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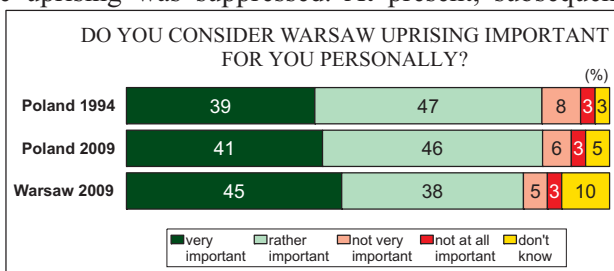
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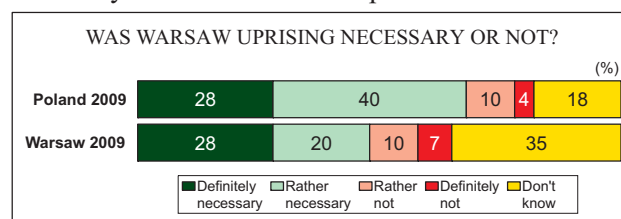
## COLLECTIVE MEMORY ABOUT WARSAW UPRISING

On August 1 2009, 65th Anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising passed. It was a dramatic effort to reclaim national sovereignty, and it stirs a lot of controversy among historians. Firstly, the decision to start armed struggle is questioned. In the unequal struggle against the German occupier, close to 200,000 people died on the Polish side, mostly civilians. During the People's Republic period, the sense of the armed struggle was downplayed and memory about the uprising was suppressed. At present, subsequent anniversaries of the uprising are celebrated, and a proposal was made to make 1 August a national holiday. One could speak about a cult of the Warsaw Uprising, which has become an element of formation of national identity of new generations of Poles, especially young residents of Warsaw.



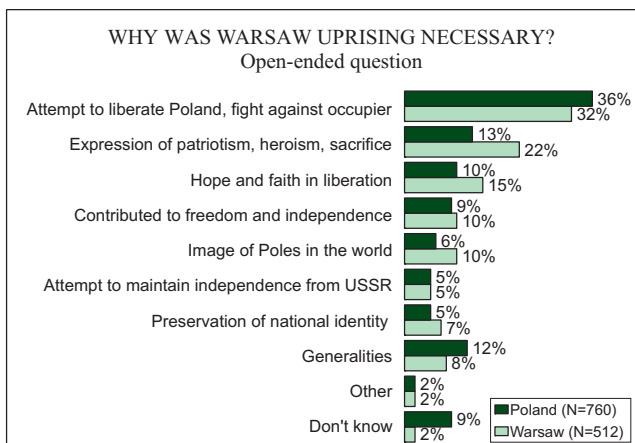
A vast majority of Poles consider the Warsaw Uprising to be personally important for themselves.

In the opinion of the majority of the Polish society (68%), the Warsaw Uprising was necessary. These declarations prevail in Warsaw as well, although they are less frequent



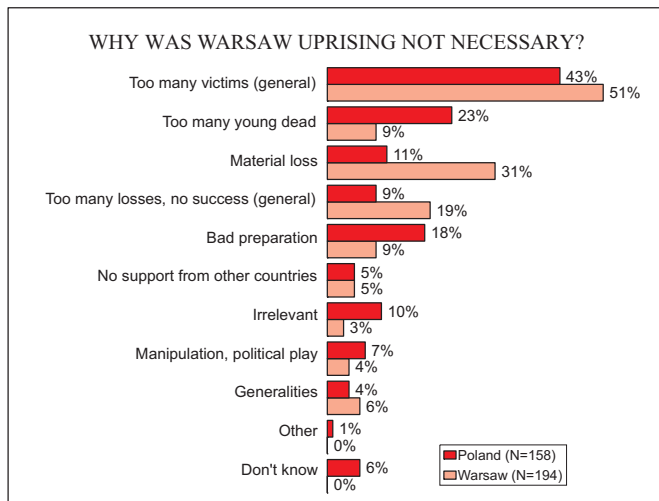
(48%) than in the rest of the country. For both samples similar groups consider uprising to be unnecessary, but Warsaw residents have no opinion twice as frequently as residents of other parts of the country (35% to 18%).

