

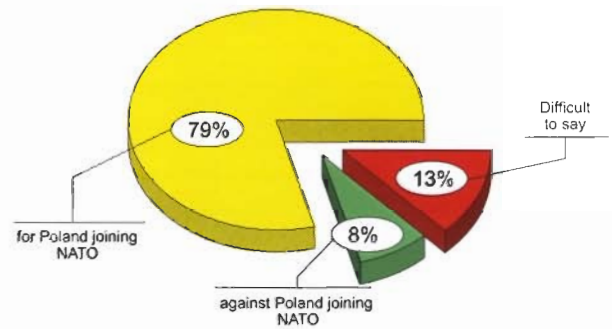
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POLAND'S ASPIRATIONS TO JOIN NATO AND RUSSIA

If a referendum took place in our country on Poland's joining NATO, a clear majority (79%) of the public would vote in favour. The biggest support for Polish NATO membership is declared by those of the highest socio-professional status, whereas the least comes from the oldest people. It is worth stressing that in the event of a referendum, a clear majority of supporters of the biggest political parties would be for Polish entry into the alliance.

IF THERE WAS A REFERENDUM ON POLAND JOINING NATO, WOULD YOU VOTE:



WOULD YOU SUPPORT POLAND JOINING NATO IF THAT MEANT:

PLACING POLISH ARMY UNITS UNDER NATO MILITARY COMMAND



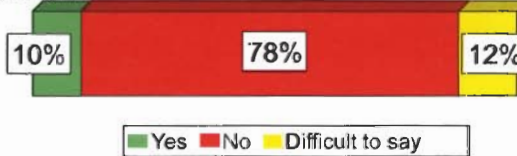
THE STATIONING OF NATO ARMIES ON POLISH TERRITORY



THE PARTICIPATION OF POLISH SOLDIERS IN MILITARY OPERATIONS IN REGIONS OF CONFLICT IN OTHER COUNTRIES



THE SITING OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS ON POLISH TERRITORY



Once respondents are made aware of the fact that NATO membership carries with it certain obligations and limitations for Poland and its army, the pro-NATO supporters become fewer in number. Despite this the majority continues to accept the membership of our country in NATO, even if this involves placing Polish army units under the command of NATO armies, the participation of Polish soldiers in military operations in regions of conflict in other countries and the stationing of NATO armies on Polish territory. Only the possibility of nuclear weapons being sited on Polish territory is decidedly rejected.

Russia's escalating protests against the extension of NATO are accompanied by an increased number of respondents expressing the opinion that Poland should not take this opposition into consideration.

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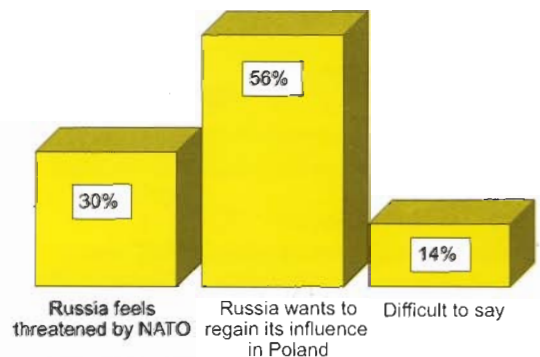
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Over two thirds of those polled express such an opinion at present (in May '96 -58%). In the opinion of over half the respondents, the real reason for Russia's opposition to the membership of our country in the alliance is not so much fear for its own security as its desire to regain influence in Poland.

