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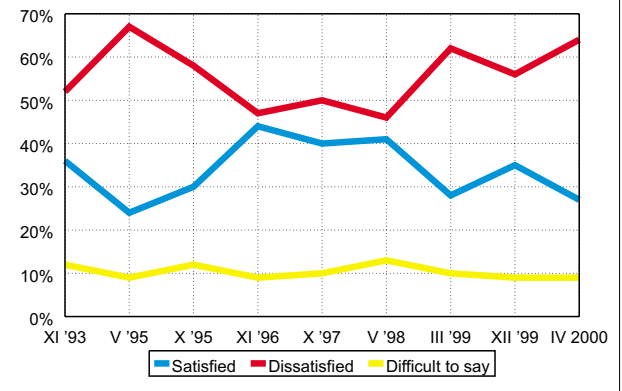
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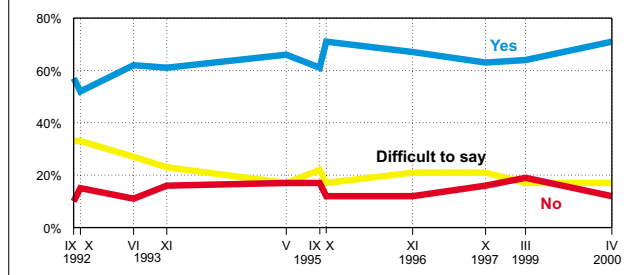
OPINIONS ON DEMOCRACY

Most Poles are not satisfied with the current functioning of democracy. The level of satisfaction with democracy is to a large extent associated with the general evaluation of the situation in the country. The views on the functioning of democracy change in line with the respondents' material standard of living. The better the respondents evaluate their financial situation, the more frequently they declare satisfaction with democracy. On the other hand, there are no clear relationships between the evaluation of democracy and other indicators of social position, such as education, socio-occupational status and the place of residence. The evaluation of the functioning of democracy is, however, connected with political views. Persons with right-wing views declare satisfaction much more frequently than those with left-wing views.

ARE YOU GENERALLY SATISFIED OR DISSATISFIED WITH THE FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRACY IN OUR COUNTRY?



DO YOU AGREE THAT DEMOCRACY IS THE BEST FORM OF GOVERNMENT?

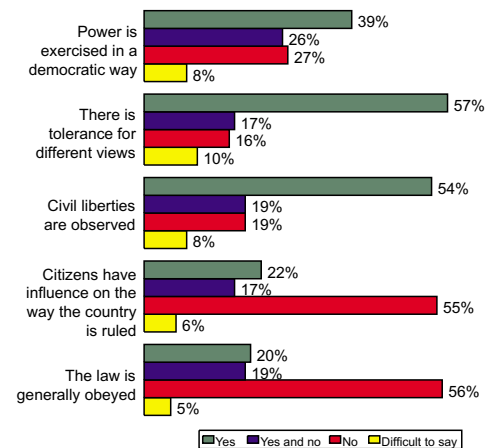


satisfaction with democracy changes with political and economic situation, the support for it as for the ideal political system remains much more stable and even tends slightly to grow in times when the satisfaction declines. It may be supposed that Polish citizens see democracy as a remedy for negative political tendencies rather than as a cause of them. That may partly result from a particular meaning of democracy.

Poles regard equality before the law as the most important characteristic of democracy (83% of respondents indicated it as very important). Approximately three quarters of respondents also mentioned the following as very important characteristics of democracy: protection of the citizens' personal freedom, selection of the best people to rule the country, ensuring equal educational chances for all young people, financing health service, science and culture by the state, guaranteed minimum standard of living for the poorest citizens. The characteristics regarded by political scientists as formal criteria that a political system must satisfy to be a democracy, such as the rule of the law, freedom of expression, freedom of organisation and representation of the citizens' interests by members of parliament, are

Public support for democracy as for the best form of government is much stronger in Poland than the satisfaction with the current functioning of democratic institutions. Since the midst of the decade, the support for democracy in general is expressed by 2/3 to 3/4 of the respondents, i.e. many more than those satisfied with the Polish democracy as it is in practice. Moreover, while

WOULD YOU SAY THAT NOW IN OUR COUNTRY:



