

# The Polish EU Enlargement Debate

*A manual with information and contacts*

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## A. MEDIA

“The Polish media used to be the best in the region. Squeezed by falling revenues, they have recently become noticeably more sensational.” (The Economist, 9 January 2009)

### 1. TV in Poland



#### **Telewizja Polska – Polish Television (TVP)**

<http://www.tvp.pl>

“Polish electronic media are at a crucial moment of their development... With dwindling income from the licence fee... fierce fighting for advertising revenue, and TVP losing its younger, more educated and wealthier viewers, the future looks bleak for Polish public service broadcasting.” (Open Society Institute report: TV across Europe 2008: Poland)

The Poland’s public station **Telewizja Polska – TVP** used to have the reputation of being the best TV station in post-communist Europe. It still remains the most popular TV station in Poland. TVP1 has an audience share of 24 per cent. The second channel TVP2 has a 16.5 per cent share. Adding in the other TVP channels, TVP can still command close to half the audience. But there is a growing private TV sector – the top two commercial channels Polsat and TVN have 14 per cent and 13.4 per cent respectively, according to TNS OBOP (January 2009).



However, TVP’s reputation is now rather diminished as it goes through one of its periodic political crises. **Piotr Farfał** from the far right League of Polish Families (LPR) seized control from Andrzej Urbański, an appointee of the previous PiS Government, in December 2008. Farfał says he is the President of TVP on a temporary basis. Given his reputation – based on his ultra-nationalist background in his younger days – Farfał’s putsch shocked many. A change-over of over 50 managers is under way as PiS appointees are removed.

“Political pressure and bias have always been commonplace at the Polish public-service broadcaster Telewizja Polska (TVP),” Marius Dragomir, of the Open Society Institute's Media Programme, wrote in European Voice on March 4 2009. He continued: “There was, though, a time between 2004 and 2006 when the station showed more pluralism and professionalism, primarily the journalists who contributed to its prime-time newscast *Wiadomości*. As well as coinciding with EU accession, that was a period when TVP was managed by a former BBC journalist. But such people, it seems, cannot stay long in such prominent positions in Poland's public-service media – their management and governing structures change as the political wind blows. The chapters of TVP's history are crammed with changes at the station's top, most of them dictated by politics.”

TVP’s future funding is also the subject of intense debate in Parliament. The government’s plan to replace licence fees with a subsidy from VAT payments is being opposed by the left-of-centre SLD party. Without SLD support, the proposed law may not be able to overturn an expected presidential veto. Under the proposed law TVP will continue to carry advertising, but it will be required to operate within a tighter public service remit than at present.

As well as mainstream channels TVP and TVP2, Polish TV also broadcasts TVP Info (a news channel), TVP Polonia (a satellite channel for Poles overseas), TVP Kultura (a prestigious arts and music channel), a history channel (TVP Historia), and TVP Sport. There are also 16 regional stations throughout the country.

**The main TVP News programmes:**► **TVP 1**

**Wiadomości** - news bulletins are shown on TVP 1 at 08:00; 12:00; 15:00; with the main news at 19:30. **Wiadomości** is the second most popular news programme, watched on average by just over 5 million viewers.

**Jarosław Grzelak** remains director of the News Department (known as TAI - Television Information Agency), which produces news for TVP 1 & 2 and TVP Info.

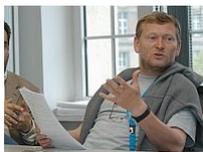


**Dorota Macieja** is the Editor of **Wiadomości**

Correspondent in Brussels is **Michał Adamczyk**, tel. + (32) 2 230 8478/231 1334.  
Email: [michal.adamczyk@waw.tvp.pl](mailto:michal.adamczyk@waw.tvp.pl)



**Joanna Wajda** specialises in political and international subjects especially EU and US affairs, covering EU summits and international visits of the president and prime minister. E-mail: [joanna.wajda@waw.tvp.pl](mailto:joanna.wajda@waw.tvp.pl)



Foreign Correspondent **Piotr Górecki**, based in Warsaw, has a long experience of working in the Balkans. E-mail: [piotr.gorecki@waw.tvp.pl](mailto:piotr.gorecki@waw.tvp.pl)



**Teleexpress** at 17:00 is a popular 15 minute news show on weekdays. It is on the first place in the It is the most popular information programs. In January 2009 it had an average of 5.93 million viewers.

Presenters: **Maciej Orłoś** and **Beata Chmielowska-Olech**.



**Kwadrans po ósmej** (Quarter past eight), an interview show - often with 3 newsmakers. It is shown at 08:15 from Mondays to Friday. Presenters: **Maciej Zdziarski** and **Justyna Dobrosz**.

► **TVP 2**

The main news programme on TVP 2 – **Panorama** is shown at 09:30 and 18:30. **Malgorzata Łopińska** is the Panorama editor.

**Foreign Desk:** Jacek Biernacki and Anna Waškiewicz



**Tomasz Lis** is one of the most popular TV journalists. He rejoined TVP in February 2008 to present **Tomasz Lis Live** – the top TV political discussion show, where he interviews the main political figures. It goes out on Mondays at 21:40 on TVP 2. He first joined [TVP](#) as newsreader and worked for three years as a correspondent in [Washington D.C.](#) Tomasz Lis also worked as newscaster for the main commercial channels, TVN and [Polsat](#). His book, “Co z tą Polską?” (“What's with Poland?”), became a bestseller, selling over 100,000 copies.

► **TVP INFO:**

<http://www.tvp.info/>



**TVP Info** is TVP’s continuous news channel. It runs hourly national news bulletins from 07:30 to 22:30. It also runs regional programming from TVP’s 16 regional stations and covers the parliament.

**Janusz Sejm** is Head of News at TVP Info.

**Magda Walczak** is the Brussels Correspondent. Email: [magdalena.walczak@waw.tvp.pl](mailto:magdalena.walczak@waw.tvp.pl)



**Komentarz świat** (World Commentary) is broadcast weekdays at 1715. The presenter is **Piotr Chęciński**. It is a quite well-respected foreign news-analysis programme covering EU related issues and world news.



