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Ukraine: The fallout from the oval office

UK, USA, Germany, France and Poland snap polling
2-5 March 2025

Toplines

The events of the last week have galvanised the public's support for Ukraine: 44 per cent say that President Trump's feud with Zelensky has made them more sympathetic to Ukraine's cause.

79 per cent now say that Ukraine's defence is important to the UK - an increase of six points since mid-February and the highest of any country surveyed except for Poland on Ukraine's border.

Starmer's moment? The PM appears to have received a 'war bounce' in his approval which is up 11 points this week, 37 per cent of Britons say that Starmer's actions in Ukraine have made them feel more positively toward him - including 28 per cent of those who did not vote Labour in 2024.

The public back Starmer's approach: More than half of Britons (52 per cent) say that Starmer has responded well to the conflict. By 48 per cent to 16 per cent Brits approve of Starmer acting as a bridge between the US and Europe.

Support for Ukraine, with or without the US: Two thirds of Britons think that the UK should continue supporting Ukraine even if the US doesn't.

Only 17 per cent think that the UK should mirror the US in pausing or ceasing military aid.

Special relationship under strain: Under half of Britons (49 per cent) see the US as an ally to the UK. However only a third want to see Trump's invitation to a state visit withdrawn.

Most Britons see Trump as a dictator: 56 per cent said that Trump is a dictator, while 84 per cent said the same of Vladimir Putin. In contrast, only 13 per cent think that Zelensky is a dictator - and 12 per cent said the same about Starmer.

Many see the UK's role in Ukraine as a matter of pride and patriotism: More than a third say our involvement has made them more proud to be British.

Britons think our role matters for international perceptions too: By a margin of almost six-to-one, Britons think that it would weaken rather than strengthen our standing in the world if we stopped supporting Ukraine.

Britons back a 'Coalition of the Willing'

The majority of Britons (57 per cent) support sending UK peacekeepers to Ukraine. Only 26 per cent oppose. Reform UK's 2024 voters are the only voter group more likely to oppose sending British peacekeepers to Ukraine to police any deal.

The international picture

Europeans and Americans stand behind Ukraine.

Most Germans (68 per cent), French (70 per cent), and Americans (71 per cent) see defending Ukraine's sovereignty as important, rising to 87 per cent in neighbouring Poland.

Large majorities also sympathise most with Ukraine and agree that Russia started the war.

Of a potential 'coalition of the willing', Britain appears to be the most willing partner, with 57 per cent supporting sending peacekeeping troops to Ukraine.

Across the rest of Europe, support for sending peacekeepers is mixed: 44 per cent of the French are in favour, with 36 per cent opposed; while in Germany, 41 per cent support it and 43 per cent oppose. Poland is the least supportive, with only 27 per cent in favour and 62 per cent opposed.

Europe is willing to stand alone in defence of Ukraine: Across the UK, France, Germany and Poland, majorities support continuing support for Ukraine even if the US steps away.

Polish (65 per cent), French (57 per cent) and German (54 per cent) people back continued European support for Ukraine as Trump steps away.

Bonds with Europe are tightening - but not with the United States.

Europeans see Britain as an ally, but fewer feel the same about the US. In Germany, 62 per cent view Britain as an ally, compared to just 23 per cent for the US, with similar gaps in France (71 per cent vs 24 per cent) and Poland (64 per cent vs 55 per cent).

Meanwhile, Americans still see European countries as allies, with 64 per cent calling Britain an ally, 59 per cent for France, and 52 per cent for Germany.

Britain is the most united on Ukraine.

While support for Ukraine is strong across Europe and the United States, British voters are uniquely united in their attitudes toward Ukraine, with little political polarisation across the right or left of the spectrum - with a much more consensus on who was responsible for starting the war and what needs to be done in order to end it.

European's fear Russia will not stop at Ukraine

Two-thirds (68 per cent) of Britons think that it is likely that Russia will try to invade other European countries if they succeed in capturing Ukrainian territory. This view is shared by 68 per cent of Poles, 53 per cent of Germans, and 60 per cent of the French.

Majorities across those four European countries see war on the horizon in the next few years.



International support for Ukraine

The past week has galvanised Britons' support for Ukraine

President Trump's feud with Volodymyr Zelensky has not dampened the British public's support for Ukraine. On the contrary, 44 per cent say they feel more sympathetic to Ukraine as a result, while 45 per cent say their views have not changed.

Only 11 per cent say they feel less sympathetic towards Ukraine following the Oval Office meeting.

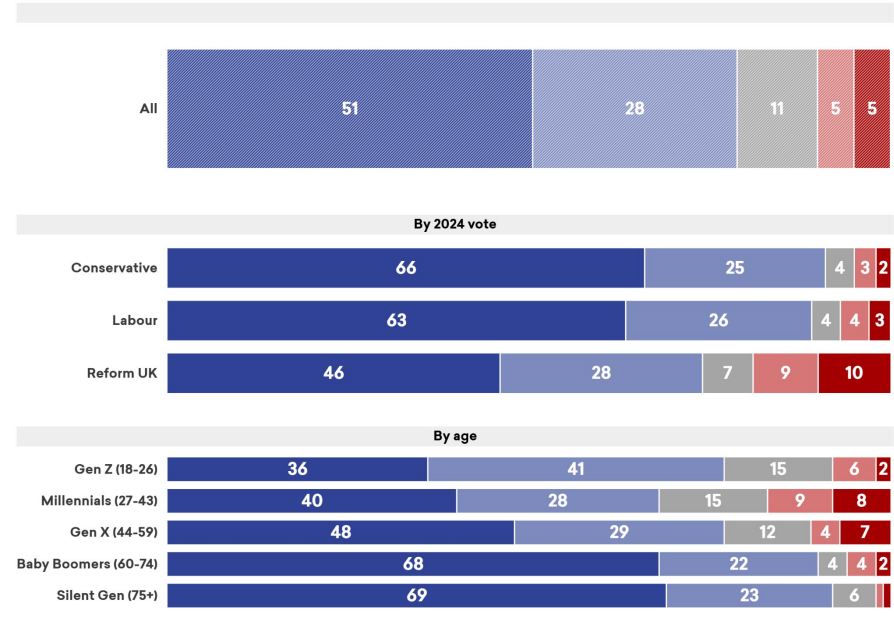
Eight in ten Britons (79 per cent) say Ukraine's defence is important to the UK - an increase of six points since mid-February. Unlike in other countries, this support spans across all main voter groups and generations.

What's more, support for Ukraine is not tied to views on the American president: two thirds of Britons who approve of Donald Trump think that Ukraine's defence is important to the UK.

Support for Ukraine's defence spans across age and politics

Thinking about the war in Ukraine, how important is it for the UK that Ukraine defends its sovereignty against Russian aggression?

Very important Somewhat important Don't know Not very important Not at all important



Europeans and Americans stand behind Ukraine

Across Europe and the US, large majorities sympathise with Ukraine and support the country's defence.