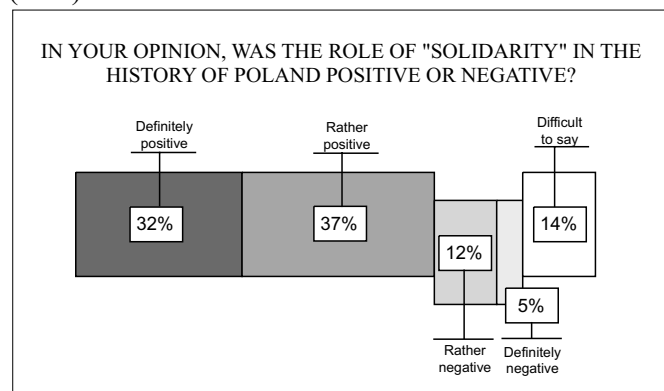
very important for over two-thirds of respondents. Only half of respondents regard the following as very important characteristics of democracy: the possibility to make a choice between the programmes of different political parties, active participation of citizens in political life and delegation of powers by the state to local self-government and to social organisations. It is interesting that the characteristics of both liberal political systems (the lowest possible degree of state intervention in the economy and social life) and collectivist or even authoritarian system (subordination of an individual to the will of the majority and limitation of the rights of an individual in order to protect the interest of the society) are seen as the least important elements of the definition of democracy.

Different aspects of democratic social relations in Poland are evaluated very differently. Political tolerance for different opinions as well as civil liberties are evaluated much better than people's influence on the government and law obedience.

More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Evaluation of the Polish democracy", August 2000.

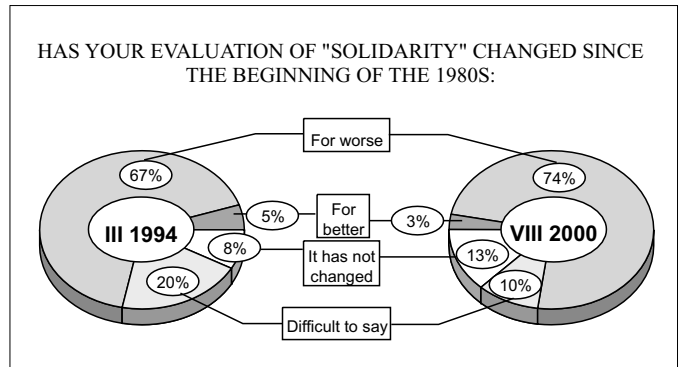
"SOLIDARITY" AFTER TWENTY YEARS

It has just been twenty years since "Solidarity" was officially registered as the first trade union independent of the government in a communist country. This first crack in the state-socialist system initiated the process of its dismantlement in Poland. A long-term result of that was the demolition of the whole so-called "socialist" political bloc and the political destruction as well as the national disintegration of its main power, the USSR. Most Poles have no doubts about the positive historical role of "Solidarity". Both former (81%) and present (96%) members of this trade union have a positive opinion on this role. Also a majority of their political opponents, former members of the PZPR (the Polish communist party), now share the same opinion (72%).

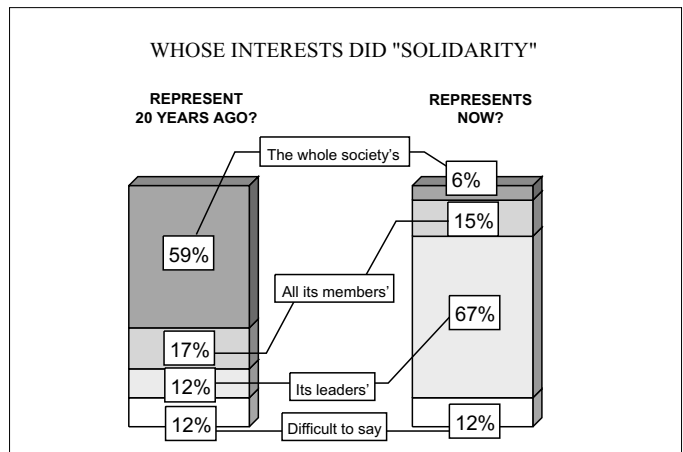


However, the positive role played by "Solidarity" in the past is not sufficient to guarantee a positive evaluation for that trade union now. At present, three quarters of respondents share the opinion that the union has changed for worse over the last twenty years. During last years, i.e. in the period after the right-wing

political groups united under the auspices of "Solidarity" has formed the present government, the percentage of respondents disappointed with the new image of "Solidarity" has grown significantly.