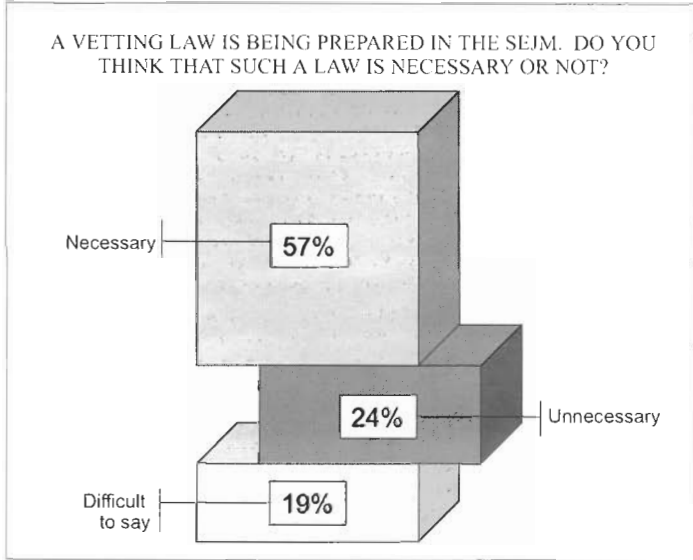
Source: CBOS bulletin "Poland's aspirations to join NATO and Russia". January '97

RUSSIA IS OPPOSED TO POLAND JOINING NATO. DO YOU THINK THAT IT IS BEHAVING LIKE THIS MAINLY BECAUSE:



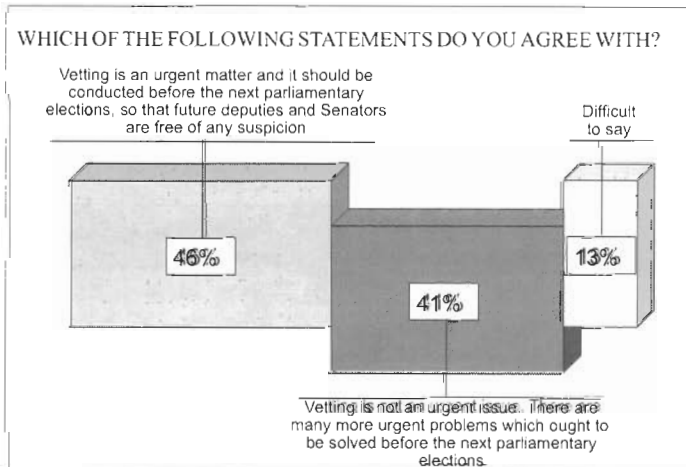
VETTING - SOCIAL PROBLEM OR POLITICAL GAME?

Despite the change in the system in Poland, there has been no settling of accounts with the PRL (Polish Peoples Republic - Communist Poland). The fate of vetting bills demonstrates how difficult it is to implement this undertaking. The majority of the public points to the necessity of passing a law on this question.



Poles associate vetting with the hope of realising the right to openness in public life and for justice to be satisfied. Furthermore most of them (74%) think that in Poland, just as in the former East Germany, every citizen ought to have access to their files in the MSW (Interior Ministry) and the public has the right to know of each detail in the biography of a politician (59%).

The respondents are divided on the question of the importance of the vetting issue - almost as many people think that it is currently one of the most important problems which must be solved without delay (39%) as think that it is a subject which is interesting only to a small group of politicians (42%). Opinions are also divided on whether vetting has become an especially urgent matter in view of the approaching parliamentary elections.



A clear majority of those polled support compulsory vetting for people in the highest executive and legislative posts, in the judiciary and the public prosecutors

offices, other high-level officials and police and army officers. Half the respondents think that journalists ought to undergo compulsory vetting - more people demand this for the management of public television. The majority of those polled support removing from their posts the top people who are proved during the vetting procedure to have worked with the security services.

The majority (45%) thought that the risk of accusing somebody innocent was less than the danger of agents being in positions of power. A minority of those polled (30%) were opposed to vetting because of the associated dangers of damaging accusations.

The views of respondents on the possibility of conducting a reliable vetting procedure in the present political set up are divided - almost as many people think that this is impossible (38%) at present as believe that it is possible to implement it whatever the balance of forces on the political scene (35%).

