

CONTENTS

Potential end of the war in Ukraine

NATO and the possible creation of joint EU armed forces

Presidential elections

Ban on the use of smartphones in schools

IN ADDITION

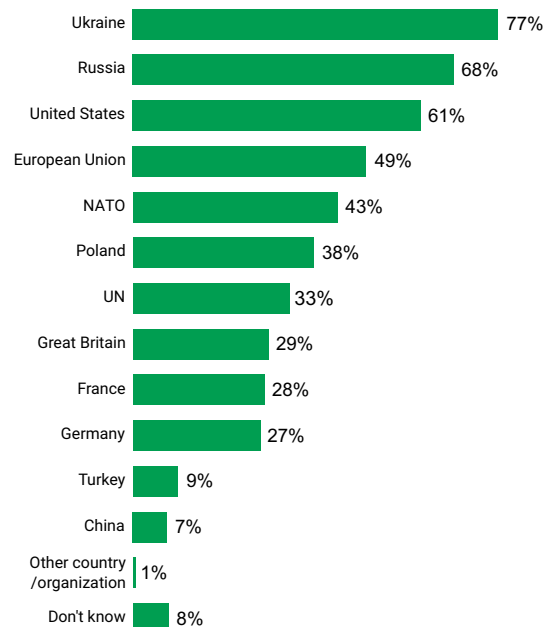
TO THE REPORTS REFERRED TO ABOVE, THE FOLLOWING HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED RECENTLY (IN POLISH):

- Ranking of trust in politicians in March
- Poles about the second round of the presidential election. Potential voters for KO and PiS candidates
- Social Mood in March
- Attitude Towards the Government in March
- Mood on the Labor Market in March
- Women in the world of role models and life models
- Consumer moods in march
- First Round of Presidential Elections – Positive and Negative Electorates in Early March
- How do Poles celebrate Women? (CAWI)
- Preferences in the presidential election
- Party preferences at the beginning of March (CATI)
- Poles on the Importance of the Upcoming Presidential Elections
- Journalists as Public Opinion Communicators
- Attitude Towards the Government in February

Potential end of the war in Ukraine

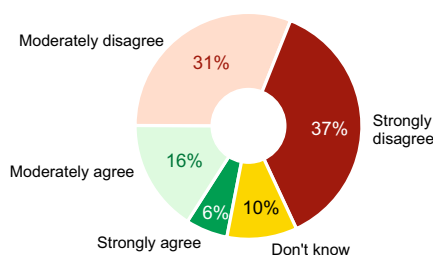
In February, representatives of the USA and Russia met in Riyadh to discuss the terms of peace in Ukraine. The lack of participation in these talks of Ukraine and of European countries caused great controversy. On this occasion, the Polish media often discussed who should actually participate in the peace negotiations that will decide the future of our region. CBOS surveyed what ordinary Poles thought about this. When asked who should sit at the negotiating table, the vast majority of respondents indicated the attacked Ukraine (77%), which was omitted from the Riyadh summit. Next, they most often mentioned Russia, the aggressor (68%). In third place was the USA, Ukraine's strongest ally (61%). The participation of these three countries in the peace talks seemed obvious to most Poles, but high percentages also indicated the need to include large international organizations involved on Ukraine's side: the EU (49%) and NATO (43%). Poland itself came in sixth place (38%), and the UN in seventh (33%). The three most powerful countries of Western Europe, which are also engaged in helping Ukrainians, had similar results: Great Britain (29%), France (28%) and Germany (27%). Less than one in ten respondents mentioned Turkey, which has the second strongest NATO army (9%), and China (7%), the only ally of Russia mentioned in responses, which significantly supported it during the war.

Which countries or international organizations should be involved in establishing the terms of peace in Ukraine?