The most common argument justifying the necessity for the uprising was the need to fight the occupier and try to free Warsaw. However, a much smaller group noted that the uprising actually contributed to freedom or independence. Smaller groups of respondents spoke about the need for the uprising in the context of manifestation of certain attitudes or values: patriotism, heroism, sacrifice for the fatherland. Among the Warsaw residents, these arguments are raised more frequently than in the rest of the country. Relatively often respondents mentioned the fact that the Warsaw Uprising gave people in Warsaw, and elsewhere in Poland, hope and faith in liberation, and mobilized them for struggle. Some respondents expressed the opinion that the uprising contributed to the heroic image of Poles around the world, it "showed the West how to fight". Relatively few respondents said that the uprising was necessary to recapture Warsaw before Russians did it, thus assuring

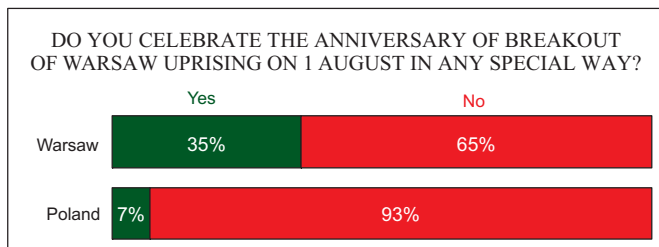


independence from the USSR. Comparable groups in Warsaw and in the whole of Poland think that the uprising was necessary for maintaining national identity.

The opinion that the Warsaw Uprising was unnecessary was usually justified (both in Warsaw and in the national sample) with the excessive number of victims who fell in its consequence. Relatively frequently, youth and young intelligentsia were specifically mentioned. Residents of Warsaw much more frequently than residents of other parts of Poland spoke about material losses suffered by the city. Relatively often they claimed that losses surpassed benefits from the uprising. In the national sample respondents relatively frequently mentioned bad preparation, strategic mistakes and incompetence of the command. Scattered responses referred to the fact that there was not the support from abroad, and that there was no point in counting on such support. The argument that the uprising was irrelevant because everything had been already decided, and the claim that it was a part of political play or manipulation appeared more commonly in the national sample than in Warsaw.



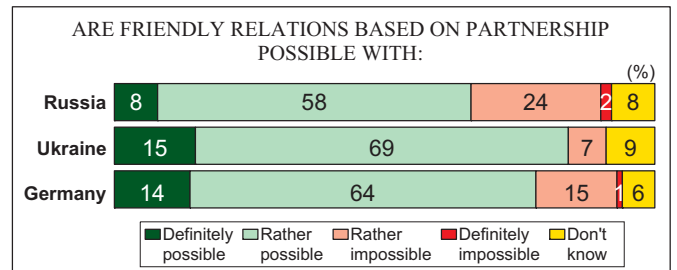
Residents of Warsaw five times more often than all Poles celebrate the anniversary of the breakout of the Warsaw Uprising. Overall, one-third (35%) of residents of Warsaw and 7% of adult Poles celebrate 1 August.



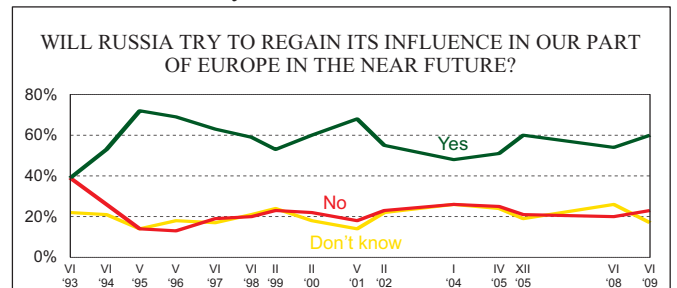
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish *Collective Memory About Warsaw Uprising*, July 2009. Fieldwork for national sample: July 2009, N=1125. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland. Fieldwork for Warsaw sample: June 2009, N=1073. The random address sample is representative for adult residents of Warsaw.