**7 dni świat** (7 Days in the World), headed by **Andrzej Turski**, one of the best-known TVP presenters, is about to return to TV two years after it was removed. Andrzej Turski was a senior executive at TAI and at Polish Radio in the 1980’s and early 1990’s. Until recently he presented Panorama.



**Studio Wschód** - (Studio East) is a weekly information program on Saturdays at 17:30. It has an audience of 600,000. It covers Eastern Europe and such issues as international security, energy, and politics. **Maria Przelomiec** a former BBC radio journalist is editor and presenter of the program. She also writes for Dziennik, Wprost and for the Catholic media.

E-mail: [maria.przelomiec@waw.tvp.pl](mailto:maria.przelomiec@waw.tvp.pl)

**The commercial TV channels**► **TVN**

<http://www.tvn.pl/>

Telewizja TVN24

ul. Wiertnicza 166

TVN is owned by the ITI Group, is Poland's top commercial broadcaster. However, it has recently seen its audience slightly falling. Its audience rating was 15 per cent in December 2008 – 3 per cent down from November 2008. (AGB Nielsen Media Research 5 Jan 2009). TVN group's total audience share was 20 per cent in December, a 1 per cent fall over a year.



Fakty is the main evening news at 19:00 on TVN. It is watched by over 4.5 million people (January 2009) which makes it the third highest rated news programme, after "Teleexpress" and "Wiadomości". The Programme Editor is **Grzegorz Jędrzejowski**.

**Kamil Durczok** is the Editor in Chief and lead-presenter. He joined TVN in 2006 from TVP, where he anchored the main news and election night programming. He is a Silesian and began his TV career at TVP regional station in Katowice. The co-presenters are **Justyna Pochanke** and **Anita Werner**.



Justyna Pochanke



Kamil Durczok



Anita Werner

**Foreign correspondents:**

**Inga Rosińska** is the Brussels correspondent for TVN 24. She is an experienced reporter of EU issues. E-mail: [inga.rosinska@tiscali.be](mailto:inga.rosinska@tiscali.be)



**Anna Czerwińska** is a foreign editor, a roving reporter covering European stories including EU related topics.



► **TVN24** is a 24 hour news and information channel – the first in Poland. It is the most popular thematic channel with a 3 per cent rating (Jan 09) despite a reach of only 48%.

**Programmes:**

**Horyzont** covers Poland’s role in international politics, contemporary global issues with invited guests – experts, journalists and diplomats.



**Anna Kalczyńska-Maciejowska** is a Europe-specialist. She edited the magazine programme **Studio Europe**, a 15 minute weekly programme explaining the rights of EU citizens and the impact of European institutions on ordinary citizens. In 20 episodes transmitted in 2006 it covered issues such as gender equality, social inclusion policy, regional and social policy in the EU. To meet the public need and follow current events, Studio Europa also covered topics such as air traffic safety, lobbying, corruption and the ban on tobacco ban.

Anna Kalczyńska now presents Poland and the World on TVN24. She studied at the College of Europe at Natolin and studied journalism at Boston University. She has also worked at the European Commission in Brussels. E-mail: [A.Kalczynska@tvn.pl](mailto:A.Kalczynska@tvn.pl).



**Maciej Wierzyński** is the anchor of **Horyzont** and adviser to the News Director. In the 1960s and 1970s he was a journalist for Polityka. In the 1980’s he moved to USA as a correspondent for Polityka and worked for other Polish media from the US.

E-mail: [horyzont@tvn24.pl](mailto:horyzont@tvn24.pl)



**Magazyn 24 godziny** – (24 hours magazine), shown daily at 21:00. It covers the most important events of the day. It is presented by **Justyna Pochanke** and **Bogdan Rymanowski**.



**Kawa Na Ławę** is a 45-minute political interview and debate programme on current political issues and commentary. It is broadcast at 2100. It is hosted by **Bogdan Rymanowski**, 2008 journalist of the year. It is controversial for its liberal approach. It is notorious for a 9 October 2008 broadcast featuring Janusz Palikot, a publicity-hungry PO MP, who brought a bleeding pig’s head into the studio. The pig’s head, explained Palikot, in reference to a corruption scandal plaguing Polish football, was “a gift to the *Polish football federation mafia*.”

**Jacek Pałasiński** is the head of international editorial office. On the “Morning with TVN” show he presents an ironic look at international issues, presenting a mixture of important stories together with funny news clips with his own commentary. He is known to Polish viewers as the Rome correspondent who covered Pope John Paul II’s papacy for TVP and then TVN.

**Katarzyna Kołęda-Zaleska** is the anchor for TVN's Fakty (News) and she has a show "Morning Guest" on TVN 24. She is also a presenter of "Morning with TOK FM" a journalistic radio programme.



**Jacek Stawiski** is foreign editor of TVN 24 joining in 2007 from RMF FM where he was News Director.



► **TVN CNBC Biznes** is TVN's business news channel launched in cooperation with CNBC Europe.



► **Polsat**

<http://www.polsat.pl/program.php>

**Polsat** is the second largest commercial TV channel. It attracted a 16 per cent audience share in December 2008, down 1 per cent from a year ago. (AGB Nielsen Media Research 5 Jan 09). **Zygmunt Solorz-Żak** is the owner.

As the second commercial channel Polsat has been competing with TVN to try to introduce a brand of quality TV news on a commercial channel – not an easy battle to win with TVN with its slick presentational style. Polsat's leading news executives came from TVP. The Editor in Chief and presenter is **Jarosław Gugala**.



**Jarosław Gugala** first joined TVP in 1990 during the post communist changes. Initially a reporter, he rapidly became Director of TVP 1 and – after helping modernise TVP's news coverage – Director of TVP news. He left TVP and served as Polish Ambassador to Uruguay from 1999 and 2003.

