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POLES ON NATO INTERVENTION IN YUGOSLAVIA

NATO is still attacking Yugoslavia from the air. More than six weeks after the air raids began Poles' support for this military action is still high. However, the long-lasting tragedy of the Yugoslavian people as well as tragic mistakes resulting in the deaths of civilians were probably the factors that contributed to a minimal increase in the percentage of persons who consider the intervention to be unjustified.

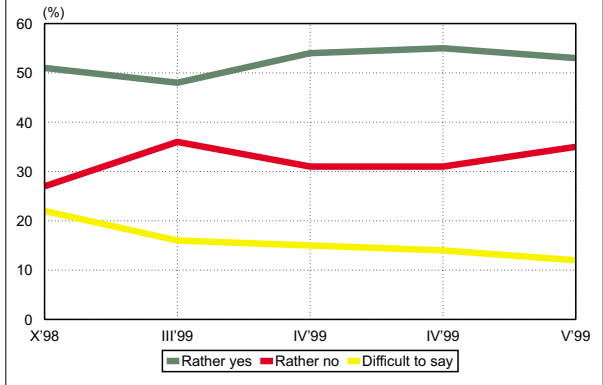
The attitude to the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia depends on political views of a respondent the most. The support among persons who identify themselves with the right reaches 70% and remains more or less stable. On the other hand, the acceptance of this intervention among respondents declaring left-wing views has recently fallen from 60% to 49%.

As compared to the end of April, the percentage of respondents who believe that the NATO land forces should be sent to Kosovo has not changed. At the same time, the opposition to the possible participation of Polish soldiers in such action has increased a little.

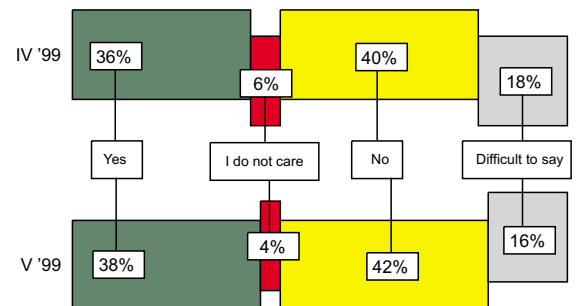
NATO was established as a military alliance and, despite all the discussion on the adaptation of its strategy to the new international situation, it still is one. The intervention in Yugoslavia is a precedent, because it is the first time that NATO started a military action outside the borders of any of its member states. We asked our respondents under what circumstances they would regard direct intervention of the NATO armed forces as justified.

Greatest support would be given if NATO started intervention in defence of one of its member states which has been attacked. In such circumstances 69% of respondents would regard intervention as justified, compared to 7% who even then would regard it as unjustified. Most respondents also support military intervention in a country where human rights are drastically violated (as it is the case in Yugoslavia) - 51% of respondents expressed their unconditional support and 16% expressed their objection. Similarly, the number of respondents who are for military action by NATO in defence of the economic and political

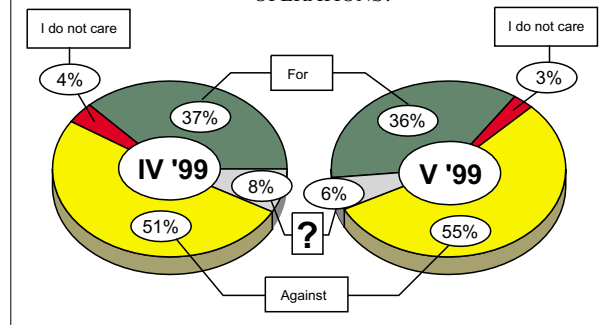
IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE ARMED INTERVENTION OF NATO STATES IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONFLICT BETWEEN SERBS AND ALBANIANS IN KOSOVO THE RIGHT DECISION OR NOT?



IN YOUR OPINION, IF NATO ACTIONS DO NOT PUT AN END TO THE CONFLICT IN KOSOVO, SHOULD NATO SEND LAND FORCES THERE OR NOT?



