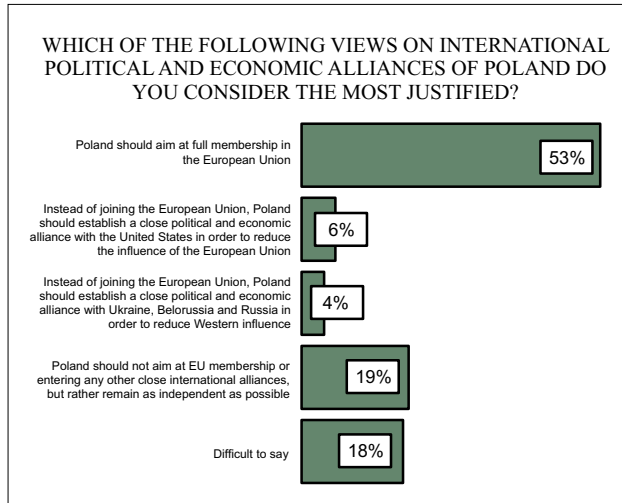


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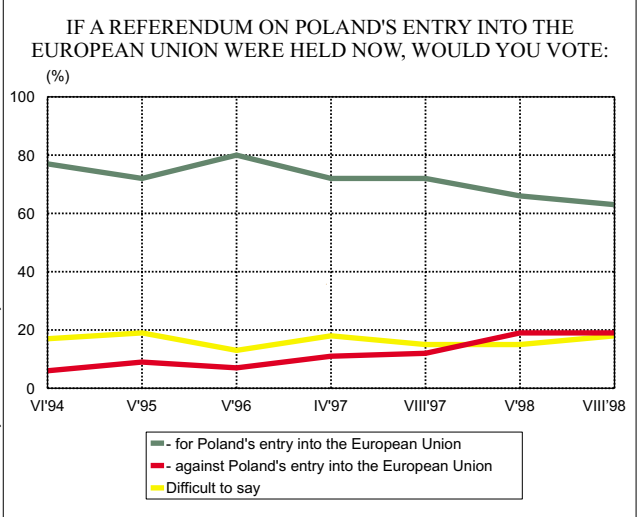
ON THE WAY TO THE EUROPEAN UNION



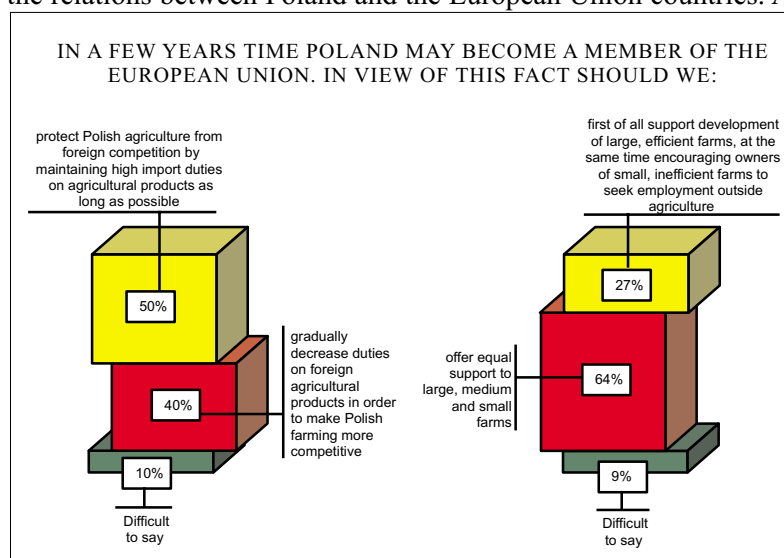
In most Poles opinion, there is no alternative for our country to integration with the European Union. Asked their opinion on the most suitable direction of Polish foreign policy, respondents chose the pro-EU option most frequently. On the other hand, a relatively large number of respondents supported the view that Poland should remain independent rather than enter any close political or economic alliances. The idea that Poland should enter a close political and economic alliance with the USA rather than become a member of the EU was supported by only a small number of respondents. Similarly, the

Eastern option which assumes maintaining a close relationship with our Eastern neighbors has few supporters.

