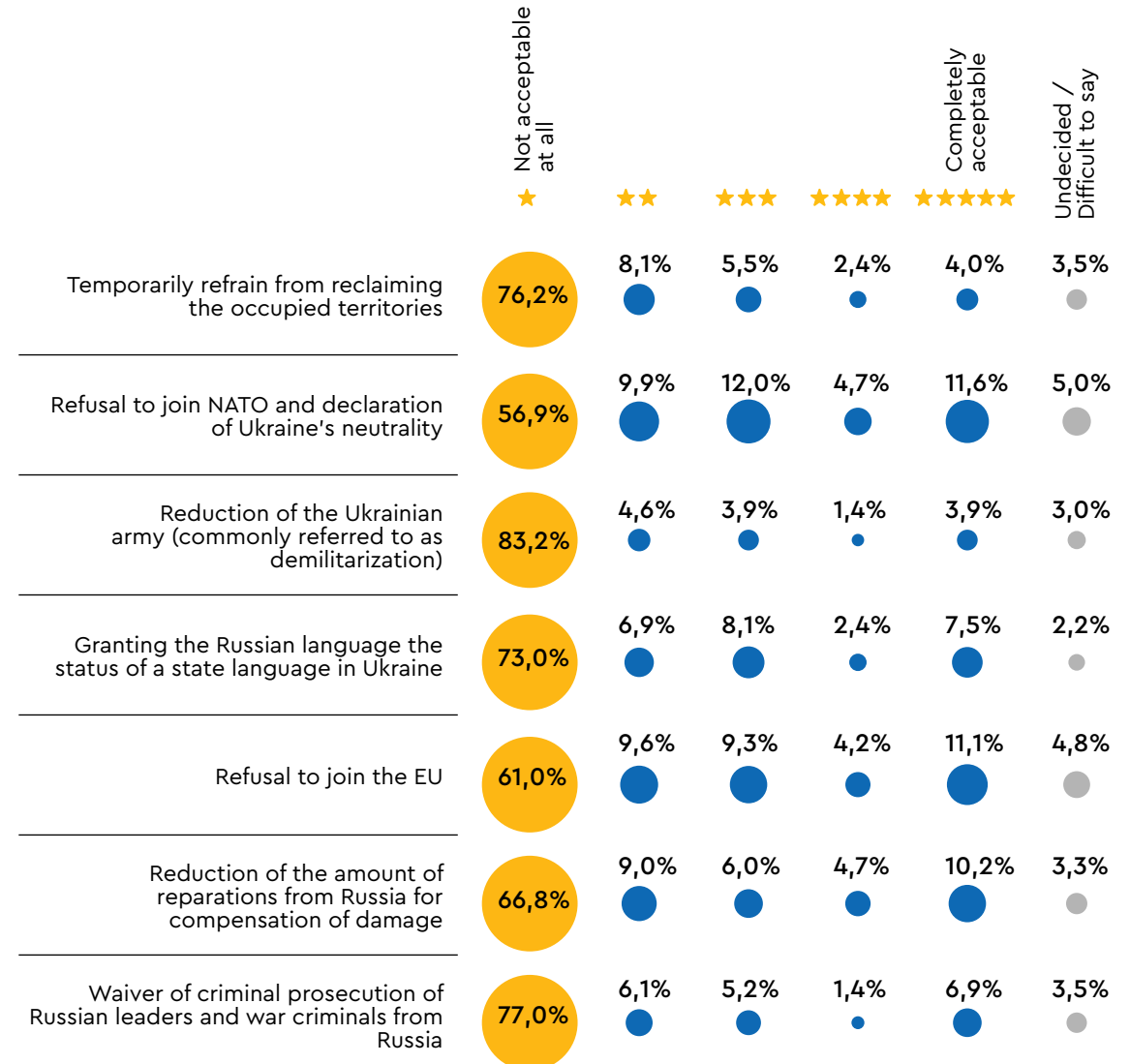
WAR, NEGOTIATIONS

4. UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD UKRAINE ENGAGE IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA? (CHOOSE UP TO 3 OPTIONS).