Polsat's two news shows are called **Wydarzenia** (Events) and are broadcast at 15:50, with the main edition running from 18:50-19:20. They are watched by an average of 3.17 million viewers (January 2009). **Grzegorz Kozak** is editor of Wydarzenia – he was an experienced editor and correspondent at TVP.



► **Polsat News** started in June 2008 – it runs continuous news from 7:00 to 0:30. It co-operates with CNN so that the station is able to use CNN news-feeds. CNN helped to train the journalists and production staff.



**Grzegorz Dobiecki** presents "The World Today" (Dzień na świecie) at 21:30



**Dorota Bawolek** is the Brussels correspondent for Polsat News. She previously worked for the BBC. E-mail: [d\\_bawolek@yahoo.pl](mailto:d_bawolek@yahoo.pl)



► **TV Puls Telewizja Puls**  
<http://www.pulstv.pl/>  
ul. Chełmska 21, budynek 22  
00-724 Warsaw  
Tel: +48 (22) 559 73, 559 73 01

Telewizja Puls was launched in 2001. It runs a large amount of Catholic programming. It is co-now co-owned by the Franciscans Order, which holds a 51 per cent share. **Dariusz Dąbski** owns 49 per cent and is director of the station. Dariusz Dąbski was previously director of the biggest Polish computer company, Optimus S.A. News Corporation held a 35 per cent share from 2007-2008 when the station was re-launched. It is reported to be looking for an injection of capital.



The main news, **Wydarzenia Dnia** is from 20:00 – 20:30 with a morning show from 11:00 - 11:30 Monday to Thursday and news at 03:00.  
E-mail: [wydarzeniadnia@pulstv.pl](mailto:wydarzeniadnia@pulstv.pl)



The presenter is **Igor Janke**, who also appears on TOK-FM and has his own new blog.

## 2. Radio



**Polish Public Radio – Polskie Radio**  
<http://www.polskieradio.pl/>

Al. Niepodległości 77/85, Warsaw, Tel: +48 (22) 645 99 30

Polish Radio suffered losses of 13.5 million zlotys in 2008 – a loss of 15 million zlotys is expected in 2009.

The first programme is usually known as **Jedynka**. The second programme is known as **Dwójka**. Both programmes are rather conservative in format and content. Channel 1 has a 12.7 per cent rating. Channel 2 has a rating of 0.7 per cent. The third programme, which is known as **Trójka**, has a younger audience profile. It has lively discussion programmes. It has a 6.4 per cent audience share.

Sygnaly Dnia (“Signals of the Day”) is one of the best-known and respected shows on Polish Radio. It features three hours of news and current affairs.

**Dariusz Rosiak**, a respected journalist, presents the programme Raport o stanie Świata (Report on the state of the World) on Trójka. He was instrumental in setting-up the EU Desk at the PAP news agency and he is now also a regular commentator in the press.

**Euro Polish Radio** – before 2008 – Bis Polish Radio – a public radio station aiming young people.

<http://www.polskieradio.pl/iar/>

From mid 2008 it changed the profile to sports because of Euro 2012, which will be held in Poland and Ukraine.



Polish Radio's Brussels Correspondent is **Beata Plomecka**.

E-mail [bplomecka@skynet.be](mailto:bplomecka@skynet.be)

Polish Radio also has correspondents in Berlin, The Hague, Kiev, London, Mińsk, Moscow, New York, Paris, Prague, Rome, Sofia, Strasburg, Tel Aviv, Vienna, Vilnius and Washington DC.

**Tomasz Kowalczewski** has covered the W Balkans for Polish Radio. Now back in Warsaw he was previously based in Belgrade.

### Commercial radio stations



#### ► TOK FM

[http://www.tok.fm/TOKFM/0\\_0.html](http://www.tok.fm/TOKFM/0_0.html)

ul. Czerska 8/10, 00-732 Warsaw Tel: +48 (22) 55 55 100

**Ewa Wanat** is the programme editor in chief.

**Piotr Zorć** is the Editor of Blog FM. He has an interest in SE Europe and has family connections with Slovenia.

The number of people who listen to TOK FM everyday has risen from 139,000 in 2003 to 407,000. TOK FM has a 1.2 per cent rating today, a fourfold increase in audience size since 2003. TOK FM has increasingly won a reputation for having the best radio discussion shows among educated audiences in Warsaw and nine major Polish cities. It now has a 6 per cent share in Warsaw, and a 4.7 per cent share in Krakow. Each morning it runs a discussion show presented by a range of well-known journalists from the political spectrum with a different presenter each morning.



On Mondays the presenter is **Janina Pradowska**, from the Polityka weekly.

On Tuesdays the presenter is **Igor Janke** who currently writes for Rzeczpospolita, presents the Wydarzenia dnia news show on TV Puls, and also has his own blog - “Salon 24”





On Wednesdays the presenter is **Dominika Wielowieyska**, a journalist for Gazeta Wyborcza.



On Thursdays the morning show is hosted by **Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska**, a reporter/presenter for TVN 24. Before joining TVN she worked for TVP, reporting from the Polish Parliament.



On Fridays the host is **Jacek Żakowski**, a commentator for Polytika and a well-known author. He wrote the widely-acclaimed book, *“Fear and Hope. Discussions on the Future”* (2003).



TOK FM’s daytime strands include **Komentarze** on Tuesdays (11:00-13:00) Thursdays and Fridays (10:00-12:25). The presenter is **Anna Laszuk**. The producer is **Agata Kowalska**. Email: [komentarze@tok.fm](mailto:komentarze@tok.fm)

From 1400-1600 **Blog FM** with **Kuba Janiszewski** who has a wide range of interests, domestic and international.

**Grzegorz Chlasta** hosts the slot from 16:00 to 18:40 featuring, he says, *“the most important and most surprising things in politics, economy, culture and sport.”* E-mail [grzegorz.chlasta@tok.fm](mailto:grzegorz.chlasta@tok.fm)



► **Radio PIN** (Warsaw and internet)  
[www.radiopin.pl](http://www.radiopin.pl)

The first business/economics radio in Poland, PIN is acronym from the Polish: Money and Modernity. It runs news and analysis of financial and economic stories every half an hour.

