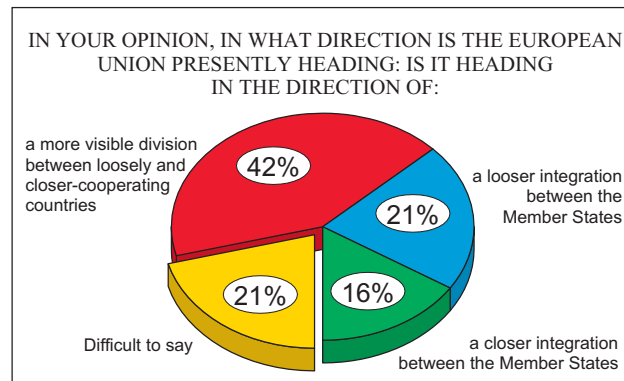
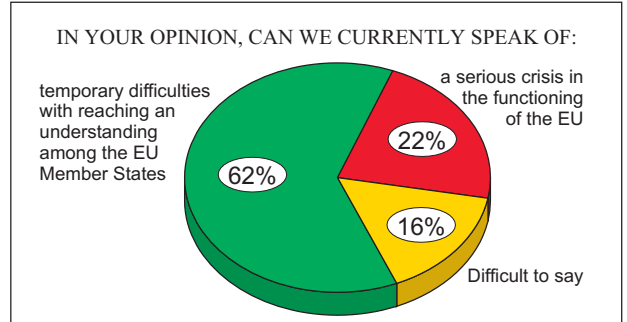


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- OPINIONS ABOUT THE FUNCTIONING OF THE EU
- VOTERS' MOTIVATIONS IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION
- HOW TO DEFEND OURSELVES AGAINST TERRORISM?
- THE POLES ABOUT ARCHITECTURE

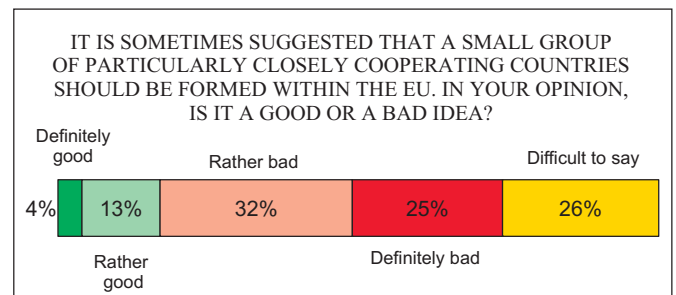
OPINIONS ABOUT THE FUNCTIONING OF THE EU

The Poles tend to underestimate the problems of the European Union arising from a lack of compromise about the EU budget for the years 2007-2013 and the rejection of the European Constitution in France and the Netherlands. In the respondents' opinion, these problems reflect temporary difficulties of the Member States with reaching an understanding rather than a serious crisis.



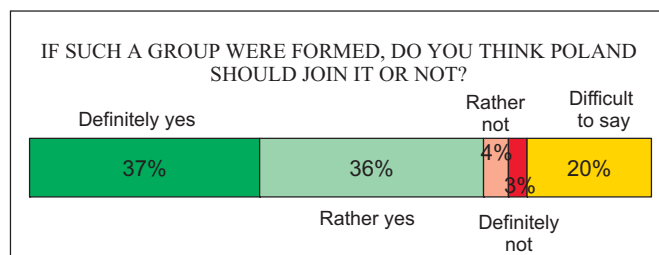
The problems with enacting the European Constitution make it apparent that the Member States and their citizens do not share a common vision of Europe. In view of the problems with developing a community model acceptable for everyone, there have been suggestions that a "hard core" of Europe should be formed, i.e. the countries which want a deeper

integration should cooperate more closely. The opinion that a "two-speed" Europe will emerge, with a group of closely cooperating countries and a group of loosely related ones, is prevailing today. The Poles also believe in such a future of the European Union. This possibility raises their concern. More than half of the respondents (57%) do not like the idea of a closer cooperation between some of the Member States, surrounded by countries with lesser ties.