## RELATIONS WITH RUSSIA, UKRAINE AND GERMANY

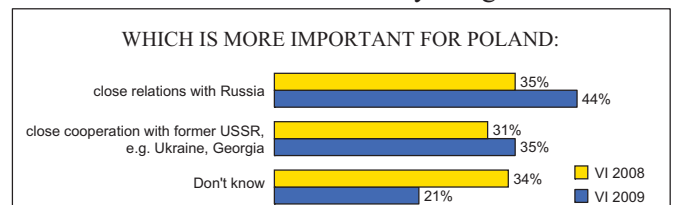
Poland's relations with its three biggest neighbours: Russia, Germany and Ukraine are strongly marked by history. Although state bilateral relations are either good, or at least satisfactory (with Russia), there appear controversies related to evaluation of common history. In spite of the historical legacies, Poles believe in the possibility of friendly relations with neighbours based on partnership. In public opinion the best prospects are for building such relations with Ukraine, less so with Germany, and least so with Russia.



The perceived difficulties in relations with Russia may stem not only from different opinions about history, but also, perhaps more importantly, from fears about Russia's imperial policies. Most Polish people (60%) share the opinion that in the nearest future Russia will try to reclaim its influence in Central and Eastern Europe. The conviction about the imperial ambitions of Russia has held for years.



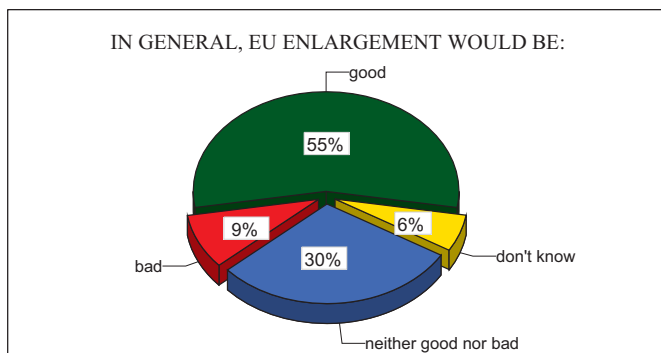
In the opinion of most respondents, building good relations with Russia is more important for Poland than close cooperation with the countries of the former USSR. The conviction that cooperation with Russia is in our interest is more common than a year ago.



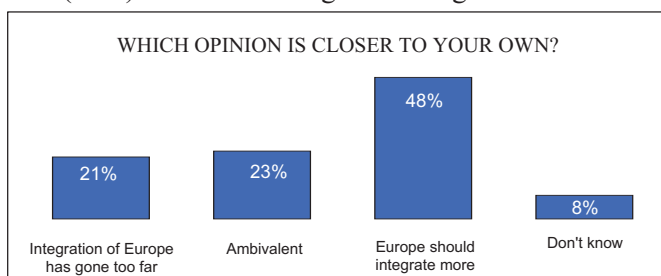
More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish *Evaluation of Relations With Russia, Ukraine and Germany*, July 2009. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2009, N=1038. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland.

## CONTROVERSIES ABOUT EU

The support for Poland's EU membership remains very high: 85% of Poles approve of the membership. The high support for Polish membership is related to the feeling that our country has benefited from the integration. In the opinion of the society, the EU enlargement which took place in recent years was not only beneficial for the new member states, but also strengthened the Union. The conviction that participation in the Community is beneficial both for the acceding countries and for the organization as a whole results in the support of the Polish people for further enlargement. Over half (55%) support accepting new member states in EU.