► **RMF FM**  
RMF FM has a 22 per cent audience share, making it Poland’s top-rated radio station.

**Katarzyna Szymańska-Borginon** has worked in Brussels since 1990. She has been a correspondent of RMF since 1994 and now also the Newsweek Polska correspondent. She is an EU specialist and RMF’s correspondent at the main EU Summits. She won the Grand Press 2001 and 2005 EP awards for Polish Correspondents. E-mail: [bruksela@rmf.fm](mailto:bruksela@rmf.fm)

► **Radio ZET**  
<http://www.radiozet.pl/>

Having 18.6 per cent market share and a wide audience profile, Radio Zet is one of Poland’s biggest radio stations. “Breakfast on Radio Zet” is a weekly program hosted by **Monika Olejnik**, a well

known journalist. In the programme politicians discuss the passing week, covering domestic and some foreign stories and events.

**Andrzej Kocjan** reports from Brussels for Radio Zet. E-mail: [a.kocjan@radiozet.com.pl](mailto:a.kocjan@radiozet.com.pl)

► **Radio Maryja**

<http://www.radiomaryja.pl/>



Radio Maryja is owned by the controversial right wing priest **Father Rydzyk**, an opinion maker with xenophobic and anti-European views. The radio-station has a larger audience than, for instance, the second channel of Polish Radio. Father Rydzyk is a charismatic leader who attracts radio station a group of devoted, mostly elderly listeners.

### 3. Newspapers

*“This year will be difficult for the media in Poland, as the fight for advertisers grows fierce. Print media will be hit hardest, and there may be some casualties.”*

(Warsaw Business Journal 2nd February 2009)

► **Gazeta Wyborcza**



Gazeta Wyborcza

<http://wyborcza.pl/0,86871.html?str=1> (English language pages)

ul.Czerska 8/10

00-732 Warszawa

The liberal centre-left **Gazeta Wyborcza** is the most read serious daily and second bestselling paper. It began as the “Election Gazette”, originally based in a hastily converted schoolroom, during Poland’s first free Parliamentary elections in 1989. GW is now located in a high-tech newsroom. It is the flagship of the Agora Company, which also owns magazines, the Internet portal [gazeta.pl](http://gazeta.pl), and several radio stations.

Like all the Polish media, the owners of Gazeta Wyborcza face strong commercial pressures. Advertising revenue fell by 10.7 million zlotys year on year to November 2008 (though GW still has the largest ad revenues of any daily). GW’s paid circulation of 374,000 in November 2008 was 13 per cent lower than a year before. (Figures from Warsaw Business Journal 2/2/09) 7.5 per cent of Agora’s workforce – some 300 staff, including some prominent names – was due to be laid off by April 2009, the company announced in January 2009.



**Adam Michnik** is the editor-in-chief and co-founder of Gazeta Wyborcza. In the eighties he was one of the leading organizers of the democratic opposition. He is known as a historian, essayist, and the country’s pre-eminent political publicist. He is also the symbol of the round table negotiations which led to Poland’s first non-communist government 20 years ago.



However, due to Adam Michnik's many engagements on a day to day basis Gazeta Wyborcza is now headed by the paper's team of deputy editors, the most senior of which is **Jarosław Kurski**. (His brother Jacek Kurski is one of the leaders of PiS.)

<http://www.gazeta.pl/0,0.html>



**Bartosz Węglarczyk** is the foreign editor. He is a former correspondent in Moscow, Brussels and Washington. Tel. 48 (22) 555 4338

Foreign desk: [swiat@agora.pl](mailto:swiat@agora.pl)



**Konrad Niklewicz** is a former Brussels correspondent from 2005 – 2007 and in 2000-2001 – a correspondent in Paris. He is one of the country's most respected writers on EU and economic issues.



**Jacek Pawlicki** has also worked in Brussels and is regarded as one of the best-informed writers on foreign affairs and EU related issues.

E-mail: [jacek.pawlicki@agora.pl](mailto:jacek.pawlicki@agora.pl)

The Brussels Correspondent is **Dominika Pszczółkowska**, who is developing a strong reputation for her coverage over the past year. E-mail: [dominika.pszczolkowska@agora.pl](mailto:dominika.pszczolkowska@agora.pl)



**Konstanty Gebert** (or Dawid Warszawski) is one of the country's best known commentators. In the 1990's he worked extensively on the Western Balkans. He still writes occasionally on Balkan and Turkish issues for GW. He also writes a regular column under his nom de plume, called "Weather Forecast." He wrote about the political situation in Bosnia on 22 January 2009.

[http://wyborcza.pl/1,86117,6189385,Pechowy\\_Vukovic.html](http://wyborcza.pl/1,86117,6189385,Pechowy_Vukovic.html)



**Marcin Wojciechowski** reported from the Western Balkans during the NATO air campaign and the fall of Slobodan Milošević in 1999 and 2000. He is now a noted specialist on Russian and Ukrainian politics.



**Agnieszka Skiterska** writes for Gazeta Wyborcza and Rzeczpospolita – and has written a long time about BiH, Kosovo, Serbia, and Macedonia. She has her own web-page of photos and texts on the Western Balkans in English and Polish.

E-mail: [agnieszka.skieterska@agora.pl](mailto:agnieszka.skieterska@agora.pl)

Blog: <http://www.skieter.net/balkany.html>

**Marta Kazimierczyk** writes for Gazeta Wyborcza on Islam, Middle East and Turkey.  
[marta.kazimierczyk@agora.pl](mailto:marta.kazimierczyk@agora.pl)



► **DZIENNIK Polska**

Ul. Domaniewska 52

02-672 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 232 05 19, Email: [dziennik@dziennik.pl](mailto:dziennik@dziennik.pl), <http://www.dziennik.pl/>

**Dziennik** is a right of centre daily. It sold 77,750 copies in November 2008, compared to 165,000 copies a year before, the largest fall among the quality dailies. (WBJ 2 February 2009 quoting the Circulation Audit Office ZKDP figures). Dziennik is also owned by the Axel Springer group. The Wall Street Journal Polska is published as a supplement to Dziennik.