When asked who should sit at the negotiating table, the vast majority of respondents indicated the attacked Ukraine (77%), which was omitted from the Riyadh summit. Next, they most often mentioned Russia, the aggressor (68%). In third place was the USA, Ukraine's strongest ally (61%). The participation of these three countries in the peace talks seemed obvious to most Poles, but high percentages also indicated the need to include large international organizations involved on Ukraine's side: the EU (49%) and NATO (43%). Poland itself came in sixth place (38%), and the UN in seventh (33%). The three most powerful countries of Western Europe, which are also engaged in helping Ukrainians, had similar results: Great Britain (29%), France (28%) and Germany (27%). Less than one in ten respondents mentioned Turkey, which has the second strongest NATO army (9%), and China (7%), the only ally of Russia mentioned in responses, which significantly supported it during the war.

Do you agree that Poland and other European countries should send their troops to Ukraine after a possible peace agreement in Ukraine in order to ensure its durability?

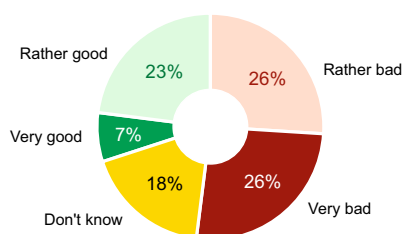


There is an increasing discussion about what awaits us after the conclusion of peace in Ukraine, and what should be done to ensure its durability. In this context, some European countries – such as Great Britain and France – have declared that they would be ready to send their soldiers to Ukraine as part of a peace mission. The Polish government has so far clearly rejected the possibility of

involving Polish troops, arguing that as a country bordering Russia, we would risk entering into a direct conflict with it. Regarding the opinions on this subject in Polish society, the vast majority of Poles share the government's position and would be against the participation of Polish soldiers in a peace mission in Ukraine (68%). Only slightly more than one-fifth would support such actions (22%).

In Poland, many people had hopes for Donald Trump's presidency to resolve the conflict in our region in a way that would be beneficial to our region, so we decided to ask respondents how they assessed his actions towards the war in Ukraine two months after taking office. A little over half considered them as bad (52%), in which a quarter chose the answer "very bad" (26%), and only a little less than one-third saw them as good (30%). Almost one-fifth could not assess them (18%).

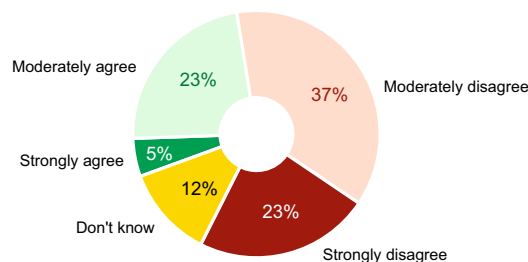
How do you assess Donald Trump's actions towards the war in Ukraine?



Interestingly, among those who believe that the war in Ukraine must be ended as soon as possible, even at the cost of Ukraine giving up part of its territory or independence – and thus sharing Trump's general goals – critical assessments of his actions in this matter predominate (47% negative, compared to 37% positive). Of course, such voices dominate even more among those convinced of the need to continue fighting and opposed to any concessions to Russia (68% compared to 20%).

In response to Donald Trump's conciliatory declarations towards Russia, many European commentators and leading politicians, such as Emmanuel Macron and Friedrich Merz, suggested that American aid should no longer be relied on and that Europe should accelerate armament and prepare to support Ukrainian defence on its own. There are also reports that the United States is considering resigning from command of NATO forces in Europe, which could be a prelude to leaving the Alliance altogether and would further deepen the isolation of Europeans in the face of the Russian threat. But would Europe be able to support Ukraine on its own, without US support, to such an extent as to enable its further, effective defence? Our respondents were rather sceptical about this possibility. The majority (60%) gave a negative answer and only slightly more than a quarter (28%) believed that Europe would be capable of this.

Do you agree that Europe would be able to support Ukraine on its own, without the participation of the United States, to such an extent as to enable its further effective defence?