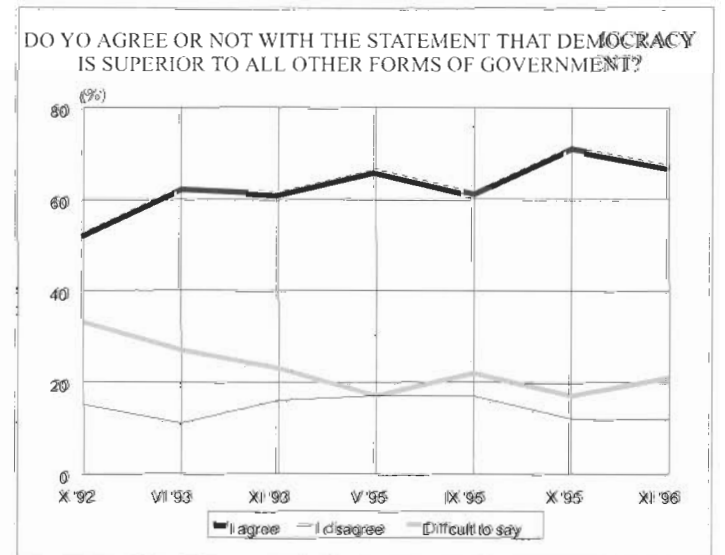
Source: CBOS bulletin "Vetting - social problem or political game?", January '97

THE FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY IN POLAND

Despite the fact that a democratic system has been functioning in Poland for some years, the question of whether democracy is really rooted in our society remains live as does the question of whether Poles feel attached to democratic values.

The public's assessment of the democratic system as compared to other systems has been quite stable for some years. Two thirds of respondents are currently convinced of the superiority of democracy over all other forms of government.

The statement that democracy is superior to other systems does not however have an absolute character. Almost half the respondents (46%) think that in certain circumstances undemocratic governments might be more desirable.



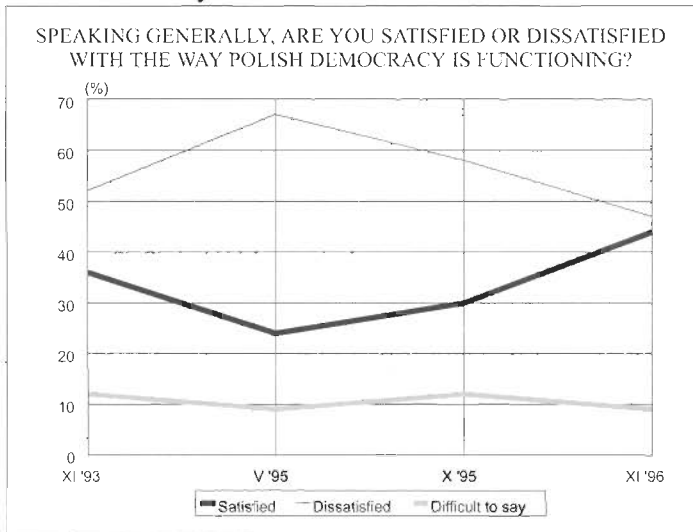
This does not mean that Poles would approve of "strong" governments - placed before the alternative: democracy or authoritarian government, they significantly

more often opt for democracy (50%) as the best method of government than they do for authoritarian solutions (30%).

Even less people currently declare support for the introduction of some sort of dictatorship in Poland. Such a proposal met with the acceptance of less than one fifth of respondents, two thirds are opposed to it.

The public's assessment of the functioning of democracy in Poland is ambiguous - almost as many people are satisfied as are dissatisfied. It is worth stressing however that in comparison with 1995 the number of people positively assessing the functioning of Polish democracy has significantly grown.

The implementation of democratic standards in Poland is viewed to a significant degree through the prism of one's own economic situation - satisfaction with the functioning of democracy is expressed more often by people of a higher material status. Furthermore, opinions on this question are connected with the political orientation of the respondents - people with right-wing political views relatively more often express dissatisfaction with the way Polish democracy functions.