IF NATO DECIDED TO START MILITARY OPERATIONS IN KOSOVO WITH THE USE OF LAND FORCES, WOULD YOU BE FOR OR AGAINST THE PARTICIPATION OF POLISH SOLDIERS IN THESE OPERATIONS?



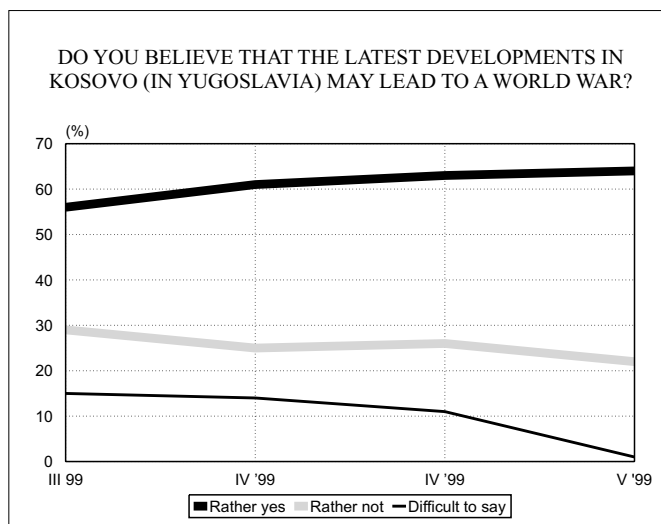
rights are drastically violated (as it is the case in Yugoslavia) - 51% of respondents expressed their unconditional support and 16% expressed their objection. Similarly, the number of respondents who are for military action by NATO in defence of the economic and political

interests of member states is higher than the number of those who object to it. On the other hand, opinion is divided in the case of a military intervention in defence of a country which is not a NATO member (e.g. if Yugoslavia attacked Albania). In such circumstances 27% express their unconditional support for the intervention, compared to 29% who are against.

Poles fully sympathise with the victims of ethnic cleansing who have been deported from Kosovo. A vast majority of respondents think that our country should admit some of the refugees (73%).

There is common support among respondents for giving material aid to the refugees from Kosovo in the form of sending food, medicines, personal hygiene articles and clothes to the countries which have admitted the refugees. Over three quarters (77%) of respondents think that Poland should give this kind of support using all the available resources, both public and private. Nearly one fifth (18%) believe that such aid should be based exclusively on voluntary donations and the state should not pay for it.

Immediately after the first NATO air raids on Yugoslavia over half of Poles were afraid that the events in Kosovo may lead to a world war. Recently the fears that the conflict may spread into other countries have grown.



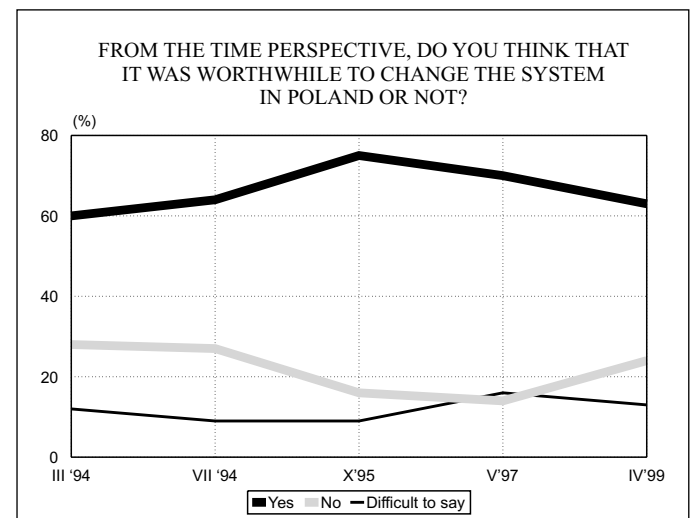
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports: "The attitude to the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia three weeks after its beginning", "Humanitarian help for refugees from Kosovo", April '99; "Opinions on NATO intervention in Yugoslavia", "The attitude to NATO intervention in Yugoslavia", May '99.