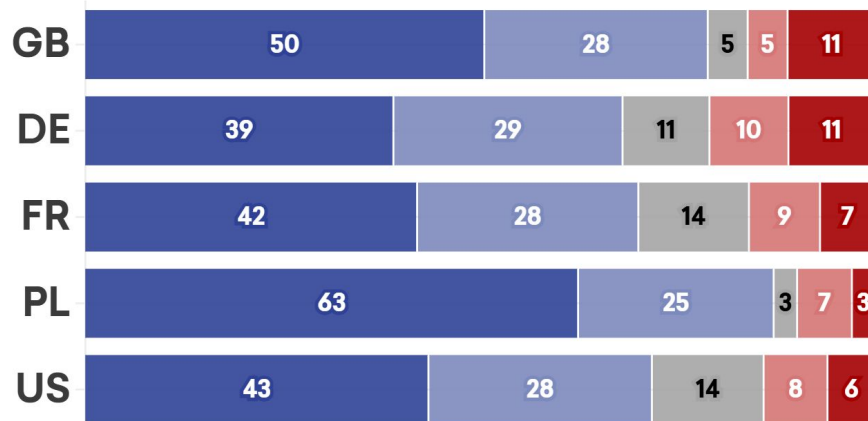
Seven in ten Germans (68 per cent), French people (70 per cent) and Americans (71 per cent) believe that the defence of Ukraine's sovereignty is important to their respective countries. In Ukraine's neighbouring Poland that number rises to 87 per cent. Large majorities in each country also say that they sympathise most with Ukraine, and agree that Russia started the war.

Following the heated Oval Office exchange, Europeans stand behind Zelensky: 63 per cent of Britons, 61 per cent of the French and 59 per cent of Germans and 43 per cent of poles agree that Donald Trump was more disrespectful than Volodymyr Zelensky.

Additionally, in each of these European countries, more than a third say that the argument has made them feel more sympathetic to Ukraine than they did previously.

Thinking about the war in Ukraine, how important is it for the UK that Ukraine defends its sovereignty against Russian aggression?

● Very important ● Somewhat important ● Don't know
● Not very important ● Not at all important



Pushing back Russia

Few Europeans want to place a strict deadline on Ukraine's defence: most want to see the conflict through until Russia is pushed back to 2022 borders.

Sixty-six per cent of Britons want to support Ukraine until Russia is pushed back to at least its pre-2022 borders, while just 14 per cent believe support should stop now.

In Germany, 54 per cent want to continue until Russia is pushed back, compared to 21 per cent who want to stop support immediately. Similarly, 56 per cent of the French support continued military aid, versus 22 per cent who want to stop aid. Even in the United States, Donald Trump appears out of step with Americans - 56 per cent of whom want to support Ukraine until Russia is pushed back, while only 26 per cent want to stop support now.

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

- Our country should support Ukraine until it has won back all of the territory it had before Russia invaded Crimea in 2014
- Our country should support Ukraine until it has pushed Russia back to where they stood before Russia's invasion in February 2022
- Our country should support Ukraine for no more than another 3 years
- Our country should support Ukraine for no more than another year
- Our country should stop supporting Ukraine now



Britons are more united than other countries on Ukraine

While support for Ukraine is strong across Europe and the United States, British voters are uniquely united in their attitudes toward Ukraine, with remarkably little political polarisation.

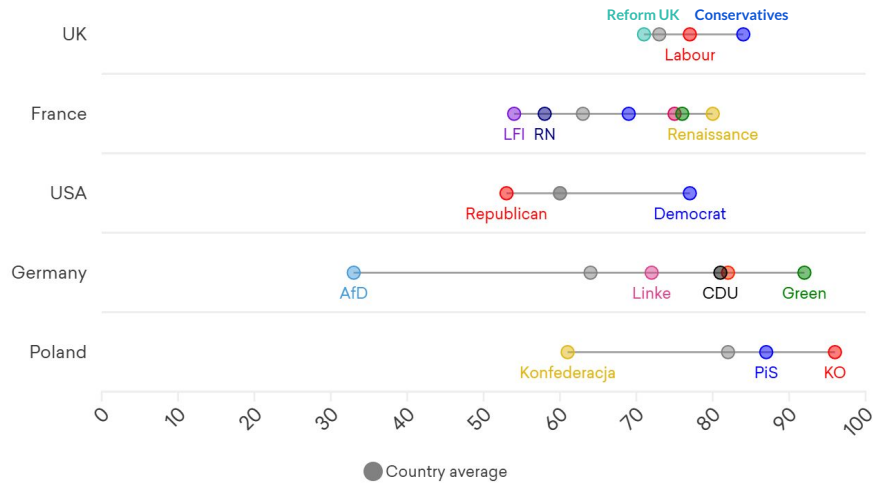
On a range of measures - including the importance of Ukraine's defence, sympathy for Ukraine and the belief that Russia started the war - the gap between voters of different parties in Britain is significantly smaller than in every other country polled.

In the United States, Democrats are 24 percentage points more likely than Republicans to believe that Russia started the war. In contrast, the gap between Labour and Conservative voters in Britain is just seven points, with Conservatives slightly more likely to blame Russia. Even among Reform voters, the difference is only 16 points compared to Conservative voters who are the most likely to blame Russia.

Britons are less polarised than other countries on Ukraine

Who do you think is responsible for the war in Ukraine?

Proportion of each voter group who think that **Russia** is responsible.



Few see Zelensky as a dictator

Donald Trump's remarks about the Ukrainian president are **out-of-step with public opinion in Britain and across Europe.**

The idea that he is a dictator is a fringe view in Britain; only 13 per cent of Britons hold this belief, roughly the same as those who say the same about Starmer (12 per cent).

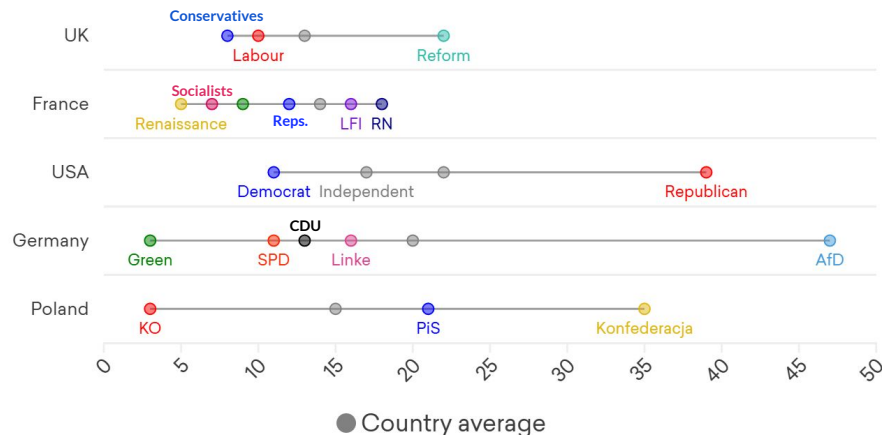
While few Europeans - or, indeed, Americans - think that Zelensky is a dictator, Britain is notably less polarised than other countries: In the US, 39 per cent of Republicans see Zelensky as a dictator, compared to 11 per cent of Democrats; in Germany, almost half (47 per cent) of AfD voters consider Zelensky a dictator.

