

EWA GANOWICZ

*An Overview of Attitude Towards Selected Aspects of Electoral  
Programs of Polish Political Groups Taking Part in the 2014  
Elections to the European Parliament*

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ABSTRACT

Elections to the European Parliament (EP), because of its role in establishing the legal order in member states of the European Union (EU), should become increasingly crucial among all the direct elections in which Poles participate in our country's political system. But the results of analyses carried out by various research institutions indicate that, in Polish public opinion, the elections to the EP are the least important in terms of the meaning they have for Poles. Since the start of their organization, these elections have consistently come second (in terms of significance) to domestic elections – Presidential, Parliamentary, and local.

Yet these elections, for many reasons, were actually the most important of all European elections so far. The following paper is an attempt at answering the question of importance of the issues of Polish membership in the EU, EU's functioning and policy, economic and some selected socio-cultural (especially moral and religious) problems. To answer that question, there was made an analysis of the program documents of all parties participating in the 2014 elections to the EP, as well as of party leaders' statements, mostly posted on the Internet (i.e. on the political groups' websites). The analysis was conducted taking into consideration three areas:

- Political – expansion of the Eurozone into Poland, the possibility of blocking treaties by particular member countries, a common EU foreign policy, the idea of “European solidarity”, the assessment of the integration process, and potential sanctions to be placed by the EU on Russia;
- Economic – commercialization and privatization of the health care system, the problem of government interference in the economy, environmental protection at the cost of economic development, decreasing expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis, and employee redundancies;
- Moral-religious – the possibility of legalizing unions by homosexual couples, the legalization of abortion and marijuana for personal use, the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays, the introduction of sexual education into schools, the separation of church and state by removing religious symbols from the public sphere, as well as the impossibility of financing churches through public funds.

**Key words:** political science, party system, political parties, political programs, European Parliament 2014 elections

## INTRODUCTION

According to the decision of the European Council of 14 June 2013, on 22–25 May 2014, in the 28 EU countries, elections to the European Parliament for the VIII parliamentary term (2014–2019) were conducted [European Council Decision of 28 June 2013 establishing the composition of the European Parliament O.J L 181, 29/06/2013 P. 0057-0058 213/312/EU]. In Poland, where, since 2004, such an event constitutes a permanent part of the calendar of political events, election took place for the third time. Thus, although it was not a debut, it is still a relatively new experience in the ten-year history of the state as a member of the European Union.

Since 1979, every 5 years, EU citizens elect their representatives to the European Parliament which, in accordance with Article 10 of the Treaty on European Union, expresses their will (unlike the Council, which represents the member states), thus ensuring participation in decision-making organization, in accordance with the rules of democracy being a fundamental principle of the Union.

The complex nature of the European Union and the location, role and functioning of the Parliament as a transnational body, affect the specific nature of elections. From the very beginning, they are the subject of scientific discussions and various analyzes. This phenomenon, only because of the huge electorate (more than 500 million people) and the number of the participating political parties is fascinating, however, other features of the elections at this level determine their uniqueness as well.

In the literature they are called the “second order” elections (although this “secondary” character is increasingly weakening) [Trechsel 2009: 4], according to the terms presented in Karlheinz Reif and Hermann Schmitt’s studies conducted after the first election [Trechsel 2009: 3]. They play only a complementary/supplementary role in relation to national elections, and are considered a kind of test before the next elections. This is due to many causes, including complex structure of the EU, which must decentralize the debates by moving them to the nation-states. On the other hand, among others, the scope of activities of the European Parliament, which deals with matters unlikely to require broader social participation [Tosiek 2006: 82]. Thus, typical for the European elections is the focus of political programs on national issues and the marginalization of European ones, which are placed too far away from the citizens to be identified with them. Therefore, it is natural that interest in voting is low, resulting in lower than in national elections participation. Moreover, voters rather assess the ruling party by giving them support or not. Here, smaller and newly established parties have a chance to succeed.

This analysis, carried out over 30 years ago, still appears to be adequate, despite the changes in the Union and strengthened role of the European Parliament. Democracy at the supranational level, seems to be much more complicated in practical application. The turnout in the next election falls (from almost 62% in 1979 to a record low level of 42.54% in 2014). However, in the last two classes only insignificantly (42.97% in 2009) [<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/election-results-2009.html>],

and awareness of the importance of participation continues to increase due to the visible effects of the activities of the Parliament. Most EU citizens recognize participation in elections to the European Parliament as the best way to ensure the opportunity to be heard by EU decision makers – almost six out of ten EU citizens believe that the right to vote in the European elections is the best way to ensure the opportunity to be heard by EU decision-makers [*Eurobarometr dla Parlamentu Europejskiego EB/PE 77.4 Europejczycy na dwa lata przed wyborami europejskimi w 2014 r.*, Bruksela, dnia 20 sierpnia 2012 r.] [European Parliament Eurobarometer Report EB/PE 77.4 Europeans two years prior to the 2014 EP elections, Brussels, 20 August 2012].

As already mentioned, in Poland, the European Parliament elections were held three times – in 2004 (less than a few weeks after the accession), 2009 and 2014. Each of them took place in other political circumstances, but with decreasing frequency [<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/elections2014-results/en/turnout.html>]. The available number of analyzes show that the specificity of these choices is also confirmed in the case of Poland [see: Gagattek 2009].

In this article, attention is focused on the content of political programs of individual parties participating in the political competition. As noted by A. Fuksiewicz, “party programs are extremely difficult to compare. They do not refer (...) to a uniform set of EU policies. They focus on selected issues. Moreover, a significant part of the program does not refer to actions that could be taken in the European Parliament. These are often general statements and not the demands of the program (...). Often, moreover, these statements relate to the national policy, not European” [Fuksiewicz 2014: 4].

In their programs, political parties present attitude towards European integration (strength, pace, range), i.e. place of Poland in the organization and relations with the European Union (the problem of subsidiarity and solidarity, understood as the supremacy of Union’s interest over the particular interests of the member states) and the Union’s policy (not policies, although these can also be found in the programs) on key issues. These issues are not as important as those related to the economy and the socio-cultural matters (often closely related).

Since the latter are not implemented in national countries, they are transferred to the EU level with the expectation that it will become a reality in supranational arena (or following the next national elections). The EU, as a democratic entity with success in the field of protection of individual human rights, is a specific instance to which representatives of contentious positions are turning to with hopes of making some solutions and then enforce them with the support of a supranational organization.

The purpose of this article is to present the most important issues contained in the programs of political parties in the European Parliament elections in 2014. Due to practical difficulties in comparing the differences in programs’ quality, content and its size, the focus is on the following issues: relations with the EU, issues related to its politics and its underlying principles, and problems of economic and socio-cultural character.

An attitude to the organization and conditions of membership, economic and socio-cultural aspects are highlighted according to the main criteria of the Union's activities (economy, society) and in a holistic approach considering it as an organization with a specific structure. It is a supranational organization of political-economic and social character, an international, supranational legal entity. Its base is a single market supporting development and strengthening of homogeneity in terms of well-being which is so important to preserve and nurture European Community's different values in particular countries.

Current crisis situation requires some solutions. Finally, the European differences clash on transnational forum using the freedom of movement, the possibility of cultural diffusion. Issues such as abortion, legalization of drugs, homosexual marriage, etc. are important to society as considered as basic human rights that cannot be discriminated. Not only the state, as a whole, differs in its views, but the national scene is usually highly divided. European dialogue could lead to unify positions on basic issues through legal regulations and their implementation in domestic orders, which is what is expected by representatives of different views.

This analysis is only an overview of programs for the purpose of comparative analyzes possibly carried out in the future.

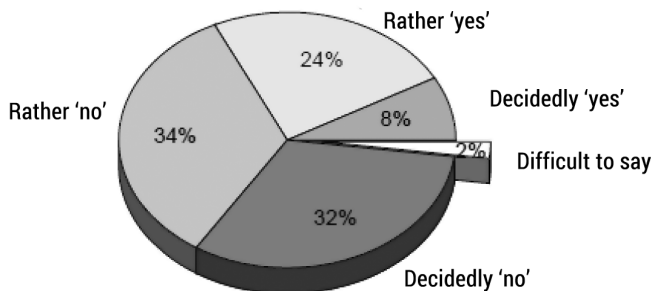
#### ELECTIONS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT IN 2014

Elections in 2014 had a special significance. As pointed out by the European Commission, "They will be the first since the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, which strengthened the democratic foundations of the Union and reinforced the role and the powers of the European Parliament. They are also taking place at a key moment for European integration, in a context where the EU is taking decisive action to exit the crisis which has far reaching consequences amongst citizens" [KE: *Sprawozdanie Komisji dla Parlamentu Europejskiego, Rady, Europejskiego Komitetu Ekonomiczno-Społecznego i Komitetu Regionów. W kierunku bardziej demokratycznych wyborów do Parlamentu Europejskiego. Sprawozdanie z realizacji zaleceń Komisji z dnia 12 marca 2013 r. dotyczących usprawnienia demokratycznego i skutecznego przeprowadzania wyborów do Parlamentu Europejskiego, Bruksela, dnia 27.3.2014 r. COM(2014) 0196 final*] [EC: Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Towards more democratic European Parliament elections. Report on the implementation of the Commission's recommendations of 12 March 2013 on enhancing the democratic and efficient conduct of the elections to the European Parliament, Brussels, 12 March 2014].

It seems also that these elections were actually the most important of all European elections so far mostly because of the economic crisis in the European Union and the situation in Ukraine. But, as a very important factor, a new, stronger role of the European Parliament should be taken into account.

A student, a designer, a businesswoman, a farmer... Those are a few of the over 400 Europeans who decided about European leadership in May. "We've got the opportunity to be a part of something truly great. (...) We must be a part of the union and vote," said retired landscape architect Ricardo [excerpted from a social campaign spot meant to encourage Europeans to vote in the elections to the European Parliament (EP), <http://www.elections2014.eu/pl/news-room/content/20140428STO45334/html/Daj-si%C4%99-zainspirowa%C4%87-i-zag%C5%82osuj!>]. Yet, despite the fact that in the European Parliament – whose legislative, budgetary, investigating and consultative powers have decidedly been strengthened under the Treaty of Lisbon – strategic decisions are made concerning citizens of the European Union (EU), the elections to the EP largely fail to arouse the interest of Poles. Research conducted by CBOS (Center for Public Opinion Research) [see: CBOS announcement, *Zainteresowanie wyborami do Parlamentu Europejskiego* (Interest in the elections to the European Parliament), February 2014 (A. Cybulska)] clearly shows that in the Polish public opinion the elections to the EP are the least important among all direct elections that Poles participate in under the current political system in their country. This is in spite of the fact that the EP's impact on the legal structures of member countries is significant. In terms of their meaning for Poles, the EP elections, unchangeably since their start, have come far behind domestic ones – presidential, parliamentary, and local. And so, in the Poles' first elections to the EP in June 2004, only 20.87% of those eligible cast their vote [according to the National Electoral Commission (*Państwowa Komisja Wyborcza*), <http://pe2004.pkw.gov.pl/>]. This is a much lower percentage than in all national elections so far. The level of interest among Poles in voting in the EP elections at that time was also lower compared to most other EU member states [*Zainteresowanie wyborami...*, p. 1]. Of all 25 countries that were choosing representatives to the EP, only Slovakia noted a lower voter turnout [*ibid.*]. Such an insignificant interest in the 2004 elections was explained at the time as the effect of insufficiently preparing citizens for voting, a weak awareness campaign, as well as a weak electoral offer. However, the next elections in June 2009 attracted only a slightly higher number of voters; again, a mere 24.53% of eligible voters [according to the National Electoral Commission, <http://pe2009.pkw.gov.pl/PUE/PL/WYN/F/index.htm>]. Keeping in mind the voter turnout in this year's "Euroelections", it seems that after 10 years the knowledge and experience gained by Poles has failed to change their attitude to these particular elections. "Elections of members of the European Parliament representing Poland are deemed important only by little over a third of eligible voters (36%). The majority, three fifths of those surveyed (60%), see the elections as an event of little (29%) or minimal (31%) importance. Poles attach the most importance to local government elections – 55% of those surveyed perceive them as important; followed by the Polish presidential elections (52%) and Polish parliamentary elections (48%)" [*Zainteresowanie wyborami...*, p. 2]. Likely due to this lack of interest and commitment, the voter turnout in the EP elections in May of this year was at a record low level, with only 23.83% of those eligible voting [according to the National Electoral Commission, <http://pe2014.pkw.gov.pl/pl/>].

It should be noted that most of the citizens of our country (89%) support Polish membership in the EU [CBOS announcement, *10 lat członkostwa Polski w Unii Europejskiej* (Ten years of Polish membership in the EU), April 2014, p. 1]. It seems that the scant interest of the Polish public in the elections is connected to its assessment of the process of membership – almost half of Poles (47%) have neutral feelings about Poland’s membership in the EU. Research shows a clear prevalence of people with positive judgments (37%) over those with negative ones (12%) [Dudkiewicz, Fukuiewicz, Kucharczyk, Łada 2013: 7]. Support for Poland’s integration with the EU is also influenced, in some way, by political affiliation. Practically, all supporters of PO (Civic Platform) and SLD (Democratic Left Alliance) make up a potential electorate for Poland’s EU membership. Opponents can be found in sympathizers of PiS (Law and Justice) and PSL (Polish People’s Party), although they are not numerous [*10 lat członkostwa...*, p. 3]. At the same time, Poles have a positive assessment of the European Parliament and the European Commission. The relatively positive attitude of surveyed Poles towards the EU is in stark contrast to their lack of knowledge about its institutions. Only 40% of recently surveyed Poles know that the European Parliament is an elected body, which marks a 17% drop compared to the previous survey done just after the elections in 2009. Twenty-seven percent of those surveyed believe that members of the European Parliament (MEPs) are chosen by deputies in the Sejm and by senators within their own circle; 14% believe that they are nominated by the government; and 19% have no opinion [*ibid.*]. Poles also lack an awareness of the function of the EP. While it is true that the EP’s predecessor, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) played only a consultative role, after 1979 (from the time of the first direct elections to the EP) the various union treaties that followed gradually increased the EP’s powers. Currently, the European Parliament is involved in decisions concerning the Union’s budget, or the rules of Europe’s interior market, for instance. Thus, it is involved in issues that directly influence Europeans’ daily lives.



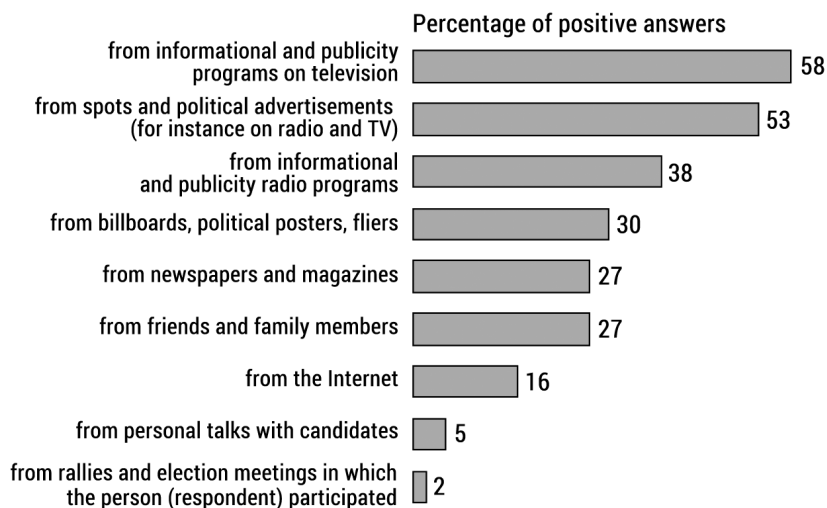
Graph 1. Interest among Poles in the elections to the EP

Source: CBOS announcement, *Zainteresowanie wyborami do Parlamentu Europejskiego*, February 2014 (A. Cybulska, p. 5).