The editor in chief is **Robert Krasowski**: He was previously a journalist for *Życie* and for *Fakt* where he was editor of a supplement on European issues. After the transfer of the supplement to Dziennik he became editor of the paper.



**Michał Karnowski** is the op-ed editor and a writer on domestic issues.

**Andrzej Talaga** is the editor of the Europe/World pages. He is a specialist in Middle East issues. He is also a consistent sceptic of Kosovo independence – he wrote an article, "Careful with this independence" (*Ostrożnie z tą niepodległością*) on 18 February 2008. Email: [europa@dziennik.pl](mailto:europa@dziennik.pl)



**Jędrzej Bielecki** writes on EU issues. He is well-known for his strongly argued and controversial opinions. He has written about migration from the Balkans to EU states and also on the recognition of Kosovo.

**Mariusz Janik** is a young journalist specialising in the Balkans and Turkey for Dziennik and other Polish media. His Dziennik articles include: *Serbskie plany nie mają szans*, *Belgrad chciałby podzielić Kosovo*, *Nacjoniści dochodzą do głosu*, *Serbia chce zerwać stosunki z Unią*.

► **RZECZPOSPOLITA**

<http://www.rp.pl/temat/2.html>

Originally one of the leading papers in the interwar period, Rzeczpospolita was revived in the 1980's as competition for the official party daily. Since the fall of communism it gained a new lease of independent life and has enjoyed a high reputation for the quality and impartiality of reporting and for its cutting edge design. Nowadays, the editorial line is to the right of centre. It also prints a set of highly-regarded financial, legal and other supplements spread across the week, which has helped it become the paper of choice amongst academics, diplomats, businessmen and managers. The economic section is usually known as the "green pages."

Rzeczpospolita is currently up for sale. Its circulation of 153,000 in November 2008 is down by 13 per cent in a year. (ZKDP – Circulation Audit Office). It is owned (51 per cent of shares) by the MECOM group headed by the British newspaper baron David Montgomery, well known for his cost-cutting measures. The Polish Government holds a 49 per cent share, which is also up for sale.



**Pawel Lisicki** is the editor in chief. He is a writer, translator, author of philosophical essays and plays, and the author of several books of essays including *An Un-human God*. He has worked for the paper since 1993, becoming editor in September 2006. E-mail: [p.lisicki@rp.pl](mailto:p.lisicki@rp.pl)



**Marek Magierowski** is a deputy editor in chief – he writes on foreign affairs, including EU issues. He is a well-known euro-realist.  
E-mail: [m.magierowski@rp.pl](mailto:m.magierowski@rp.pl)



**Bronislaw Wildstein** is the paper's best known and most controversial commentator. He left the paper from February 2005 to May 2007 after the disclosure of what became known as the Wildstein list, an index of communist-era informers and their victims, which caused an enormous national debate on Poland's past.



**Dominik Zdort** is the op-ed editor. E-mail: [d.zdort@rp.pl](mailto:d.zdort@rp.pl)



**Jerzy Haszczyński** is the foreign editor. He is a frequent visitor to Turkey and wrote a number of editorials, articles and reports on Turkish affairs.  
E-mail: [j.haszczyński@rp.pl](mailto:j.haszczyński@rp.pl)  
Tel. 48 (22) 628 7140

**Anna Słojewska** is the Brussels correspondent. She is a respected journalist covering a wide range of issues related to the EU. Email: [a.slojewska@rp.pl](mailto:a.slojewska@rp.pl); [anna.slojewska@skynet.be](mailto:anna.slojewska@skynet.be)

**Western Balkans coverage:** Rzeczpospolita has a dedicated Western Balkans section on its website: [http://www.rp.pl/temat/96606\\_Balkany.html](http://www.rp.pl/temat/96606_Balkany.html)

**Katarzyna Zuchowicz** is a foreign affairs journalist writing on a range of issues including the Balkans. Her articles include: Kosowo ma swoją pierwszą armię RP, 21 January 2009; Karadzić wreszcie schwytyany Życie Warszawy, 22 July 2008; Grecja nie chce Macedonii w NATO - Życie Warszawy, 13 March 2008.

<http://www.zw.com.pl/artykul/271488.html>, Email: [k.zuchowicz@rp.pl](mailto:k.zuchowicz@rp.pl)

#### ► FAKT

<http://www.efakt.pl/>



**Fakt** is Poland's biggest mass-circulation daily. It sold 482,000 copies in November 2008, a fall of 7 per cent year on year – but still double that of its tabloid rival Super Express. Fakt is modelled on the German Bild, which is also owned by the Axel Springer company. Fakt does have political journalism as well as scandals. It runs exclusive political interviews: politicians and ambassadors take care to get coverage as they know it will get them noticed.

The editor in chief is **Gregorz Jankowski**. Tel: + 48 (22) 232 0200.

**Łukasz Warzecha** is a top commentator on international affairs. He often writes on the Western Balkans. **Andrzej Kaniewski** is the Foreign Editor. E-mail: [redakcja@e-fakt.pl](mailto:redakcja@e-fakt.pl)

#### ► POLSKA

<http://www.polskatimes.pl/>

ul. Domaniewska 41  
02-696 Warsaw



**Polska** is a new national daily paper which has struggled to achieve a readership in a crowded national market. A number of local editions were due to be closed in March 2009. Polska is produced in partnership with The Times of London, but takes quite a critical view of Britain. Polska is published in a compact format in colour in a modern design by a British design house. It has a themed supplement each day. It is owned by Polska Presse, the Polish branch of German Verlagsgruppe Passau, which owns a number of local newspapers in Poland.