In the UK, this view is far more rare across voter groups: 22 per cent of 2024 Reform voters call Zelensky a dictator, but 31 per cent say the same about Keir Starmer.

Polarisation: Perceptions of Volodymyr Zelensky

For each of the following world leaders, please indicate whether or not you would describe them as dictators.

Proportion of each voter group who think that **Volodymyr Zelensky** is a dictator.



Reform voters place more importance on Ukraine than populist right parties elsewhere

Reform voters are far more likely to say that defeating Ukraine is important compared to voters of populist right parties elsewhere.

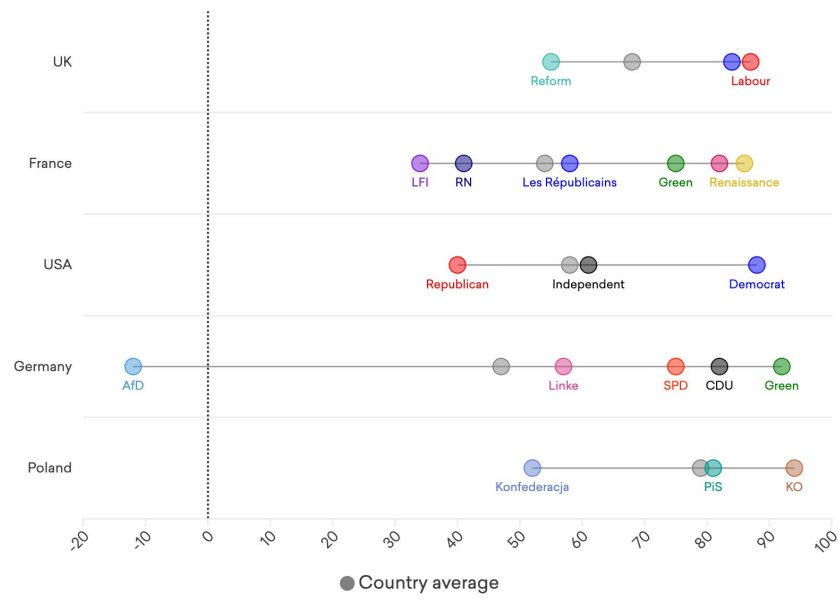
In the UK, Reform voters are 55 points more likely to say it is important than unimportant for their country that Ukraine defeats Russia. In contrast, this number is 41 for supporters of France's National Rally, and 40 for US republicans.

German AfD supporters are the most extreme case in this international comparison: they are more likely than not to say it is *unimportant* for Germany that Ukraine defeats Russia, with this voter scoring -12 on the same measure.

Polarisation: importance

Thinking about the war in Ukraine, how important is it for [your country] that Ukraine defends its sovereignty against Russian aggression?

Net importance (% who think that it is important, minus % who think it is not)



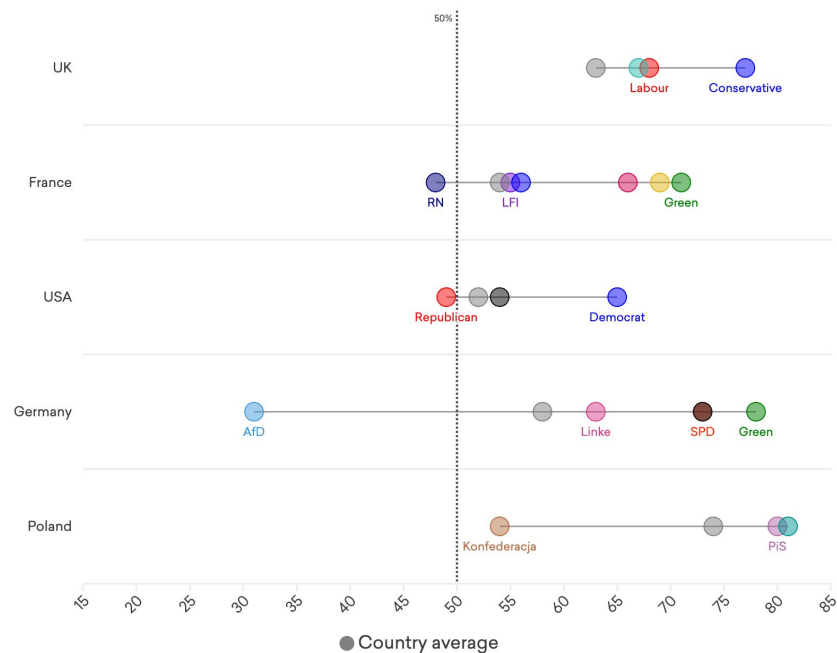
Reform voters more aligned with the wider public on Russia than populist right voters elsewhere

Similarly, asked whether they see Russia as an enemy or ally, Reform voters are just as likely as other voter groups in Britain to describe Russia as an enemy.

This is in stark contrast to the USA, France and Germany where the majority of supporters of populist right parties do not call Russia an enemy.

Polarisation: views on Russia

Proportion describing Russia as an enemy:



Europeans and Americans agree that Putin is a dictator

In contrast, across Britain, wider Europe and the US, people are in agreement about the Russian President: vast majorities in every country agree that he is a dictator.

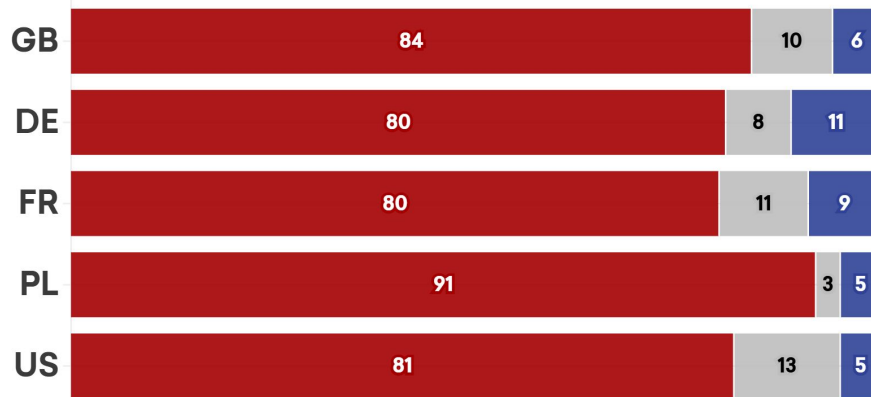
84 per cent of Britons see Vladimir Putin as a dictator, while only 6 per cent say he is not, and 10 per cent don't know.