At the same time, Poles have little knowledge about what Polish MEPs actually do. They are also critical of their work. Nearly half of those surveyed by CBOS be-

lieve that Polish MEPs do not care enough about the interests of our country, while 40% believe otherwise. Forty-three percent are satisfied with the way Polish MEPs represent the country, while an almost equal number (41%) are unsatisfied. Nearly 4 of every 10 surveyed individuals (39%) opine that Polish MEPs are less active than they should be on the European forum, whereas 33% of respondents rate their activity positively [CBOS announcement, *Polscy eurodeputowani i wybory do Parlamentu Europejskiego* (Polish representatives to the European Parliament and the elections to the EP), March 2014 (M. Feliksiak, p. 1)]. It appears that these negative assessments might also be the causes of Poles' scant interest in the elections to the EP. Towards the end of the previous term in the EP, when voter turnout had been better, Poles' attitudes towards their own MEPs was much more favorable than now, and their assessment of the MEPs' activity was generally positive [*ibid.*].

Poles received most of their information about political parties, committees, and candidates to the EP from informational and publicity programs shown on television (58%) and from political spots and advertisements (52%), mostly aired on radio and television [CBOS announcement, *Odbiór kampanii wyborczej i aktywność polityczna w Internecie* (Reception of the electoral campaign and political activity on the Internet), July 2014 (M. Feliksiak, p.1)].



Graph 2. Sources of information about political parties, committees, and candidates to the European Parliament in 2014 (%).

Source: CBOS announcement, *Odbiór kampanii wyborczej i aktywność polityczna w Internecie*, July 2014 (M. Feliksiak, p.1).

In turn, the electoral registers of candidates have said much about the low level of involvement of the “political class”: here one can find many names with no connection to politics – celebrities, athletes, actors, or “unemployed” politicians who have treated the European Parliament as a means of filling time until the next national

elections, while they have clearly had no intention of appearing frequently in Brussels. Furthermore, the electoral campaign was rather sluggish and not very substantive, dominated largely by two political committees, PO and PiS. The remaining, smaller, committees and the PSL electoral committee were marginalized by both the public and commercial media [*Kampania wyborcza do Parlamentu Europejskiego w głównych wydaniach serwisów informacyjnych TVP SA, TVN, Polsat, TV Trwam, TV Republika i Superstacja w okresie 10–23 maja 2014 r. Wnioski z monitoringu. Oprac. Zespół Departamentu Mediów Publicznych*, <http://www.krrit.gov.pl/>] [The electoral campaign to the European Parliament in the main news programs of TVP SA, TVN, Polsat, TV Trwam, TV Republika, and Superstacja between 10–23 May 2014. Conclusions from monitoring. Ed. by Public Media Department Team]. In electoral messages, the most attention was paid to the rivalry between the two largest political parties, PO and PiS, and to their campaign tactics. Yet, the media spoke to a much lesser degree about the parties' political programs themselves or about candidates' outlooks; these were generally divided into two categories – either supporters of the European Union or Eurosceptics. “The majority of statements shown in electoral communications were those of party leaders, especially the leaders of the two biggest political groups, PO and PiS. They often displayed some form of spitefulness, invective, or slogans referring to internal politics. They rarely referred to crucial matters, i.e. to the so-called »European topics«. We are definitely dealing with an over-personalization of the way of relating the course of the campaign by reducing it to verbal skirmishes between the leaders of PO and PiS” [*ibid.*]. It seems that the way in which the campaign was conducted also influenced the involvement of voters, who often become bored with politicians' personal “issues”. CBOS research shows the weaknesses of the campaign, of its reach, and its informational quality. Only 11% of respondents said that they gained “much” information from the campaign about candidates from their own voting districts. Almost half (48%) of respondents received “not much” information, and two fifths (39%) received no information. To compare, in reference to the campaign preceding local elections in 2010, 22% of Poles declared that the campaign informed them well about the candidates, and 24% stated that they were not informed at all [CBOS announcement, *Odbiór kampanii wyborczej i aktywność...*, p. 3].

What the research has shown, however, is that potential voters had little knowledge about the propositions of particular political parties taking part in the “race” to the European Parliament.

#### PARTIES AND PROGRAMS IN 2014

The following analysis is an attempt to answer the question of how important the issues related to Polish membership in the EU, the economic crisis in the Eurozone, or the conflict in Ukraine were for particular political parties involved in the EP elections. What was their attitude towards other problems related to Polish membership or the



functioning of the EU especially those concerning economic and socio-cultural issues? To answer these questions, there was made an analysis of program documents of all parties involved in the elections to the European Parliament in 2014, as well as of the statements of political party leaders (largely posted on the Internet, i.e. on political groups' websites). The analysis was conducted with consideration of three aspects:

- political: expansion of the Eurozone into Poland, the possibility to block treaties by particular member states, a common foreign policy in the Union, the idea of “European solidarity” (as a supremacy of EU interest over national particular interests), an evaluation of the integration process, and the potential sanctions put on Russia by the EU;
- economic: the commercialization and privatization of the health care system, the problem of the state's intervention in the economy, environmental protection at the cost of economic development, and cost-cutting as a form of fighting against the economic crisis, and staff redundancies;
- moral-religious: the possibility of legalizing civil unions between homosexuals, the legalization of abortion and marijuana for personal use, the possibility of allowing trading on Sundays and holidays, the introduction of sexual education into schools, the separation of church and state through the removal of religious symbols from the public sphere, as well as disallowing the financing of the church through public funds. The results of the analysis are presented in the tables below.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. The political party programs analyzed above differed in length, form, and content [Fuksiewicz 2014: 4]. For instance, PiS presented a comprehensive program for 2014 that primarily included domestic affairs. European affairs were not distinguished in the program in any way; only one chapter was dedicated to foreign policy and it includes the subchapter *European Integration – membership in the European Union*. Yet even in this subchapter, the political declarations are of a very general nature and make reference to noble slogans connected to integration, (such as equality, European solidarity) rather than answering concrete questions related to Poland's membership in the EU. In turn, PO presented an electoral manifesto specially prepared for the needs of the electoral campaign to the European Parliament, yet this is also a document of a general nature. PSL published three documents, but none of them can be considered an electoral program. Instead of specific postulates, it contains only ideological declarations. SLD failed to present any individual program, and it only referenced the manifesto of the Party of European Socialists, to which it belongs; and translated only the main theses of this European party. The most complete document, when it comes to issues related to activity in

the EP, came from Twój Ruch (as Europa Plus Twój Ruch [Europe Plus Your Movement], a coalition created for the needs of these particular elections). The program concentrated on selected priorities, mainly on electoral rights of citizens, employment rights, and consumer rights.

2. As expected, the parties that took part in the elections do not devote much attention to presentations of their electoral programs; these would give voters answers to their questions about what the representatives of a given party would like to achieve in the European Parliament. The majority of programs contain only general declarations.
3. Often, the parties' attitudes to key issues in Poland's membership in the EU are ambiguous. Instead of focusing on a homogeneous set of areas in European politics, they focus on selected issues – which often vary widely – that it is difficult to compare. For this reason, making conclusions about their attitudes to particular problems necessitates an analysis of statements made by the party leaders.
4. As expected again, in their programs, the political groups often fail to concentrate on issues related to the EU and on the activities of the EP; instead, they concentrate on matters that are important for internal policy, such as privatization, the growth of Polish enterprise, changes in the Polish Constitution, or even changes in the country's political regime.
5. The political programs do not raise the issues of potential institutional changes in the European Union. We only find certain elements related to attitudes towards the future of the EU.
6. Parties differ in terms of extent of subsidiarity (allowed mainly in financial areas of cohesion policy) and European solidarity (PiS states that EU's role has to be only accessory, it should not take precedence over the national interest – different meaning of solidarity).
7. Finally, which is typical in matter of electoral programs in European elections, they focused on internal problems, mostly of moral and religious character. These issues are widely discussed all over the EU: abortion, legalisation of drug use, homosexual marriage, ban on trade on Sundays or holidays. They are concerning basic human rights and a freedom of choice and sometimes have some economic repercussion (trade on Sunday and holiday). European Parliament is considered as a forum for discussion and agreement. These issues might find some solution and become a part of European legal order and then be implemented to national legal systems. However, it is more possible that these issues are raised bearing in mind next national elections.

It is difficult to disagree with the statement of A. Fuksiewicz that Polish parties do not attach much importance to presenting election programs which would give voters an answer to the question, what members of the party in Parliament would like to achieve. These are not programs but rather ideological manifests.

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**Ewa Ganowicz**, PhD, researcher at the University of Opole. Scientific interests: national minorities in Central and Eastern Europe, the theory of democracy, local and regional politics in Poland. E-mail: [eganowicz@uni.opole.pl](mailto:eganowicz@uni.opole.pl)

Table 1. An analysis of political parties' positions on the European Union and its politics

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					
	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	
PiS (Law and Justice)	<p>The party is against adopting the Euro as currency, as can be seen in the statement in the party program from 2014: „Driven by Poland's reason of state, economic interests, and economic factors connected with development, we choose to keep our national currency – the Polish zloty (...) any projects aimed at a quick adoption of the Euro in Poland are not only a political mistake, but examples of a lack of responsibility of ruling politicians for our economy.” [http://www.pis.org.pl/article.php?id=21930, accessed: 10.04.2014]; PiS Program 2014 p. 74].</p> <p>Jarosław Kaczyński, the President of PiS, clearly stated at the Party Congress (June 2013): „... We firmly say 'no' to adopting the Euro in Poland.” [http://www.mf24.pl/fakty/polska/news-kaczyński-na-kongresie-nie-dla-wprowadzenia-euro-komiec-z-unm.nfd,988941].</p>	<p>The party supports the possibility of veto power by member states due to the dangers to the interests of any given nation that can arise with new regulations. The party criticizes the argument that veto power is an “atomic bomb” that can disintegrate the EU. This position was made clear during the debate over the “climate package.” In the party's program we can find: „(...) But for ensuring our national interests we cannot exclude veto power in decisions pertaining to those structures which are contrary to our aspirations and priorities. In fact, in the EU, two of the three countries that most frequently use veto power are the “leaders of European integration”, countries very involved in its development: Germany and Belgium. This means that one can simultaneously love a United Europe and creatively protest against some of its aspects.” [http://www.pissanok.pl/aktywosci/sojuszniacy-i-wartoci.html, „Zdrowie, praca, rodziny. Program PiS 2014”, p. 23].</p>	<p>The party admits that the EU should conduct a common foreign policy, but should not restrict Poland's independence in this respect. “The basic problem that touches Poland today in terms of international politics is the loss, by the government, of the tools for an independent realization of the nation's interests. This is particularly important in the context of growing geopolitical competition in the world, including our closest surroundings. Polish foreign policy and external security policy cannot be limited (as is currently) following the mainstream approach, national decisions and actions only according to the mediation of integrational organizations. For this reason, it is best to get away from today's secondary and peripheral politics, a politics of self-degradation and of harmonizing our views with the views of those who feel they are the strongest.” [PiS Program 2014, p. 149. http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php/?s=partia&amp;idoc=164, accessed: 14.04.2014].</p>	<p>One of the party's main postulates is a solidary state. The political group feels that the EU should also try for a similar principal:</p> <p>“Under the Law and Justice [PiS] government, Poland will once again try to implement a new dynamic in the Union based on the notion of solidarity, cooperation among nations based on and within the rule of international law, keeping within the limits of national constitutions. (...) We look at the European Union through Polish interests. This perspective leads us to believe that the EU's most important achievements are the common market, the free movement of people, goods, capital, and services; freedom and equality, common laws and common obligations; and in this context, the principle of solidarity and helpfulness which guarantees that every country keeps its subjectivity and its own model of development according to its national interests.” [PiS Program 2014, pp. 157–158. http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php/?s=partia&amp;idoc=164, accessed: 14.04.2014].</p>	<p>In spite of Eurosceptical elements, the party supports Poland's membership in the EU. However, it posits that integration should serve Polish national interests, and not be an end in itself. This can be seen in the following excerpt: “Membership in international organizations such as the European Union or NATO should be treated as a tool for realizing Polish national interests and creating an international environment that is favorable to us, in cooperation with other nations, but not as a goal in itself, and the end of Polish subjectivity.” [PiS Program 2014, p. 150, http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php/?s=partia&amp;idoc=164, accessed: 14.04.2014]. Additionally, in the party's rhetoric there is no declaration of the necessity to leave the EU. There is talk of abuse of funds by Donald Tusk's government, as well as of the necessity to maintain Polish sovereignty. In PiS's view, Europe should remain a “Union of Homelands”, and not aim towards federalization. Member states should maintain their subjectivity and their own model of development according to national interests.” [PiS Program 2014, p. 158, http://www.pis.org.pl/dokumenty.php/?s=partia&amp;idoc=164, accessed: 14.04.2014].</p>	<p>PiS is a “hard-handed” approach towards Russia, including in the case of economic sanctions connected to aggression in Ukraine. Expression of this view is J. Brudziński's statement (one of the political group's leaders): “The European Union, and also Poland as an important member of the EU, truly have the instruments to punish Russia, not only on the basis of entry prohibitions and asset freezes.” [http://www.pis.org.pl/article.php?id=22857]. In a similar vein, PiS leader J. Kaczyński also said: “Today it seems necessary to introduce strict sanctions against the Russian Federation in the economic, political, and symbolic spheres.” [http://www.tvp.info/14234444/informacje/polska/prezys-wojce-rosji/, accessed: 14.04.2014].</p>

		CRITERIA				
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	Position on implementing economic sanctions against Russia
PO (Civic Platform)	In PO's opinion, the strategic aim of Poland should be accession to the Eurozone. Concerning the date of Poland's accession, the party's position is not as strict as it was before the onset of the economic crisis in Europe. Currently, the party takes a "soft" approach to this issue and makes the date of accession dependent on the preparedness of the Polish economy, so that it is competitive, and on the resilience of the Eurozone to potential crises. Party leader Donald Tusk says: "We should not give up on the goal which is membership in the Eurozone – it is not only an economic project but also a geopolitical one. Entering the Eurozone, in this strategic context, would be another anchor that would keep Poland in the group of the most important nations in the West and would increase our security." [interview with Donald Tusk, <i>Jesteśmy wzorem, nie psujmy tego (We are an example, let's not ruin it)</i> , PO website, <a href="http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/36509/jestemy-wzorem-nie-psujmy-tego">http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/36509/jestemy-wzorem-nie-psujmy-tego</a> , accessed: 09.04.2014].	PO politicians are supporters of negotiations and mutual compromises (of a pragmatic approach), rather than of a rigid position. Veto power should be used as a form of pressure. This was so, for instance, in the case of the climate package. [ <a href="http://wysokie.napięcie.pl/energy-ka-konwencyjna/308-polska-niepotrzebnie-straszy-wetem-klimatycznym">http://wysokie.napięcie.pl/energy-ka-konwencyjna/308-polska-niepotrzebnie-straszy-wetem-klimatycznym</a> ], accessed: 11.04.2014].	PO treats Poland's accession into the EU as a historical opportunity (D. Tusk's preamble to PO's electoral program, <i>Naszą drogą razem (Taking the next step together)</i> , pp. 9–10). According to PO, "With the accession to the EU, but also thanks to globalization, the lines between foreign and domestic policy are blurring. It is on the Union forum that decisions are made concerning 2/3 of our legislation. Foreign politics thus concerns the whole of our political activity and that is why it must spring from domestic interests and be firmly rooted in the country's economic interests. All external actions of the Tusk government aim at supporting steady growth of the economy and of wealth, ensuring the safety of the country and its citizens, increasing the chances of modernizing the country and strengthening its international position." [Electoral program of PO, <i>Naszą drogą razem (Taking the next step together)</i> , p. 89].	PO leaders are for a solidary Europe, according to which wealthier regions should support the development of poorer regions in order to balance differences in development, [ <a href="http://www.filipkaczmarek.pl/prezydenca.html">http://www.filipkaczmarek.pl/prezydenca.html</a> ], accessed: 11.04.2014].	PO is decidedly a pro-European party and emphasizes the benefits Poland gains from a united Europe. Donald Tusk states: "Poland in the European Union is living the best years in its history. On entering the Union, we have reached the goal that previous generations had only dreamed of. That is why it's in our interest to take good care of the Union." [ <a href="http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/36509/jestemy-wzorem-nie-psujmy-tego">http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/36509/jestemy-wzorem-nie-psujmy-tego</a> , accessed: 09.04.2014].	PO's position in this matter is clear yet balanced. On one hand, the party is for implementing sanctions against Russia and from the beginning it has taken an offensive stance on the EU forum. On the other hand, the party realizes the EU member countries' dependence on Russia for energy resources (especially, the primary foreign partner – Germany). For this reason, bringing matters to a head is not (PO leaders say) a good solution. They underline the necessity of conducting increased negotiations with Russia in order to ensure a peaceful solution to the crisis. In fact, PO politicians are taking advantage of this situation to make their European partners aware of the need to diversify energy supplies and become independent from Russian supplies [ <a href="http://www.poglos.org/pl/poglos/artykul/aktualnosci/sankcje-gospodarcze/">http://www.poglos.org/pl/poglos/artykul/aktualnosci/sankcje-gospodarcze/</a> ; <a href="http://www.polskiteradio.pl/7477/Artykul/1093150">http://www.polskiteradio.pl/7477/Artykul/1093150</a> , accessed: 11.04.2014].