Although a considerable majority of Poles support our entry into the EU, we can observe a decline of social support for integration as time passes and the prospect of our membership in this organization comes closer, and as Poles become increasingly aware of what this will require. As compared with May' 96, when the highest level of acceptance for our entry into the EU was recorded (80%), the number of persons declaring their willingness to vote for our membership in this organisation if a referendum were held has fallen to 63%. This change is accompanied by a change for the worse in our perception of the relations between Poland and the European Union countries.



According to the currently prevailing opinion, our past relations with countries belonging to the EU were more beneficial for those countries than for Poland (39%), while a year ago the largest part of respondents believed that they were of equal benefit to both parties.



The focal point of strong fears connected with Poland's entry into the EU and the area where the distance between us and the fifteen member states is the greatest is agriculture. Despite our

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anxiety about the situation of rural Poland and agriculture after Poland's entry into the EU, respondents are rather conservative in their views, i.e. they opt for defending the interest of Polish farming in its present form. Half of the respondents (50%) believe that domestic agricultural produce should be protected by high import duties on agricultural products, while only two fifths (40%) support gradual abolition of these duties in order to force Polish agriculture to become more competitive. The concept of restructuring agriculture, i.e. supporting the development of large, efficient farms and encouraging owners of small farms to seek employment outside agriculture, has relatively low social support (27%). Generally, the number of respondents convinced that our membership in the EU will be beneficial for city dwellers is much larger (31% of indications) than the number of those who believe that it will improve the situation of Polish countryside significantly.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports: "The level of acceptance for Polish integration into the European Union", September '98; "Agricultural policy in the context of our prospective membership in the European Union", August '98.

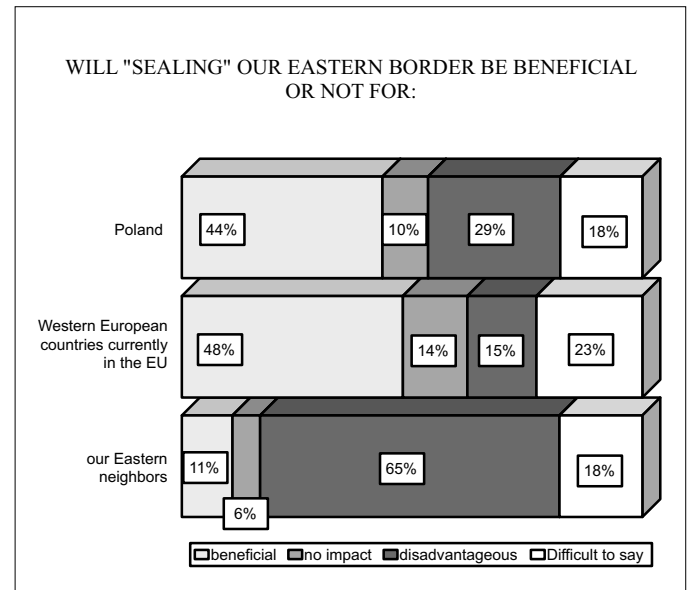
THE IMPLICATIONS OF POLAND'S ENTRY INTO THE EUROPEAN UNION FOR OUR RELATIONS WITH EASTERN NEIGHBORS

As the date of Poland's entry into the EU approaches, our Eastern neighbors become more and more concerned about the perspective of Poland adopting the rules of cross-border traffic binding in the European Union countries. Recently the Minister of Foreign Affairs Bronislaw Geremek addressed the concerns raised by Ukraine and said that Poland will maintain the present privileges for Ukrainians crossing the Polish border as long as possible.

