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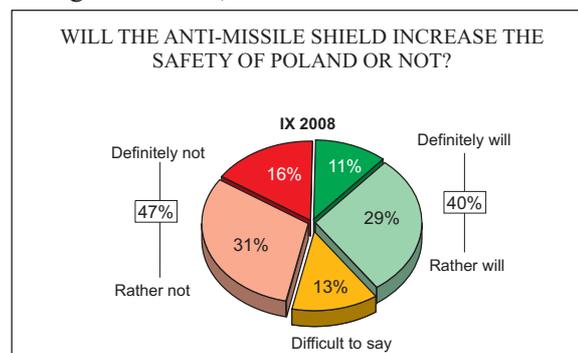
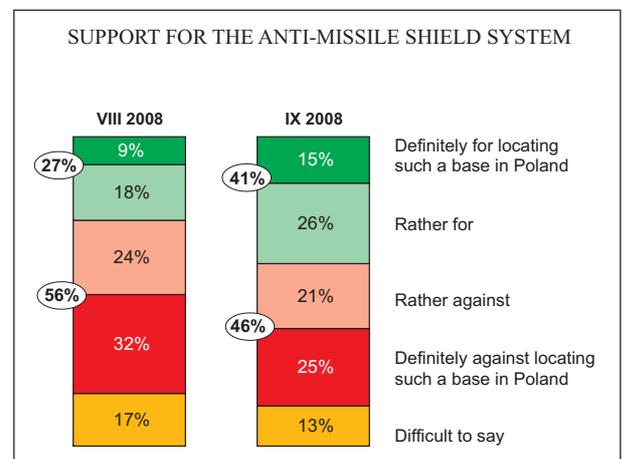
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THE POLES ABOUT THE ANTI-MISSILE SHIELD

In mid August the Polish government signed an agreement with the United States on deployment of missile defence system in the territory of Poland and the terms and conditions for their installation. In early August, most Poles (56%) were against deploying the elements of the anti-missile shield in Poland. Only slightly more than a quarter (27%) supported this idea. As a result of signing the agreement with the United States and in the light of the Russian - Georgian conflict, the attitude of the



of the shield could create a danger of an air attack by another country (e.g. Russia) on the territory of Poland have increased. At present almost two-thirds of the respondents are afraid of a possible attack from another country.

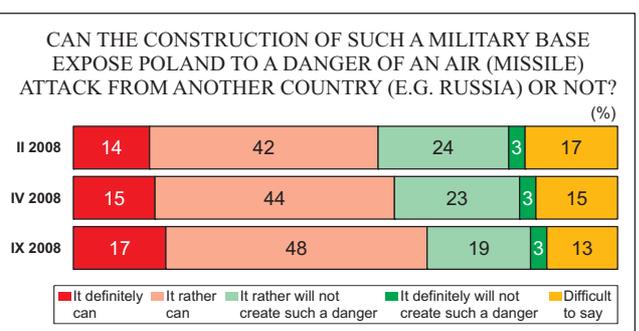
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *The Poles about the anti-missile shield*.

Opinions expressed before and after signing the agreement with the United States, October 2008. Survey executed in September 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 1070.

public opinion to this project has become more positive. Although the opposition still prevails, the support has grown considerably (to 41%).

The effect of the installation on the safety of Poland seems controversial. Most respondents do not expect that the elements of the anti-missile shield will improve the safety of Poland.

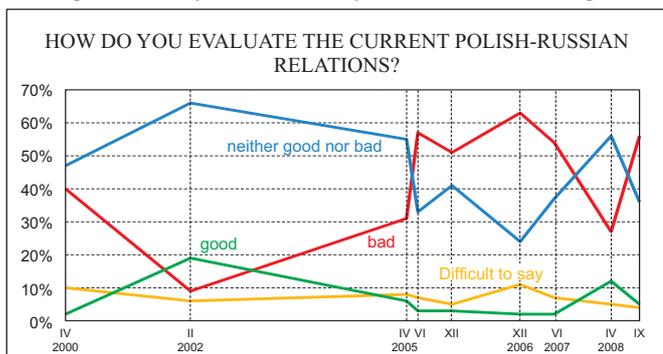
In view of the Russian - Georgian conflict, the fears that the construction



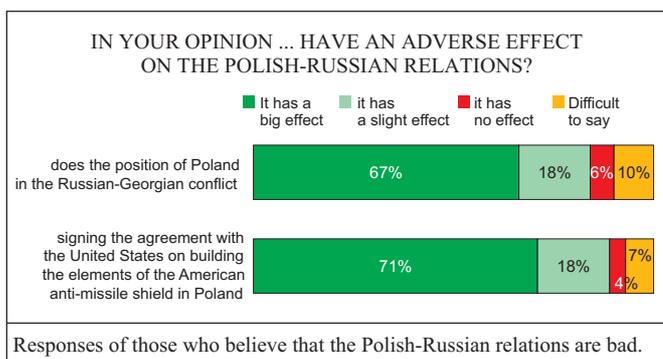
EVALUATION OF THE POLISH-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