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	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU
PSL (Polish People's Party)	PSL does not openly reject the Euro as the potential currency, but for the time being the party takes a careful approach in this matter. They hold the view that "the later we enter the Eurozone, then – with the tendency for appreciation of the zloty – the worse the cost structure that we will enter into compared to prices in other EU countries. Therefore, we will enter with a worse level of competitiveness of our own economy. Accession to the Eurozone means taking advantage of a low and stable interest rate and fuller access to the Union's savings and capital." In PSL's view, it is "a road to bigger investments and bigger opportunities for social benefits." [Program documents from the 10 <sup>th</sup> PSL Congress, p. 21]. Currently this position has evolved and PSL believes that Poland should not rush into the Eurozone, at least until the zone is capable of managing the economic crisis.	The party is a proponent of dialogue and compromise. This is expressed in a fragment from the Program Documents from the PSL Congress: "We think it highly important for Poland to build an image of itself as an open nation, willing to compromise, able to protect its affairs and connect its national interests with those of the union. Previous governments did not always know how to do this. PSL also sees a need for broader consultations in society, aiming at creating a Polish concept and vision for further development of the European Union. Poland cannot be seen as a country that reaches one hand out for union funds while using the other hand to block bolder initiatives for integration. Such politics may have fatal repercussions in the future. This also concerns the issue of Union expansion." [Program Documents from the 10 <sup>th</sup> Congress of PSL, p. 29].	Within the EU, PSL wants primarily to realize a common foreign policy, security policy, and a common system of justice and internal affairs. An appropriate policy for Poland in the EU should contribute to building Poland's international position. In matters that are especially important or difficult for Poland, the country should work together with other EU members, or at least try to coordinate its politics within the politics of the Union. On the other hand, the EU should also consider Poland's position within union politics. The EU should also become an instrument with which to build good relations with neighbors, especially with Germans, who, having an especially strong position in the EU, are very important to Poles. [http://www.klub.psl.pl/pol-ska-polityka-zagraniczna.html#U06zdalufQA; POLSKIE PRIORYTETY EUROPEJSKIEJ POLITYKI_PSL, accessed: 10.04.2014].	PSL is in favor of balanced regional development in the country and in the EU. "To do this, we want to tap into domestic and EU resources, stimulate the activity of local groups, give more support to the poorest regions" [ <i>Deklaracja wyborcza Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego. Wspólnie dla Polski i Europy. Polskie priorytety europejskiej polityki</i> ] (Electoral Declaration of the Polish People's Party. Together for Poland and Europe. Polish priorities in PSL's European politics, p. 3). It is PSL's belief that is traditionally rural [Program Documents from the 10 <sup>th</sup> Congress of PSL, p. 26].	PSL notes that "Poland, as a European country and member of the European Union should be actively interested in the rise of Europe's role on the international arena. That is why we believe the process of European integration to be the most proper way of reaching that goal. We see Poland's membership in the EU as the main reference point in our foreign policy, and as a significant point for the Polish economy and its economic links with the world." [Program Documents from the 10 <sup>th</sup> Congress of PSL, p. 28]. From the Electoral Declaration of PSL, it can be concluded that the party deems Poland's membership in the EU as a chance for the country's development, mainly in terms of financial resources that can be directed towards poorer, rural regions of the country.
					The political group opposes strict sanctions against Russia, fearing that they will backfire on Polish farmers and will allow Russia to eliminate Polish business from its market. Such a situation could, according to PSL leaders, give others the opportunity to "do business over our (Poles') heads" [http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1092434.PSL-odslania-karty-Ludowicy-zatwierdza-jedynki-de-PE; http://regionalna.tvp.pl/14680568/psl-to-blad-ze-po-i-pis-sci-gali-sie-ktos-zybciej-wyjedzie-na-majdan; http://wobec-rozsi-nie-wplyna-namrg/01116247, accessed: 10.04.2014].

		CRITERIA				
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	Position on implementing economic sanctions against Russia
SLD <b>(Democratic Left Alliance)</b>	The party is for Poland's accession to the Eurozone. It wants to create a realistic plan for Poland's entry. This is expressed in a statement from the party program: "Limiting the process of current Eurozone countries closing themselves off in their own circle, while at the same time progressing towards adoption of the Euro in Poland – after proper preparation and fulfillment of the Maastricht criteria." [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski (SLD Program. Tomorrow without fear. A Program for Poland)</i> , pp. 79–82].	The party is a proponent of dialogue and compromise. The political group supports a simultaneous strengthening of the European Parliament's powers while also increasing the role of national parliaments in the proceedings of Union legislation [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski (SLD Program. Tomorrow without fear. A Program for Poland)</i> , p. 82].  The party wants to effectively reconcile national interests with those of the EU as a whole [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw...</i> , p. 24].	SLD believes that Poland should support development and actively participate in the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) of the European Union [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski (SLD Program. Tomorrow without fear. A Program for Poland)</i> , p. 82].	One of its main postulates is a solidary and fraternal nation. In SLD's Declaration of its ideas and program, one of its most fundamental values is "Observing the rule of social justice, a just distribution of goods along with a fair apportionment of the costs of the crisis." [Deklaracja ideowo-programowa SLD (Declaration of SLD's ideas and program, Warsaw, 10.12.2011).  In the party program we can find the following: "(...) We do not believe in a ruthless primacy of financial institutions over the economic situation of citizens. For that reason SLD will act in support of those powers and concepts that in the hour of crisis will put the good of people first and fight for a fair apportionment of costs (...)" [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski (SLD Program. Tomorrow without fear. A Program for Poland)</i> , p. 8] and "The Polish vision of the European Union must include a civilizational model thanks to which it will be possible to create international order based on a sense of responsibility and global solidarity (...). At the same time – for the EU to be able to develop harmoniously – European solidarity must be strengthened. The distribution of wealth lies in the interest of Europe and the whole world." [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw...</i> , p. 24].	The party supports Poland's membership in the EU. In its opinion, "Poland must be present in the debate over the future of European integration and, as much as possible, initiate that debate. The strengthening of the EU and deepening the process of its integration, taking into consideration the "Europe 2020" project and the report of the Policy Review Group "Europe 2030" should be the foundation of Polish foreign policy." [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski (SLD Program. Tomorrow without fear. A Program for Poland)</i> , p. 79]. "In the opinion of the Left, it lies in Poland's best interest to deepen and expand integration within the European Union." [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw...</i> , p. 24].	From statements of party leaders, we may conclude that they are not against introducing sanctions against Russia, but they have doubts as to their efficacy. The Polish delegation of social democrats supported the resolution appealing to EU countries to place immediate sanctions on Russia [http://www.tvp.info/14841989/pes-polscy-socjalisci-wylamuja-sie-z-frakcji-ws-sankcji-dla-rosji], http://www.polskieradio.pl/9/301/Artykul/1188802, UE-szykuje-nowe-sankcje-wobec-Rosji-To-nie-rozwiazze-konfliktu, accessed: 15.08.2014].

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					Position on implementing economic sanctions against Russia
	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	
<p><b>Twój Ruch (Your Movement)</b></p>	<p>The party supports Poland's entry into the Eurozone. As expressed in its program Declaration: "The development of common European institutions and a progressive integration with the EU lies in the best interest of Poland. We will support the unifying current in union politics and aim towards a quick adoption by Poland of a common European currency." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 10].</p>	<p>The program does not bring up these issues.</p>	<p>The party is a proponent of a common foreign policy: "If we want to live better, we need more, not less, integration. We must have a common fiscal policy, a common foreign policy, security policy, defense policy, and a common energy policy." [http://palikot.blog.onet.pl/2014/02/17/deklaracja-europejska/, accessed: 15.08.2014].</p>	<p>This issue was not raised in the party program. However, in the case of policies dealing with immigration and political asylum, the responsibility "for controlling the outer borders of the Union must be mutual, and the costs of maintaining and integrating asylum seekers (and for deportation of persons not granted asylum) must be taken up in a solidary way by all member states." [http://palikot.blog.onet.pl/2014/02/17/deklaracja-europejska/, accessed: 15.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party is in favor of Poland's membership in the EU. "The development of common European institutions and a progressive integration with the EU lies in the best interest of Poland. We will support the unifying current in union politics and aim towards a quick adoption by Poland of a common European currency." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 10].</p> <p>"We are for the establishment of a European Federation whose entities would be national states, but above all citizens. A European Federation must mean that decisions are made on an appropriate level – European, national, or local." [Deklaracja..., p. 36].</p>	<p>Twój Ruch is for placing sanctions on Russia which are "Of two kinds: the first are financial consequences for the Russian elite and Putin himself. The second are sanctions that would undermine Russia's political position in the Council of Europe, the G8, the WHO, aiming at giving Russia a feeling of exclusion from the democratic world. It is also necessary to take diplomatic actions to build as large a camp as possible to that would support such hard politics." [http://twojruch.eu/wiadomosciwohosc/janusz-palikot-powohosc-i-u-premiera-wcia-gajmy-hardziej-zachod-w-sytuacje-na-ukrainie, accessed: 15.08.2014].</p>



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Solidarna Polska (Solidary Poland)	<p>The party is against Poland's entry into the Eurozone. "The Polish Zloty must remain the Polish national currency. United Poland believes that adopting the Euro does not lie in Poland's interest. As experience has shown, the Eurozone led to the economic crisis in Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Ireland. To this day, these countries struggle with economic problems that they could have avoided if they had had their own currencies. (...) For this reason, United Poland is against introducing the Euro in Poland and against any steps taken to reach that end, such as the fiscal pact." [Europejski dekalog Solidarnie] <i>Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 3].</p>	<p>The party's position in this matter is clear. SP supports the possibility of member states to use veto power in cases of endangerment of any given country's interests. "Member states must have veto power in the face of absurd economic regulations invented by officials in Brussels." [Europejski dekalog Solidarnie] <i>Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 7].</p>	<p>The party's position in this matter has not been clearly expressed in its program documents. Yet, because of this political grouping's stance towards European integration, we may conclude that it is against having a common foreign policy, especially in the case where there are conflicting interests among the EU countries or when foreign policy actions would harm Poland's reason of being. "We are in favor of a return to a Union based on economic cooperation, and against the gradually increasing political integration, which pushes Poland to accept solutions contrary to the attitudes of Poles. Poland in the European Union cannot mean only European regulations; it must also mean European advantages for the society." [Europejski dekalog Solidarnie] <i>Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 1].</p>	<p>The party supports equal distribution of European funds and of using them to balance out developmental and economic differences among member states. "Poland in the European Union cannot mean only European regulations; it must also mean European advantages for the society. In other words, our presence in the European Union must mean that our earnings, family welfare benefits, and pensions will be on the same level as in highly-developed countries in the Union." [Europejski dekalog Solidarnie] <i>Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 1].</p>	<p>In its program, the party expresses many Eurosceptical postulates. It favors Poland's membership in the EU as long as it is beneficial for the country. Otherwise, it does not exclude the possibility of Poland leaving the EU. "Solidary Poland has a clear and decisive program for Europe: there should be as much Union as there are benefits. We are for a return to a Union based on economic cooperation, and against the gradually increasing political integration, which pushes Poland to accept solutions contrary to the attitudes of Poles. Poland in the European Union cannot mean only European regulations; it must also mean European advantages for the society. (...) The balance of the pros and cons of Poland's membership in the EU is not clear. Besides the obvious civilizational leap achieved through structural funds, we have observed a series of losses: closing of shipyards, sugar refineries, a costly energy and climate package. It is also impossible not to notice the unequal treatment of Polish farmers (unequal supplements paid), the planned restrictions on the use in Poland of shale gas, or the EU's support for the Nord-stream pipeline that is disadvantageous to Poland. United Poland believes that the European Union only makes sense as a forum for economic cooperation and limited political cooperation. If it becomes difficult to restrain further expansion of Brussels' powers, the solutions pushed on Poland will make it unprofitable for Poland to stay in the EU." [Europejski dekalog Solidarnie] <i>Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 1].</p>
				<p>The party supports equal distribution of European funds and of using them to balance out developmental and economic differences among member states. "Poland in the European Union cannot mean only European regulations; it must also mean European advantages for the society. In other words, our presence in the European Union must mean that our earnings, family welfare benefits, and pensions will be on the same level as in highly-developed countries in the Union." [Europejski dekalog Solidarnie] <i>Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 1].</p>	<p>Solidary Poland supports placing sanctions on Russia in connection with Russia's aggression in Ukraine. The party's politicians personally declared support for the Ukrainian side both on the Maidan and during the referendum in Crimea. "Solidary Poland, like the remaining political groups in Poland, wishes to express disapproval for Russia's actions towards Ukraine and Ukrainian Crimea. It is well that after today's National Security Council meeting the leaders of all parties are in agreement and are aware of the realistic and direct threat to Ukraine, and the indirect threat to Poland. The government of Prime Minister Donald Tusk has taken some action in building a coalition of nations critical towards the actions of the President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin. United Poland postulates that we should demand the placement of sanctions on Russia by EU countries." "The party prepared a project of resolutions of the European Parliament, which will call on other countries to place sanctions on the Russian Federation. [http://www.solidarna.org.pl/sp-przedstawia-projekt-rezolucji-pe-wobec-rosji/, accessed 06.08.2014].</p>