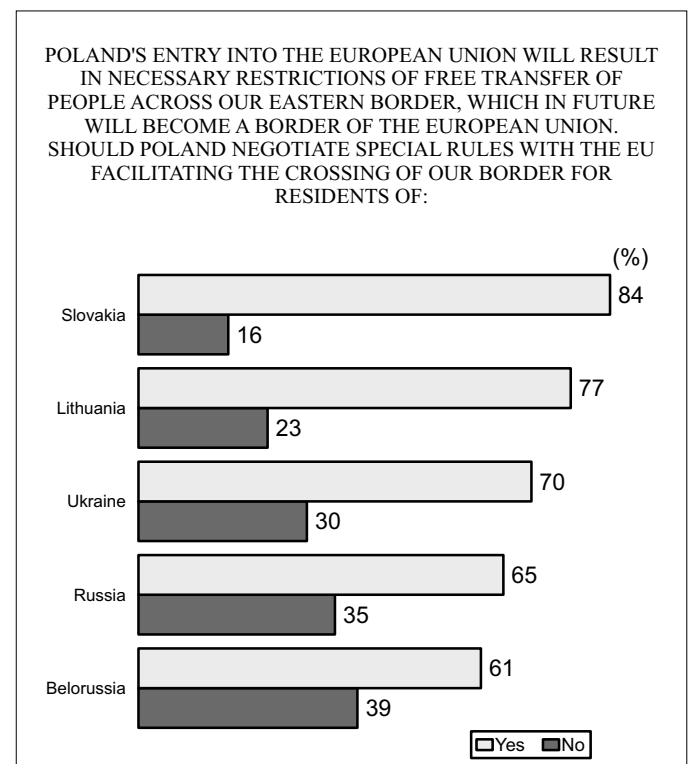
Most respondents are convinced that the fears of our Eastern neighbors are not groundless. Two thirds believe that citizens of the neighboring countries coming to Poland will mainly lose as a result of the introduction of visas and the "sealing" of our Eastern border. On the other hand, almost half of the respondents believe that citizens of the EU countries will benefit from it. Slightly fewer persons believe that it will be beneficial for residents of Poland, too.

The greatest number of persons are convinced that difficulties in moving from one country to another resulting from the introduction of visas will be the most troublesome for borderland residents on both sides and for persons selling and buying goods in markets (65% of indications for each of these categories). Over half of respondents believe that it will be disadvantageous for business people from the former USSR (55%) and for Poles living in those countries (56%). At the same time most respondents believe that the introduction of more severe regulations and stricter border checks will bring positive results as well, namely, it will help reduce the influence of the Mafia and other criminal groups (52%). In the respondents' opinion, Polish business people will be

less affected by the introduction of visas (44%), and average residents of Poland will be the least affected (22%), although (according to respondents) their profits resulting from the introduction of visas will not exceed losses.



According to a considerable majority of respondents, Poland should definitely use its best efforts to ensure that special rules are introduced to make border crossing easier for our neighbors remaining outside the EU. In the opinion of over four fifths of respondents, Poland should try to introduce such rules for residents of Slovakia, three quarters would like them to be introduced for residents of Lithuania and a slightly smaller number - for Ukrainians. Approximately two thirds agree that residents of Russia and Belorussia should also travel freely as far as possible.



Although the opinions presented above to some extent reflect our likes and dislikes for particular nations, the relationship is not as simple as it may seem. In fact only the positions of Slovakia and Lithuania are proportional to their positions on the scale of Poles' sympathy for different nations (Slovaks are liked by 33% of respondents and disliked by 27%; Lithuanians are liked by 29% and disliked by 36%). The opinions on the remaining countries are not as directly proportional to the structure of Poles' likes and dislikes. Ukraine outdistanced both Russia and Belorussia as far as Poles' preferences with regard to border privileges are concerned, although due to certain events in our history, Ukrainians are still one of the least liked nations (they are liked by 11% of Poles and disliked by 64%). These results are worse than in the case of Belorussia and Russia (Belorussians: liked by 16%, disliked by 50%; Russians: liked by 16%, disliked by 57%). Poles seem to believe that regardless of painful past experiences affecting individual feelings, good relations with Ukraine should be one of our strategic goals and these involve special privileges facilitating the crossing of our border by individuals.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "The Eastern border of Poland as a border of the European Union - the expected results of the changes", September '98.

