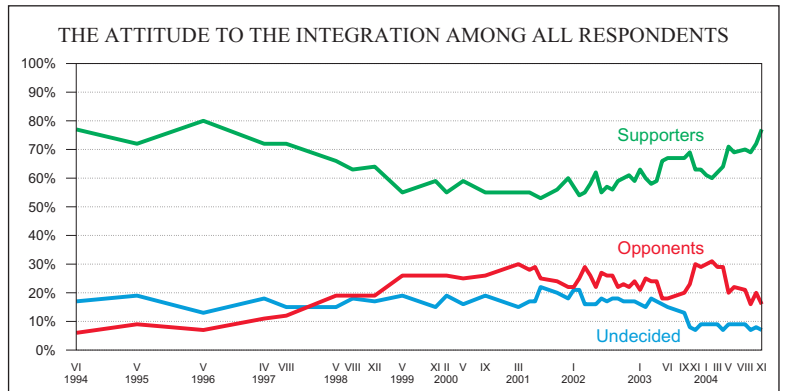


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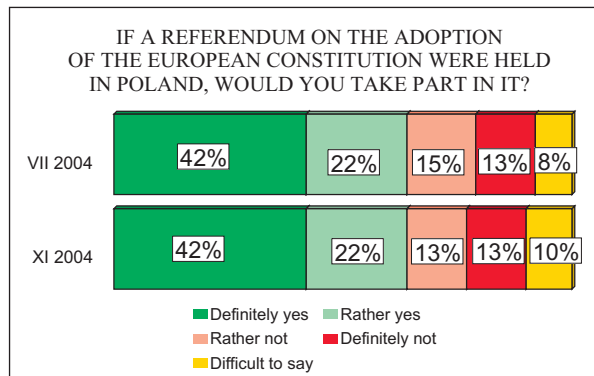
THE INCREASING SUPPORT FOR THE EU MEMBERSHIP AND THE ADOPTION OF THE EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION

Since the accession of Poland to the European Union, a large proportion of the Polish society have invariably supported the membership in this organization. In November, the number of supporters of the integration increased further and reached the highest level since May 1996. At present, over three quarters of the Poles (77%, by 5 percentage points more than in October) support the membership of Poland in the EU, and one in six (16%, a drop by 4 percentage points since October) are against it.



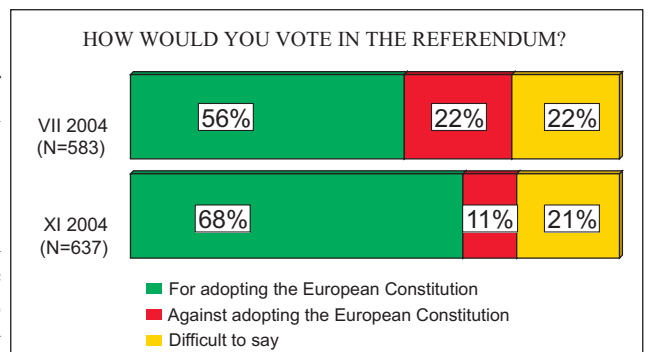
On October 29th, the representatives of the governments of the European Union countries signed the Constitution Treaty in Rome. The Poles will decide about its

adoption or rejection in a referendum. Almost two-thirds of the Poles (64%) declare that they are going to vote in the referendum on the adoption of the Constitution Treaty for Europe. This proportion has not changed since July 2004. However, only about two-fifths of the respondents (42%) are sure that they will vote in the referendum.



the adoption of the European Constitution is strongly correlated with the attitude to the integration. Almost three quarters of the supporters of Poland's membership in the European Union (74%), and half of this proportion among the opponents (38%), intend to vote in the referendum.

The percentage of the respondents who declare their support for the European Constitution has grown during the last four months. Today over two-thirds of the potential voters are going to vote for the Constitution (68%, 12 percentage points more than in July) and 11% are going to vote against it (a drop by



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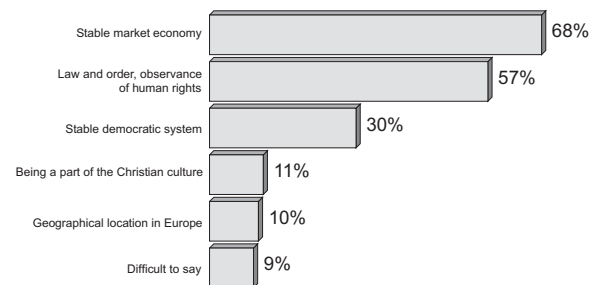
11 percentage points). The increase of the support for the European Constitution seems to be partly due to the fact that the arguments and controversies concerning some of its provisions have been subdued, giving way to more balanced opinions. However, the general increase of the support for Poland's membership in the European Union also seems to be a factor. One may suppose that, considering the poor knowledge of the provisions of the Constitution and the possible implications of its adoption, the attitude to the European Constitution will to a large extent reflect the general attitude to the presence of Poland in the European Union. In other words, it should be an indirect indication of the Poles' support for the membership as such.