In every country polled, more than eight in ten describe Putin as a dictator. Poland is the most unequivocal: 92 per cent of Poles think that Putin is a dictator, while only 5 per cent disagree and 3 per cent don't know.

Europeans and Americans see Putin as a dictator

For each of the following world leaders, please indicate whether or not you would describe them as dictators. (Vladimir Putin)

● Is a dictator ● Don't know ● Is not a dictator



Britain sees Putin as the aggressor, and Ukraine as the Victim

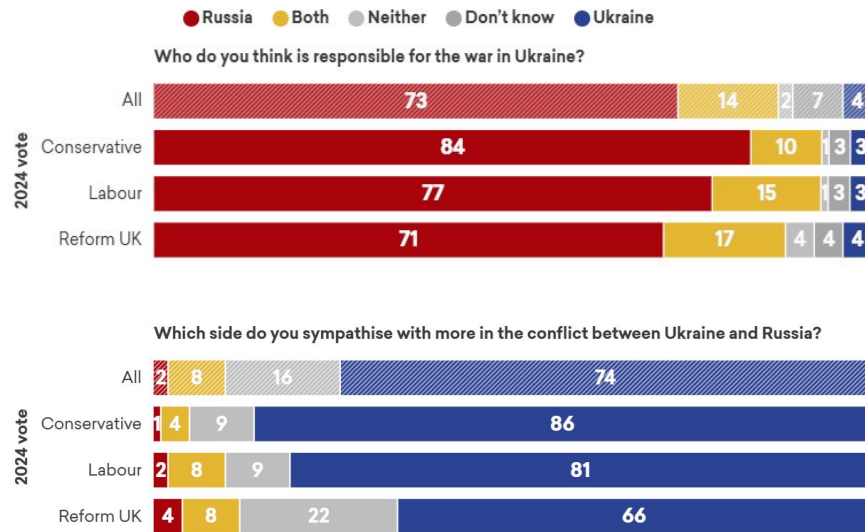
Britons have no doubt about who is to blame for the conflict.

Three-quarters agree that Russia started the war, while fewer than one in twenty blame Ukraine.

Similarly, three-quarters sympathise more with Ukraine; virtually no Britons (2 per cent) sympathise more with Russia.

Even those who support Trump don't buy his narrative on the war: British Trump supporters are five times more likely to blame Russia than Ukraine for starting the war.

Britons blame Russia and sympathise with Ukraine



Coalition of the willing?

Support for Ukraine, with or without the US

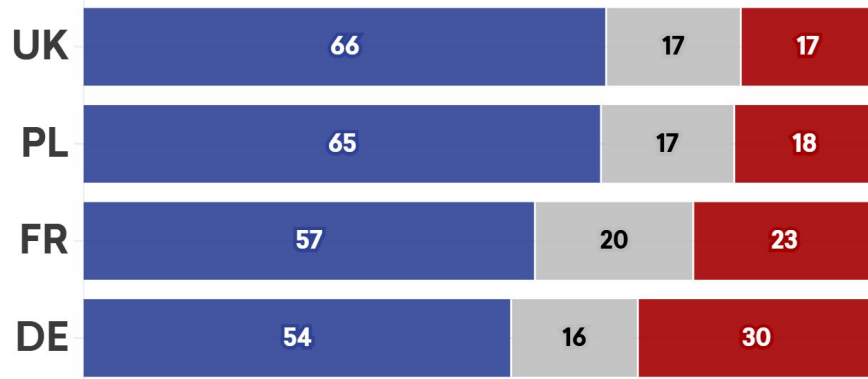
Even as the US pulls support from Ukraine's defence, Europe remains undeterred; few would want to see European countries mirror Trump's military aid freeze.

Two-thirds of Britons think the UK and Europe should continue to support Ukraine even if the United States continues its pause in support. Only 17 per cent think that the UK should stop supporting Ukraine if the US does.

This view extends across Europe, with majorities of Polish (65 per cent) French (54 per cent) and German (57 per cent) people backing continued support for Ukraine as Trump steps away.

Would you support our country and other European countries and allies continuing to support Ukraine even if the US ceases its support to Ukraine?

● Yes, I would ● Don't Know ● No, I would not



Britons back a 'Coalition of the Willing'

The majority of Britons (57 per cent) support sending UK peacekeepers to Ukraine. Only 26 per cent oppose. Reform UK's 2024 voters are the only voter group more likely to oppose sending British peacekeepers to Ukraine.

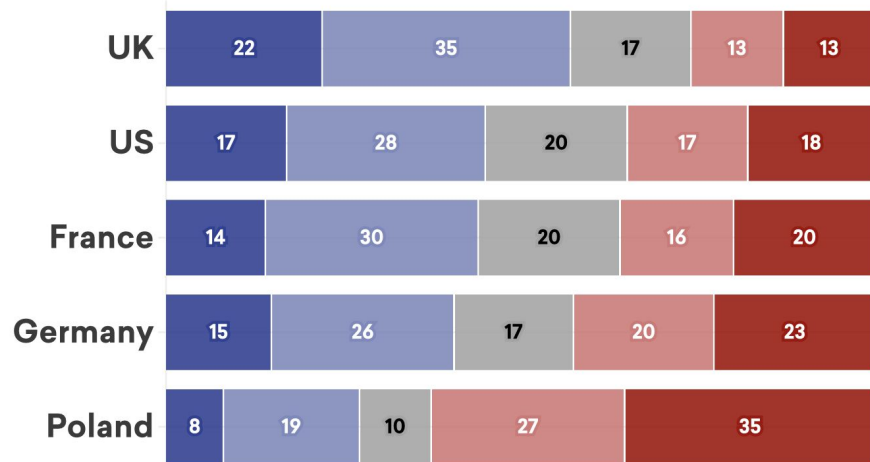
Of this potential coalition of European countries, Britain appears to be the most willing partner. There is some support for sending peacekeepers across Europe, although it is more muted. In France 44 per cent support sending French peacekeepers and 36 per cent oppose, whereas in Germany 41 per cent support sending German peacekeepers but 43 per cent oppose.

Poland is the least likely to support sending peace keeping troops - just 27 per cent support compared to 62 per cent who would oppose this. With many Poles fearing the potential for escalation of a conflict on their border.

Britons are more supportive of sending peacekeepers than other European countries

If a peace treaty is agreed in Ukraine, to what extent would you support or oppose sending in [country] military personnel to act as peacekeepers?

● Strongly support ● Somewhat support ● Don't Know
● Somewhat oppose ● Strongly oppose



Starmer's moment

Strong approval for Starmer

The UK's response to the conflict is leading some Britons to reappraise their view of the Prime Minister - offering Keir Starmer a chance to reset his premiership.

More in Common has recorded early signs of a modest boost in the Prime Minister's popularity, with voters across the political spectrum expressing higher approval of Keir Starmer.