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<p><b>Polska Razem (Poland Together)</b></p>	<p>The political group is against Poland's entry into the Eurozone. At the same time, it postulates a controlled dissolution of the Eurozone and a return to national currencies. "One has to have enough courage to admit that the Euro turned out to be a failed experiment, as it is impossible to have a common currency in countries on such different levels of economic development. Today, the Euro threatens the foundations of European integration.</p> <p>The only solution is a controlled disassembly of the Eurozone and a return to national currencies. We should break the barrier of political correctness and start a debate in Europe about the costs of such an operation and the ways of maximally limiting the losses connected with the process."</p> <p>[<i>Program Polska Razem Jarosława Gowina, Wielka Polska w małej Unii. Manifest polskiego eurorealizmu</i> (Program of Poland Together of Jarosław Gowin. A Big Poland in a Small Union. A Manifesto of Polish Eurorealism), p. 2].</p> <p>The party wants to hold a referendum and public opinion polls [http://polskarazem.pl/polska-razem-nie-dla-waluty-euro-bez-zgody-polakow/, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party's position on this issue is unclear. However, considering PR's postulate about defending Poland's interests in decision-making by all of Europe, as well as the primacy of Polish interests over Union interests, we can assume that the group supports veto power for countries when decisions taken by the EU are harmful for a country's interests. At the same time, it is in favor of referenda at any instance when the political competences of Poland are transferred to EU policy.</p>	<p>Poland Together supports the idea of leaving foreign policy, including defense policy, in the hands of EU member states. "Foreign policy, and especially matters concerning defense, remain within the competency of the member states, and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security may only realize the aims agreed on by the Council. There is no need to create new and costly defense structures and duplicating existing ones, especially NATO. Defense forces separate for the EU will generate costs that should be allocated to strengthening national armies and cooperative programs between them. Until there are serious reforms in the Union in terms of cost saving, there cannot be any talk of creating a new institution, such as a European army." [<i>Program Polska Razem Jarosława Gowina, Wielka Polska w małej Unii. Manifest polskiego eurorealizmu</i> (Program of Poland Together of Jarosław Gowin. A Big Poland in a Small Union. A Manifesto of Polish Eurorealism), p. 11].</p>	<p>The party is for an equal distribution of European funds. "France and other countries are effectively lobbying in the European Union, protesting their agriculture and their rural areas. It's high time that Poland learned how to do this. The opportunities for farmers in the whole Union should be equal – we do not mean only the supplementary payments but also the protection of Polish products. We are for equal levels of direct supplementary payments, for maintaining and increasing the amounts for milk and for equal complementary area payments throughout the European Union."</p> <p>[<i>Program Polska Razem Jarosława Gowina, Wielka Polska w małej Unii. Manifest polskiego eurorealizmu</i> (Program of Poland Together of Jarosław Gowin. A Big Poland in a Small Union. A Manifesto of Polish Eurorealism), p. 7].</p>	<p>Poland Together supports the return of Poland to its roots. It believes that Poland should take advantage of its EU membership as an opportunity for economic development. At the same time, it opts for expanding the European Union in the future by Eastern European countries.</p> <p>"We are for a renewal of values that have fallen under the foundations of European integration, and above all for maintaining four fundamental freedoms: the free movement of goods, people, services, and capital. Our principle is to fight for restricting the impact of bureaucracy on the freedom of economic activity and to protest against any attempts to limit access to job markets." [<i>Program Polska Razem Jarosława Gowina, Wielka Polska w małej Unii. Manifest polskiego eurorealizmu</i> (Program of Poland Together of Jarosław Gowin. A Big Poland in a Small Union. A Manifesto of Polish Eurorealism), pp. 2–4].</p>	<p>The political group is for placing economic sanctions on Russia. At the same time, it is for giving aid to Ukraine, including in the area of defense [http://polskarazem.pl/kowal-nalezy-wesprzece-ukraincow-takze-militarnie/http://polskarazem.pl/kowal-w-radu-pm-unia-rzadz-strach-a-strach-napadza-agresje/http://polskarazem.pl/kowal-w-p3-ue-bala-sie-strach-ic-kilka-euro-zaplacla-zyciem-obywateli/, accessed: 06.08.2014]. The party also proposes imposing a European embargo on coal export from Russia [http://www.cire.pl/item,92015,1,0,0,0,0,polska-razem-potrzebne-europejskie-embargo-na-wegiel-z-rosji.html, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>

CRITERIA						
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	Position on implementing economic sanctions against Russia
Kongres Nowej Prawicy (Congress of the New Right)	The party opposes the introduction of the Euro as currency [http://prawy.pl/z-krainu/5866-program-kongresu-nowej-prawicy, accessed: 11.08.2014, http:// wdozynymislasku.pl/wydarzenia/530-debata-kandydatow-do-parlamentu-europejskiego-euro-oposlan-ka-z-po-jako-jedyna-broni-por-ta-lu-za-66-mIn-zl-fIm, accessed: 11.08.2014].	The New Right is against mutual intervention into countries' internal affairs between Poland and other countries. Its goal is to eliminate the EU, so it does not take a stand in this matter [http:// nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/program-wyborczy-do-pe-2014, accessed: 11.08.2014].	"At the same time we believe that Polish sovereignty is a basic political value and a fundamental condition in realizing our aims." [http://www.nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/deklaracja-ideowa, accessed: 11.08.2014]. "In a different way than most Polish MEPs are doing – we will vote against any legislative acts meant to increase, in any way or range, the interventionism, statism, or fiscalism of the EU superation." [http:// nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/program-wyborczy-do-pe-2014, accessed: 11.08.2014].	Considering that the party is against Poland's membership in the EU, it does not express its stand on this issue. Meanwhile, it is a proponent of economic freedom and a lack of interference by the EU and the state in economic matters; thus, it opposes the distribution of public funds, including Union funds.	The party is against Polish membership in the EU. "The goal of KNP is the liquidation of the EU through a reduction of the artificial, state-fiscal-ideological creation to only a free-trade zone – the original European Economic Community, which was the source of the economic success and wealth of the West after World War II." [http:// nowa.prawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/program-wyborczy-do-pe-2014, accessed: 11.08.2014]. "In foreign policy we will be driven by calculation of profit and loss, and not by affinities or antipathies. We will put an end to our country's mindless submission to bureaucrats in Brussels. We will aim to give back to the EU its original meaning as a free trade zone and a free movement area for citizens without the institutional buildup and the bureaucratic absurdities." [http:// www.nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/program-wyborczy-knp, accessed: 11.08.2014].	The New Right opposes the mutual interference of Poland and other countries in internal affairs, so it is against placing sanctions on Russia for aggression in Ukraine [http://www.wiadomosci24.pl/artykul/korwin-mikke_wprowadzenie_sankcji_to_absurd_310405.html, accessed: 11.08.2014].

CRITERIA						
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	Position on implementing economic sanctions against Russia
<b>Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)</b>	The party opposes the introduction of the Euro in Poland [ <a href="http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1342,title,Ruch-Narodowy-sprzeciwiasie-wprowadzeniu-euro,wid,16594817,wiadomosci.html">http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1342,title,Ruch-Narodowy-sprzeciwiasie-wprowadzeniu-euro,wid,16594817,wiadomosci.html</a> , accessed: 12.08.2014].	The National Movement has not clearly expressed its position on this matter, yet one of its main postulates is the sovereignty of the nation. It sees the EU as a Europe of Homelands and not as a federation. "We wish to strongly defend Polish interests in the face of international forces and the bureaucracy of Brussels. We will support the creation of a Europe of independent nations, based on voluntary economic cooperation." [ <a href="http://narodowcy2014.pl/program/">http://narodowcy2014.pl/program/</a> , accessed: 12.08.2014]. We may conclude that the party is a proponent of veto power when the adoption of a solution would threaten Polish interests.	The group is against conducting a common foreign policy by EU members. "Poles and Europeans need a voluntary form of economic cooperation. They do not need a superation driven by centralist bureaucracy in Brussels. We will terminate the federalist Lisbon Treaty, replacing it with a sovereignty treaty, reclaiming political freedom for European nations. The government will return from the European headquarters to the national capitals. We will reinstate the superiority of the Polish Constitution over Union law and over the hidden power of the judges in the Justice Tribunal of the EU. We will reject the fiscal pact through which bureaucrats in Brussels can interfere in the national budget adopted in Warsaw. We will not allow Poland's entry into the banking union, through which the technocrats in the European Central Bank in Frankfurt wish to replace national bank supervision over banks, funds, and credit unions. We will take down the Union flags that are illegally hung on public buildings of the Polish Republic, where the only flags should be red and white." [ <a href="http://narodowcy2014.pl/program/">http://narodowcy2014.pl/program/</a> , accessed: 12.08.2014].	The group has not expressed its position on this matter.	The group does not take a categorical stand on this issue. It is a proponent of Polish participation in the EU, but in the sense of a Europe of Homelands, not as a federation. The Nationals plan to terminate the Lisbon Treaty, reject the fiscal pact, and remove Union flags from Polish public buildings.	The party has not officially declared its position on this matter.

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					
	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	
<p><b>Samooobrona (Self-Defence of the Republic of Poland)</b></p>	<p>The party is not against Poland's entry into the Eurozone, but it conditions this move on the economy of the country's development. "A rushed entry into the Eurozone, without adequate preparation of the Polish economy, may quickly lead to not only a cooling down of the economy and a slowing down of economic growth, but, moreover, to a sharp socioeconomic crisis in Poland. The matter requires caution and balanced decisions, and not convergent vanguardism. That is why we see the announcements of the government and the NBP [Polish National Bank] relating to Poland's imminent entry into Euroland as unrealistic and harmful. Self-Defence believes that this could all possibly happen in the long-term and after a proper and realistic (not just formal) preparation of the country's economy and finances to this act, as well as after reforming the institutional basis of the Euroland." [http://www.samooobrona.org.pl/pages/09_%20Polemiki/index.php?document=945.html, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p>In its program, the party has not expressed a clear stance in this context. However, it supports the idea of a Europe of Homelands, hence an association of national states tightly cooperating economically, militarily, and politically, yet retaining the identity of particular nations. We may conclude that it supports veto power when resolutions are made that would threaten Polish interests.</p>	<p>Samooobrona has not clearly expressed its view in this matter. However, considering the fact that it is for a Europe as an association of tightly cooperating nations, especially politically, we assume that in most matters involving foreign policy, it allows for playing a common "game".</p>	<p>The group stresses above all the necessity of basing the EU's activities on the idea of solidarity. It supports "social solidarity". In its view, the conditions of membership imposed on Poland by the EU fail to fulfill basic tenets of solidarity and equality on which integration should be based [http://www.samooobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=489, program.html#13, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p>It does not negate either the historical conditions or the potential civilizational benefits arising from Poland's participation in the EU. Yet, Samooobrona does not accept the negotiated conditions of accession and sees in them a severe threat for Poland's economic stability and standard of living. It is convinced that in the present state of looting the national assets and giving them over to the control of foreign capital, accession to the Union on unequal conditions (also economic) Poland is threatened with becoming a second-rate member of the Union [http://www.samooobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=489, program.html#12, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p>As a political party representing the interests of farmers (the group that would suffer the most if sanctions were placed on Russia), it is against placing sanctions on Russia. This is mainly because of the financial costs that the Polish economy would have to endure [http://www.samooobrona.org.pl/pages/02.Partia/00.Aktualnosci/index.php?document=647.html, dostep: 13.08.2014, http://www.samooobrona.info.pl/pages/03.Stanowiska/index.php?document=0654.html, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>

CRITERIA						
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on Poland's entry into the Eurozone	Position on the possibility of member states blocking treaties	Positions on a common European foreign policy	Position on the concept of "European solidarity"	Position on Poland's membership in the EU	Position on implementing economic sanctions against Russia
Demokracja Bezpośrednia (Direct Democracy)	The party's program does not raise these issues					
Partia Zieloni (The Greens)	The party's program does not raise these issues.	The party's programs does not raise these issues.	The party supports a common European foreign policy ("speaking in one voice") directed at promoting a culture of dialogue, international cooperation, and respect for human rights [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.09.2014].	The group postulates increasing EU aid for developing countries up to 0.7% of the GDP in order to eliminate hunger, improve the health and wealth of residents. Thus, it is for the idea of "European solidarity". "The European Union, founded on solidarity and cooperation among member countries is one of the powers counterbalancing the negative aspects of progressing globalization that is based on the hegemony of the superpowers." [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.09.2014].	The party supports Poland's membership in the EU. "We are supporters of further expansion of the European Union. We acknowledge Poland's key role as a new member of the European Union in the latter's relations with countries east of Poland, especially Ukraine and Belarus." [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.09.2014].	The party's program does not raise these issues.

Table 2. An analysis of political parties' positions on economic issues

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				
	Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system	Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy	Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth	Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis	Position on employee redundancies
<p><b>PiS</b></p> <p>Issues of health care are strongly present throughout PiS's whole program for 2014. The party is against the commercialization and privatization of the health service, which is shown in the statement: "Universal health security should be treated as a civilizational achievement of the modern world. We reject the claim that market mechanisms could be the basis for the functioning of the main part of the health care system, and that health is a commodity like any other." [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014), p. 25, 115–120]. The party is for financing health services from the state budget, to which health contributions should return. In this context, PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński opined that commercialization and privatization of hospitals is a bad solution for patients, since in this case profit decides about the services of health care units, and not the good of the patient [http://www.pis.org.pl/article.php?id=21003; http://www.pis.org.pl/article.php?id=13585, accessed: 14.04.2014].</p>	<p>PiS is for government action within the economy, as written in the party's program: "Escaping the trap of mediocre development requires rejecting the thesis that passivity is the only proper policy of the government towards the economy. Active politics, the government is taking up of an economic policy is a pre-requisite for success. The second requirement is an appropriate diagnosis and subsequent use of resources that are now 'dead' or used on a small scale. In these resources we include financial resources or other resources of the social dynamic. Today, the most important causes of insufficient (or no) use of resources are various pathologies, especially corruption." [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014), p. 14].</p> <p>Increasing the role of the government in forming the economy is a fundamental postulate of this group. The party has devoted an entire chapter of its program to these issues [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014), pp. 73–106]. The group believes that the government's task should be creating a strategy for development and mobilizing resources in order to escape the trap of mediocre development.</p>	<p>PiS wants a balance in these two areas. However, it does not take a clear stance on this issue. In the program, we read that: "(...) today we must once again stand for economic development while respecting nature and the Polish landscape. Building an innovative economy while respecting the rules of sustainable development is a requirement of modern national politics" and later: "Law and Justice will conduct a politics of sustainable development with respect to environmental protection. The role of a government that takes care of national cohesion in a country is reconciling developmental policy with the protection of nature and the Polish landscape" and "Nature 2000 is an example of how Poland's unique live natural resources, instead of being a stimulus for growth, became a barrier to economic development." [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014), p. 105].</p> <p>At the same time, the party is against signing the climate and energy package. It appealed to the Prime Minister to veto the EU's decision about this matter at the Brussels summit, arguing that it will negatively impact Polish industry and consumers.</p>	<p>The party's position in this matter is not clear. The 2014 Program shows a 2–3% growth rate "(...) with a very high share of investments in the GDP, both public and private." After taking over power, the political group wants to sanitize public finances to decrease public debt [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014), p. 74]. At the same time, the party promises relief (for example, for families, disabled persons, grants for preschools, for the academic and cultural spheres), postulating an increase in spending from the public sphere. It postulates limits in administrative expenditures by diminishing the administration and through organizational changes. It wants to bring new institutions to life (for example, the Ministry of Energy, Ministry of Maritime Affairs and Inland Shipping). To sum up, the party, in economic matters, has a social character. It makes reference to social solidarity, social teachings of the church, care for impaired social groups. It is not a proponent of decreasing budget expenditures.</p>	<p>PiS is a social party in the economic sense and the protection of employee rights plays a crucial role in its program; it is against employment on the basis of the so-called "junk contracts". It also wants to maintain protection against redundancy for 4 years before reaching retirement age (pp. 112–114). It postulates the protection of employee rights and abolishment of the increased retirement age (67 years) with a return to the previous age (60 for women, 65 for men) [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014), pp. 112–114, 120].</p>	