More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Increase of the support for the EU membership and the adoption of the European Constitution*, November 2004. Survey executed in November 2004. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 988.

PREFERRED EXTENSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

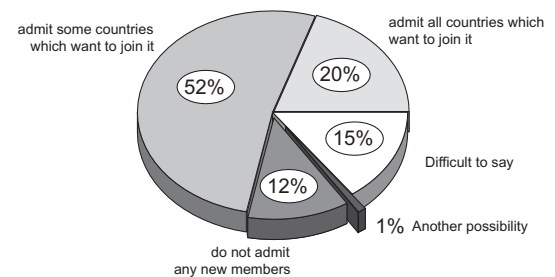
Answering the open-ended question, the Poles mention primarily the following criteria to be satisfied by countries applying for the EU membership: stable market economy, law and order and human rights. These criteria are considered more important than a stable democratic system. Being a part of the Christian tradition and geographical location on the European continent were mentioned among the most important criteria of the EU membership much less frequently. The focus on the economic requirements of the membership is not surprising, as the European Union is perceived and accepted primarily as the economic community. It is more interesting that the criteria of law and order and human rights were indicated almost twice as frequently as the requirement of a well functioning democratic system. It seems that the public opinion sees the observance of the elementary values of the Western civilization as more important than having a formally democratic system, which just means compliance with democratic procedures and mechanisms of electing the government. On the one hand, the candidates to the European Union must share the common European values, but on the other they can and should preserve their own culture, including religion. It is consistent with the results of earlier surveys, where the Poles accepted the European Union as an economic, political and axiological, but not cultural, community.

IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT CONDITIONS SHOULD THE STATES APPLYING FOR THE EU MEMBERSHIP SATISFY? PLEASE CHOOSE FROM THE LIST THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT (IN YOUR OPINION) CRITERIA OF THE EU MEMBERSHIP:

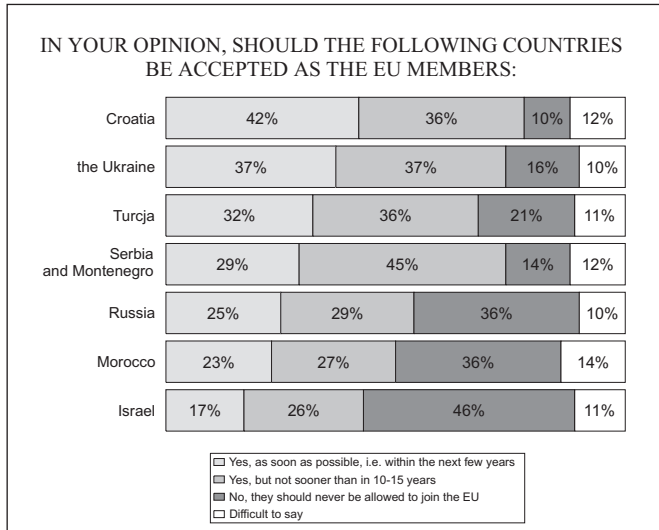


A definite majority of the Poles are of the opinion that the European Union should be opened to new countries. Only 12% of the respondents believe that the European Union should not be extended in the nearest future. Others usually believe that the Member States should invite some of the countries which want to join the EU. One in five respondents even believe that all countries which apply for the membership should be accepted.

IN YOUR OPINION, SHOULD THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE NEAREST FUTURE:



The Poles' acceptance for different potential members of the EU is not equal. In their opinion, Croatia should be the first to join the EU (within the next few years). The support for the Ukraine is also high. Although presently the Ukraine is less likely to join the EU than the Balkan states, such as Serbia and Montenegro, or Turkey, the Poles believe that it should become a Member State before these countries. A definite majority of the Poles also support the accession of Turkey, as well as Serbia and Montenegro, although perhaps not in the next few years. Relatively fewer people support the EU membership of Russia, though the opinion that it should join this organization in the future prevails. Most respondents also see the accession of African countries, such as Morocco, as possible. The potential membership of Israel in the EU is the most controversial. Almost half of the Poles (46%) believe that it should not belong to the EU. However, over two-fifths of the respondents (43%) are of the opinion that sooner or later Israel should be allowed to join the EU as well.