Most respondents share the view that in the years 1980-1981 "Solidarity" was a school of democracy, a movement that tried to express the common interests of the whole society and defend them. On the other hand, today's "Solidarity" is seen as an organisation that primarily serves the interests of different groups within its own leadership. It is interesting that this opinion prevails among all respondents irrespective of their political views, although of course with varying frequency.

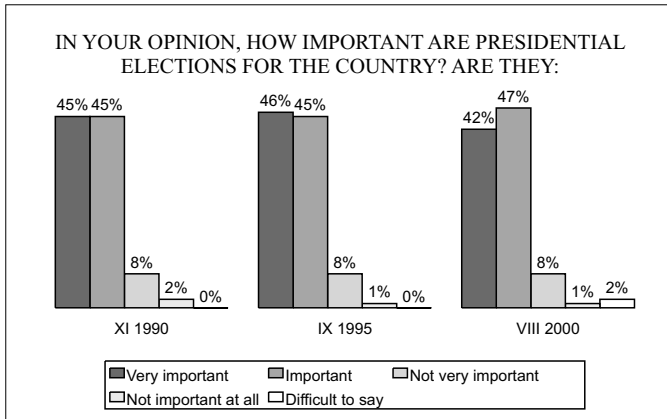


More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Twenty years of 'Solidarity'", August 2000.

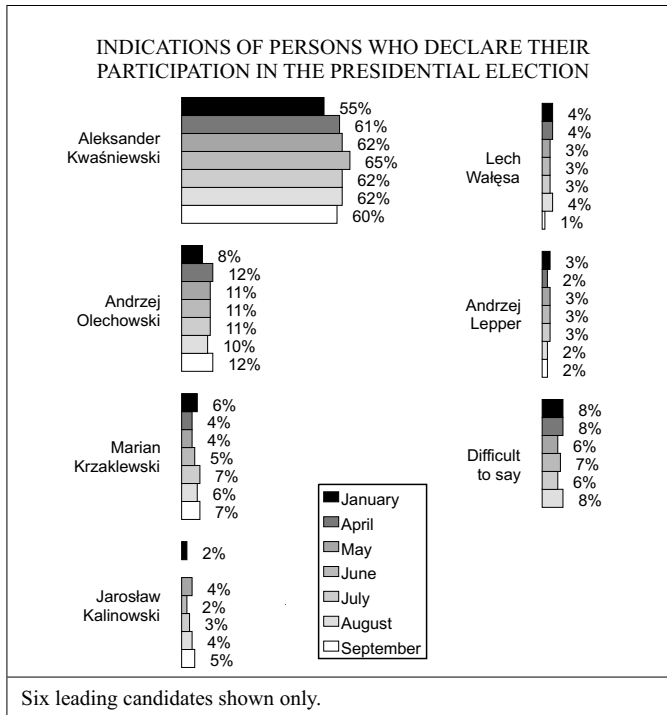
PREFERENCES OF POLES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The presidential election will be held in Poland in just one month. The State Election Committee has officially registered thirteen candidates who submitted the required 100 thousand supporters' signatures each.

The evaluation of the importance of presidential elections by respondents has practically remained unchanged during the last ten years. Before the first election in 1990, in 1995 and now a definite majority of respondents said that the presidential election was a very important event both for the country and for themselves as individuals. In August 73% of respondents declared that they will definitely take part in the election to be held this autumn.