On the one hand, the Poles emphasize the need to maintain national independence within the European structures and do not like the idea of enhancing the cooperation between the Member States, whereas on the other they do not want Poland to be marginalized in the process of the European integration. In the opinion of an absolute majority of the respondents (73%), if a group of countries with stronger ties were to emerge,

Poland should join it.



For years the Poles have opted for a model where the individual EU Member States remain as independent as possible. Nevertheless, there is more and more support for a deeper political integration and

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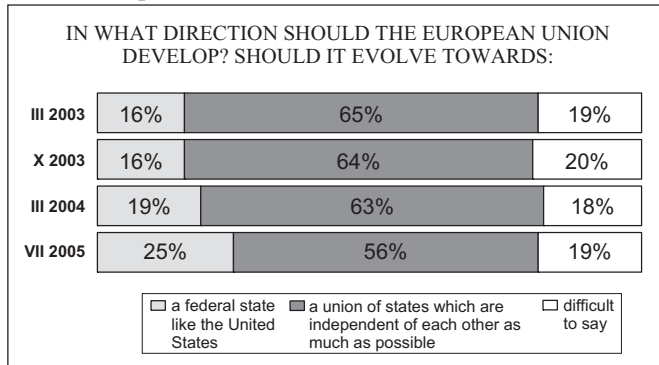
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Translated by
Kinga Pawłowska

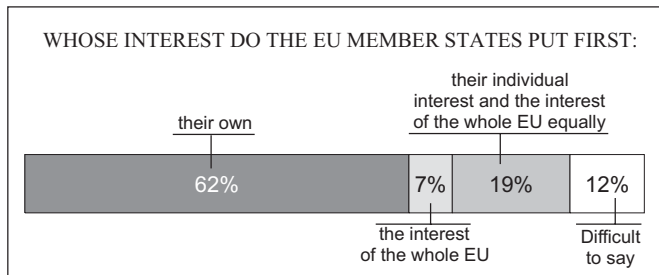
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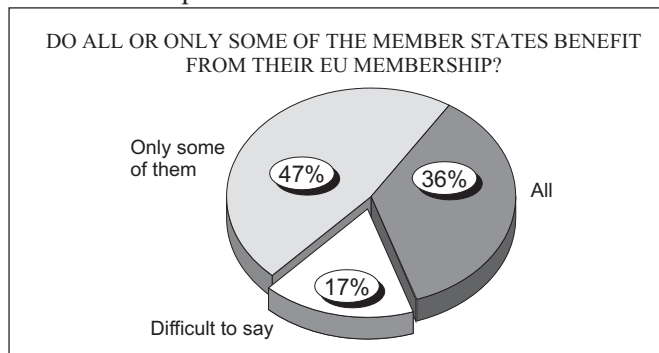
for the EU evolving towards a federal state like the United States. This vision is now supported by every fourth respondent, compared with less than a fifth in March 2004, i.e. before the accession of Poland to the European Union. The growing acceptance for close integration within the European Union is probably a result of a visible increase in the general support for the EU membership after the accession.



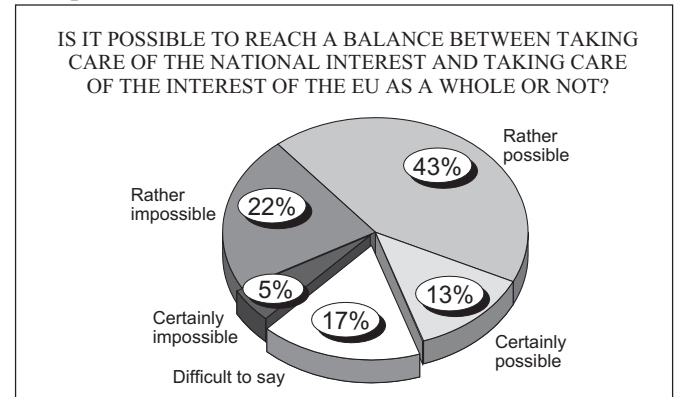
In the discussions accompanying the extension of the European Union, it was pointed out repeatedly that Europe currently lacks solidarity and that national egoisms are stronger than the concern about the interest of the entire Union. A large proportion of the Poles agree with this diagnosis.