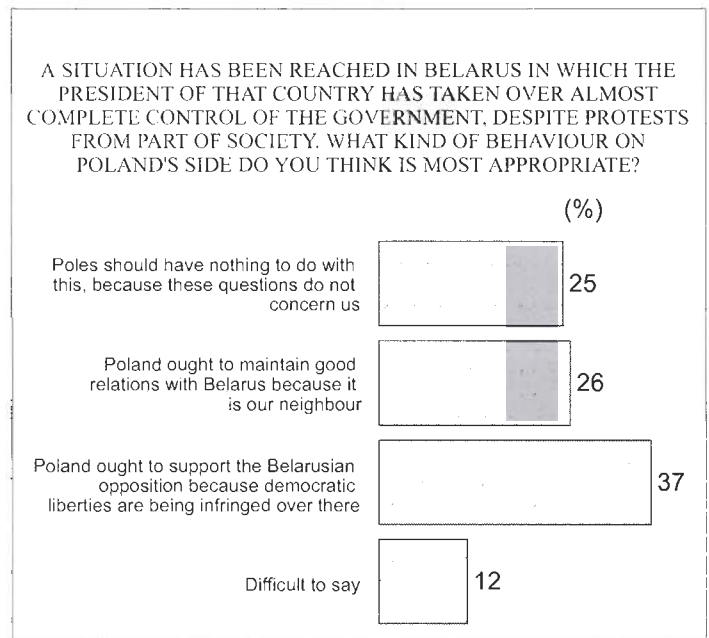
Source: CBOS bulletin "The functioning of democracy in Poland", January '97

THE ATTITUDE OF POLES TO THE LIMITATIONS ON DEMOCRACY IN NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

Events which have taken place in recent months in Belarus have caused an international reaction of condemnation for the infringement of the principles of democracy and declarations of solidarity with those political forces in Belarus which favour the defence of democracy and independence. What is the opinion of respondents on the question of the way Poland has responded to the failure to observe democratic principles in our neighbour countries?

There is a general conviction among the Polish public that the government of each state ought to observe human rights and be steered by the principles accepted throughout the world. Only a small number of respondents (94%) discount world opinion (2%).

This conviction is not accompanied by as widespread support for activities aiding the advocates of democracy in neighbouring states. Opinions on how Poland ought to react to a political crisis and the installation of an undemocratic government in one of the neighbouring states are very differentiated. Those favouring reacting to events in neighbouring countries - by expressing condemnation or limiting relations with that country - number somewhat over half those surveyed (52%), but as many as two fifths think that Poland should not get mixed up in such a conflict. The position of the public is even more cautious in relation to the events in Belarus. In a situation in which the president of that country has taken almost complete control of the government in the face of protests of part of society only less than two fifths of respondents opt for Poland's support for the Belarusian opposition. One in four respondents thinks that we ought not occupy ourselves with this at all because these are matters which do not concern us. The same number of people is of the opinion that despite everything we ought to maintain good relations with Belarus, since this country borders on Poland.



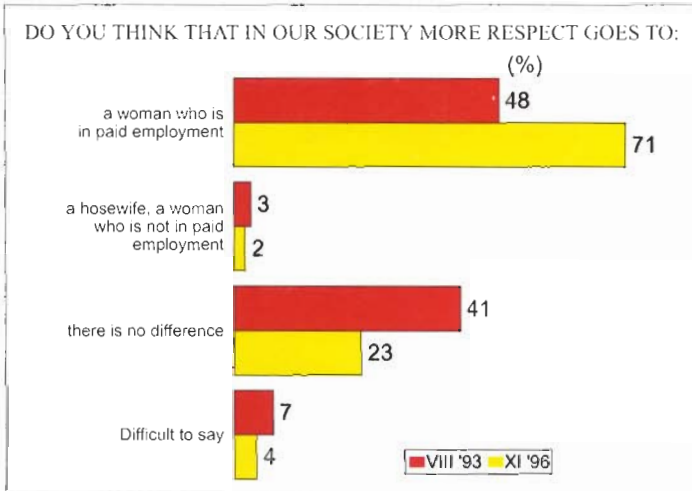
Differences of opinion on the subject significantly depend on the education of the respondents - the better it is the more often the conviction that Poland ought to support the Belarusian opposition is expressed. The worse educated the respondents the more often do they think that these are not questions that concern us and that we should not get mixed up in them.