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				Position on employee redundancies
Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system	Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy	Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth	Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis	Position on employee redundancies	
<p>PO is in favor of the marketization and privatization of the health service. This is made clear in a fragment from Donald Tusk's speech from PO's electoral program: "We will give Poles the right to choose who will receive their health contributions, bringing in a competitor for the NFZ [National Health Fund]" [<i>Przedmowa D. Tuska do Programu Wyborczego PO. Następnym krokiem razem</i> (Donald Tusk's Preface to the PO Electoral Program. <i>Taking the next step together</i>), pp. 137–143]. Thanks to removing these restrictions, a country's investment appeal is increased. It was PO that took the initiative to call together the partnership [<i>Investycje Polskie</i> (Polish Investments)], which practically meant increasing the role of government in the economy [<a href="http://investycje.pl/print/198526">http://investycje.pl/print/198526</a>; <a href="http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/3265">http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/3265</a>, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>PO sees the role of the government in the economy as removing unnecessary restrictions and bureaucratic regulations, which hinder entrepreneurship and raise costs of maintaining a business [<i>Przedmowa D. Tuska do Programu Wyborczego PO. Następnym krokiem razem</i> (Donald Tusk's Preface to the PO Electoral Program. <i>Taking the next step together</i>), pp. 137–143]. Thanks to removing these restrictions, a country's investment appeal is increased. 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In recent years, Poland has developed fast and has been making up its arrears in infrastructure and the economy. This dynamic development is happening in accordance with principles of environmental protection, and for this reason our country continues to distinguish itself among other European countries, with unpolluted nature, beautiful forests, and picturesque landscape." [<i>Przedmowa D. Tuska do Programu Wyborczego PO. Następnym krokiem razem</i> (Donald Tusk's Preface to the PO Electoral Program. <i>Taking the next step together</i>), pp. 76–77].</p>	<p>PO believes that cost-cutting is one of the ways of fighting the economic crisis. This can be deduced from Prime Minister Tusk's statement on the Economic Forum in September 2013: "We decided that at the moment when the debt crisis started being a fact we must make a choice for saving, but particularly the type of saving that won't block the most important thing for Polish development – that being strong investments. That rate of investment, especially public investment, was the apple of our eye. But at the same time, we had to begin financial consolidation despite the fact that everybody around us claimed that the best path at the beginning of a crisis would be to loosen up, to issue easy money. We wanted to avoid a dangerous scenario and we succeeded. Those suggestions that concerned radical funding of banks – I'm speaking of the turn between 2008 and 2009 – filling up the holes that arose in the Polish economy after the so-called 'options', filling them with money." [<a href="http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/19806/wy-sapienie-tuska-forum-ekonomiczne">http://www.platforma.org/aktualnosci/19806/wy-sapienie-tuska-forum-ekonomiczne</a>-krynica, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>One of the political goals of PO is increasing the number of jobs. At the same time, the party is in favor of flexible forms of employment and lowering the costs of employment. This is expressed in the party's program: "We will introduce renewable seasonal contracts for employees into the work code, which will increase the stability of employment among young people." [<i>Przedmowa D. Tuska do Programu Wyborczego PO. Następnym krokiem razem</i> (Donald Tusk's Preface to the PO Electoral Program. <i>Taking the next step together</i>), p. 20]. During the period that the contract is in effect, the employee would have the right to remuneration, but he/she would not receive payment if he/she did not carry out his/her work due to causes from the employer's side. Such a solution would relieve the employer from having to pay high employment costs, and would ensure the employee stability in employment. "We have adopted the so-called anti-crisis package, which has given employers the means for flexible reactions to a crisis i.e. through longer payroll processing and the introduction of flexitime." [<i>Przedmowa D. Tuska...</i>, p. 107, 173–174].</p>	



Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				
PSL	<p><b>Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system</b></p> <p>PSL supports partial commercialization of the health service in Poland as well as attempts at a more expansive use of private resources to finance health services. "A private market for health services has developed in our country. There has been a rise of many private health clinics. PSL is interested in both ensuring the efficient functioning of the health care system and further development of the health services market. Private health clinics should have the same responsibilities as public ones, and the same rights. They should also be subject to the same supervision." [Dokumenty Programowe z X Kongresu PSL (Program Documents from the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the PSL), p. 25].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy</b></p> <p>PSL is for government interventionism (especially in agriculture). In PSL's opinion the role of government should be based on the liquidation of continuously-emerging barriers that limit business development and innovation. The government should be active in 4 areas: 1) ensuring a friendly legal and institutional environment; 2) making use of science and implementing solutions supporting innovative actions, research, and development, including increasing the effectiveness of knowledge transfer into the economy; 3) a decisively faster development of state-of-the-art infrastructure in transport, communications, shipping, and ICT; in infrastructure development, PSL sees one of the fundamental pre-requisites of active support for the economic development of our country and growth of interest for domestic and foreign investors; 4) consistent privatization of the assets of the National Treasury with the exclusion of areas deemed strategic [Dokumenty Programowe z X Kongresu PSL (Program Documents from the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the PSL), p. 22].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth</b></p> <p>PSL is in favor of a balanced regional development of the country [Deklaracja wybozesa Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego. Wspólnie dla Polski i Europy. Polskie Priorytety Europejskiej Polityki PSL (PSL's Electoral Declaration. Together for Poland and Europe Polish priorities of European Politics), p. 2]. One of the party's aims is limiting the impact of energetics on the environment. In PSL's view, "in times of great challenges connected with climate change, protecting the natural environment and ensuring energy security requires a multifunctional, sustainable development of rural areas and a change in this direction in the Common Agricultural Policy of the EU." [Dokumenty Programowe z X Kongresu PSL (Program Documents from the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the PSL), p. 23, 27]. Meanwhile: "The EU's guidelines regarding energy and climate policy, which aim to limit carbon dioxide emissions are unacceptable for Poland." [Polskie Priorytety...], p. 4].</p>	<p><b>Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis</b></p> <p>PSL is a proponent of rationalization of expenses and diminishing the public debt. This is expressed in the following fragment from the Program Documents from the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the PSL: "PSL sees the following as the primary weaknesses of public finance, which warrant removal through reform: a sustained budget deficit, incurring high and growing costs of servicing the public debt, a dominant share (approximately 75%) in the national budget of the so-called 'rigid spending' alongside a minor share of expenses for development, and a complex and opaque tax system. PSL expresses its conviction that the achievement of the goals of public finance reform requires an in-depth assessment of both income and expenses, as well as of specific institutions and public finance organizations. Such an assessment will also allow for strengthening of financial resources, especially social service, as well as for rationalization of the expenses of all entities in the public sector." [Dokumenty Programowe z X Kongresu PSL (Program Documents from the 10<sup>th</sup> Congress of the PSL), p. 26].</p>	<p><b>Position on employee redundancies</b></p> <p>PSL believes the State should effectively protect the interests and rights of employees [Narodowe priorytety PSL na lata 2007–2011 (The National priorities of PSL for the years 2007–2011), p. 3].</p>

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA			
SLD	<p><b>Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system</b></p> <p>The political group is a supporter of maintaining a social, national character of the health service. [Deklaracja ideowo-programowa SLD (Declaration of SLD's ideas and program), Warsaw 10.12.2011]. It is against the commercialization and privatization of the health service. "The government's obsessive aspiration to commercialize and privatize all health care institutions, including hospitals, has led to a dramatic decrease of Poles' health security. Hospitals should serve the common good, and their primary aim should be the protection of health – not earning profits. This is why they must keep their public, non-commercial character." [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw: Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program, <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>, A Program for Poland), p. 128].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy</b></p> <p>SLD is for the government's regulating and interventionist role in key socio-economic processes, not limited to the role of a "night watchman" but rather taking care of job availability, lessening social differences. [Deklaracja ideowo-programowa SLD (Declaration of SLD's ideas and program), Warsaw 10.12.2011].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth</b></p> <p>The party's position on this issue is not so clear. The political group is a supporter of maintaining a social, national character of the environmental protection system [Deklaracja ideowo-programowa SLD (Declaration of SLD's ideas and program), Warsaw 10.12.2011]. It sees environmental protection as a stimulus for socioeconomic development. It supports sustainable development, i.e. through coordinating spatial planning with environmental protection. At the same time, it wants to initiate a discussion on the EU level concerning the verification and modernization of the European policy for environmental protection, in terms of the principles used for designating areas of the Nature 2000 system or the efficacy of the European climate policy [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw: Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program, <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>, A Program for Poland), pp. 160–162].</p>	<p><b>Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis</b></p> <p>The party is against cutting expenditures on social policy [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw: Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program, <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>, A Program for Poland), p. 102]. "Rightist governments see social policy as the ball-and-chain of the economy. Polish spending on social policy is among the lowest in the whole European Union. Meanwhile, we are in the forefront of countries with the highest income stratification." [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw</i>, ..., p. 102].</p>
				<p><b>Position on employee redundancies</b></p> <p>SLD supports the tenet that "markets are here to serve people, not vice-versa." [Deklaracja ideowo-programowa SLD (Declaration of SLD's ideas and program), Warsaw 10.12.2011]. The party supports full contracts of employment as a "safe and stable form of employment" and wants to "fight against the phenomenon of fake self-employment and the gray market". It is for "reinstating the balance between flexibility and job stability." [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw: Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program, <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>, A Program for Poland), p. 107]. It supports "civil law agreements and self-employment only in areas of the job market where they are substantively justified (...)" [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw</i>, ..., p. 168]. SLD wants to "permanently introduce into legislation certain resolutions foreseen in the anti-crisis act: supplements to workers' remunerations during periods of economic downturn; supplements to social security contributions paid partially by employers (...), supplements to training or postgraduate study expenses (...)" [Program SLD, <i>Jutro bez obaw</i>, ..., p. 109].</p>

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				Position on employee redundancies
<p><b>Twój Ruch</b></p>	<p><b>Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system</b></p> <p>The party's stance towards this issue is ambiguous, as on one hand it wants to increase the financing of health care from public funds, but on the other hand supports actions of private entities in this area. "It is necessary to increase the financing of the health care system from the state budget." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), <i>twój ruch.eu</i>, p. 21]. "The National Health Fund should be replaced by competitive health care funds, and the handling of health care contributions should be done by private entities." [Deklaracja..., p. 22].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy</b></p> <p>Twój Ruch is clearly for government interventionism. "The convictions that Polish governments adhered to for the last quarter of a century – that 'the invisible hand of the economy' would regulate everything, that international corporations would create millions of well-paid jobs in Poland and modernize the country, that the remedy for bad management is the privatization of everything at any price, that we don't need industry, that when the GDP grows we will all get wealthy, that the only thing to do during a crisis is cut costs, especially on the poor because they are the most numerous – was mistaken. That is why we want the government to actively tap into available tools of economic policy. We do not fear government interventionism, and we do not fear investment in public economic entities. Poland needs a "technological leap" and a long-term vision for economic policy. Without active participation of the government a developmental breakthrough in the economy is impossible." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), <i>twój ruch.eu</i>, p. 10]. "A more active economic policy will ultimately lead to the appearance of new Enterprises with the Participation of the State Treasury, or to a greater meaning of existing ones." [Deklaracja..., p. 14].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth</b></p> <p>The party's position on this issue is not clear. It is a supporter of renewable energy resources, but by reason of economic benefits rather than environmental protection concerns. "The branch of industry that will be developing dynamically in the next decades on a global scale – which should be reflected in the priorities of Polish industrial policy – is energetics. This concerns both increasing the effectiveness of obtaining energy from renewable sources, and looking for more environmentally-friendly techniques of burning coal. If the whole world is turning to solar or wind production, why shouldn't Poland use EU funds to create its own industry producing solar panels or wind power stations? The export of advanced technology will bring us greater profits than the sale of raw materials or low processed goods." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), <i>twój ruch.eu</i>, pp. 12–13]. "The optimal solution seems to be investing in renewable energy resources (water, sun, wind). The industrial sector producing equipment for obtaining energy from these sources continues to develop. Which means that Polish businesses can benefit from creating and implementing innovative technologies in this field." [Deklaracja..., p. 30].</p>	<p><b>Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis</b></p> <p>The party is for lowering budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis. In their opinion, the causes of the budget deficit "are excessive structural expenditures. An ineffective administration. A bad way of managing social expenses. Awful supervision and bad investment planning. The search for a way of lowering the deficit starts with a realistic reform of public finances, including (...). The elimination of unnecessary expenses (there are still many) and the reduction of the administration (i.e. the liquidation of unnecessary offices, the elimination of districts)." [http://pragapolidnic.twojruch.eu/post/63912417126/o-rzadowych-klamstwach-w-sprawie-0fe, accessed: 15.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on employee redundancies</b></p> <p>The party is against employee redundancies. The Parliamentary Club of Pa-likot's Movement [Klub Ruchu Paikota] together with Piotr Konowicz's Social Justice Chancellery [Kancelaria Sprawiedliwości Społecznej Piotra Konowicza] is preparing an amendment project with regard to the work Code. Among other things, the party wants the right to form labor unions to be available to all workers, not only to those employed on full employment contracts. It also wants employers to have the obligation of providing reasons for breaking all types of work contracts (except for contracts for trial periods), not just indefinite term contracts. The authors of the project note that today's law protects only those workers employed on indefinite-term contracts [http://www.rp.pl/artykul/790754.html?print=tak&amp;p=0, accessed: 15.08.2014].</p>

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				Position on employee redundancies
Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system	Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy	Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth	Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis		
Solidarna Polska	<p>Solidarna Polska opposes the privatization of the health care system. It accepts the idea that "public health services can be reshaped only into public utility partnerships that are not subject to privatization (...)" [<a href="http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/ochrona-zdrowia/">http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/ochrona-zdrowia/</a>, accessed: 06.08.2014].</p>	<p>According to the party, the role of the government in the economy should be based on:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– removing administrative and legal barriers that hinder the development of enterprise (excessive concessions, permits, tedious procedures);</li> <li>– removing barriers connected with occupational corporatism;</li> <li>– supporting domestic innovation and state-of-the-art technology through financing research and providing guarantees while implementing technological development [<a href="http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/gospodarka/">http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/gospodarka/</a>, accessed: 06.08.2014].</li> </ul> <p>The state should maintain control over economic entities strategic to its <i>raison d'être</i>, its defense, and its economy. This idea is expressed by SP's proposals for two legislative projects:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– A legislative project by Sejm representatives concerning the maintenance of specific rights by the National Treasury or other state legal entities in partnerships known as Zakłady Azotowe "Puławy", S.A. and Zakłady Azotowe in Łamów-Mosćce S.A. [The "Puławy" Nitrogen Works Joint Stock Company and The Nitrogen Works of Łamów-Mosćce Joint Stock Company]; and about changes in certain other legislation concerning obligating the National Treasury and other state legal entities to maintain specific rights in the two institutions listed above; restrictions will be introduced in the conversions of ownership in the partnerships and in the disposing of assets to entities other than the National Treasury [<a href="http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druk1?ka.nsf/Projekt/7-020-495-2012\$file/7-020-495-2012.pdf">http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druk1?ka.nsf/Projekt/7-020-495-2012\$file/7-020-495-2012.pdf</a>, dostep: 06.08.2014];</li> <li>– A legislative project by Sejm representatives concerning the maintenance of specific rights by the National Treasury or the state legal entities in the Polish Cableways Joint Stock Company [<i>Spółka Akcyjna Kolejce Linowe</i>], whose assets are a national treasure that has strategic meaning for the nation's cultural and technological achievement; also concerning changes in other legislation – the project concerns introducing mechanisms for safeguarding the maintenance by PKP [Polish Railways, whose only shareholder is the National Treasury] of ownership rights to the company, which also comprises a national treasure, and maintaining majority share in <i>Polskie Kolejce Linowe</i> [Polish Cableways] (protection of tourism and leisure infrastructure in the mountains before selling off parts of it to foreign capital [<a href="http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druk17_ka.nsf/0BC65A70ED5AB54FBC1257AD40047ABE6%24?file/989.pdf">http://orka.sejm.gov.pl/Druk17_ka.nsf/0BC65A70ED5AB54FBC1257AD40047ABE6%24?file/989.pdf</a>, accessed: 06.08.2014].</li> </ul>	<p>SP opposes environmental protection at the cost of economic growth. This can be seen in the party's stance towards the climate package. "The Climate Package imposes rigorous norms on Polish industry in terms of the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions. The National Chamber of Economy conducted analyses whose conclusions showed that the implementation of appropriate actions could cost approximately 5 billion zlotys in 2015, and further restrictions could cost this number to go up to even 13 billion zlotys in 2030. If the climate policy is exacerbated and reaches its goal of 80% reductions in emissions by 2050, the costs to Polish industry will increase by another 9 billion zlotys annually in 2030. All together, the costs will reach 22 billion zlotys annually and will constitute a serious threat to approximately ten areas of industry, including the metal, cement, chemical, coke, paper, and coal sectors. The result will be an increase in prices for electric power up to 30%, as well as a loss of up to 300 000 jobs." [<i>Europejski Dekalog Solidarniej Polski</i> (The European Decalogue of Solidary Poland), p. 4]. Solidarna Polska has begun a European Citizens Initiative for the suspension of the climate and energy package for Poland [<a href="http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/pakiet-klimatyczny/">http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/pakiet-klimatyczny/</a>; <a href="http://stoppakietowi.pl/">http://stoppakietowi.pl/</a>, accessed: 06.08.2014].</p> <p>The party also demanded a veto from the Prime Minister with regard to the climate package [<a href="http://www.solidarna.org.pl/zadamy-weta-premiera-4-luska-na-szybcie-europejski-m-w-rozszerzenia-pakietu-klimatycznego/">http://www.solidarna.org.pl/zadamy-weta-premiera-4-luska-na-szybcie-europejski-m-w-rozszerzenia-pakietu-klimatycznego/</a>, accessed: 06.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party is for lowering budgetary expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis, for instance by stopping the financing of political parties from public funds; this is evident in Z. Ziobro's statement: "The threat of exceeding the second prudence threshold in terms of the relation of the public debt to the GDP is a realistic one. It is therefore necessary to limit it expenses from the state budget which are meant for subsidizing the statutory activities of political parties." "Restricting the possibility of so-called junk contracts, for example through increasing tax obligations for employers for contracts that are less beneficial from the employee's point of view, such as temporary contracts." [<a href="http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/miejsc-pracy/">http://www.solidarna.org.pl/blogroll/miejsc-pracy/</a>].</p>	<p>In SP's view, "The job market must ensure the protection of workers' rights and simultaneously flexible and business-friendly conditions. It is with great concern that we accept such uneasy phenomena like the level of unemployment, the reality of employing a large percentage of people on the basis of junk contracts, and the high unemployment levels among both young people just entering the job market and those over 50 years of age." The party also supports "Restricting the possibility of so-called junk contracts, for example through increasing tax obligations for employers for contracts that are less beneficial from the employee's point of view, such as temporary contracts."</p>