Almost half of the Poles (47%) are of the opinion that only some Member States benefit from the membership. They believe that the beneficiaries of the EU membership include mainly the largest and the most important Member States: Germany (72% of the respondents mention this country among the five main beneficiaries of the membership), France (69%) and the United Kingdom (59%). Only 8% of all respondents mentioned Poland among the main beneficiaries of the EU membership.



In spite of the opinion that the national egoisms prevail over the concern about the common good, most Poles see the possibility of reaching a balance between the national interest and the interest of the whole European Union.

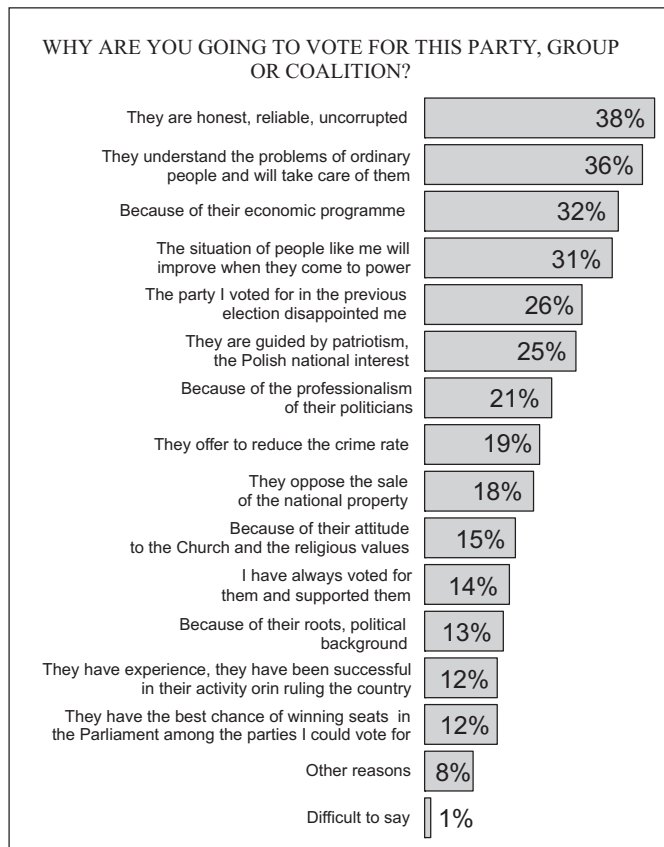


More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Opinions about the functioning of the European Union*, September 2005. Survey executed in July 2005. A representative random sample of adult Poles N= 1021.

VOTERS' MOTIVATIONS IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION

On 25 September, a parliamentary election was held in Poland. As expected, the winners were the parties described as right-wing, i.e. the Law and Justice (PiS) and the liberal Civic Platform (PO), which had announced forming a government coalition before. The following parties are also represented in the Sejm: the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), which was the incumbent party, the Self-Defence, the League of Polish Families (LPR) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL). In a pre-election poll, the respondents willing to vote and having defined preferences, i.e. the potential voters, declared that honesty, reliability, social sensitivity and understanding of the problems of ordinary people were the most desirable qualities of the party they supported. The supporters of the party which won the election (PiS) usually referred to their belief in the honesty and reliability of its politicians to justify their decision (52%), a belief that this party would reduce the crime rate in Poland (47%) and a feeling that it is guided by the Polish national interest (42%). The supporters of the PO also emphasized the honesty and reliability of its politicians (46%), as well as the party's economic programme (48%) and the professionalism and competence of its activists (35%). A major part of the electorate of the incumbent SLD consists of its faithful voters of many years. They treat their support for this party as a part of their own political identity and declare that they had always voted for it (54%). The roots and the political background of