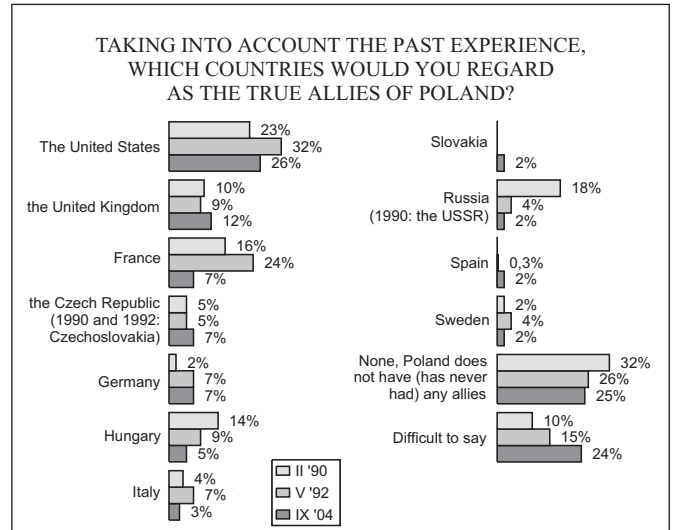


More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Opinions about further extension of the European Union*, December 2004. Survey executed in November 2004. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 988.

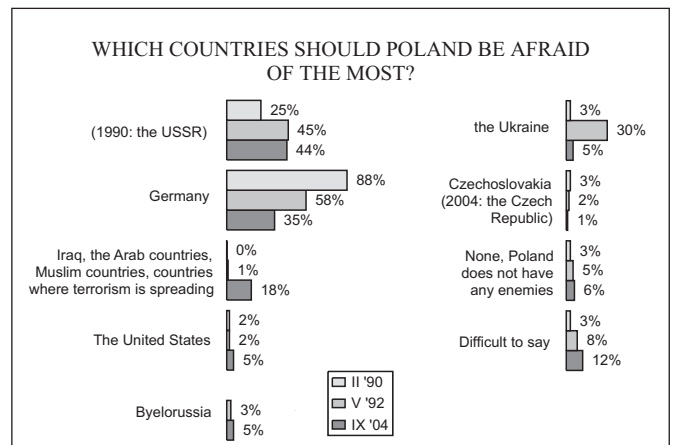
WHO CAN POLAND COUNT ON, WHO SHOULD POLAND BE AFRAID OF?

For several years, the Poles have invariably believed that the United States are the main ally of Poland. At the beginning of the previous decade, the United States were mentioned among the allies of Poland by nearly a quarter of the respondents; now by more than a quarter. Twelve years ago, this proportion was temporarily even higher (32%). The positive relations between Poland and the United Kingdom have also passed the test of time. The survey suggests that today the UK is the second most important ally of Poland after the United States. The position of France is quite different. In early nineties, this country was mentioned among the "true allies of Poland" more frequently than the United Kingdom and almost as frequently as the United States. Now only 7% of the Poles mention France in this context. At the beginning of the year 1990, almost one-fifth of the respondents called the USSR a "true ally of Poland". Now Russia is mentioned among the political friends of Poland occasionally only, less frequently than Germany, Hungary and Italy.

Almost half of the respondents (49%) did not mention any country which would deserve to be called "a true ally of Poland". A part of this group (24% of all respondents) were unable to mention such a country, whereas others (25%) believed that there were nor ever had been any such countries. As declared by the Poles, Poland is less lonely now than in the early 1990s, although at the same time its relations with other countries are more complex and less clearly defined now.