The editor in chief is **Paweł Fąfara**. He previously worked for “Życie” and at “Newsweek Polska,” where he was deputy editor. He describes his-own political orientation as “center-right-wing”.

The deputy editor in chief is **Wojciech Rogacin**. The foreign editor is **Adam Synowiec**. Tel: + 48 (22) 201 4270.

#### ► NASZ DZIENNIK

<http://www.naszdziennik.pl/>

Nasz Dziennik is a right of centre, nationalist Catholic daily associated with **Father Rydzyk**, Radio Maryja's owner. The paper has a circulation of some 250,000. It has often caused controversy with its

nationalist agenda, thinly veiled anti-Semitism and open opposition to the European Union. It is also scathing about many aspects of the post-1989 changes. It has loyal readership in small towns and rural areas. The editor in chief is **Ewa Sołowiej**.

► PULS BIZNESU



<http://www.pulsbiznesu.pl/>

ul. Kijowska 1, 03-738 Warsaw Tel: 48 (22) 333 99 99

Puls Biznesu is struggling against competition from the economic and financial supplements in other papers. It is owned by Bonnier Business Polska. The editor

in chief is **Jacek Ziarno**.

E-mail: [j.ziarno@pb.pl](mailto:j.ziarno@pb.pl)

4. Weeklies



► POLITYKA

<http://www.polityka.pl/strona-glowna/Menu01,1,15/>

ul Słupecka 6,  
02-309 Warszawa



Polityka, which was established in 1957, developed a reputation for moderately critical journalism under communism. It was “*the most readable official publication in the Soviet bloc: cogent, insightful, sometimes irreverent,*” as The Economist later described it. Polityka’s most prominent editor for 24 years was Mieczysław Rakowski, later the last-but-one communist prime minister of Poland. Prime Minister Rakowski helped negotiate the end of communist rule in Poland in 1989.

Nowadays, Polityka has a slightly intellectual, social liberal-left of centre profile, setting it apart from the more conservative Wprost and the glossier approach of the centrist Newsweek Poland.



**Jerzy Baczyński** has been the editor since 1994. Under his editorship the magazine has changed from a broadsheet to an illustrated magazine format. It sold 152,000 copies in November 2009.

Tel: +48 (22) 451 60 00, 451 60 10

The deputy editor is **Adam Szostkiewicz**, well known for his pro European writing. E-mail: [a.szostkiewicz@polityka.com.pl](mailto:a.szostkiewicz@polityka.com.pl)



The foreign editor is **Marek Ostrowski**, a very experienced foreign affairs specialist. Email: [m.ostrowski@polityka.com.pl](mailto:m.ostrowski@polityka.com.pl) Mobile: +48 601 316 266

The deputy foreign editor is **Wawrzyniec Smoczyński**, an up-and-coming international journalist. He was the head of the foreign desk at "Przekrój" magazine. He also wrote for Gazeta Wyborcza and Rzeczpospolita. He has received an Open Society Fellowship, awarded by the Central European University. His interests include Polish foreign policy, EU-



Russia and EU-US relations, energy security issues and the developmental challenges of the new member states of the EU. E-mail: [wawrzyniec.smoczyński@polityka.com.pl](mailto:wawrzyniec.smoczyński@polityka.com.pl)

**Jagienka Wilczak** is a Balkans and Ukraine specialist for Polityka. E-mail: [jagienka.wilczak@polityka.com.pl](mailto:jagienka.wilczak@polityka.com.pl). **Adam Krzemiński** writes for Polityka on Germany (and for the German weekly “Die Zeit”). **Adam Szostkiewicz** writes for Polityka on international affairs, including on Turkey.

► **NEWSWEEK POLSKA**

[www.newsweek.pl](http://www.newsweek.pl)

ul. Domaniewska 52

02-672 Warsaw.

E-mail: [redakcja@newsweek.pl](mailto:redakcja@newsweek.pl) and [newsroom@newsweek.pl](mailto:newsroom@newsweek.pl)

Tel: 00 48 (22) 232 21 00.

Newsweek Polska is a centrist news weekly owned by US Newsweek/Washington Post and Axel Springer Polska. The circulation was 112,000 paid copies in November 2008, an 18% fall year on year (WBJ figures).



**Michał Kobosko** is editor:

<http://www.redakcja.pl/archive.aspx?Alias=michal-kobosko&Page=1>



**Jarosław Gizinski** is foreign editor: He speaks Hungarian.

He says his special interest is “*the neighbourhood from Prague and Bratislava to Budapest through the Balkans. For many Poles the area may not as “trendy” as Paris and London. But I assure you that you should watch the neighbours. It is often very instructive – they are still in our shoes.*”

E-mail: [jaroslaw.gizinski@newsweek.pl](mailto:jaroslaw.gizinski@newsweek.pl)

**Foreign Correspondents:**

Brussels: **Joanna Iszkowska – Kowalska** E-mail: [joanna.kowalska@newsweek.pl](mailto:joanna.kowalska@newsweek.pl)

London: **Robert Gajzinski**

Paris: **Piotr Moszynski**



► **WPROST**

<http://www.wprost.pl/>

Al. Jerozolimskie 123a, 02-017 Warsaw

Tel. +48 (22) 529 11 00

Wprost is the second most popular weekly in Poland with total sales of 176,724 copies (July 2008). Its online edition is one of the most popular websites in Poland. It is conservative in stance. **Marek Król** is the publisher – he was the previous editor.

Stanislaw Janecki is the editor-in-chief. Tel: +48 (22) 529 12 48

E-mail: [s.janecki@wprost.pl](mailto:s.janecki@wprost.pl)



Waldemar Kedaj is the foreign editor. Tel: +48 (22) 529 11 78

E-mail: [waldemar.kedaj@wprost.pl](mailto:waldemar.kedaj@wprost.pl)

The Brussels Correspondent is Dominika Čosić.