People who are interested in political issues recognise that support for the democratic opposition in Belarus is the most appropriate way to behave, and people with right-wing political opinions more often support this view. The conviction that we ought to maintain good relations with Belarus because we are its neighbours is stronger among supporters of the parties making up the government coalition than in the potential electorates of the opposition groupings.

Source: CBOS bulletin "The attitude of Poles to the limitation of democracy in neighbouring countries", January '97

EMPLOYMENT ASPIRATIONS OF WOMEN AND FAMILY LIFE

The changes occurring in Poland in recent years have influenced the changes in women's attitudes to work. Today the opinion that a woman in paid employment is more socially respected clearly predominates among the women polled - almost three quarters of the women asked hold this view, significantly more than three years ago.



Women in paid work make up 37% of all the women in Poland. Although the basic motive identified by them for taking a job is above all the desire to improve their material situation - just as in the earlier polls - a clear majority (84%) of working women declare that work brings them pleasure and satisfaction. The significance of non-material motives for getting a job is confirmed by the fact that over half (58%) of married women who work say that they would not leave their jobs even if their husband earned enough to provide for the family at a satisfactory material level. This kind of declaration is made the more often, the more educated the woman and the better the assessment of her own material conditions.

During the last three years the number of women in managerial positions has increased. According to the declarations of the respondents, almost one in four of women at work has a managerial position.

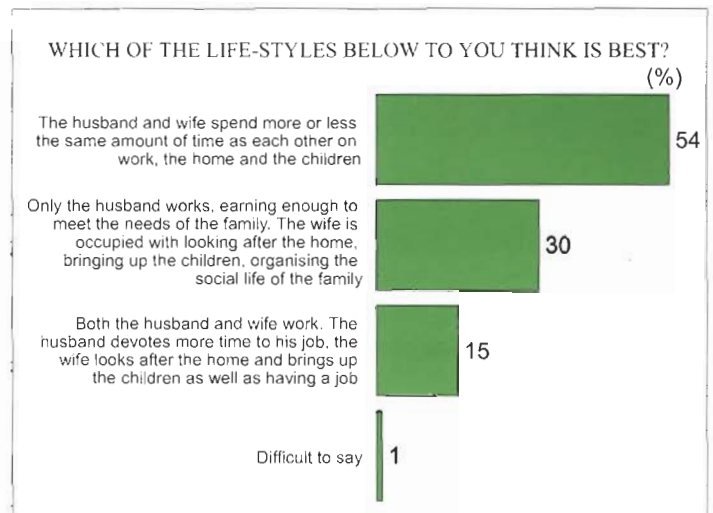
Among women who do not currently fill managerial functions those interested in occupying such

posts are mainly better educated women and those burdened to a lesser degree by family duties.

The respondents decidedly reject the view that taking up a management post means that a woman loses some of her femininity. They think that these are matters which are distinct from one another (44%) or even that occupying a management post adds to a woman's femininity (41%). This last opinion is held by women who themselves hold such positions.

Over half the women polled prefer marriage based on the partnership model, in which the husband and wife between themselves devote equal time to work, the home and the children. In practice, the fact of a woman getting a job is not however connected with a more equal division of household duties between both spouses - just as the earlier poll showed.

The situation in which the woman has a job as well as fulfilling her traditional role is de facto the most common model of marriage existing in Polish families.



The largest part of the respondents (36%) claims that the woman's job brings more benefits than disadvantages to her family life. The opposite opinion - more disadvantages than benefits - is held by almost one in six of the women polled, above all those favouring the traditional marriage roles.

Source: CBOS bulletin "Employment aspirations of women and family life", January '97

In addition to the bulletins referred to above, the following have been published recently:

- Assessments of last year and forecasts for 1997
- Public moods in December
- Attitudes to the government and the assessment of the results of its activities in December '96
- Women on conflicts and violence in the family
- Non-payment of taxes as a form of civil disobedience
- The events of '96. The politician of 1996.
- The administrative boundaries of the country
- Participation certificates [in privatisation]
- Parliamentary elections '97 - preferences in January

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