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA			Position on employee restructures
Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system	Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy	Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth	Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis	
<p>Polska Razem</p> <p>The party is generally for speeding up privatization processes. The leader of Polska Razem, Jarosław Gowin, has appealed to PiS to stop "scaring Poles about the privatization of hospitals." [http://polskarazem.pl/odbiurokraty-zowiac-sluzbe-zdrowia/, accessed: 07.08.2014]. From this we may conclude that it supports the privatization of the health service. In this context, it also stipulates about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Balancing public costs meant for health care with a range of guaranteed health provisions;</li> <li>- Lowering the needless demand for health provisions generated by excessive bureaucracy and the bad organization of health care;</li> <li>- Ceasing activities that lead to lowering the rank of the medical profession and lowering society's trust for doctors – activities conducted by the government that contribute to an unjustified growth in demand for additional medical consultations and examinations.</li> </ul>	<p>Polska Razem is a proponent of a free market in which the role of government and its institutions is "not to interfere" [http://polskarazem.pl/konferencja-pjg-donald-tusk-zdradzil-idealny-wolnego-ryнку-3/, accessed: 07.08.2014]. The Road To Wealth. The Constitution for economic freedom of Jarosław Gowin's Poland Together, p. 2].</p>	<p>The party is against environmental protection at the cost of economic growth. This is evident in the party's attitude to the climate package. The party wants to support those actions (...) which will guarantee the lowest cost for greenhouse gas emissions and ensure low prices for the import of raw energy materials." [Program Polska Razem Jarosława Gowina. <i>Wielka polska w mądrej Unii. Manifest polskiego eurorealizmu</i> (The Program of Poland Together of Jarosław Gowin. A Big Poland in a Small Union. A Manifesto of Polish Eurorealism), p. 10]. In the party's view, our country should veto the climate package since it strikes at the interests of Polish entrepreneurs, as well as the interests of the whole country. Among other things, it will cause a price hike for electricity and heat and a reduction in jobs in many branches [http://polskarazem.pl/lista-hanby-polskiej-energetyki-konferencja-dra-marka-mi-galskiego-w-katowicach/, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party supports limiting expenses on administration, including EU administration. "We are for moving all the workings of the European Parliament to one place. Currently parliamentary representatives work in two cities – Brussels and Strasbourg. The Parliamentary administration is in Luxembourg. Maintaining three buildings and their personnel costs about 200 million Euros each year. The cost of running the two advisory institutions – the Committee of the Regions and the European Economic and Social Committee is similar. We will postulate for their elimination because, in a large measure, their role is taken over by the European Parliament." "The expenses of clerks and representatives should be limited – reimbursements for official trips should include only real costs. The highest-ranked functionaries should publish reports of their official costs online." [Program Polska Razem Jarosława Gowina. <i>Wielka polska w mądrej Unii. Manifest polskiego eurorealizmu</i> (The Program of Poland Together of Jarosław Gowin. A Big Poland in a Small Union. A Manifesto of Polish Eurorealism), p. 8].</p> <p>The party further stipulates:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Limiting government interference in citizens' lives by limiting public expenses on the level of 35% of the GDP;</li> <li>- Prohibiting further debt incursion by the state in the Polish Constitution;</li> <li>- Placing net salaries on the level of gross salaries, thanks to cost cutting in the functioning of the state;</li> <li>- Lowering administration costs by joining the Social Security Office (ZUS) and the treasury administration.</li> </ul> <p>[Droga do bogactwa. <i>Konstytucja wolności gospodarczej Polski Razem Jarosława Gowina</i> (The Road to Wealth. The Constitution for economic freedom of Jarosław Gowin's Poland Together), p. 1].</p>	<p>The party's position on this issue is unclear. Due to the fact that Polska Razem (alongside Nowa Prawica/ New Right) is a supporter of a free market and free movement (of workers as well), we can conclude that in terms of employment it is for free choice for employers. One of the party's stipulations is excluding micro- and small businesses (up to 50 employees and 10 million Euros of turnover) from under the regulations of the Work Code, as well as regulating employment based on Civil Code agreements in such companies through conflict resolution in work courts. [Droga do bogactwa. <i>Konstytucja wolności gospodarczej Polski Razem Jarosława Gowina</i> (The Road to Wealth. The Constitution for economic freedom of Jarosław Gowin's Poland Together), p. 9].</p>

	CRITERIA			
<p><b>Abbreviation of a political party's name</b></p> <p><b>Kongres Nowej Prawicy</b></p>	<p><b>Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system</b></p> <p>The party wants to privatize the entire health care system [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HvNs8KKUaIEs, accessed: 11.08.2014]. After coming to power, it plans to liquidate state hospitals.</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy</b></p> <p>Nova Prawica is a supporter of the free market: "A free market. We will eliminate any interference by the government in the economy. After a change in the system, new statutes will become effective within 6 years of passing." [http://www.nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/item/program-kongresu-nowej-prawicy, accessed: 11.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth</b></p> <p>Although the party has not made any concrete statements in this area, it stipulates the elimination of all concessions, permits, most likely also in terms of emissions of carbon dioxide and the like. Jarosław Iwaszkiewicz, the party's candidate to the EP, said the following about the primacy of environmental protection over economic development: "All climate-related activities so far have generated enormous costs and haven't brought results. All acts of tightening the environmental laws restrict economic freedom, and we cannot allow this. The energy policy of European countries is varied and should not be monopolized by one supplier. Poland should make use of its own resources, both the traditional and the newly-discovered, such as shale gas. Energy security will only be ensured by our independence from external suppliers. Essential supplies from outside should be diversified." [http://www.rp.pl/artykuly/1101340.html, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis</b></p> <p>The party is a supporter of limiting expenses for the administration, as well as lowering the EU budget. "A balanced budget. We will not allow further debt incursion by the state, nor inherit only our debts." [http://www.nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/program-wyborczy-knp, accessed: 11.08.2014]. The party wants to radically reduce bureaucracy – with a view to lowering the costs of the functioning of the state [http://www.nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/deklaracja-ideowa, accessed: 11.08.2014].</p>
				<p><b>Position on employee redundancies</b></p> <p>The party's stance toward this area is unclear. Considering the fact that Nova Prawica (alongside Polska Razem/Poland Together) is a supporter of the free market, free movement (also of workers), we can conclude that in terms of employment it supports employers' freedom of choice. The party is in favor of lowering costs, including those connected with employment, and of simplifying the functioning of business enterprises [http://www.nowaprawicajkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/deklaracja-ideowa, accessed: 11.08.2014].</p>

	CRITERIA				
<p>Abbreviation of a political party's name</p> <p><b>Ruch Narodowy</b></p>	<p><b>Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system</b></p> <p>In the party's program there are no statements pertaining to this issue.</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy</b></p> <p>Ruch Narodowy is in favor of a free market: "The freedom of self-management. A free nation has the possibility of independently building the material foundations of its life and disposing of the fruits of its labor. The present state, in which the costs of maintaining the public sector rest mainly on the lower-paid population and on small entrepreneurs, is unacceptable. It pushes millions of Poles to labor migration. Ruch Narodowy will fight against the pathologies of bureaucracy and fiscalism, will defend taxpayers' rights. It will fight for the freedom of action and access to capital for the Polish entrepreneur, so that he can create new places of work." [http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth</b></p> <p>The party opposes environmental protection at the cost of economic growth. This is evidenced in the party's attitude to the climate package. "Our industry will be beaten down by the union's climate and energy packet, which imposes on us disproportionately hiked-up amounts of carbon dioxide emission reductions. This will lead to the liquidation of a considerable part of coal energetics in Poland. If the whole package were accepted, unemployment would rise by almost one million jobs lost in mining and energy-consuming branches of industry, and energy prices for households and businesses would increase tenfold or more. That is why it is necessary to stop the implementation of the packet, and it would be best to reject it entirely or at least to negotiate a 'Polish rebate' relieving us from some of its dictations." [http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis</b></p> <p>The political group is an opponent of indebting the state and wants the implementation of a balanced budget through the introduction of a constitutional anti-debt anchor, prohibiting increasing the sum of public expenses above the rate of economic growth [http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on employee redundancies</b></p> <p>The party's position in this matter is not clear. It supports lowering costs, including costs of employment, while it also wants workers employed on civil law agreements to have the right to social security (...). [http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				Position on employee redundancies
Samobrona	<p><b>Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system</b></p> <p>Samobrona opposes the privatization of hospitals. It wants all hospitals to be financed by public funds. It also postulates the creation of a network of provincial municipal hospitals that would serve uninsured persons as well. These would serve as a necessary back-up base in terms of bed-count for potential unforeseen events – such as epidemics and natural disasters [http://www.samobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=/489.program.html#13, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy</b></p> <p>The political group has a favorable stance towards state interventionism, especially in agriculture – i.e. intervention buying – in order to protect the Polish economy from the effects of an economic crisis [http://www.samobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=/489.program.html#13, accessed: 13.08.2014, http://www.samobrona.info.pl/pages/03.Stanowiska/index.php?document=/0661.html, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth</b></p> <p>The party opposes environmental protection at the cost of economic growth. However, it does acknowledge the need to protect the environment and sees it as an opportunity for the country's economic development. "The good state of the natural environment can contribute to the development of many areas of the economy. A lack of care for the environment by the state and its citizens can be a barrier to development and contribute to the downfall of ecologically-sensitive areas of the economy, such as agriculture and tourism. A proper state policy in this matter – one of promoting investments that protect the environment, promoting pro-ecological production technology in industry and agriculture, and encouraging citizens' environmentally-friendly attitudes and lifestyles – can bring the country and its people measurable social and economic benefits." [http://www.samobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=/489.program.html#6, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis</b></p> <p>Samobrona is against lowering budgetary expenses as a way of fighting the economic crisis, especially in the social, agricultural, or health care spheres. However, it wants to seek out savings via the liquidation of most agencies, foundations, and funds financed by the state budget, which could amount to 25% savings. In the party's view, it is necessary to carry out a nation-wide economic inspection and inspection of assets. Recovery of stolen material assets or obtaining compensation for lost assets will constitute another source of financing for the Program for Repairing the Polish Economy [http://www.samobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=/489.program.html#6, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on employee redundancies</b></p> <p>The party is against employee redundancies. "Labor cannot be exclusively a commodity subject to the wild laws of the market. It should also have important societal and social functions. Liberal economic experts' claim that high employment costs are the fundamental barriers to economic development is basically false. The most important cause of financial downturn of businesses and the main barrier to economic development is not the high cost of employment but rather the Monetary Policy Council's maintenance of high interest rates in the central bank and the unrealistic exchange rate of the Polish zloty in relations to other main currencies (USD and EUR). A much greater burden for the Polish economy (compared to employment costs) is the tax, the extortion money, collected by international credit institutions (banks) from businessmen in the form of high interest rates on loans. The costs of this extortion are transferred by employers onto employees, with all the negative consequences they entail. The so-called restructuring processes carried out in businesses, resulting in massive redundancies of employees, the pressure put on employers to lower hourly wages, the minimum wage, overtime wages, changes in the work code that hit at human dignity, the widespread replacement of employment contracts by so-called junk contracts, is nothing more than a pathetic attempt at saving business at the expense of worsening income conditions for social groups making a living off of wages." [http://www.samobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=/489.program.html#6, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>



Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA				Position on employee redundancies
	Position on the commercialization and privatization of the health care system	Attitude towards governmental intervention in the economy	Attitude towards environmental protection at the expense of economic growth	Position on decreasing budget expenses as a means of fighting the economic crisis	
<b>Demokracja Bezpośrednia</b>	The party program does not raise these issues.				The party program does not raise these issues.
<b>Partia Zieloni</b>	The party is opposed to the privatization of hospitals. One of its stipulations is the existence of public health care [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	The party is against state interventionism in the economic sphere. "The role of the government is introducing mechanisms to regulate the economy, which eliminate its short-sighted and harmful expansion alongside a simultaneous creation of conditions for the development of human enterprise, creativity, and local initiative. The measure of the efficacy of the economy should be the level of consideration for the common interest, fulfillment of criteria of sustainable development, fewer inequalities in the standard of living, and creating worthy places of work." [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	The party is a supporter of environmental protection at the expense of economic growth. It supports the idea of sustainable development [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	One of the group's postulates is the introduction of the rule of budgetary balance in the Polish Constitution [http://db.org.pl/#polityka-jest-prosta, accessed: 13.08.2014].  Aware of the threat resulting from growing public debt, the party is for a detailed inspection of state expenditures and for increasing the efficacy of using every zloty spent from public funds. It is in favor of simplifying tax regulations with a view to creating a clear and fair system of fiscal and social payments. It postulates integrating external costs in the economic calculation, elimination of socially and ecologically harmful subsidies, and tax reforms based on increasing taxation of natural resources while lowering employment taxes [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	The party is against employee redundancies. In this context it stipulates the implementation of the following solutions: - Elimination of junk contracts (not only by mechanically raising the social security contributions, as the government does – but by leveling out the securities and rights of employees in all types of work agreements); - Relief for businesspeople employing on a full-time basis and a fight against fictitious self-employment through a return of self-employed persons to the universal PIT (personal income tax) system; - Taking action to lessen inequalities in payments: increasing the minimum wage while limiting the scandalously high salaries of chairmen [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].