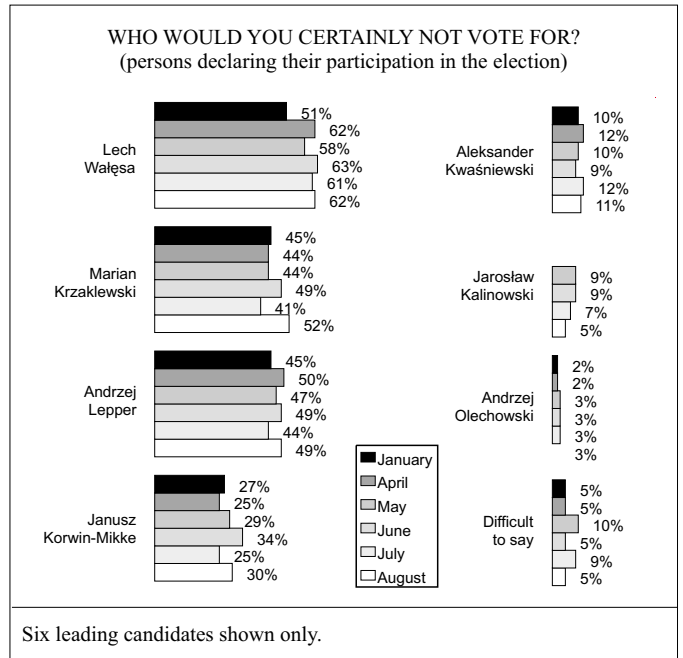


About two-thirds of potential voters want to vote for the current President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. The results obtained by other candidates are far from that. The next position is occupied by Andrzej Olechowski - the former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Finance in previous cabinets, running for the office as an independent candidate. One in ten respondents declares the support for Mr Olechowski. The current "Solidarity" leader Marian Krzaklewski, who is the candidate of the ruling party (the AWS), has the support of only 6% of potential voters. The PSL (Polish Peasant Party) leader Jarosław Kalinowski and the former President Lech Wałęsa are supported by 4% of potential voters each. The support for the remaining candidates is negligible. The preferences have changed only slightly since the beginning of the year.



Lech Wałęsa has the best-established negative image in the minds of voters. Almost two-fifths of respondents declare that they would not vote for the ex-president under any circumstances. The perception of Marian Krzaklewski as a presidential candidate two months before the election does not seem favourable, either. Over half of voters do not want to vote for him. Almost half of voters also say that they would not vote for Andrzej Lepper.

Almost three quarters of respondents (72%) point to Aleksander Kwaśniewski as the unquestionable winner of this election. If the result of the election was the same as that of the August opinion poll, the second round would not be held, because Aleksander Kwaśniewski would take over half of all votes.

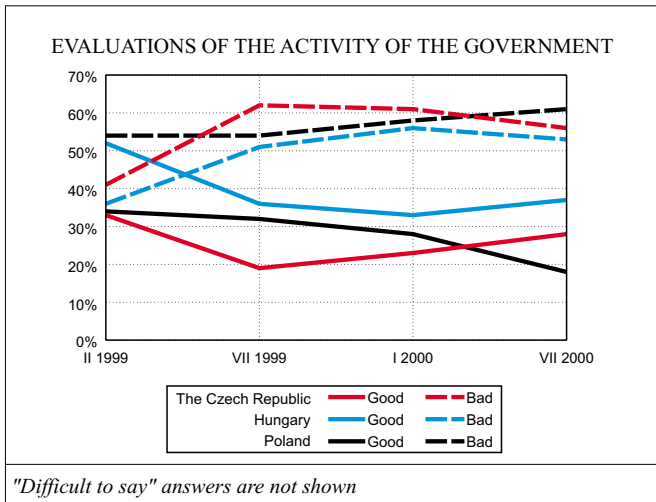


Six leading candidates shown only.

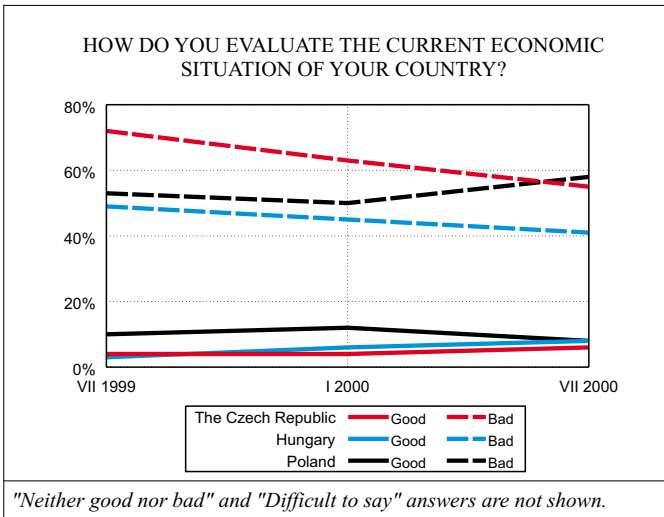
More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS reports: "Support for candidates in the presidential elections in the first decade of August", "Presidential candidates and their chances to win the election - certainty of support, election alternatives, negative electorates", "The interest in the election and the level of support for presidential candidates", August 2000, "Voting preferences a month before the election", September 2000.