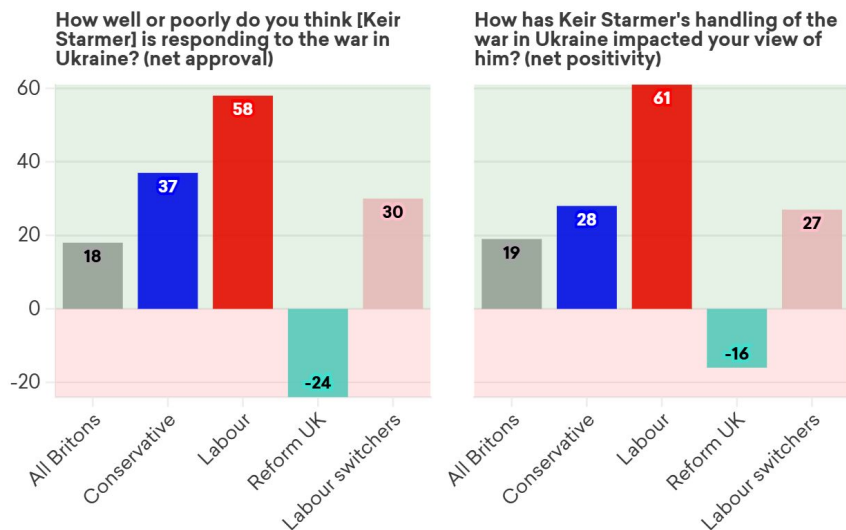
This is driven by approval of his response to the conflict: more than half of Britons (52 per cent) think he has responded well, while 34 per cent think he has responded poorly.

Additionally, 37 per cent of Britons say that the conflict has made them feel more positively toward Keir Starmer, including 28 per cent of those who did not vote for Labour in last year's General Election, while 45 per cent say it has made no difference, and only 18 per cent say it has made them feel more negatively toward him.

Starmer's performance has resonated across voter groups. A majority of Labour's 2024 voters, Conservative voters, and former Labour supporters (who backed the party in 2024 but no longer would) approve of his response. Only Reform voters are more likely to disapprove than approve.

Starmer's response to the conflict has gone down well with voters

Net approval of Keir Starmer, by 2024 vote



Britons approve of Starmer's balancing act

So far, Starmer's attempt to act as a 'bridge' between Europe and the USA has been well received in Britain. 48 per cent think that this is a good strategy, and just 16 per cent think it is a bad idea.

As negotiations continue, public opinion into how Starmer is handling this balancing act will be an important test.

So far, Starmer is managing to balance public expectations on relations between the continents: 15 per cent think Starmer has been too close to America and 16 per cent think he has been too close to Europe, but 38 per cent think that he is getting the balance right.

Is Starmer striking the right balance between the US and Europe?

Would you say Keir Starmer is...

- Too close to America
- Getting the balance right
- Don't know
- Too close to Europe



The UK's role in Ukraine is a matter of pride and patriotism for many Britons

More than a third of Britons (35 per cent) say that the UK's role in Ukraine has made them more proud to be British.

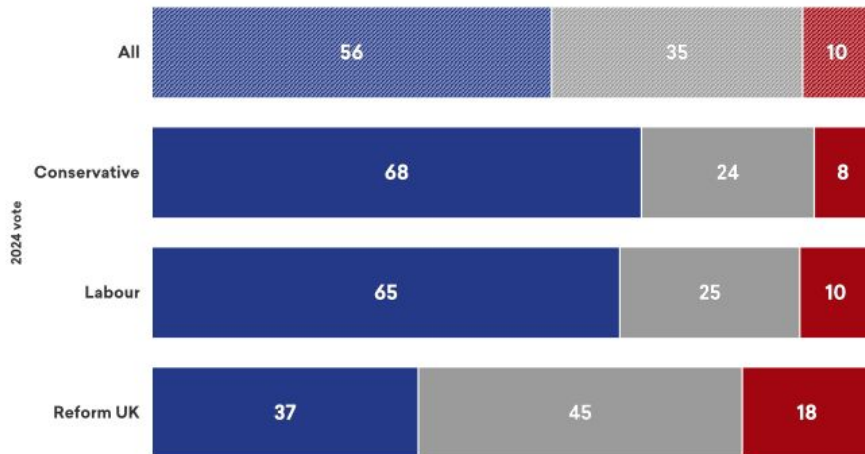
For most, support for Ukraine is not only a moral imperative, but also crucial to the UK's place on the world stage: by a margin of almost six-to-one, Britons think that it would weaken rather than strengthen our standing in the world if we stopped supporting Ukraine.

However, a third of Britons think that it would make no difference to our standing in the world.

Most think it would weaken the UK's standing if we stopped supporting Ukraine

If the UK stopped supporting Ukraine, how do you think it would affect our standing in the world?

- It would weaken the UK's standing
- It would make no difference to the UK's standing
- It would improve the UK's standing



International perceptions of Starmer

In parts of Europe, people are even more positive about Starmer.

In France, the public are more likely to say that Starmer has done a good job responding to the war than say the same about Macron. The French give Starmer a +29 approval rating for his response to the war, whereas the British only give him a +18.

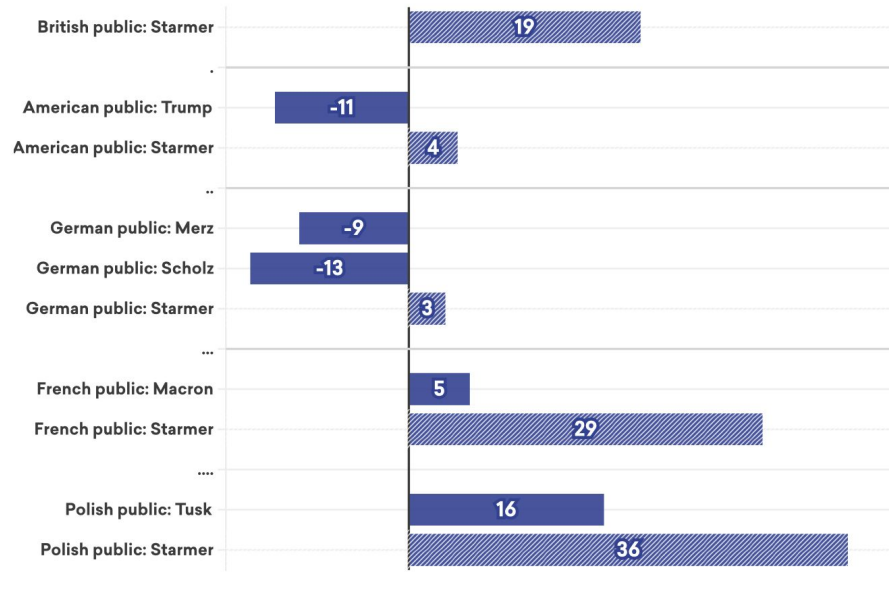
In Germany, Starmer also polls better than both Merz and Scholz for his response to the conflict. Germans give Starmer a +3 approval for his response, but tend to disapprove of the responses of their own leaders, at -9 for Friedrich Merz and -12 for Olaf Scholz.