The public opinion about the Polish-Russian relations has reflected the changes in the policy of both countries. Since the year 2000, these relations have never been evaluated as good. The opinions about the Polish-Russian relations do not vary much - either the opinion that they are bad prevails over the opinion that they are average or the other way round. From 2000 to 2005, the Poles mostly believed that even though the relations between Poland and Russia were not good, they could still be described as quite correct. These opinions started to

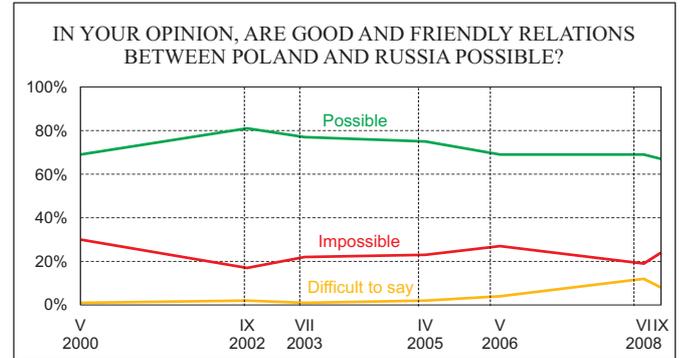
deteriorate considerably in April 2005 and throughout the period of the Law and Justice (PiS) government most Poles evaluated the Polish-Russian relations as bad. The embargo on import of Polish meat introduced by Russia was the symbol of these bad relations. The Northern Pipeline project (a gas pipeline connecting Russia with Germany under the Baltic Sea, bypassing transit states such as Poland) became another symbol of Russia's distrust in Poland. After the 2007 election, the new coalition government formed by the Citizens' Platform (PO) and the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) declared its intention to improve the relations with Russia, and subsequently lifted the Polish veto on the trade negotiations between Russia and the EU. In response, Russia lifted most restrictions on meat trade and the Polish-Russian relations started to improve, also in the eyes of the Poles. The opinions about these relations deteriorated again after the conflict between Georgia and Russia broke out. In view of the Russian army entering the territory of Georgia, the Polish government, despite its earlier doubts, finally agreed to deployment of the elements of the American anti-missile shield on the Polish territory, against Russia's opposition. Afterwards, more than half of respondents described the relations between Poland and Russia as bad, more than a third - as average, and only one in twenty described them as good.



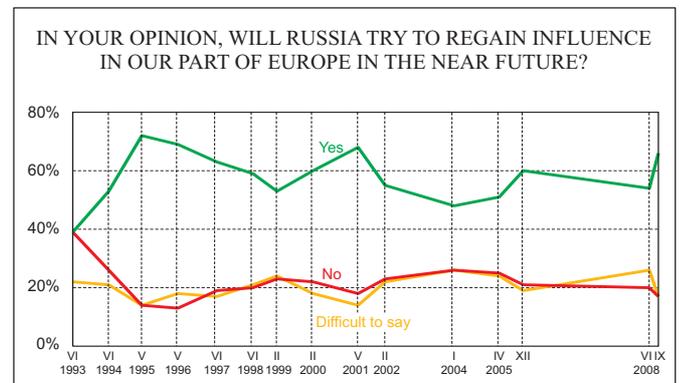
Most of those who criticize the Polish-Russian relations believe that they have been adversely affected by Poland's consent to deployment of the elements of the American anti-missile shield in Poland, as well as Poland's strong opposition to Russia in the Russian-Georgian conflict.



Despite their criticism of the current Polish-Russian relations, the Poles have no doubts that they could be improved. In the opinion of most respondents, the bad state of the Polish-Russian relations is a result of the current political events rather than being an inherent feature of the relations between these countries. Two-thirds of the respondents are of the opinion that good and friendly relations between Poland and Russia are possible



Fears of imperial tendencies in Russian foreign policy have grown after the Russian invasion of Georgia. At present, two-thirds of the respondents are of the opinion that Russia will try to regain influence in Central and Eastern Europe in the near future. The fears associated with Russia have grown visibly compared with the first half of the year, when the Polish-Russian relations were perceived as better than they are now.



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *The Polish-Russian relations and the situation on the Caucasus*, October 2008. Survey executed in September 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 1070.