Table 3. An analysis of political parties' attitudes towards moral and religious issues

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					
	Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples	Position on abortion	Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use	Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays	Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools	Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
<p><b>PiS</b></p> <p>PiS is against giving the same rights to establishing unions by homosexual couples. The political group believes such unions are against nature. These issues are addressed in PiS's program: "The concept of a union pertains to various social groups, but the most important of these are the family and the nation. We treat the family, at whose foundation is the permanent union of a woman and a man, as the primary structure of social life, one in which the vital needs of humans are met, including the need for human intimacy." [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014) p. 8].</p> <p>Additionally, the statements of PiS activists show that they are against the legalization of homosexual unions. During one debate (over the legalization of marriages in other countries), the then representative Beata Kempa uttered the following: "(...) the legalization of homosexual unions occurred through a back door. It is very dangerous legislation." She was echoed by representative Adam Hofman: "It is an introduction of homosexual marriages into the Polish legal order. In the year of John Paul II's beatification, nobody should be giving presents like this to Poles." [http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,9057622,-PiS_Nowa_ustawa_furka_dla_malzenstw_homoseksualnych.html, accessed: 09.04.2014].</p>	<p>PiS is against abortion under any circumstances. It is for the protection of life from natural conception to natural death. In the Program we can read: "The right to life determines relations between individuals and communities in such a way that excludes the possibility of making arbitrary decisions about depriving others of life; it also protects them from self-destructive actions. In modern times it is mainly about the protecting life from the time of conception." [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program PiS 2014), p. 7].</p>	<p>PiS opposes the legalization of 'soft drugs', which finds expression in Adam Hofman's statement: "In my opinion, if a drug dealer is caught with a small amount of drugs can avoid conviction, then we are on the road to legalizing soft drugs. I have a right to my opinion." [http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat,1342,title,Przebieg-PiS-to-drogakich-narkotykw,wid,13765186,wiadomosc.html?icaid=11280e&amp;_tcrs=3].</p>	<p>PiS is against this possibility, as evidenced by the results of voting on bills related to this issue. PiS representatives voted against rejecting the civic project ("Free Sunday") that places a ban on trading on Sundays [Voting no. 12 – session 64, accessed: 21.03.2014]. There was a similar case during voting on a previous bill by representatives [Voting no. 10 – session 64, accessed: 21.03.2014].</p>	<p>PiS opposes the introduction of sexual education in schools. Their position is expressed in a statement by Prof. Ryszard Terlecki, published on the party's website: "What about sexual education? Personally I think that schools should prepare students for functioning in a family, not for sexual life." [http://www.pis.org.pl/article.php?id=16387, accessed: 09.04.2014].</p>	<p>PiS recognizes the special role of the Church in Polish life, including public life. The party is against removing religious symbols from the public sphere, (for instance, the cross from the Sejm) [Program PiS 2014 (PiS Program 2014) pp. 10–11].</p> <p>This idea is made clear in statements by party politicians, for instance: Andrzej Duda stated that "PiS will defend the cross, as its place is in the Polish Sejm" and "(...) the time has come in Poland when people demand removal of the cross from the public sphere, where the majority of Catholic Poles move about, for whom the cross is a very important emblem." [http://www.pis.org.pl/article.php?id=22510, accessed: 09.04.2014].</p> <p>J. Kaczyński himself also stated that: "Today we are eyewitnesses to the greatest attack on the Church and its values. It is an attack on matters as fundamental as the defense of life and the presence of the Church and religion in public life." [http://www.niedziela.pl/art/kul/5240/ Jaroslaw-Kaczynski-dla-%E2%80%9E9E%E2%80%9D, accessed: 09.04.2014].</p> <p>The Church, as an institution, is perceived by PiS as a refuge of "Polishness" – for this reason, according to the party, it deserves special significance: "The special status of the Catholic Church in our national and public life is uniquely important. We want to uphold it and we believe that attempts at destroying and unjustly attacking the Church are dangerous for the general shape of social life." [Program PiS, ..., pp. 10–11]. He also supported financial aid for building the Temple of Divine Providence [Świątynia Opatrzności Bożej] [http://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/polityka/artykuly/450423,klofnia-o-dotacje-na-swiatynie-opatrzności-bożej.html, accessed: 09.04.2014].</p> <p>From this we may also conclude that he accepts financial aid for his political structure from public funds. The political group is also a proponent of teaching religion in schools. It is also closely bound with "Radio Maryja" and "TV Trwam".</p>	

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
PO	Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples	Position on abortion	Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use	Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays	Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools	Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
<p>PO is strongly divided on this issue, which could be seen during work on a bill concerning civil unions/partnerships, where an attempt was made to combine the position of the liberals (supporting the initiative) with that of party conservatives (who were opposed). The party's official position is against legalizing homosexual unions. In 2013, an inner-party team was established to work out a consensus regarding civil unions, after the conservative fraction of PO had voted to reject all three bills, including that of Artur Dumn. The main reason for this was a fear that the regulations would open a door for entering into homosexual unions [http://fakty.interia.pl/polska/news-po-ze-spol-w-ewna-trzparty-jny-opracuje-projekt-ws-zwiazkow-niefid.935947; http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,13310853-D-laczego_poslowie_PO_glosowali_przeciwko_zwiazkom.html; http://katowice.gazeta.pl/katowice/1,35055,13367158,Posel_PO_nie_chce_malzenstw_homo-seksualnych_Puknijcie.html, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>Officially, the party is for maintaining currently functioning resolutions in this matter. Thus, it is pro-abortion only under specific conditions (when the health or life of the mother or the fetus is endangered, when the pregnancy is the result of rape) and with the permission of a doctor. However, inside the party, attitudes are divided; and in July 2011, the Sejm (with votes from PIS, almost all of PSL and part of PO) rejected the proposal for rejecting the entire civic project for the family planning bill, protection of the human fetus and the conditions for allowing abortion, which completely prohibited abortion, and referred it for further consideration by the committee [http://wpolityce.pl/polityka/142059-komorowski-po-za-wszelka-cene-powinna-bronic-kompromisu-ws-aborcji; http://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/polska/news-odrzuciono-projekt-tustawy-zaostre-zajatej-przepisy-ws-aborcji-nld.643944, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>PO is opposed to legalizing the possession of marijuana for personal use. In 2011, it opposed the inclusion of this drug on the list of medications. Meanwhile, it proposes the introduction of legal regulations that would allow justice authorities to waive pursuit of possession of a small amount [http://www.radiobialystok.pl/wiadomosci/polskaiwiat/57217; http://www.radiobialystok.pl/wiadomosci/polskaiwiat/id57156; http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,9350906,Blaszczak_pyta_premiera_o_stanowisko_rzadu_ws_posiadania.html, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>PO is against the prohibition of trade during holidays because such a ban could cause arise in unemployment [http://www.platforma.org/a_kulturalnos/c/19300/po-przeciw-na-zakazowi-handlu-w-niedziele, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>PO's position in this matter – as in many concerning issues of worldview – is vague. Within the party, there are two conflicting fractions: the progressive fraction and the conservative. From Donald Tusk's statements, we can assume that he is against sexual education in schools: „Sexuality begins at home, in the family, and has no place in school” [http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/kuzlik-rostkowska-najpierw-badania-potem-decyzja-w-edukacji-seksualnej/m3del, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	<p>PO's position on this issue is unanimous [http://wiadomosci.wp.pl/kat.1342,opage,6,title,Tusk-zabral-glos-ws-krzyza-w-sejmie,wid.13892222,wiadomosci.html?icaid=112852; http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/projekt-uchwaly-pis-ws-krzyza-do-dalszych-prace-w-sejmie/rghoq; http://www.fakt.pl/Niesiolowski-ostro-o-Paliko-cie-zdejmowaniu-krzyza-artykuly, 133620,1.html, accessed: 11.04.2014]. The conservative fraction of PO is in favor of leaving the cross in the public sphere, as “a symbol of religious pain and a sign of God's love for people, and in the public sphere – a reminder about readiness for sacrifice for another human being and oblation. The cross represents values that build respect for the dignity of every human being, the rights of every human being, and the rights of communities.” [quotation from the bill concerning the freedom of religion – signed by 10 representatives from PO]. PO proposes the eliminations of the Church Fund and instead implementing the possibility of writing off 0.3% of income tax for churches and religious associations. These would – according to the party's proposition – independently pay contributions for social security and health care for the clergy [http://www.idziemy.com.pl/kosciol/rzadz-i-episkopat-z-nadzieje-po-rozmowach-ws-finansowania-kosciola; http://www.tvpparlament.pl/aktualnosci/jak-finansowane-kosciol-dzis-kolejne-spotkanie/, accessed: 11.04.2014].</p>	

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
PSL	<p>Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples</p> <p>The party is against the legalization of homosexual unions.</p>	<p>Position on abortion</p> <p>PSL is against abortion and for stricter legal regulations concerning abortion. When voting on bills for stricter prohibition of abortion (the ban would concern a fetus diagnosed with a defect) and a complete ban on abortion – both civic projects – the PSL representatives voted for referring the bills to further amendment by the committee [<a href="http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju_n,3/w-sejmie-debata-o-aborcji-psi-tps-l-i-sp-chca-dalszych-praenad-obywatelskim-projektem,357840.html">http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju_n,3/w-sejmie-debata-o-aborcji-psi-tps-l-i-sp-chca-dalszych-praenad-obywatelskim-projektem,357840.html</a>; <a href="http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/pos-lid-i-rp-przeciw-projektowi-dot-aborcji-psi-psi-i-sp-za-dalszymi-pracami/6gq0m">http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/kraj/pos-lid-i-rp-przeciw-projektowi-dot-aborcji-psi-psi-i-sp-za-dalszymi-pracami/6gq0m</a>, accessed: 10.04.2014]</p>	<p>Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use</p> <p>PSL is against the legalization of soft drugs [<a href="http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10374290,Debata_PO_Pis_PSL_przeciwko_legalizacji_marihuany.html">http://wiadomosci.gazeta.pl/wiadomosci/1,114873,10374290,Debata_PO_Pis_PSL_przeciwko_legalizacji_marihuany.html</a>, accessed: 10.04.2014].</p>	<p>Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays</p> <p>PSL advocates the ban on trading on Sundays and holidays. In the party's opinion, forcing people to work on Sundays in shopping centers, especially women, who constitute the majority of sales employees and fulfill a responsible role in family life, and childrearing, is judged negatively by a significant part of society. The party is concerned that the trading ban could cause a rise in unemployment. That is why, in the party's opinion, this issue should be examined when the economic situation of the country improves [<a href="http://wyborcza.pl/1,91446,15658156,Sejm_podzielony_ws_zakazu_handlu_w_niedziele.html">http://wyborcza.pl/1,91446,15658156,Sejm_podzielony_ws_zakazu_handlu_w_niedziele.html</a>; <a href="http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1080644,Sejm-odmawia-nie-bedzie-zakazu-handlu-w-niedziele">http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/1080644,Sejm-odmawia-nie-bedzie-zakazu-handlu-w-niedziele</a>; <a href="http://serwis.gazeta-prawna.pl/praca-i-kariera/artykuly/785289,zakaz-handlu-w-niedziele-w-sklepach.html">http://serwis.gazeta-prawna.pl/praca-i-kariera/artykuly/785289,zakaz-handlu-w-niedziele-w-sklepach.html</a>, accessed: 10.04.2014].</p>	<p>Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools</p> <p>In PSL, there is no unanimous position towards this issue. For instance, Halina Szymiec-Raczyńska, a representative of this party, is a supporter of sexual education in schools. Most party members, however, are against introducing sexual education into schools [<a href="http://dtp-24.pl/poslan-hal-halina-szymiec-racynska-w-psi-u,51450">http://dtp-24.pl/poslan-hal-halina-szymiec-racynska-w-psi-u,51450</a>, accessed: 10.04.2014].</p>	<p>Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds</p> <p>PSL is a political party that includes itself in the Christian-democratic current, thus in matters of worldview it relies on the social teachings of the Church. At the same time, the party's lack of clearly defined attitudes towards these issues in the program is a result of the party's principle that PSL representatives are not obligated to practice party discipline. The party believes that each representative should vote according to his/her own conscience, although he/she should always take Church teachings as a basis. However, party members' statements show that they are for leaving religious symbols in the public sphere [<a href="http://wpolityce.pl/polityka/120993-po-pis-psi-zalym-by-krzyz-pozostal-w-sejmie-inicjatywe-palikota-popiera-rzekomo-slaski-senator-kutz">http://wpolityce.pl/polityka/120993-po-pis-psi-zalym-by-krzyz-pozostal-w-sejmie-inicjatywe-palikota-popiera-rzekomo-slaski-senator-kutz</a>; <a href="http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/tylko-w-onecie/walka-o-wolnosc-religii-w-urople-sukces-polityka-z-polski/medvs">http://wiadomosci.onet.pl/tylko-w-onecie/walka-o-wolnosc-religii-w-urople-sukces-polityka-z-polski/medvs</a>, accessed: 10.04.2014].</p> <p>PSL did not support its coalition partner, PO, on the issue of liquidating the Church Fund, as sponsored by one of the group's leaders, Marek Sawicki: "This is not a proposition of the government, this is Michal Boni's idea" [<a href="http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,11368838,PSL_Podziek_na_kosciol_To_nie_nasz_pomysl.html#ixzz2yt-Sec4thk">http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,11368838,PSL_Podziek_na_kosciol_To_nie_nasz_pomysl.html#ixzz2yt-Sec4thk</a>, accessed: 10.04.2014].</p>

CRITERIA						
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples	Position on abortion	Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use	Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays	Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools	Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
SLD	<p>The political group supports the legalization of homosexual unions as civil partnerships, but not marriages. One of the basic values written into the Declaration of SLD's ideas and program is democracy "understood as majority rule with the protection of minorities rights – of national, ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities" and freedom understood as "freedom of making life choices, freely deciding about one's self, (...) and tolerance." [Deklaracja ideowo-programowa SLD (Declaration of SLD's ideas and program), Warsaw 10.12.2011].</p> <p>In SLD's Program, the party declares willingness to legalize "unions of partners, both of the same sex and opposite sexes – while maintaining the visible legal differences in comparison to marriages. The French package of social solidarity (PACS) could serve as inspiration." [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program. <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>. A Program for Poland), p. 24].</p>	<p>SLD is in favor of leaving the decision about abortion to the woman. This is expressed in the party's program: "We will consistently strive towards the abolishment of the law concerning family planning, the protection of the human fetus, and the conditions allowing for termination of pregnancy – a law whose result is a growing abortion underground and a deepening conviction in women that they are second-rate citizens in Poland, with no rights to decide about their own lives. To replace the abortion law that discriminates against women, we will introduce a modern law concerning conscious parenthood, allowing access to all methods of family planning and reproductive health in general." [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program. <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>. A Program for Poland), p. 118].</p>	<p>The party program does not raise these issues.</p>	<p>The party program does not raise these issues.</p>	<p>The party is in favor of introducing sexual education into public schools at all levels; "appropriate to the age, sensitivity, and perceptual abilities of children and young people (...)" [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program. <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>. A Program for Poland), p. 118].</p>	<p>SLD is a proponent of the principle of government neutrality in matters of religion and conviction. It postulates:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Revision of the law regarding the emblem, hymn, colors of the Polish Republic, and the state seal, excluding the placement of particular religious, ideological, party, and corporate symbols in places of public government rule, as well as the exclusion of ostentatious display of such symbols by public functionaries during their term in government office;</li> <li>– Striving to impede the process of clericalization of the public school system;</li> <li>– Abolishment of the Church Fund, restricting other direct grants to the Catholic Church and the clergy;</li> <li>– Restriction of tax relief for Church corporations and introducing a voluntary tax deduction of 1% – on the same basis as for public benefit organizations. [Program SLD. <i>Jutro bez obaw. Program dla Polski</i> (SLD Program. <i>Tomorrow without fear</i>. A Program for Poland), pp. 21–24].</li> </ul>