In Poland, Starmer's approval for his handling of the war is highest of all at +36, 20 points above Donald Tusk's approval rating of +16.

That said, Starmer receives many more 'don't know' responses in these countries.

How well or poorly do you think each of the following are responding to the war in Ukraine? [Keir Starmer, prime Minister of the United Kingdom]

(Net approval: % answering very or quite well minus % answering not very or not at all well)





Trans-Atlantic rift

The Special Relationship under strain

Less than half of Britons (49 per cent) now consider the United States an ally to the UK, highlighting a gap between the US and the UK's European partners.

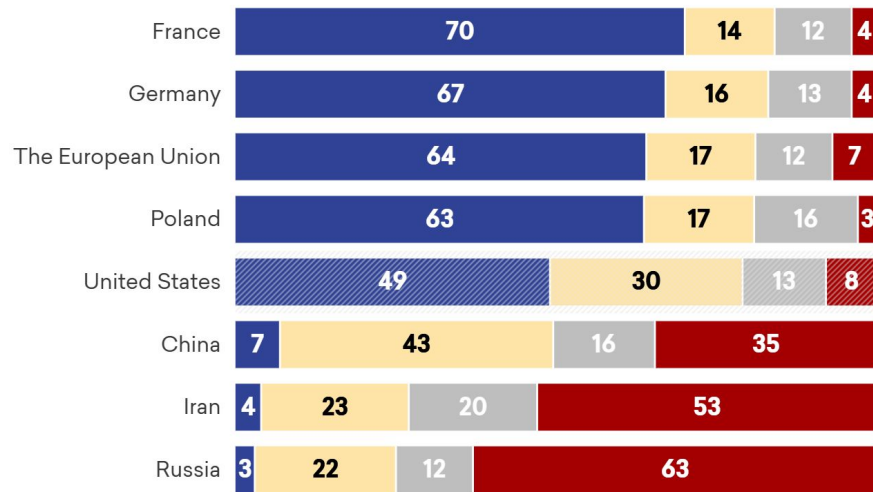
By comparison, a clear majority of Britons view France (70 per cent), Germany (67 per cent) and the EU (64 per cent) as allies. While few Britons see the US as an enemy, our relationship has weakened, and three in ten Britons see the US as “neither an ally nor an enemy.”

Despite this, Americans themselves see the relationship as much closer - 64 per cent of Americans describe Britain as an ally, a belief that is equally high with both Democrats and Republicans.

Only half of Britons see the US as an ally

Overall, do you think the following countries and organizations are of the UK, enemies of the UK, or neither?

● Allies ● Neither allies nor enemies ● Don't Know ● Enemies



Bonds with Europe are tightening - but not with the United States

There is clear consensus from European citizens that Britain is an ally. While Americans consider Britain and Europe to be allies of the US, fewer than half of Europeans return the sentiment.

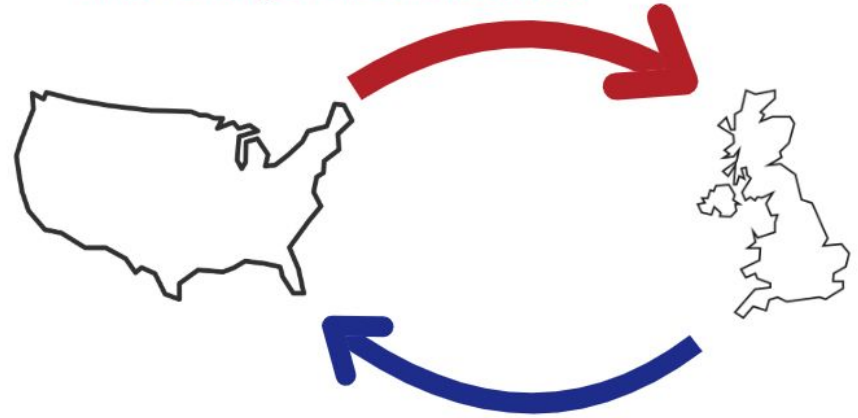
In Germany, 62 per cent consider Britain to be an ally, whereas just 23 per cent say the same of the US.

Similarly in France 71 per cent say Britain is an ally and only 24 per cent would describe the US as one.

In Poland 64 per cent say Britain is an ally, and 55 per cent consider the US an ally too.

Across the Atlantic, Americans still see themselves as close to Europe: 64 per cent of them describe Britain as an ally, 59 per cent say the same of France and 52 per cent say the same of Germany.

64 per cent of Americans consider Britain an ally of the United States



49 per cent of Britons consider the US an ally of Britain

Most Britons think Trump is a dictator

Fifty-six per cent of Britons think that Donald Trump is a dictator, while only 30 per cent say he is not.

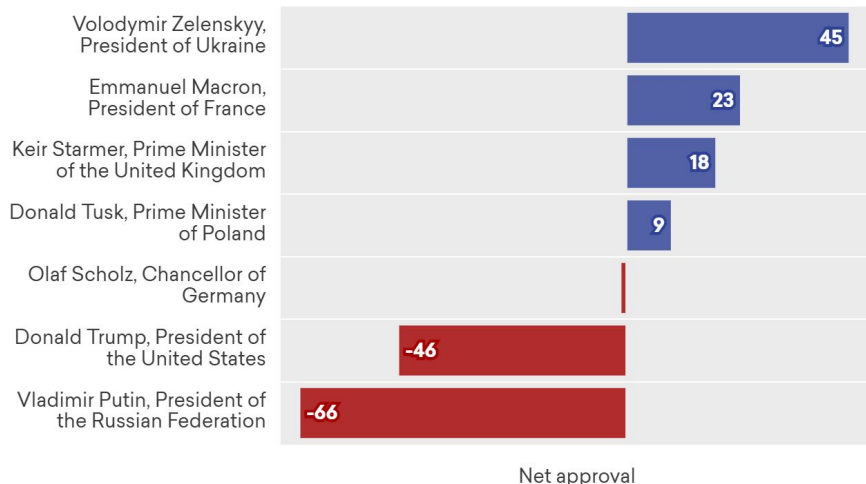
Conservative and Labour voters are more likely to agree than disagree that Trump is a dictator; Reform voters are split down the middle, with 45 per cent saying he is a dictator and 45 per cent saying he isn't.

More broadly, Britons disapprove of Trump's handling of the war, with only Putin receiving worse net approval ratings: Trump's net approval rating on Ukraine among Britons is -46.

In contrast, Zelensky has an approval rating of +45 for his handling of the conflict, with two-thirds saying he's responded well to the war, and only 21 per cent disagreeing.

Britons overwhelmingly approve of Zelensky, and disapprove of Trump and Putin

How well or poorly do you think each of the following are responding to the War in Ukraine?



Most Britons don't want to cancel Trump's visit

Although Britons broadly disapprove of Donald Trump's actions on Ukraine, only a third want to see the Government withdraw his invitation to a state visit in the UK.