E-mail: [dominikaco@wprost.pl](mailto:dominikaco@wprost.pl)

► TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY

ul. Wiślna 12, 31-007 Kraków

<http://tygodnik.onet.pl/>

Tel: + 48 (12) 422 25 18, 422 23 11, 421 66 81,

Email: [redakcja@tygodnik.com.pl](mailto:redakcja@tygodnik.com.pl)

Tygodnik Powszechny, based in Kraków, is a leading Catholic and social weekly. It was especially influential in the 1980's and 1990's, given its close links to papal circles. As a modern and intelligentsia-oriented magazine, it is often confronted with the opposite wing of the Church, linked with Father Rydzyk. The editor is Fr Adam Boniecki E-mail: [boniecki@tygodnik.com.pl](mailto:boniecki@tygodnik.com.pl).

The Foreign Desk is headed by Wojciech Pięciak. E-mail: [pieciak@tygodnik.com.pl](mailto:pieciak@tygodnik.com.pl)

Patrycja Bukalska Email: [bukalska@tygodnik.com.pl](mailto:bukalska@tygodnik.com.pl)

Anna Łabuszewska Email: [labuszewsk@tygodnik.com.pl](mailto:labuszewsk@tygodnik.com.pl)

Teresa Stylińska Email: [stylinska@tygodnik.com.pl](mailto:stylinska@tygodnik.com.pl)



► PRZEGLĄD

ul. Szara 10A,  
00-420 Warsaw  
+ 48 (22) 635 8417.

Przegląd is a low circulation left of centre weekly.

Editor: Jerzy Domański

The deputy editor is Robert Wałędziak

<http://www.przegląd-tygodnik.pl/>



► PRZEKRÓJ

<http://www.przekroj.pl/>

ul. Wiejska 19, IV p., 00-480 Warsaw

Tel: + 48 (22) 584 25 25

Email: [redakcja@przekroj.pl](mailto:redakcja@przekroj.pl)

The oldest surviving news-weekly in Poland, it was established in 1945 in Kraków by Marian Eile. Now based in Warsaw, its glory days are gone but it retains a loyal readership.



Jacek Kowalczyk is the editor in chief. E-mail: [jkowalczyk@przekroj.pl](mailto:jkowalczyk@przekroj.pl)

The foreign editor is Paweł Moskalewicz

E-mail: [pawel.moskalewicz@przekroj.pl](mailto:pawel.moskalewicz@przekroj.pl)

## 5. News Agencies

### ► PAP Polish Press Agency

<http://www.pap.pl>

ul. Bracka 6/8, 00-502 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 509 23 89



PAP is the biggest Polish news agency. It currently employs over 230 journalists, including almost 50 correspondents in Poland and 6 foreign correspondents, of which two are based in Brussels.

Editor in Chief: **Mirosław Harasim** Email: [M.Harasim@pap.pl](mailto:M.Harasim@pap.pl)

Foreign Editor Alina Kurkus, Tel: 022 509 23 26, Email: [A.Kurkus@pap.pl](mailto:A.Kurkus@pap.pl)

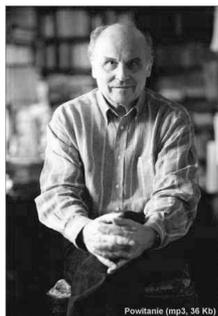
Chief of the English division **Malgorzata Guttman**

Tel: +48 22 509 22 07. Email: [M.Guttman@pap.pl](mailto:M.Guttman@pap.pl)

PAP does not have dedicated a Western Balkans correspondent. Their correspondent in Bulgaria reports only on Bulgarian domestic issues – so the most relevant correspondents are in Brussels:

**Inga Czerny** E-mail: [i.czerny@pap.pl](mailto:i.czerny@pap.pl)

**Michał Kot** E-mail: [m.kot@pap.pl](mailto:m.kot@pap.pl)



**Ryszard Kapuściński** is Poland's most famous journalist. He worked for PAP for many years. In 1964 he was appointed by PAP as its only foreign correspondent, and for the next ten years he covered fifty countries. He travelled around the developing world and reported on wars, coups. When he finally returned to Poland, he had lived through twenty-seven revolutions and coups, been jailed 40 times and survived four death sentences. (Wikipedia)  
He died in 2007.

## 6. English Language Press

### ► WARSAW VOICE

<http://www.warsawvoice.pl/>

ul. Elblaska 15/17 01-747 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 33 59 700/1.

It is the longest-established English language weekly magazine. It began in 1988 and claims a circulation of 10,000. The editor-in-chief, **Andrzej Jonas**, is a regular interviewee on Polish radio stations.

News editor: **Witold Żygulski**, Tel. +48 (22) 335-97-77 Email: [witold.zygulski@warsawvoice.pl](mailto:witold.zygulski@warsawvoice.pl)



**WARSAW  
BUSINESS JOURNAL**

### ► The Warsaw Business Journal

<http://www.wbj.pl/>

has been running for 15 years – first as a magazine and now in a newspaper format. **Andrew Kureth** is the editor. Tel: +48 (22) 639 8568. Email: [akureth@wbj.pl](mailto:akureth@wbj.pl)



► **Poland Business Monthly**

Tel: +48 (22) 586 30 09

<http://www.polandmonthly.pl/>

**Anna Kapicka-Harward** is the editor. Email: [aharward@polandmonthly.pl](mailto:aharward@polandmonthly.pl)

## 7. Publishers covering South East Europe

► **Wydawnictwo Czarne**

<http://www.czarne.com.pl/>

Wołowiec 11, 38-307 Sękowa.



**Andrzej Stasiuk** is one of Poland's most successful and internationally acclaimed contemporary writers and literary critics, best known for his travel writing and essays that describe the reality of Eastern Europe and its relationship with the West. He publishes his own work and European authors – including many from South East Europe – in his own small-publishing business – Wydawnictwo Czarne. Andrzej Stasiuk.

E-mail: [redakcja@czarne.com.pl](mailto:redakcja@czarne.com.pl)

► **Pogranicze – Borderland**

<http://www.pogranicze.sejny.pl/>

ul. Piłsudskiego 37, 16-500 Sejny.