WORK ABROAD

The economic migration of the Poles has neither increased nor visibly decreased in the last two years. To date, there has been no major wave of return of the Poles from other countries, although the media announce it from time to time. Such conclusions can be supported with data on the percentage of households from which at least one person left Poland to work abroad and the

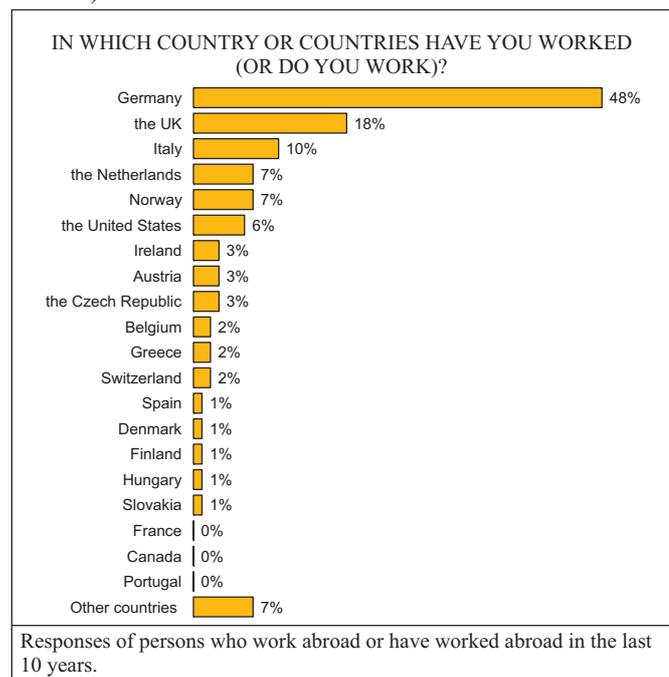
respondents' declarations concerning their own recent migration experience.

The percentage of households from which at least one person left Poland to work abroad has not changed during the last year. Both in the previous and in the current year 7% of the respondents declared that a member of their household worked abroad. In view of the fact that there are approximately 14 million households in Poland, it is estimated that currently no less than a million Poles work abroad.



Furthermore, the percentage of respondents declaring that they have worked abroad in the last ten years has not changed for the last year or even two years. According to the respondents' declarations, during the last 10 years one in ten adult Poles has worked abroad.

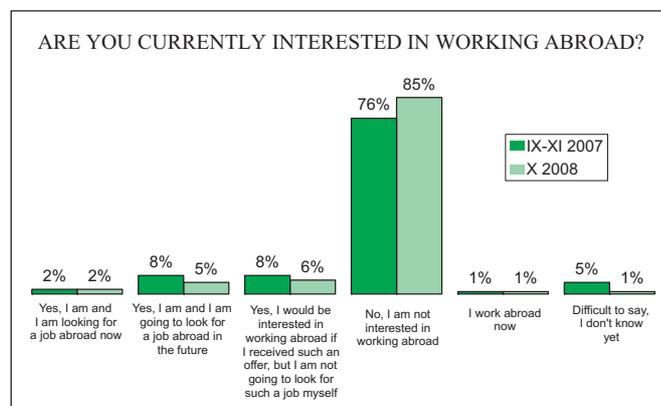
In view of the fact that 1% of the sample represent 280 thousand persons in the whole population of grown-up Poles, it can be assumed that more or less 2,800 thousand Poles worked abroad during the last 10 years (this number does not include those who currently stay abroad and thus cannot be interviewed). Therefore, taking into account both the persons who currently stay abroad and those who used to work abroad, but have come back to Poland, one can estimate that approximately 4 million Poles have worked abroad in the last ten years (including one million of those who currently live abroad).



By far, the biggest proportion of those who have worked abroad in the last ten years (or are currently employed abroad) declare that they found employment in Germany. The second most popular destination is the United Kingdom, where almost a fifth of all the Poles working abroad in the last ten years have worked (or work now). Relatively large numbers of Poles have worked in Italy, the Netherlands, Norway and the United States.

The interest of the Poles in working abroad has decreased quite significantly during the last year, even though the actual percentage of the Poles employed abroad has not changed. A year ago, 18% of adult Poles declared interest in working abroad, compared with only 13% today. Only some of them make or intend to make efforts to find employment abroad (7%). The others declare that they would be interested in working abroad if they were offered such work, but are not going to actively seek it (6%).

In view of the declining interest in working abroad it can be expected that the scale of the economic migration will decrease in the near future. A decrease in unemployment and an increase in wages and salaries in Poland are certainly among the factors that have made the Poles less interested in working abroad. The recession, which is expected to affect Western Europe more than Poland, should additionally discourage Poles from leaving their country and looking for work elsewhere.