This view extends across politics, with Labour, Conservative and Reform voters in support.

"I think probably at the moment. Donald Trump is the biggest issue I think we've got. Due to the fact that what's happening globally is going to affect Britain massively in the next few months and years.

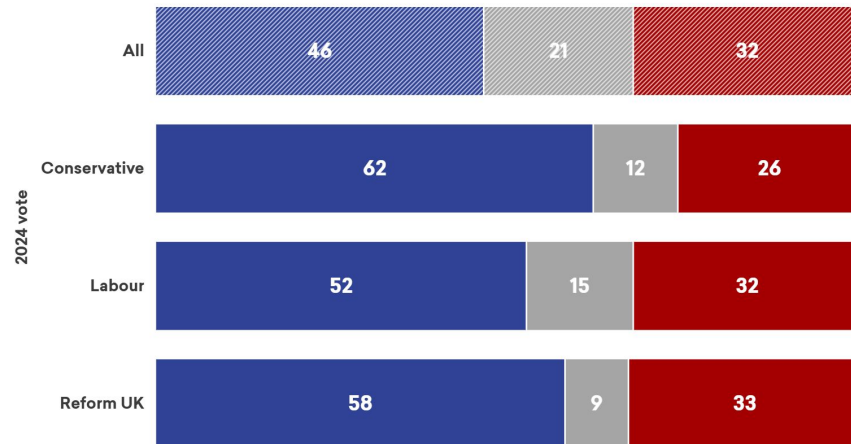
So that's going to hit the side I think."

Sean, engineer, Llanelli

Most Britons want the state visit to go ahead

Keir Starmer recently gave Donald Trump an invitation for a second state visit to the UK. Following the exchange between Donald Trump and Volodymyr Zelenskyy about the war in Ukraine, which of the following comes closer to your view?

- Starmer should not take back the invitation to Trump of a state visit in the UK
- Starmer should take back the invitation to Trump of a state visit in the UK



Expectations are low for Trump's negotiations

Winners and losers: most Britons expect Trump to negotiate a bad deal for Ukraine.

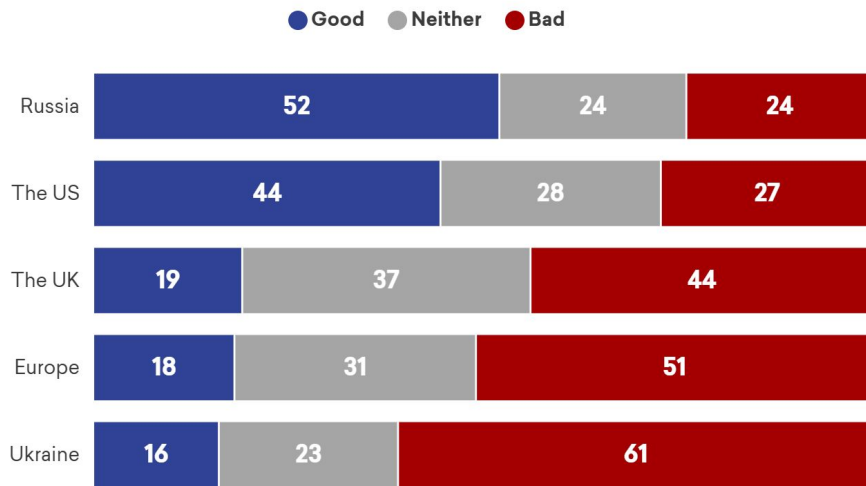
Britons believe that any deal negotiated by the US president will benefit Russia (52 per cent) and the United States (44 per cent), while they overwhelmingly have low hopes for Ukraine.

Six in ten expect a bad outcome for Ukraine, while only 16 per cent think they will have a good outcome.

Equally, Britons tend to think that Trump's negotiations would yield a negative outcome for the UK (44 per cent), and even more think it will be harmful to Europe (51 per cent).

6 in 10 Britons expect a bad outcome for Ukraine from Trump's negotiations

From what you've seen and read about Donald Trump's negotiations with Vladimir Putin over the war in Ukraine, do you think the outcome is most likely to be good or bad for...





An uncertain future

Britons demand a seat for Ukraine at the peace talks

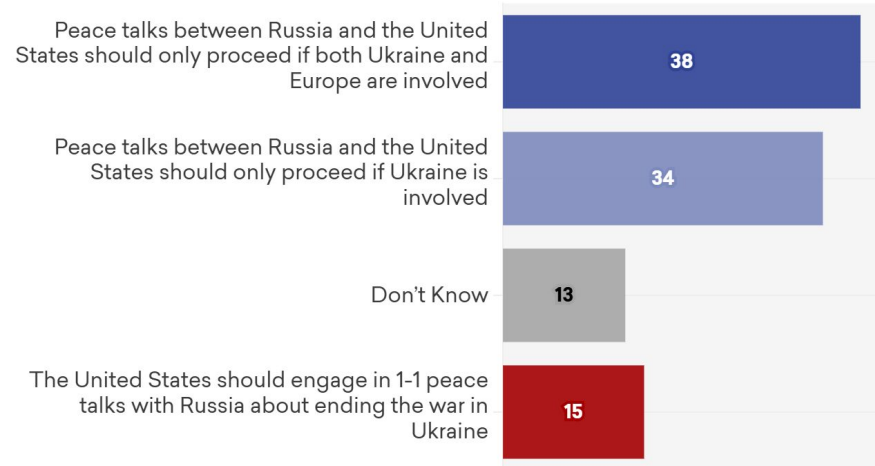
For the British public, Ukraine's involvement in the peace talks is non-negotiable. Seven in ten Britons (72 per cent) say that peace talks should only proceed if Ukraine is involved. This view is shared by our European neighbours - seven in ten Germans and Poles, and six in ten French people, think peace talks necessitate Ukrainian involvement.

38 per cent of Britons also believe it is imperative for Europe to have a seat at the table, while only 15 per cent think bilateral peace talks between US and Russia would be acceptable

Similarly a plurality of Germans (47 per cent), Poles (46 per cent) and the French (38 per cent) think peace talks should only proceed if Ukraine and Europe are involved.

7 in 10 think peace talks should only proceed if Ukraine is involved

Which of the following comes closer to your view regarding potential peace negotiations to end the war in Ukraine?



Britons trust Ukraine, not Russia, to honour a ceasefire

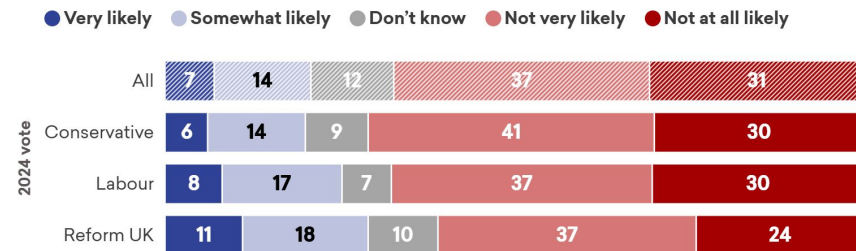
The British public have sharply contrasting expectations as to whether Russia and Ukraine's will honour a potential ceasefire.