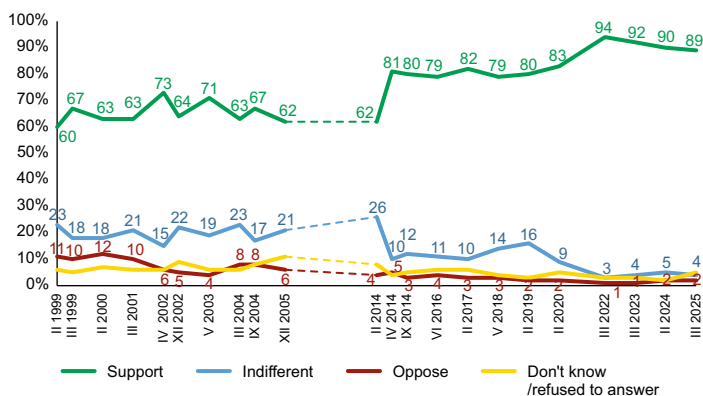


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Poles on Potential End to War in Ukraine", March 2025. Fieldwork dates for the sample: March 2025, N=1047. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

NATO and the possible creation of joint EU armed forces

In March 2025, 89% of adult Poles declared their support for Poland's membership in NATO. Since 1999, the vast majority of Poles have been in favour, but Russia's aggressive actions against Ukraine have only strengthened this attitude. We have been noting significantly higher levels of support since the annexation of Crimea in 2014. In 2022, after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, pro-NATO attitudes in Polish society have become even stronger.

Do you personally support Poland's membership in NATO?

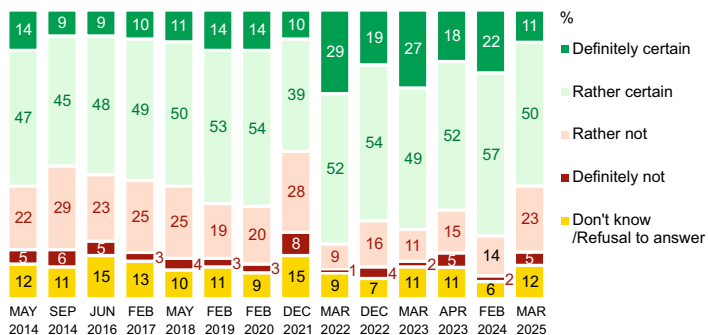


Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding

The majority (61%) of respondents believe that Poland can currently be certain of the involvement of NATO allies in the potential defence of our borders, but only 11% are definitely convinced. On the other hand, 28% of respondents believe that such certainty is currently impossible. Compared to February 2024, the perceived solidity of the North Atlantic Alliance has decreased significantly: there are 18 percentage points fewer respondents who are convinced that Poland can currently be certain of the involvement of allies in the potential defence of our borders, and 12 points more who claim that we cannot be certain (currently 28%). In addition, the

group of respondents who are unable to take a position on this issue has increased by 6 percentage points (currently 12%).

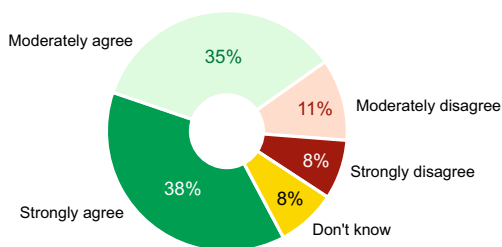
Poland's security is based on its membership in the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO). In your opinion, can Poland currently be certain of the involvement of its allies in the potential defence of our borders?



Percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding

Most European Union countries are NATO members. Donald Trump's moves towards Ukraine, reported US consideration of resigning from command of NATO forces in Europe, and statements by representatives of the new American administration applying possible conditions to the application of Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, have become an impulse for discussion on increasing the defence potential of EU countries. This concerns primarily the allocation of greater funds for armaments. In the March survey, we decided to go a step further and asked respondents whether EU countries should build their own joint armed forces. Almost three-quarters (73%) were in favour of such an initiative, while less than one in five (19%) opposed it, 7% declared no opinion, and one in one hundred respondents (1%) refused to answer.

Do you agree that the European Union countries should build their own joint armed forces?