THE CZECH REPUBLIC, POLAND AND HUNGARY OPINIONS ON THE GOVERNMENT AND THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The three societies of the Visegrad Group express critical opinions on those who rule their countries. The Hungarian government is evaluated the highest, although even in that country over half of respondents expressed negative opinions about its functioning. The cabinets in the Czech Republic and, especially, in Poland are evaluated even worse. The governments are criticised irrespective of the political option they represent. The present government of the Czech Republic has been formed by the social democratic party, while Poland and Hungary are ruled by coalitions of parties that identify themselves with the right. Some differences can be noticed in the dynamics of the evaluations of the governments. The ratings of the left-wing government of Milos Zeman in the Czech Republic have recently improved, while in Poland we can speak of a growing crisis in the social perception of Jerzy Buzek's government over the last year.



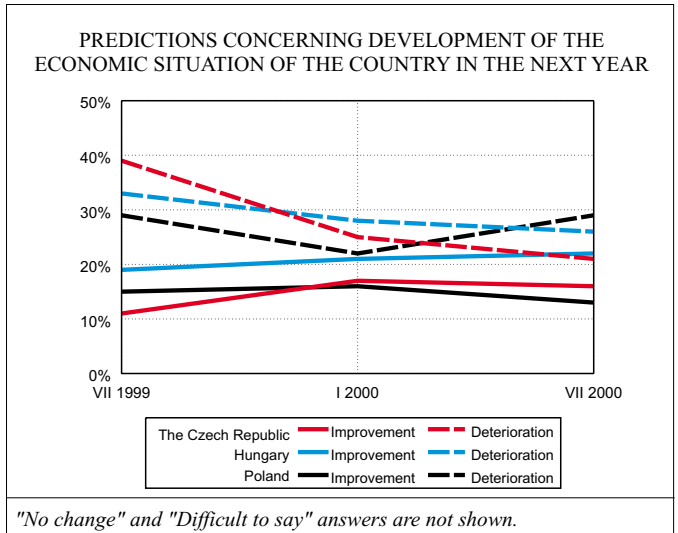
Not only the governments are criticised in the three countries, but also the opposition. The right-wing opposition in the Czech Republic is criticised the most, but also the left-wing opposition in Hungary and Poland is evaluated negatively by most of the society.



Asked to evaluate living conditions of their household, the Czechs (52%), Hungarians (53%) and Poles (49%) most frequently described them as average neither good nor bad. However, in Hungary and Poland, other respondents expressed negative opinions much

more often than positive ones (38% : 9% in Hungary and 32% : 19% in Poland, respectively). Only in the Czech Republic there is a balance between negative and positive opinions. Projections concerning changes in the standard of living are also rather pessimistic. Hungarians and Poles are the most pessimistic in this respect.

Although only a small percentage of Polish, Czech and Hungarian respondents evaluate the economic situation of their country as good, the opinions on the condition of the national economy differ rather considerably from country to country. In Poland and the Czech Republic negative evaluations prevail - they significantly outnumber both positive and ambivalent opinions. On the other hand, in Hungary the prevailing opinion is that the economic situation of the country is average neither good nor bad. In the Czech Republic and Hungary a systematic improvement of economic moods can be observed. The evaluations of the present economic situation and the forecasts for its future development improve. At the same time, the views on the economic prospects for the nearest future remain in Poland as negative as in 1999.



More information on this subject can be found in the CBOS report "Evaluations of the activity of the government and the opposition in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary", "evaluations of the economic situation and material conditions of living in Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary", August 2000.

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

- Opinions on professional honesty and integrity
- The ethics of political elites
- The problem of vetting of presidential candidates
- Social moods in August
- The attitude to the law on denationalisation of property (enfranchisement)
- Poles on the threats associated with devastation of the natural environment
- Purchases made and planned
- Opinions on the activity of the government, Parliament, the Presidential office and the Vetting Court

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