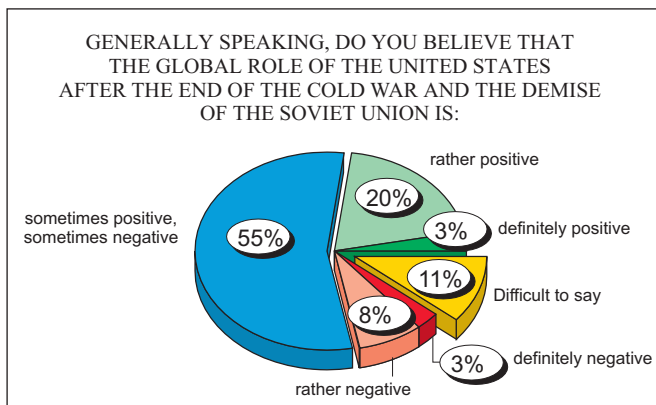
The Poles may have problems with identifying the true allies of Poland, but it is much easier for them to indicate the countries which may potentially present a threat to Poland (although the choices are no longer as obvious as several years ago). In the respondents' opinion, the Poles should be afraid of their two great neighbours - Russia and Germany. However, the locations of these threats have changed considerably over the last several years. Shortly after regaining independence, in 1990, almost everybody was afraid of Germany, which was then in the process of unification. However, within two years, after signing the Polish-German treaty, this fear was significantly reduced. At the same time, the fear of Russia grew. Today Russia is perceived as a source of danger more frequently than Germany. Temporarily, after the collapse of the USSR and the emergence of independent Ukraine (in the 1992 survey), nearly a third of the Poles were afraid of the Ukraine. Currently such fears are quite rare. In the last years, the Poles have begun to see a new threat associated with the involvement of Poland in Iraq, namely the threat of terrorism.



More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *Who can Poland count on, who should Poland be afraid of?*, November 2004. Survey executed in September 2004. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 935.

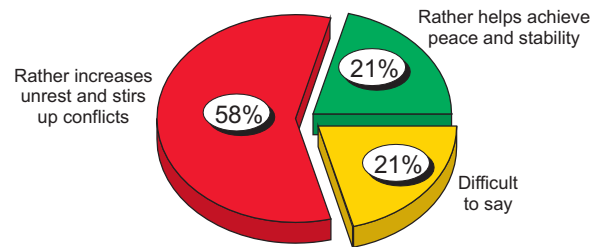
THE POLES ABOUT THE GLOBAL ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Since the demise of the USSR, the United States of America have been the only superpower, and therefore they play a special role in international politics. From the perspective of the fifteen years following the end of the Cold War, the general evaluation of the global role of the United States is rather positive. Over half of the respondents (55%) express ambiguous opinions (they believe that the global role of the United States after the demise of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War is sometimes positive and sometimes negative). However, among the remaining respondents, positive opinions are twice as frequent as negative ones (23% and 11%, respectively).



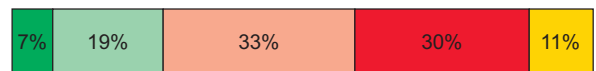
The evaluations of the current politics of the United States are notably more critical. The Poles believe that it stirs up conflicts in the world rather than helps achieve peace and stability. The negative evaluations of the current US politics are obviously instigated by the criticism of the military operation in Iraq.

IN YOUR OPINION, DOES THE CURRENT POLITICS OF THE UNITED STATES HELP TO ACHIEVE PEACE AND STABILITY OR RATHER INCREASE UNREST AND STIR UP CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD?

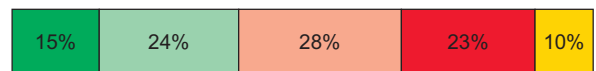


The most respondents believe that the United States should not use their power to solve conflicts between other countries. Interference with the internal affairs of other countries is more acceptable if their governments grossly violate human rights. However, the opinion that the United States should not intervene prevails even in such cases.

IN YOUR OPINION, SHOULD THEY USE THEIR POWER TO SOLVE CONFLICTS BETWEEN OTHER COUNTRIES OR NOT



SHOULD THE USA INTERFERE WITH THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER COUNTRIES IF THEIR GOVERNMENTS USE TERROR, FORCE AND CRUELTY TOWARDS THEIR CITIZENS AND GROSSLY VIOLATE HUMAN RIGHTS?



Legend: ■ Definitely yes ■ Rather yes ■ Rather not ■ Definitely not ■ Difficult to say

More information about this subject can be found in the CBOS report (in Polish): *The Poles about the global role of the United States*, November 2004. Survey executed in September 2004. A representative random sample of adult Poles. N = 935.

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

- ◆ Expenses on the education of children in the new school year
- ◆ Opinions about social dialogue and introduction of workers' councils
- ◆ Shopping - where we shop, what we buy
- ◆ Opinions about the work of public institutions
- ◆ "I don't trust politicians" - the reasons behind declared electoral absenteeism
- ◆ Political party preferences in November
- ◆ The Poles about the proposed reforms of the Parliament and the electoral system
- ◆ Opinions about the labour market and the threat of unemployment in November
- ◆ The attitude to the government and the Prime Minister
- ◆ Social moods in November
- ◆ Opinions about the work of the Parliament and the President
- ◆ Holiday trips of the Poles in 2004
- ◆ Trust in politicians in November

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Yearly subscription rate for "Polish Public Opinion" is 80 USD

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