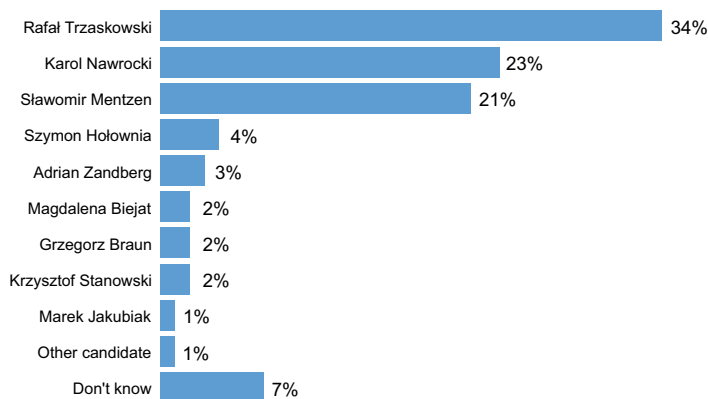
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Poles on NATO and possible construction of joint armed forces by EU countries", April 2025. Fieldwork dates for the sample: March 2025, N=1047. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Presidential elections

The first round of presidential elections in Poland will take place in May 2025. Our March survey shows that Rafał Trzaskowski enjoys the greatest support of potential

voters (34%). Less than a quarter of declared participants in the May vote would support the PiS candidate, Karol Nawrocki (23%), and slightly fewer would vote for Sławomir Mentzen (21%), representing the Confederation. The remaining candidates for the presidency enjoy much less support. Szymon Hołownia could count on 4% of votes, while 3% would vote for the Razem party candidate Adrian Zandberg, 2% would support Magdalena Biejat, Grzegorz Braun and Krzysztof Stanowski, while Marek Jakubiak could count on 1% of votes. Seven in a hundred potential participants in the May vote do not know who they would vote for (7%).

Who would you vote for in the presidential election?



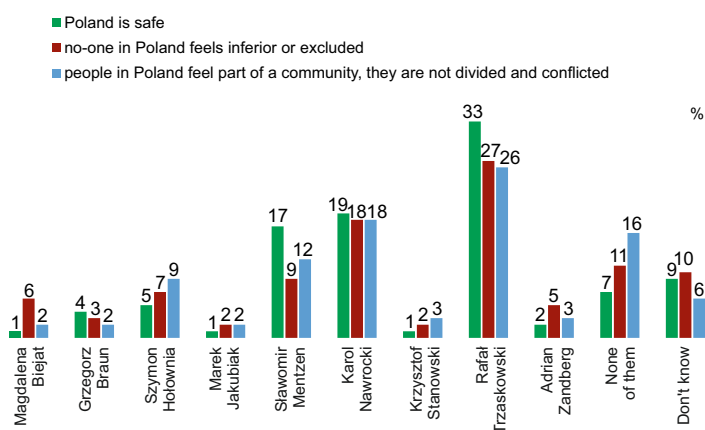
Due to the current international situation, security is very clearly present in the election campaign. The process of increasing security covers various levels. The following are undoubtedly important here: good international policy, alliances and cooperation with other countries, as well as expenditure on the armed forces, its armament and military infrastructure. However, policies to improve security can also be made at the social level. Our 2022 study showed that, according to Poles, social conflicts have the greatest impact on reducing the national security. In other words: increasing the level of security also takes place by easing tensions and social conflicts, strengthening the political community and citizens' identification. This, in turn, depends largely on how egalitarian the society is and on the scale of exclusion. We were interested in these aspects in the context of the upcoming elections. Therefore, we asked the respondents which of the people running for president would contribute the most to:

- Poland being safe;
- no-one feeling worse or excluded;
- the formation of a community, which would not be divided and conflicted.