THOSE WHO WON AND THOSE WHO LOST - OPINIONS ON CHANGES AFTER 1989

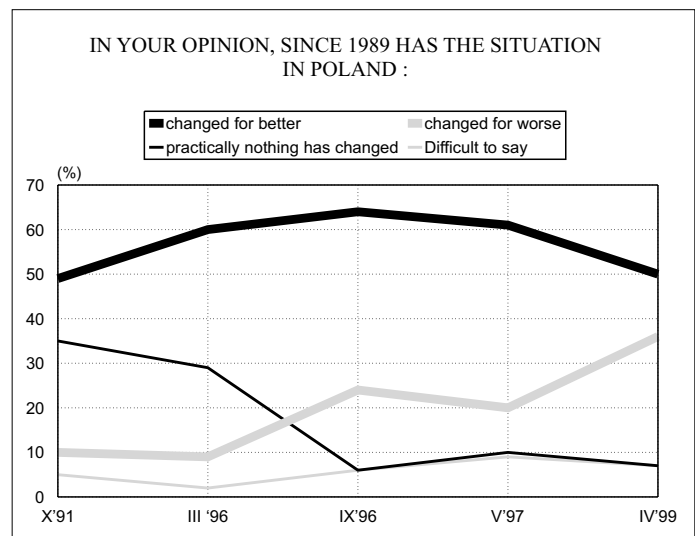
It will soon be ten years since the parliamentary elections which contributed to the complete change of political situation not only in Poland, but indirectly also in the whole of Eastern and Central Europe. At first the transition from real socialism to democracy and market economy met with general social support. With time, however, when the memories of the reality of every-day

life in communist Poland (the PRL) began to fade as new problems started to appear, this support has decreased a little. The most widespread positive opinion on the political and economic changes that began in 1989 was observed in the mid 1990s. At present Poles are less enthusiastic about them, which is probably also connected with the generally lower moods and a difficult situation of certain occupational groups. On the whole, however, it does not seem that anybody would really prefer that the transformation had not taken place.

The vast majority of respondents believe that it was worthwhile to change the system. Moreover, in the opinion of a majority of those polled the effects of changes both in the country as a whole and in the place where they live are positive.

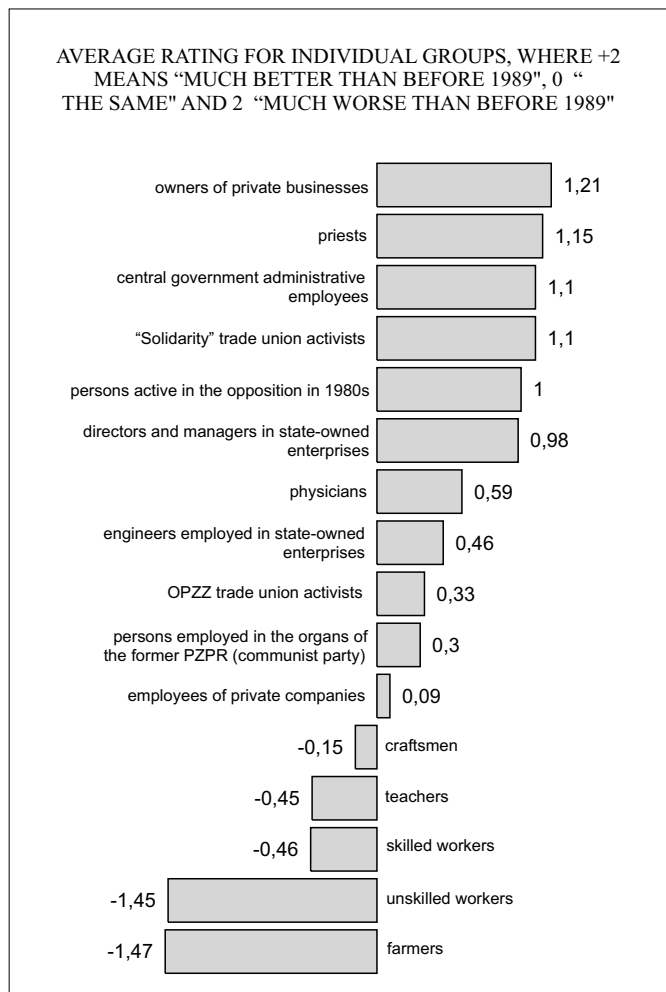


The cost of the reform is the only factor that respondents have mixed feelings about. The number of persons who believe that, to date, these changes have brought more losses than profits to most Poles (34%) is a little higher than the number of those who think that from the perspective of the country as a whole benefits prevail (24%).