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					
Twój Ruch	<p><b>Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples</b></p> <p>The political group supports the legalization of homosexual unions, including the right to legal marriage. "The state must treat all citizens in the same way, giving them opportunities to realize their life goals. Men and women, Polish nationals and members of other national minorities, heterosexuals and homosexuals – all should not only have the same political rights, but also make use of the benefits of legal institutions, which will consider their particular needs." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 9]. "It is very crucial to introduce a law concerning partnerships that will facilitate the mutual lives of people who (for various reasons) do not desire a traditional wedding. Such a law is especially essential for the equality of rights of homosexuals, who are unable to enter into marriage." [Deklaracja..., p. 47].</p>	<p><b>Position on abortion</b></p> <p>The party demands the right to legal abortion. "We demand sexual education, access to free, modern contraceptives, the right to legal abortion, and the refunding of in vitro treatment." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 19]. "Our right to decide about our own reproduction has been taken away. The rightist, fanatically religious groups, are always trying to tighten the already restrictive abortion law of 1993. Yet, the right to abortion is not an obligation, but a possibility. Every woman who wants to have a child, (even the most ill child), can love him and raise him. In a civilized country, however, no one can force women to have children (...)" [Deklaracja..., pp. 19–20].</p>	<p><b>Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use</b></p> <p>Twój Ruch is in favor of legalizing marijuana. "The legalization of marijuana is a beneficial solution both from a moral perspective and a practical/medical one. There is no reason for the government to pursue people who, without harming others, use a substance that is no more harmful than tobacco or alcohol; especially that the palliative qualities of marijuana make a case for its use in treating many illnesses, and an exercise would bring money into the budget." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 47].</p>	<p><b>Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays</b></p> <p>Twój Ruch is against banning trade on holidays. The group's representatives did not support the bill introducing this ban, since in their view it was ideologically-tainted and had no real impact on improving the situation of sales workers [http://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/polska/news-zakaz-handlu-w-niedzielu-sejm-podzielony-premier-sceptyczny.nId,1360761, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools</b></p> <p>Twój Ruch demands the introduction of sexual education in schools. "We demand sexual education, access to free, modern contraceptives, the right to legal abortion, and the refunding of in vitro treatment." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 19]. "Besides the rules for healthy eating, diagnosis and medical prevention, lessons should also include sex education and guidelines for safe use of alcohol. The development of prevention will help lower health care costs, and sexual education will teach young people to avoid risky behavior. Sex is too important an area of life to be associated with fear of embarrassment." [Deklaracja..., p. 25].</p>	<p><b>Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds</b></p> <p>One of the party's stipulations is the absence of religious symbols in public life (including schools) and no financing of the Church from public funds. "An open, secular country that guards the law and freedom, should create conditions for free, pluralistic social life, free of hate, insecurities, and xenophobia. A common nation rich in diversity must be a secular nation, governed by law and not the arbitrary will of politicians and officials." [Deklaracja i tezy programowe (Declaration and program theses), twojruch.eu, p. 9]. "We demand respect for Article 25.2 in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, according to which 'public authorities in the Republic of Poland maintain impartiality in matters of religious conviction, ideology, and philosophy, ensuring the freedom of their expression in public life.' This rule obligates governmental organs to ensure that in governing and legislation they will not favor atheism, religiosity, or any religious or secular ideological systems. Citizens must have the certainty that in matters of ideology, the government will exercise the utmost restraint and refrain from establishing laws on the basis of any religious or philosophical convictions. Instead, they should leave as much room for our choice as possible. No church can have greater privileges than others in state life – The absence of religious symbols in offices, schools, etc., should be the proof of the impartiality of the state." [Deklaracja..., p. 33]. "Though it is a fact that a large part of taxpayers are Catholics it does not follow that we can fund things such as catechism or the Field Ordinatee from public finances (therefore, money paid by non-Catholics as well). Funds for such activities should come entirely from collections organized in the Church." [Deklaracja..., p. 34].</p>

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<p><b>Solidarna Polska</b></p> <p>The party is against legalizing same-sex marriages and homosexual unions. It believes that marriage is a union between a woman and a man. The group proposed the establishment of October 22 as the Day of Family Rights. "Regulations that would equate same-sex partnerships with marriages understood as unions between women and men are unacceptable, shameful, and Solidarna Polska will always oppose them" – wrote Patryk Jaki, spokesman for the Parliamentary Club Solidarna Polska [http://wpolityce.pl/polityka/125321-solidarna-polska-proponuje-zamiasc-zwiazkow-partnierskich-palikota-dzien-praw-rodziny, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p> <p>SP also proposes increasing legal protection of the conscience clause via changes in regulations concerning the medical and dental professions; in the party's opinion, this could lessen the witch-hunt for doctors who sign a declaration of faith and adhere to the conscience clause [http://www.solidarna.org.pl/kp-sprawiedliwa-polis-ka-domaga-sie-wzmocnienia-prawnego-klauzuli-sumienia/, accessed: 06.08.2014].</p>	<p>SP is against abortion and wants tighter regulations in this area, which would result in introducing an abortion ban in the case of fetuses with defects [http://www.wprost.pl/ar/349593/Solidarna-Polska-proponuje-niech-aborcja-bedzie-trudniejsza/, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p>SP wants tighter regulations concerning drug possession. In 2013, the party's politicians sent letters to other politicians and celebrities who – in their opinion – propagate the use of marijuana. The project presented by the party at that time presupposed the repealing of criminal proceedings for possession of insignificant amounts of drugs meant for personal use [http://www.rp.pl/artykul/749258,972439-SP-chce-zaostrenia-kar-za-posiadanie-narkotykow.html, http://polska.newsweek.pl/solidarna-polska-solidarnie-przeciwiw-narkotikom, 87441,1,1.html accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p>SP supports the ban on trading on Sundays and holidays. The group's representatives are in favor of further work on the bill concerning the trading ban on Sundays [http://www.rmf24.pl/fakty/polska/news-zakaz-handlu-w-niedziele-sejm-podzielony-premier-sceptyczny,nld,1360761, http://rozzumny.salon24.pl/511020,zdecydowanie-popieram-wprowadzenie-zakazu-handlu-w-niedziele, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p>SP opposes the introduction of sexual education into schools. The group's representatives voted for rejecting the bill that would include sex education in schools. They identify sex education with "pedophilia" and "gender education". During a debate, Marzena Wróbel (Solidarna Polska) claimed that such lessons would "de-astate the insides of young people" because they are not about education, but "a proposition for demoralization." [http://wyborcza.pl/1,75478,16261405,Checa-by-za-genderowa-edukacje-seksualna-scigano.html#ixzz39gwGUHG, http://polska.newsweek.pl/tomasz-lis-na-zywo-andrzej-rozenek-marzena-wrobel-edukacja-seksualna-artykuly/277148,1.html, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p>SP jest against removing religious symbols from the public domain and public life, (i.e. the cross in the Sejm) [http://www.wiadomosci24.pl/artykul/sprawa_krzyza_w_sejmie_na_wokandzie_warszawskiego_sadu_257279.html, http://prawo.money.pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/artykul/solidarna-polska-oskarza-poslowo:zmiewazenie-chrzescijanstwa:44,0,12,20652.html, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	

Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					
<b>Polska Razem</b>	<p><b>Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples</b></p> <p>The party is against legalizing unions between homosexuals. It emphasizes that, in accordance with the Constitution, marriage is the union of a woman and a man. In order to legalize civil partnerships, changes in the Constitution are required [http://polskarazem.pl/gowin-malzenstwo-to-zwi-azek-mieczynny-i-koibiet/, accessed: 07.08.2014]. Polska Razem is of the opinion that accepting para-marital institutions in the case of homosexuals is the first step to the adoption of children by homosexuals [http://www.fronda.pl/a/tecza-nowy-spot-jaroslawa-gowina.36970.html, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on abortion</b></p> <p>Polska Razem does not have an official position on issues of ideology or worldview (such as abortion, in vitro fertilization, or civil partnerships), yet its politicians display conservative attitudes. For instance, Jarosław Gowin thinks that Polish law should ban abortion for the so-called "eugenic" reasons [http://www.fronda.pl/a/jaroslaw-gowin-jest-zalcakowitym-zakazem-aborcji-przecczytaj-jego-ankietedla-jeden-z-nas.37749.html, accessed: 07.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use</b></p> <p>The party does not hold a clear position regarding this issue (at least in their program). However, its leader believes these issues to be "a waste of time" or "filler topics". It seems that in ideological issues the party has rightist views, so it is against legalization of soft drugs, including marijuana [http://www.fronda.pl/a/gowin-zajmowanie-sie-zwi-azkami-i-partnerskimi-mar-ihuanami-i-podobnymi-rzeczami-to-strata-czasu.26073.html, accessed: 10.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays</b></p> <p>The party's position is not clear in this context and not clearly expressed in the program documents. On one hand, it is for economic freedom, but on the other its leaders (while they were still PO representatives – Jarosław Gowin and Jacek Żalek) voted for the bill banning trading on Sundays, later presented by PiS in May 2013 [http://www.tvn24.pl/wiadomosci-z-kraju,3/zakaz-handlu-w-medziel-glownie-z-inicjatywy-pis-zobacz-liste.328954.html, accessed: 10.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools</b></p> <p>As in the case of soft drugs and other cases of ideological problems, the party fails to present its position clearly in its program. However, its leader Jarosław Gowin voted for rejecting the bill concerning sexual education [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bBvr5ktw_GY, accessed: 10.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds</b></p> <p>Although Polska Razem declares itself against discrimination, including religious discrimination, it is against the removal of religious symbols (the cross) from the public domain (i.e. from the Sejm) [http://www.polskieradio.pl/5/3/Artykul/998636,Kryzys-zostaje-w-Sejmie-Nikomu-niepotrzebny-spor,http://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/polityka/artykuly/445314,kryzys-zostaje-w-sejmie-co-na-to-politycy.html, accessed: 10.08.2014].</p>
<b>Kongres Nowej Prawicy</b>	<p>The party is opposed to the legalization of unions between homosexuals. "We will not allow marriage to be equated with other sexual and semi-sexual partnerships. The legal status of marriage can only be given to partnerships of individuals who can conceive children." [http://www.nowaprawica.jkm.pl/info/program-wyborczy/program-kongresu-nowej-prawicy/item/program-kongresu-nowej-prawicy, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p>According to the party, terminating pregnancy should be prohibited. Janusz Korwin-Mikke speaks of exceptional cases in which abortion could be allowed as "a lesser evil than allowing it entirely." [http://nowaprawica.wroclaw.pl/artykuly,n292,piotr_t_waszkwiecz_aborcja_a_holocaust.html, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party is for legalizing soft drugs such as marijuana [http://korwin-mikke.pl/wazne/zobacz/nowa_prawica_przedstawia_swoj_program_obnizka_podatkow-_legalizacja_trawki/41978, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party does not raise this issue directly in its program. Yet because of the fact that it opposes government interference in citizens' affairs, we may conclude that it is also against implementing the ever, It should be noted, however, that the party recognizes Christian values and Catholic traditions.</p>	<p>The party is against introducing sexual education in schools. Party leader Janusz Korwin-Mikke said in an interview for Kaleteria.tv: "This is a terrible injury to young people's minds. I would prefer for my daughter to get caught in the hands of a pedophile, who will caress her, rather than in a sexual education class." He added, "I am ashamed of what is being done with young people nowadays." [http://pareja.pl/korwin-mikke-edukacja-seksualna-potworze-o-kalcazanie-psyche-malych-ludzi/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p>The party does not raise this topic directly in its program. Moreover, its postulates in this context are vague. On one hand, they want autonomy for churches from the state, legal protection for atheists and non-Christians, and recognize religious freedom; on the other hand, they acknowledge Christian values and Catholic traditions as important.</p>



Abbreviation of a political party's name	CRITERIA					Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
<p><b>Ruch Narodowy</b></p> <p>The party is against legalizing homosexual unions. "Poland needs to be rooted in tradition, despite subversive currents. Our forefathers got their moral principles from natural law, read in the context of Poland's Christianizing belonging to the Catholic and Latin civilization. Today, there are ideologists making their way across Europe that are hostile to universal natural law and destructive to healthy morality. In Poland, they must be stopped. We will neutralize the propaganda of sodomites and block the implementation of the so-called "gender" ideology. We won't allow for the depravation of our children and youth by institutions meant for education – preschools, schools, and others. We will not allow the destruction of families or the deformation of masculinity or femininity through ideas that conflict with human nature. In the public media and in cultural institutions we will block the offensive of cultural Marxism." [http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples</b></p> <p>The party is against legalizing homosexual unions. "Poland needs to be rooted in tradition, despite subversive currents. Our forefathers got their moral principles from natural law, read in the context of Poland's Christianizing belonging to the Catholic and Latin civilization. Today, there are ideologists making their way across Europe that are hostile to universal natural law and destructive to healthy morality. In Poland, they must be stopped. We will neutralize the propaganda of sodomites and block the implementation of the so-called "gender" ideology. We won't allow for the depravation of our children and youth by institutions meant for education – preschools, schools, and others. We will not allow the destruction of families or the deformation of masculinity or femininity through ideas that conflict with human nature. In the public media and in cultural institutions we will block the offensive of cultural Marxism." [http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 12.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on abortion</b></p> <p>The political group is against abortion, calling it a "rebellion." [http://www.prawy.pl/z-kraju/5218-kandydatki-ruchu-narodowego-euro-wyborach-zaprezentowaly-sie-w-warszawie, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use</b></p> <p>The party's position on this matter is not clear. The party program lacks references to this issue. From statements by certain members it follows that the legalization of soft drugs may constitute a problem in society [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3FV0_0ZSm-Bg, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays</b></p> <p>The party's position on this issue is unclear. The program lacks references to this issue. From statements made by certain members it follows that they support a ban on trading on Sundays and holidays [http://mysl24.pl/spoleczenstwo/1471-wolnoszczu-uzaleznienie.html, accessed: 13.08.2014]. Moreover, the party appeals to Christian values in its program.</p>	<p><b>Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools</b></p> <p>The party opposes the introduction of sexual education into schools [http://www.prawy.pl/z-kraju/5218-kandydatki-ruchu-narodowego-w-eurowyborach-zaprezentowaly-sie-w-warszawie, dostep: 13.08.2014 oraz http://narodowy2014.pl/program/, accessed: 13.08.2014].</p>	<p><b>Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds</b></p> <p>The party's position on this issue is unclear. The party program lacks references to this issue. At the same time, it appeals to Christian values in its program.</p>

CRITERIA						
Abbreviation of a political party's name	Position on the possibility of legalizing unions of homosexual couples	Position on abortion	Position on the legality of marijuana possession for personal use	Position on the possibility of trading on Sundays and holidays	Position on the introduction of sexual education in schools	Position on religious symbols in the public sphere and the financing of the church through public funds
<b>Samobrona</b>	The party's views on matters of custom is based on Catholic social science. It is against the legalization of same-sex unions. Yet there is a lack of such statements in the program.	Samobrona presents the option of moderate conservatism in matters of ideology/worldview and customs. The party clearly underlines its attachment to ethical norms expounded by the Catholic Church, but its position in this context is moderate. It is against abortion, but notices the social sources of the high number of abortions, which correlates with social exclusion and poverty. It is against tightening current regulations.	In the 2007 elections the political group was for the legalization of marijuana. Currently there are no references to this issue in the program.	The party's position on this matter is unclear. On one hand, the PIS-LPR [League of Polish Families/Liga Polskich Rodzin]-Samobrona coalition came the closest to forcing a complete ban on trade on Sundays and holidays, but as a result of analyses it withdrew from this idea and created a compromise that resulted in the ban being enforced on 12 national and religious holidays per year [http://www.ekonomia.rp.pl/arttykul/1080884.html, accessed: 13.08.2014].	In its program, the group postulates "preparing young people for family life." [http://www.samobrona.org.pl/pages/02b.Program/index.php?document=489, 13.08.2014].	The party has not expressed itself clearly on this issue. However, when organizing its rallies it often uses religious symbols, often by carrying pictures and other religious symbols, or singing church songs. [J. Lowicki, <i>Pacyfikacja "Samobrony"</i> , "Chłopska Droga" ( <i>The Pacification of "Self-Defense"</i> ), 18.IV.1993].
<b>Demokracja Bezpośrednia</b>						
<b>Partia Zieloni</b>	The party is a supporter of legalizing same-sex unions, with the possibility of marriage: "We recognize the right of homosexual couples to registered unions. We are for the right to legally-registered unions, both hetero- and homosexual, that are not marriages to mutual civil, tax, and asset rights and responsibilities." [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	The political group supports the right to abortion and recognizes that a woman has the exclusive right to decide if she wants to have children. "We are in favor of respecting a woman's right to conscious motherhood, which entails her decision about whether to have children, when to have children, and how many. We also emphasize the importance of responsible fatherhood. We believe that abortion cannot be a substitute for contraception. However, we are for creating conditions in which the law does not regulate the issue of abortion, leaving room for individual moral decisions." [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	The party's program does not raise these issues.	The party's program does not raise these issues.	Partia Zieloni is for universal and modern sexual education and for universal, state-financed access to contraceptives [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014].	The party believes that the condition for the existence of minorities in a nation is the government's ideological neutrality [http://partiazieloni.pl/, accessed: 13.08.2014]. Thus, it is in favor of separating church and state. However, it does not directly express its position on the matter of removing religious symbols from the public sphere or financing churches through public funds.

The party program does not make reference to these issues.