It turned out that Rafał Trzaskowski is the candidate who, as president, would contribute the most to increasing the security of our country and eliminating social divisions and marginalization, according to the plurality of respondents. He is indicated - in the three aspects

mentioned above - by 33%, 27% and 26% of respondents, respectively. Karol Nawrocki is second in this respect. About one-fifth of Poles attributed potential merits in these areas to him (19%, 18% and 18%, respectively). Sławomir Mentzen is in third place. In terms of ensuring Poland's security, he is similar to Karol Nawrocki (17%), but fewer people believe that he would contribute to increasing the sense of community and mitigating social conflicts (12%) and to greater equality and reducing the scale of exclusion (9%), which shows that respondents understand the libertarian assumptions of his program quite well.

Which of these people, as president, would contribute the most to ensuring that:

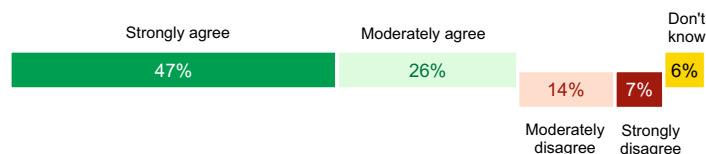


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS Flash reports in Polish: "Preferences in the presidential election in the second half of March" and "Who will change Poland for the better as president?", March 2025. Fieldwork dates for the sample: March 2025, N=1003. The quota sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

Ban on the use of smartphones in schools

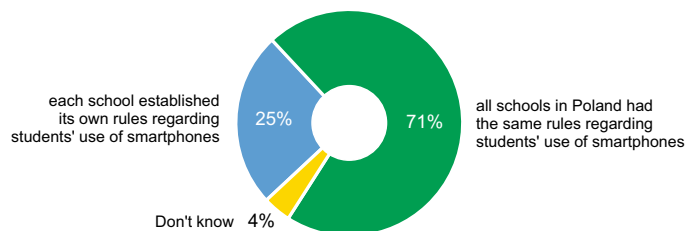
The law in Poland does not regulate the use of smartphones in schools and other educational institutions. They establish these rules on their own. What do Poles think about this? The idea of banning the use of smartphones in schools is met with a positive response. Three-quarters of respondents (73%) are in favour of the ban, including almost half (47%) who express their approval strongly. One-fifth (21%) have the opposite opinion.

Do you agree that there should be a ban on using smartphones in schools and educational institutions?



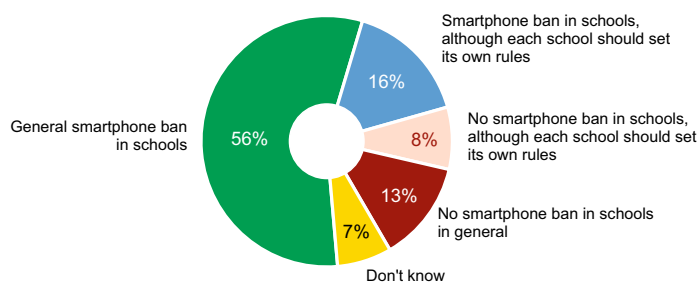
Responses indicate that a better solution would be to introduce general, uniform regulations regarding students' use of smartphones in schools, rather than for each school to establish its own rules (71% versus 25%).

Would it be better if:



If we combine the answers to both questions, we will arrive at the following picture of the social attitude towards these solutions. The largest group, over half of respondents (56%), support a ban on the use of smartphones in schools and at the same time opt for it at the systemic level. Symmetrically, 13% are in favour of not having such a ban in all schools in Poland. About one-sixth (16%) support a prohibition of the use of smartphones in schools, but at the same time believe that each school should regulate it independently. A smaller group of people (8%) support the sovereignty of schools in this area, although they generally oppose the ban.

Ways to regulate smartphone use in schools:



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish: "Banning the use of smartphones in schools", March 2025. Fieldwork dates for the sample: March 2025, N=1047. The random sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

For more information on CBOS services and publications please contact:

CBOS

5/7, Świętojerska, 00-236 Warsaw, Poland

Phones: (48) 22 629 35 69, 22 628 37 04 Fax: (48) 22 629 40 89

e-mail: sekretariat@cbos.pl www.cbos.pl

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