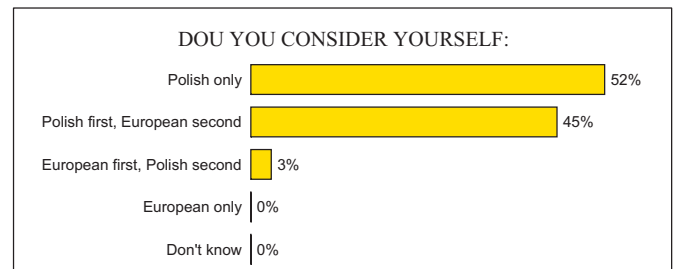


Enlargement of the European Union is accompanied by deepening integration. The more member states EU has, the harder is the process of multilateral decision-making, and the stronger the need to strengthen the communitarian dimension of its functioning. The process of strengthening the EU integration is sometimes met with reservations and caution in member states. After the draft of the Constitution for Europe was rejected in referenda in France and the Netherlands, there appeared problems with ratifying the Lisbon Treaty in some countries. Our previous research proves that most Poles support both the Lisbon Treaty and the process of further integration. The latest results also show that a large part of the Polish society approve of the idea of a stronger cooperation within the EU. Almost half (48%) think that Europe should become more integrated than it is now. Only one-fifth (21%) believe that integration has gone too far.



European integration in the first place has economic and political dimensions. Although common

values are at the foundation of integration, so far, to dismay of some and satisfaction of others, there is little evidence that a European society connected by common identity is emerging. As, for instance, the Eurobarometer study indicates, national identity has not been suppressed or even weakened by European identity. Only very few people feel exclusively or mostly European. Our survey brings similar results. Over half of respondents consider themselves exclusively Polish, while almost all of the others (45%) feel primarily Polish, and secondly European. Only very few consider their European identity to be more important than national (3%).

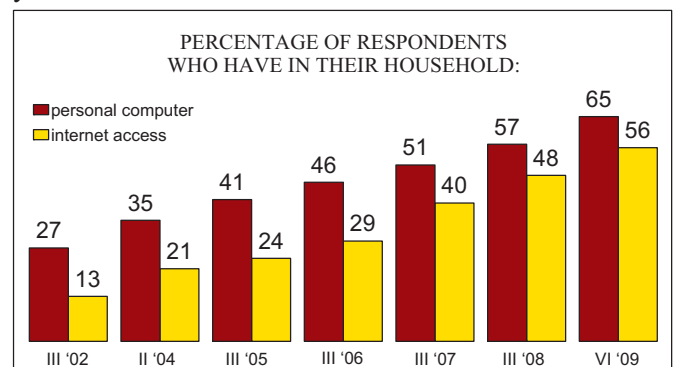


More information about this topic can be found in CBOS report in Polish *Controversies About EU Functioning*, July 2009. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2009, N=1038. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland

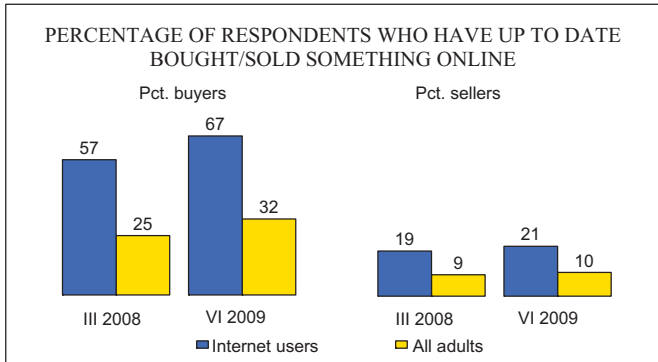
## INTERNET USE

The majority of adult Polish people (65%) have a personal computer at home. In the last year, their number increased by 8 percentage points. In recent years, there has been a steady increase in the number of households equipped with a PC.