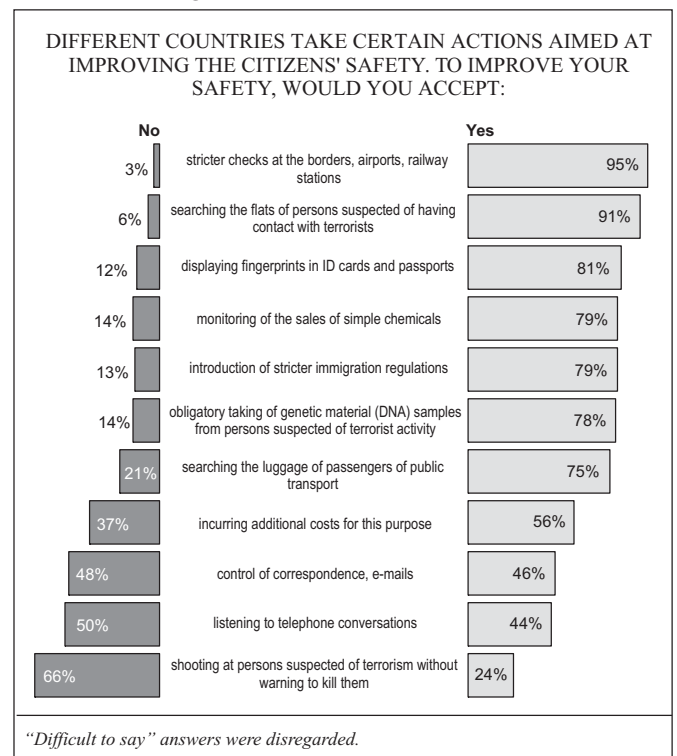
this party and the experience of its politicians are also important (31%). Those who are going to vote for the Self-Defence believe that this party understands the problems of ordinary people (61%) and that the situation of people like them will improve when it comes to power (45%). The third most important reason for voting for the Self-Defence is a belief that it would oppose the sale of the national assets. A belief that the politicians of their chosen party understand the problems of ordinary people and will take care of them once they come to power (50%) is the most important for the supporters of the LPR, too. However, unlike the Self-Defence electorate, the supporters of the LPR attach almost equal importance to the attitude of this party to the Church and the religious values (47%). They also emphasize the honesty of its politicians (37%), their patriotism and efforts to protect the Polish national interest (36%). The motivations of the potential electorate of the PSL are relatively the most diverse. As in the case of the SLD, the party's political background (41%) and the habit of voting for it are the most important motivations of its electorate (like the SLD, the PSL dates back to the communist Poland). These motivations are accompanied by a belief that this party understands the problems of ordinary people and will take care of them (39%).



More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Voters' motivations in the parliamentary election*, September 2005. Survey executed in August 2005. A representative random sample of adult Poles N=949.

HOW TO DEFEND OURSELVES AGAINST TERRORISM?

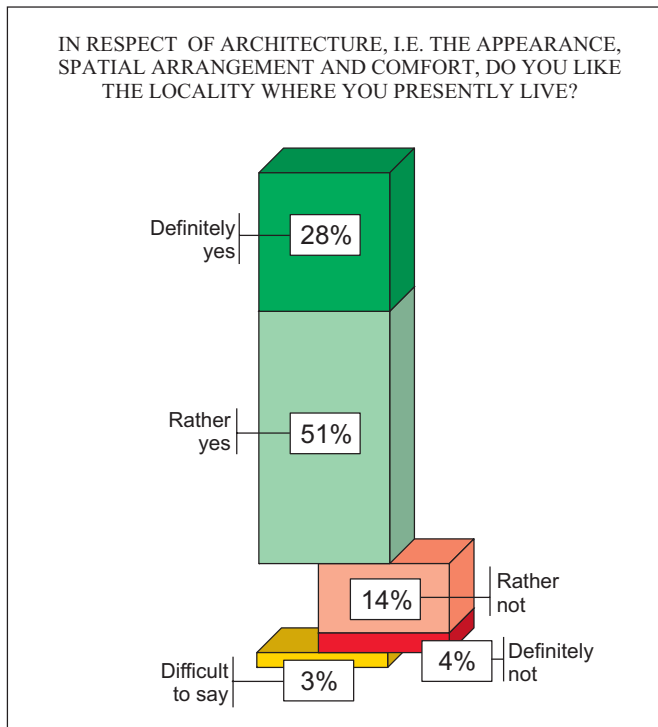
It is an almost universal belief that Poland may become a target of terrorist attacks (83% of the respondents think so). More than half (56%) are personally afraid of terrorist attacks. The fear of terrorism is accompanied by a quite common acceptance of various activities aimed at improving the citizens' safety, even if some of them require a restriction of civil liberties. Almost all respondents declare that they would accept enhanced checks at the borders, airports and railway stations and searching the flats of persons suspected of having contact with terrorists. A vast majority would accept displaying fingerprints in identity cards and passports, stricter immigration regulations and monitoring of the sales of simple chemicals. At least three quarters of the respondents would accept taking samples of genetic material (DNA) from persons suspected of terrorist activity and searching of luggage of passengers using public transport. Noticeably fewer persons would agree to bear additional costs of actions aimed at improving the citizens' safety. Such measures as listening to telephone calls and controlling e-mails are quite controversial, though. Only a quarter of the respondents would accept shooting at persons suspected of terrorism without warning.