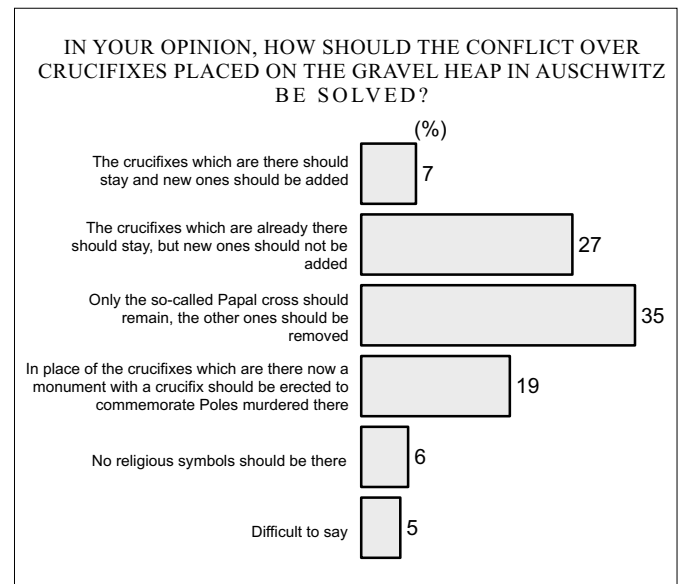
THE PRESENCE OF CRUCIFIXES IN AUSCHWITZ

For a few years now, the issue of the presence of Christian religious symbols in the vicinity of the concentration camp in Auschwitz has caused strong emotions and criticism in Jewish circles. The conflict has its roots in different traditions connected with cemeteries and burial grounds. Christians commemorate their dead by placing a crucifix on the grave, while Jews do not accept any symbols of religious faith on graves. Moreover, the presence of symbols of any other religion is unacceptable for them, because they cannot pray in such a place.

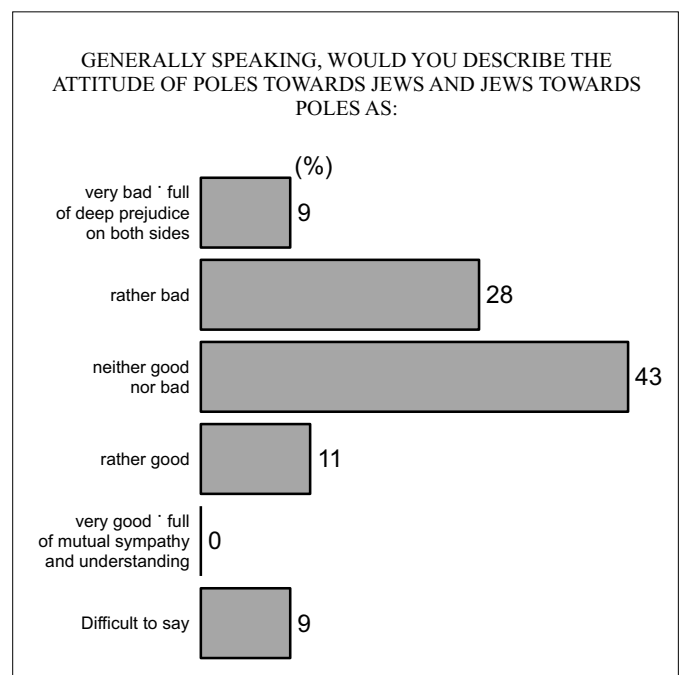
Unfortunately, requests and demands made by representatives of various Jewish groups have escalated over a few years, because when some of them had been satisfied (e.g. all religious symbols had been removed from the camp area), it did not put an end to the conflict. On the contrary, more and more new demands were made. This escalation caused a reaction among extremists on the Polish side, who started placing crucifixes on the so-called gravel heap a field outside the camp area where Nazis killed prisoners of the camp (including Jews and Poles). The action, as understood by people who initiated it, was aimed at defending the so-called Papal cross placed there in early 1980s. The Jewish side demanded that it should be removed.

According to our survey, the action of placing crucifixes on the gravel heap in Auschwitz has little support among Poles. Most respondents share the opinion that no more crucifixes should be brought there and the protesters (those who protest on the gravel heap against the removal of crucifixes) should obey the decision of the Church in this matter. However, a larger part of

respondents wish that the so-called Papal cross stays there. One in five respondents would prefer a monument commemorating Poles who were murdered there, with a crucifix as a part of it. Only one in sixteen respondents opts for removing all religious symbols from the gravel heap.