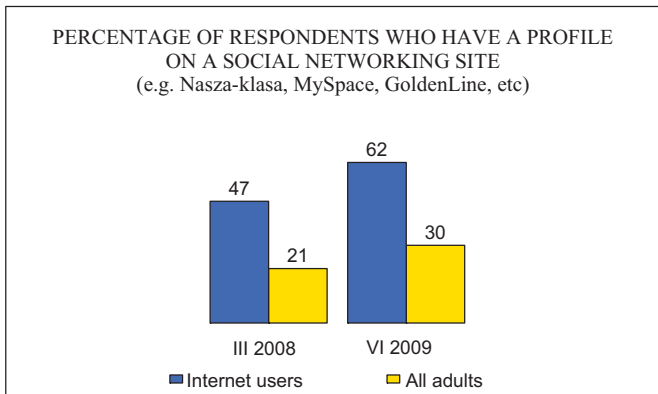
Over half of respondents (56%) have internet access in household. The percentage of people who can access the web from home increased by 8 points in the last year.



The commercial role of the internet is gaining in importance. The number of people who have, so far, bought something online is rising fast. Every third adult Pole (32%) has bought something at least once, and every tenth (10%) has sold an article through a web service. The most common articles bought online are clothing, electronics and automotive appliances.

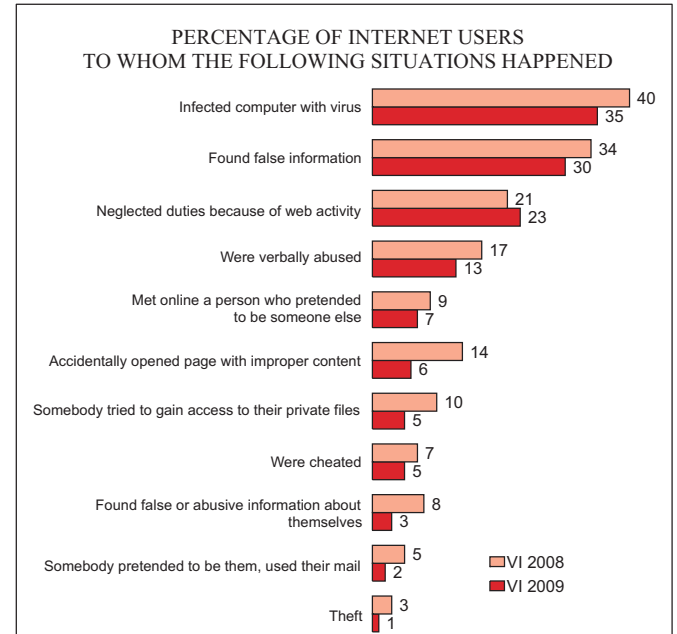


The role of the internet as a place where social networks are formed in also on the rise. In the last year, the proportion of respondents with a profile on one of the networking sites increased significantly. Most internet users and one-third of all adults are registered with at least one network. They usually use them for renewing or maintaining friendship, and a significant group of users do it for professional purposes, such as looking for a job, or forging new business ties.



Most internet users have encountered some negative aspects of web browsing. One of the most

common dangers related to internet use are computer viruses. Over a third of users have at least once infected their computer with this type of program. The other commonly experienced negative aspect of internet use is false information that appears there. Almost one-third of users found it on the internet. Almost one-fourth neglected some duties because they were busy browsing the net. One-eighth of web users have been verbally abused by someone online. Compared with last year, these incidents happened either less often, or as often as a year ago.



More information about this topic can be found in CBOS reports in Polish *Internet Use* and *Internet Threats*, July 2009. Fieldwork for national sample: June 2009, N=1038. The random address sample is representative for adult population of Poland

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

- ◆ International Security of Poland
- ◆ Party Preferences in July
- ◆ Trust in Politicians in July
- ◆ Public Opinion About Wojciech Jaruzelski
- ◆ Attitude to Government in July
- ◆ Opinions About President, Parliament and Central Anticorruption Bureau
- ◆ Social Moods in July
- ◆ Causes of Economic Crisis and Means of Fighting it: Opinions from 19 Countries of the World
- ◆ World Public Opinion About US Policy and NATO Operation in Afghanistan
- ◆ Elections to European Parliament in Post-election declarations

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