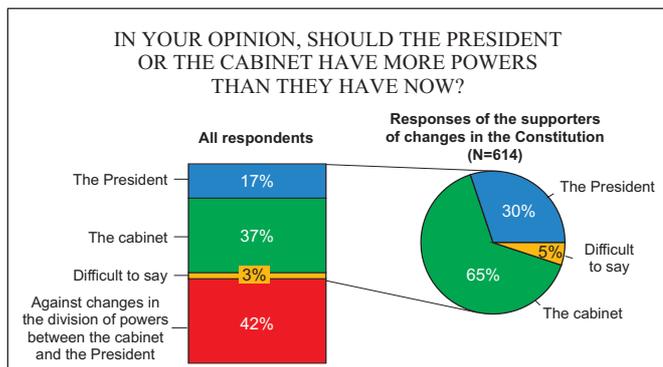
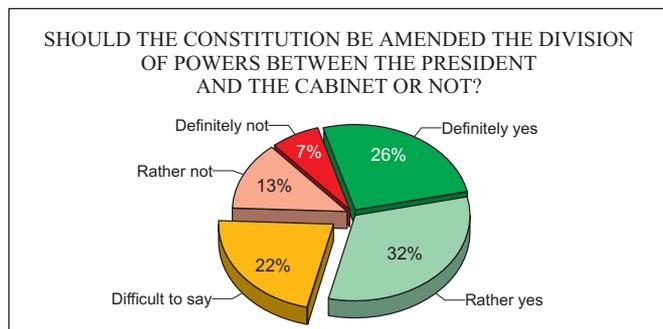
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *The work of the Poles abroad - experiences and plans*, October 2008. Survey executed in October 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N=1107.

DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE PRIME MINISTER

The division of powers between the President and the cabinet is not defined precisely in the Polish Constitution. Consequently, smooth cooperation between them is difficult to achieve and depends on both

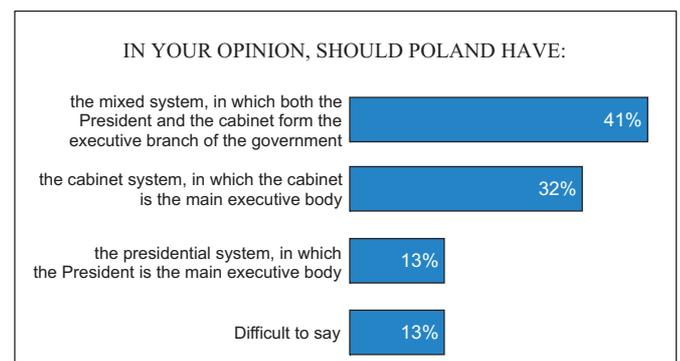
parties acting in good faith, particularly when the President and the Cabinet represent different political options.

In view of the fact that the constitutional division of powers between the President and the cabinet is unclear, the Prime Minister Donald Tusk has announced that he would like to initiate a public debate on the subject, including also future amendment to the Constitution. The idea has met with approval of the public opinion. Most Poles (58%) believe that the changes in the Constitution relating to the division of powers between the President and the cabinet are necessary. A fifth of the respondents (20%) are against such changes.



The supporters of such changes usually believe that the cabinet should have more powers than it has now. Almost two-thirds of them (65%, or 37% of all respondents) are for increasing the powers of the cabinet. 30% of those who believe that the Constitution should be amended (i.e. 17% of all respondents) opt for giving more powers to the President.

Although the Poles want changes in the division of powers between the cabinet and the President, and usually opt for granting more powers to the cabinet, at the same time less than a third of the respondents support the model in which it is the cabinet that rules the country more or less by itself. A majority of respondents prefer a system in which both the cabinet and the President form the executive branch of government, i.e. a model which requires cooperation between these two institutions. In spite of the fact that the cooperation between the cabinet and the President has not always been good in the last several years, the Poles are not willing to give all or almost all the power to one authority.



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Division of powers between the President and the Prime Minister*, October 2008. Survey executed in September 2008. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 1070.

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

- ◆ The parish reality. Opinions recorded in the years 2005 and 2008
- ◆ Aspirations of the Poles in the years 1998 and 2008
- ◆ Political party preferences in October
- ◆ Drop in the polls for Donald Tusk's government
- ◆ Social moods in October
- ◆ Parents' spending at the beginning of a new school year. Opinions from the years 1997-2008
- ◆ Opinions about the work of the Parliament and the President
- ◆ Trust in politicians in October
- ◆ The effect of higher food and energy prices on people in 26 countries around the world
- ◆ Summer holidays 2008 - holiday trips and work of children and adolescents

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