In the opinion of over half of respondents (52%), Poles have the right to decide by themselves how the former concentration camp and its surroundings should be arranged, but due to the specific character of the place they should take into account the international opinion and show respect for the religious feelings of others. One in three respondents (34%) believes that the above mentioned right of Poles is unconditional and the opinions of others need not be considered. Only one in twenty (5%) shares the opinion that the Israeli government and international Jewish organizations have the right to demand the removal of the crucifixes from the area surrounding the camp.



Opinions on the conflict over the crucifixes do not show any relation to the respondents' attitude to religious practices or their political party preferences. Therefore we may conclude that this conflict is not seen by respondents as the defence of the Cross, i.e. a kind of religious crusade, but rather as a result of actions taken by extremists in order to stimulate it. The way the conflict is understood is not connected with the diagnosis of Polish-Jewish relations either, because this diagnosis does not differentiate opinions on how this conflict should be solved.

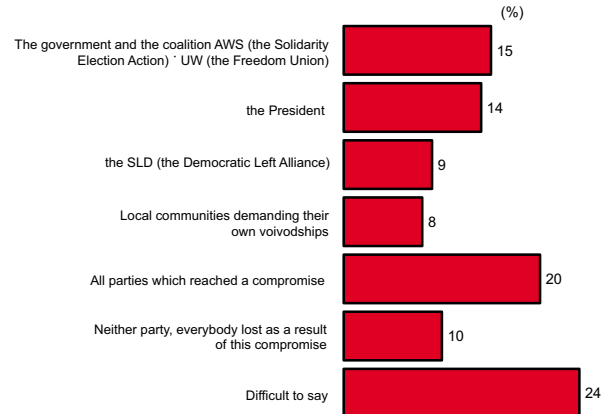
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report: "Poles on the crucifixes in Auschwitz", August '98.

POLITICAL RESULTS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORM

The Parliament has recently approved the new territorial division of the state into 16 voivodships and around 300 counties (powiat). In connection with this new territorial division of Poland a real political battle took place. The government did not manage to win support for its original concept of 12 large voivodships (approximately the size of German lands) and eventually it was forced to compromise and take into account the ambitions of a few smaller regional centers supported by the opposition and the President. However, in the opinion of Poles, who seem tired of the lengthy dispute over the number and territorial shape of voivodships, the concessions made by the government do not mean its defeat. As far as different political bodies are concerned, the government along with the President were most frequently indicated as political beneficiaries of this battle, although according to the largest group of respondents all political forces which reached a compromise and found a common way to put the reform into practice are winners.

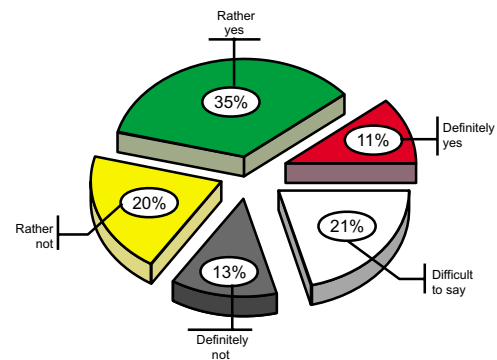
Interestingly enough, the supporters of different groupings usually indicate the other side of the political scene as the winner, i.e., as we may suppose, they believe that the grouping they support has made more concessions than its political opponent.

IN YOUR OPINION, WHO CAN REGARD THE APPROVAL OF THE DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY INTO 16 VOIVODSHIPS AS FIRST AND FOREMOST THEIR POLITICAL VICTORY?



Almost half of Poles accept the adopted division of the country into 16 voivodships, although their acceptance is rather moderate. A considerable majority accept the division of the country into counties (powiat), too. The number of those dissatisfied with the county where their place of residence will be located is small.

IN YOUR OPINION, WAS THE FINAL DECISION TO DIVIDE OUR COUNTRY INTO 16 VOIVODSHIPS GOOD?



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report: "Political aspects of the administrative reform of the country", September '98.

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

- Opinions on the social insurance reform
- Elections to the local self-government
- Opinions on the government and political institutions
- Opinions on farmers' protests
- Readiness to participate in the second and third pillar of social insurance. Expectations from capital pension funds
- Savings and spending in the middle of the summer
- The Sejm of the III term in the public opinion
- Expectations from the law
- Talking politics

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