It seems that in the respondents' opinion the distance between those who are already taking advantage of the effects of the reform and those to whom these effects

are still hardly available is growing. Although in the respondents' opinion most socio-occupational groups have gained after 1989, the disadvantageous position of those who have lost is more and more evident. In the opinion of the vast majority of respondents, the beneficiaries of the transformation are first and foremost owners of private businesses, priests and those who work in the central government administration. Lately also the "Solidarity" trade union activists are mentioned among those who have gained the most. On the other hand, farmers and unskilled workers are almost generally regarded as the groups which have lost the most as a result of the transformation. According to respondents, the situation of self-employed craftsmen has not improved, either.



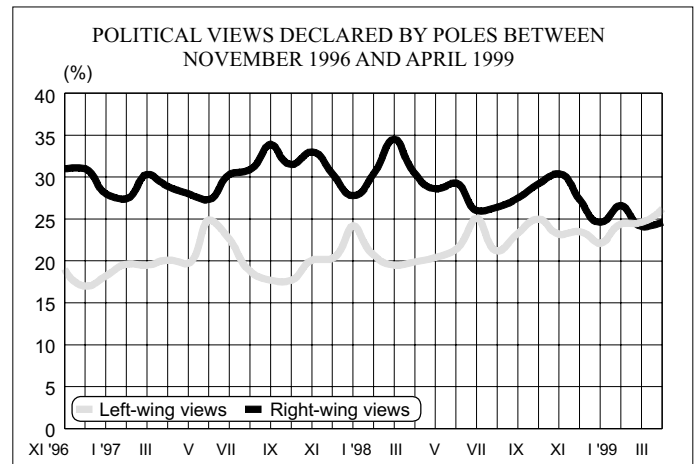
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Opinions on changes after 1989", May '99.

A TURN TO THE LEFT?

It is obvious that during a radical restructuring of the state and an economic transformation, when it is necessary to take unpopular decisions, the successive governments pay for power by losing people's support for the views with which these governments are identified. This factor, along with the phenomenon of the election pendulum, which is normal in a democracy, contributes to

the decrease of support for the political views identified with the ruling political option, which has been observed in the last two years.

Over the last months we have observed a decrease in the popularity of right-wing political views and a growing number of left-wing declarations. In April, after several months of domination by right-wing views, respondents declaring left-wing views slightly outnumbered those who declared their support for the right. One fourth of Poles identify themselves with the left, one fourth declare their support for the right and a similar percentage place themselves in the centre or are unable to define their political views.



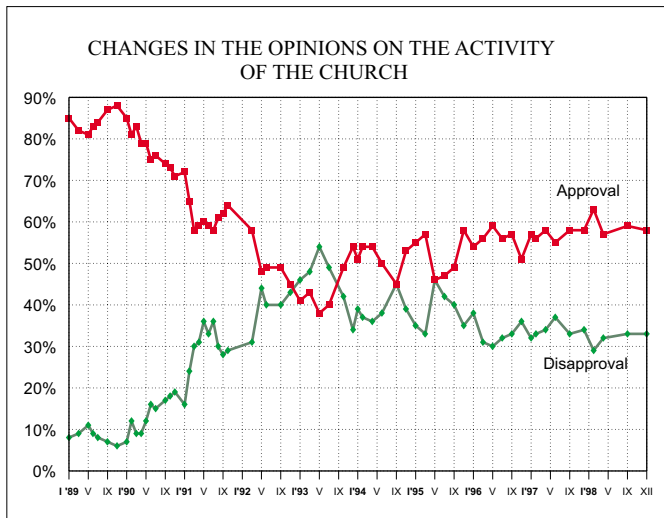
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report: "Political views of Poles - changes and regional differences" and "Support for political groupings in new voivodships", April '99.