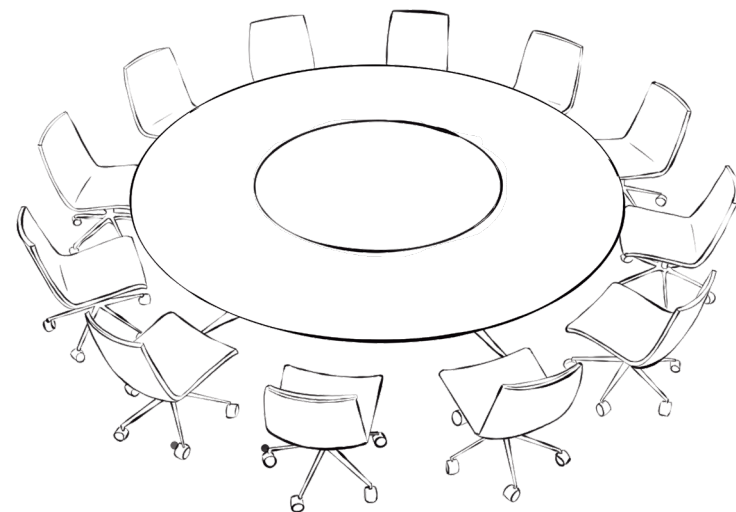
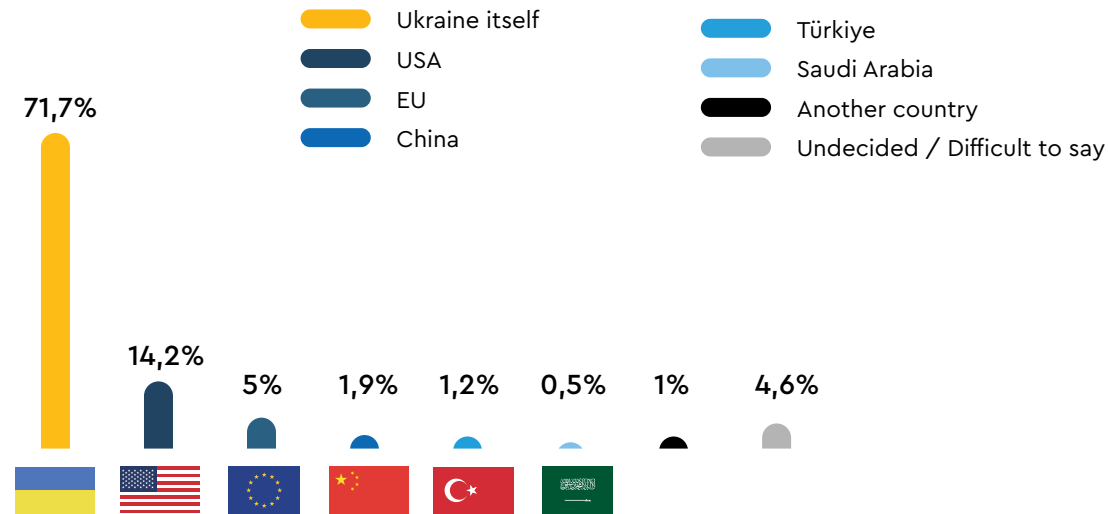


WAR, NEGOTIATIONS

5. IN PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS WITH RUSSIA, WHAT ACTIONS DO YOU CONSIDER ACCEPTABLE? (EVALUATE EACH PROPOSAL ON A 5-POINT SCALE, WHERE 1 IS NOT AT ALL ACCEPTABLE, AND 5 IS COMPLETELY ACCEPTABLE).

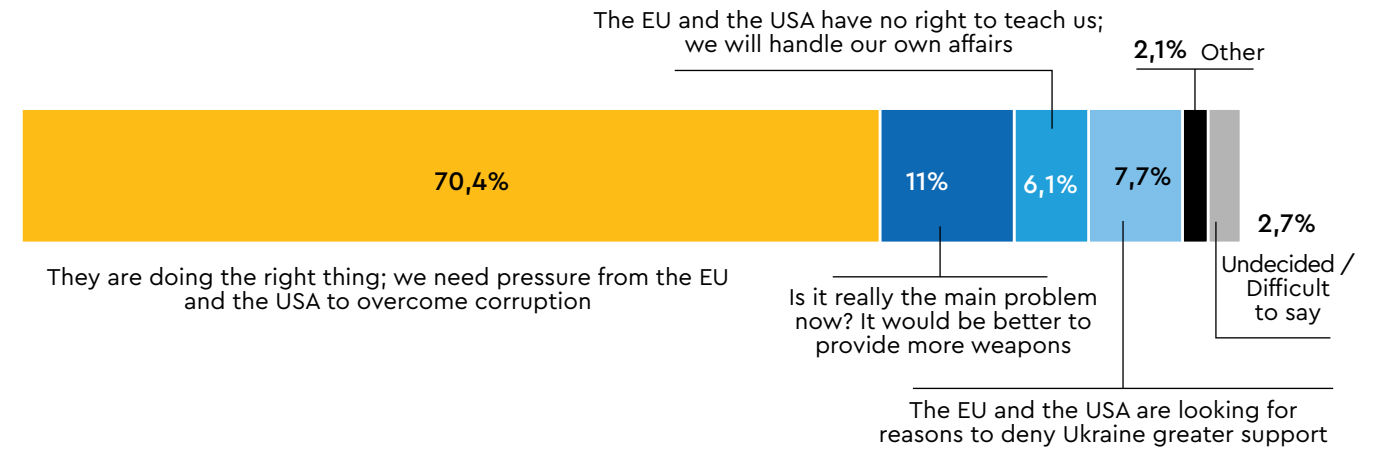


6. WHO COULD NEGOTIATE WITH RUSSIA ON BEHALF OF UKRAINE TO END THE WAR?



ACCESSION TO THE EU AND NATO

7. WHAT ARE YOUR THOUGHTS WHEN YOU HEAR REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EU AND THE USA ADDRESSING CORRUPTION IN UKRAINE?



8. WHAT ARE YOUR EXPECTATIONS FOR THE NATO SUMMIT IN WASHINGTON SCHEDULED FOR JULY 2024?





ABOUT NEW EUROPE CENTER

The New Europe Center was founded in 2017 as an independent think-tank. Despite its new brand, it is based on a research team that has been working together since 2009, at the Institute for World Policy. The New Europe Center became recognized by offering high-quality analysis on foreign policy issues in Ukraine and regional security by combining active, effective work with advocacy.

The New Europe Center's vision is very much in line with the views of the majority of Ukrainians about the future of their country: Ukraine should be integrated into the European Union and NATO. By integration, we understand not so much formal membership as the adoption of the best standards and practices for Ukraine to properly belong to the Euroatlantic value system.

More about New Europe Center: neweurope.org.ua



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