More than two thirds of the public (68 per cent) think it is unlikely that Russia would observe a ceasefire; only a fifth believe they would be likely to keep it.

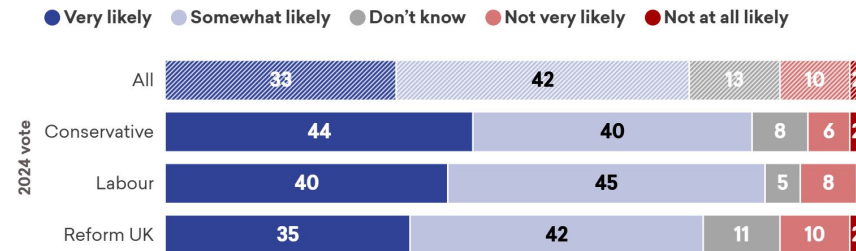
This faith in Ukraine, and scepticism towards Russia, extends across voter groups.

We also see this gap in trust across Europe: in France for example, 23 per cent think Russia would keep a ceasefire while 71 per cent think Ukraine would. 29 per cent of Germans think Russia would observe a ceasefire, while two thirds (67 per cent) say the same of Ukraine. Just 19 per cent of Poles think Russia would honour a ceasefire, while 74 per cent think Ukraine would.

If a ceasefire was implemented in Ukraine, how likely do you think Russia is to keep it?



If a ceasefire was implemented in Ukraine, how likely do you think Ukraine is to keep it?



Europeans believe it won't stop with Ukraine

Across the continent, Europeans are concerned that Russia's invasion of Ukraine will be the beginning, not the end, of Moscow's aggression.

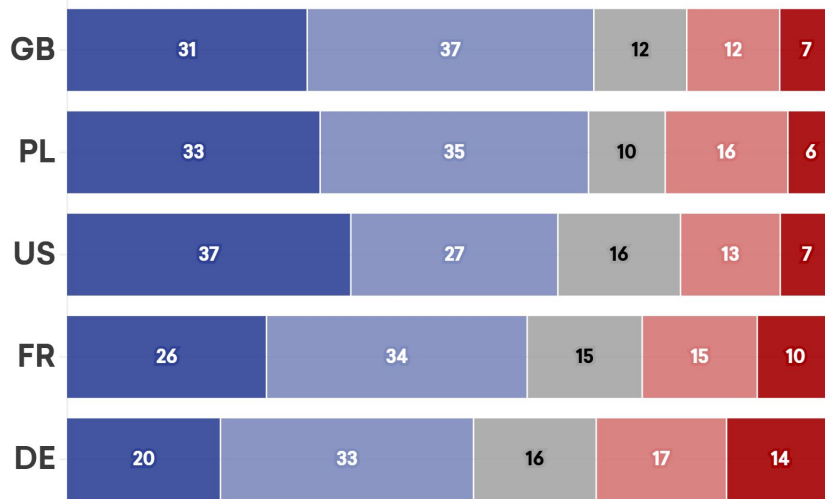
Two-thirds (68 per cent) of Britons think that it is likely that Russia will try to invade other European countries if they succeed in capturing Ukrainian territory. This view is shared by 68 per cent of Poles, 53 per cent of Germans, and 60 per cent of the French.

"I feel like it's been lingering for a while and it's just, it's waiting until somebody pulls the trigger ... I'd like to think that nothing would happen, but a lot more of me does think something is going to happen in the next year or so."

Heidi, apprentice, Doncaster

If Russia succeeds in capturing Ukrainian territory, how likely do you think that Russia will try to invade other European countries in the next few years?

● Very likely ● Somewhat likely ● Don't Know ● Not very likely ● Not at all likely



Europe sees war on the horizon

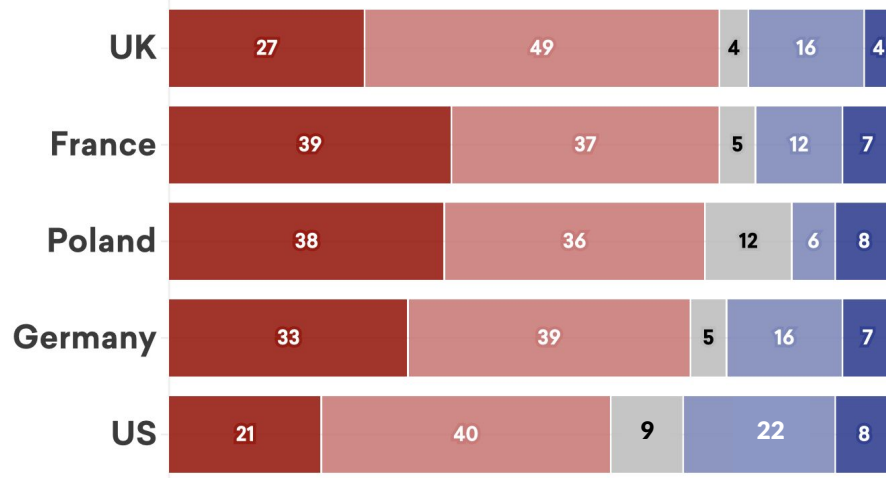
Brits think the stakes couldn't be higher. Three quarters are worried about the prospect of a wider war in Europe.

This fear is shared by other European countries: in France, 76 worry about the prospect of war on the continent, alongside 74 per cent of Poles and 72 per cent of Germans.

At the same time, the war in Ukraine has been rising in salience throughout the UK. From seven per cent in early February, 17 per cent of Britons now say that the war in Ukraine is a top-three issue - overtaking other key issues such as climate change and affordable housing, and in the last month the proportion of Britons prioritising Ukraine as a top issue has more than doubled across all voter groups.

How worried are you about the prospect of war in Europe in the next few years?

● Very worried ● Somewhat worried ● Don't know ● Not very worried ● Not at all worried



Appendix

Methodology

More in Common conducted polling in the UK, Germany, France, and US.

- **UK polling:** Fieldwork 2-4 March 2025, N = 1,093, representative of GB adults (English language online questionnaire)
- **Germany polling:** Fieldwork 3-5 March 2025, N = 1,513, representative of German adults (German language online questionnaire)
- **France polling:** Fieldwork 4-5 March 2025, N = 1,503, representative of French adults (French language online questionnaire)
- **US polling:** Fieldwork 2-5 March 2025, N = 1,965, representative of American adults (English language online questionnaire)

More in Common is a member of the British Polling Council and abides by their rules.

In addition, Ibris conducted polling for More in Common in Poland

- Fieldwork 3-5 March 2025, N = 1,000, representative of Polish adults (Polish language mixed modes CATI/CAWI interviews)

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