More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *The threat of terrorism and the accepted actions improving the citizens' safety*, September 2005. Survey executed in August 2005. A representative random sample of adult Poles N=949.

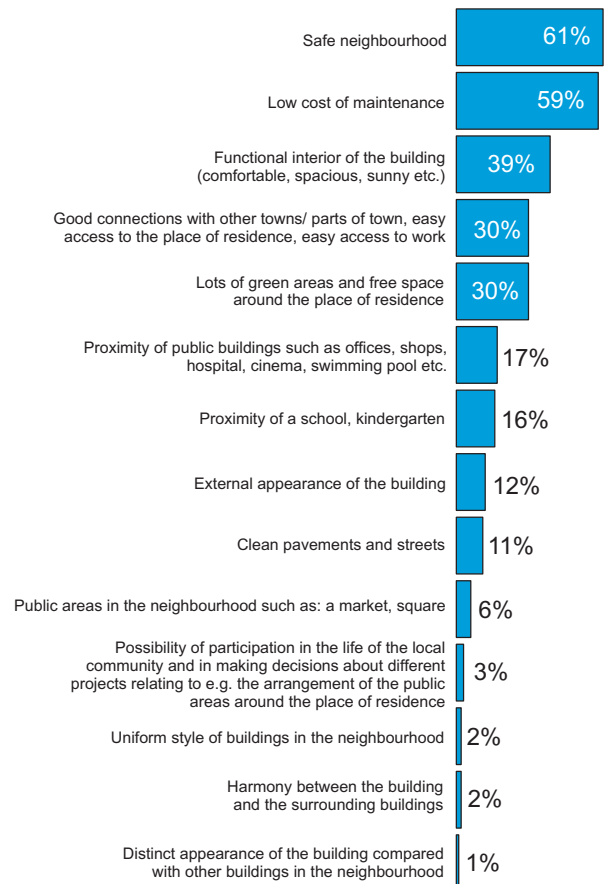
THE POLES ABOUT ARCHITECTURE

The Poles like the architecture of the locality where they live. More than three quarters of them (79%) say so.



When it comes to selecting a new place of residence, a safe neighbourhood and low maintenance costs are the respondents' priorities. The following qualities are also important: functional interior of the building, good connections with other towns or between different parts of town, and a lot of green areas and free space around.

WHICH CHARACTERISTICS WOULD YOU REGARD AS IMPORTANT, AND WHICH WOULD YOU REGARD AS UNIMPORTANT FOR SELECTING A NEW PLACE OF RESIDENCE?



multi-choice question

More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *The Poles about architecture*, September 2005. Survey executed in May 2005. A representative random sample of adult Poles N= 1073.

In addition to the reports referred to above, the following have been published recently (in Polish):

- ◆ What does Solidarity of the years 1980-81 mean for the Poles today?
- ◆ Description of the potential electorates in the parliamentary elections
- ◆ Presidential election: stability of voting decisions, preferences of the undecided and voting alternatives
- ◆ Importance of tactical voting in the presidential election
- ◆ Party preferences a week before the election
- ◆ Preferences in the presidential election
- ◆ Social moods before the election
- ◆ The Poles' difficult choice
- ◆ The attitude to the government and the Prime Minister
- ◆ Opinions about the work of the Parliament and the President near the end of their term
- ◆ Trust in politicians on September
- ◆ Presidential election: certainty of voting, preferences of the undecided and expectations as to the result of the election

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