THE CHURCH IN POST-COMMUNIST POLAND

In the PRL (communist Poland) the Roman Catholic Church was, most of the time, the only institution where opinions and views independent of the state authorities could be manifested publicly. It was the only formal institution where national traditions could be cultivated independently of the state authorities. It also played the role of a representative of social interest before the government. For these reasons in the late PRL and at the beginning of the post-communist period the Church enjoyed almost universal respect and was one of the most reputable institutions taking part in social life.

However, as early as in mid 1990, when the representatives of the Church became involved in ideological disputes and, indirectly, in political arguments, approval of the Church started to decrease. This tendency lasted until May 1993. The lowest ever opinions on the Church as an institution were recorded during the first stage of the transformation, in the period of many political tensions from January to July 1993. It seems that it was primarily an effect of the discussion on the ideological shape of our country, including the relations between the state and the Church, that was taking place at that time. The teaching of religion at public schools was at that time a very controversial issue. The problem of legal regulations

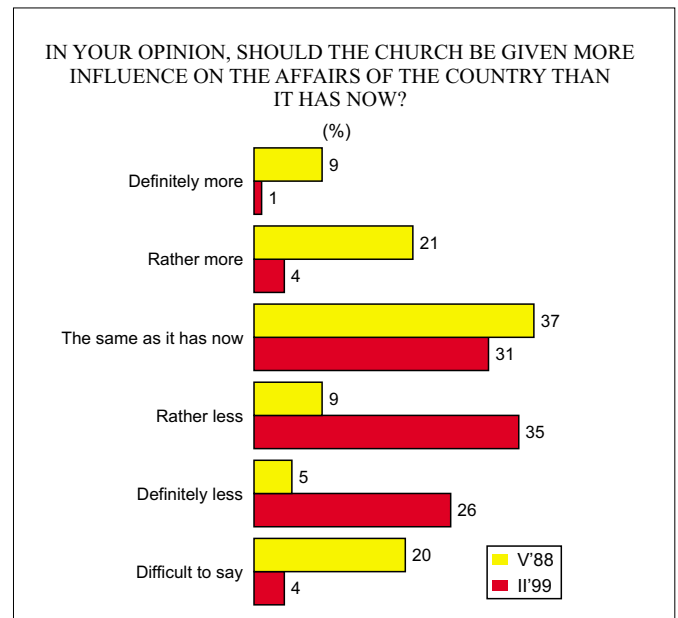
concerning abortion was also the subject of many recurring disputes. The involvement of various representatives of the Church in politics, perceived as excessive, undoubtedly also had an effect on the degradation of the public image of the Church.



In the period from the 1993 elections won by the left until September 1995 the level of acceptance of the Church was a little higher, although the opinions on its activities fluctuated depending on the contemporary socio-political situation. Since November 1995, opinions on the activity of the Church have stabilised. Over half of respondents express a positive opinion on the functioning of the Roman Catholic Church as an institution. More or less one in three respondents has a negative attitude to the Church.

As compared to the period before the transformation, the percentage of respondents who believe that the Church has a very significant influence on the affairs of the country has increased considerably. At present over two thirds of respondents share this view, while eleven years ago only two fifths expressed this

opinion. The perceived increase of the influence of the Church on the affairs of the country is associated with a change of attitude towards its presence in public life. Before 1989 most Poles wanted to preserve or even increase the influence of the Church on the affairs of the country. Nowadays, on the contrary, most respondents would prefer its influence to be reduced.



The postulated reduction of influence concerns first of all the political sphere, much more than other spheres of life. Relatively few persons notice any areas which in their opinion would require greater involvement on the part of the Church (25%). The most frequently mentioned ones are social care and education of children and adolescents.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "The Church in post-communist Poland", May '99.

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

- "Social assessment of democracy and political institutions"
- "Young people's opinions on economic changes"
- "Expectations from pension funds"
- "Pension funds - decisions and choices"
- "Perception of conflicts in our society"
- "Opinions on taxes and spending from the state budget"
- "Tax settlements for the year 1998"
- "Opinions on privatisation and reprivatisation"
- "Durable consumer goods in households"

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