Tel: +48 (87) 51627

The Borderland Foundation was established in May 1990. It is an independent non-governmental organisation and does not conduct any political or economic activity. The Foundation's program activity is devoted exclusively to propagating the ethos of the borderland and to building bridges between peoples of different religions, ethnicities, nationalities, and cultures. The Borderland publishing house exists since 1993. It is an integral part of the Borderland Foundation that commits itself to promotion of the multicultural regions of South-Eastern, Central and East Europe.

Head: **Krzysztof Czyżewski**

► **Agawa publishing house:**

Al. Niepodległości 15/8, 02-653 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 847 36 54

**Grzegorz Łatuszyński** is a former correspondent for "Życie Warszawy" in Belgrade – he later worked at the Polish embassy in Belgrade. He is the author of several books on SE Europe, including *W świecie wyklętych* (Balkan Curse). He is editor in chief of the small **Agawa** publishing house.



## 8. Web-based news services

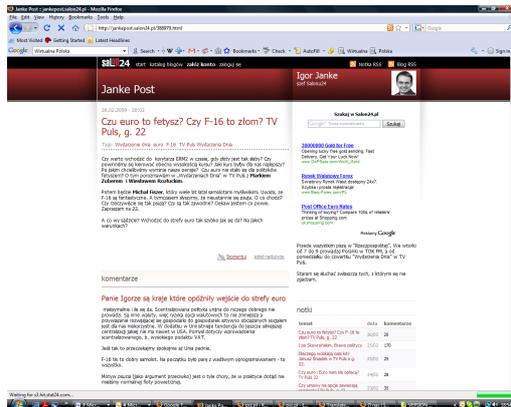
Aside from the websites of the mainstream media outlets, there are a number of dedicated sites for news and discussion.

(Białystok, Szczecin, Kielce, Łódź)

[www.onet.pl](http://www.onet.pl)

► **Onet.pl** is the best-known Polish web portal. It is owned by the [Kraków](#)-based Grupa Onet.pl S.A. It is the 45th most popular website worldwide and the third most popular site in Poland ([Alexa](#) rankings December 2007). Onet is currently owned by ITI Group media holding, which also owns TVN and TVN24. The chief editor: **Michał Bonarowski** is responsible for the content.

**Rather than being a catalogue like Yahoo, Onet has its own content: “Onet must revolve around a conversation,”** says Michał Bonarowski. It employed 100 full time in-house journalists in October 2008. Onet has uncensored forums and encourages discussion on news stories. Onet also started a CNN iReport-clone, [Cynk](#): users send in 20 to 30 news items a day. Onet has 1 million blog accounts and 800,000 active blogs, which accounts for approximately 50% of the Polish blogosphere.



► **salon 24**

<http://jankepost.salon24.pl/388979.html>

Salon 24 is a web hosting platform, founded in 2008 by **Bogne Janke** and **Igor Janke**, the TV Puls news presenter. It gives top journalists the opportunity to host blogs and to exchange views on socio-political themes. It is also open also to the public. It covers both domestic and foreign affairs.

**Anna Grąbczewska**

E-mail: [anna.grabczewska@salon24.pl](mailto:anna.grabczewska@salon24.pl)



► **Portal spraw zagranicznych (Portal for Foreign Affairs)**

<http://www.psz.pl/>

ul. Światowida 63A/84  
03-144 Warsaw

PSZ claims to be the biggest Polish portal on international economics and politics. It was launched by students, but now employs a number of full-time specialists.

Editor-in-Chief:

Deputy Chief Editor & Head of News:

Head of Europe Department:

Head of Polish Foreign Policy Department:

Head of the European Union Department:

**Maciej Konarski** E-mail: [m.konarski@psz.pl](mailto:m.konarski@psz.pl)

**Anna Głąb**

**Patrycja Szewczyk**

**Monika Paulina Żukowska.**

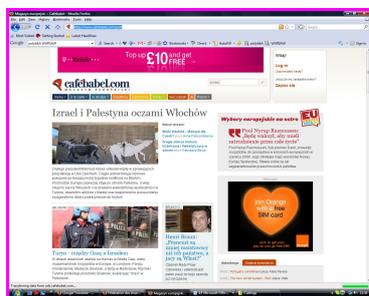
**Anna Jórasz**

Western Balkan topics have been covered by:

**Łukasz Reszczyński** (<http://www.psz.pl/tekst-17419/Lukasz-Reszczyński-Bosniacka-pulapka>) and **Łukasz Kobeszko** – on Serbia and Kosovo.

► **Cafe babel**

<http://www.cafebabel.com/pol/>



Cafe Babel, originally launched in Paris, is a lively European internet magazine translated into 8 languages. There is a Polish web-version – also set up by students – for news and discussion. **Piotr Kaczynski** is a contributor for Cafe Babel. He is the best known Polish researcher living outside the country. He is a research fellow at the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) in Brussels. His areas of expertise include: European political integration, EU treaty reform, EU enlargement, EU foreign policy, relations with US and Russia and European Neighbourhood Policy.

Tel: +32 22 29 39 19

E-mail: [piotr.kaczynski@ceps.eu](mailto:piotr.kaczynski@ceps.eu)



**Adriano Farano** is Editor in chief, [farano@cafebabel.com](mailto:farano@cafebabel.com)



**Maria Ambrid** is Editor of the Polish version of Café Babel  
[redakcja@cafebabel.com](mailto:redakcja@cafebabel.com)

## B. THINK-TANKS

Poland has a vibrant think-tank scene. However, funding has been tight after major US donors (other than the German Marshall Fund) withdrew funding following Poland's EU accession. Applying for and securing EU funding is of course complicated, time-consuming, and work-intensive. The influence of each think-tank on government policy depends largely on personal contacts. Both the PiS and PO-led Government are said to be reluctant to take advice from think-tanks – except as part of personal networks. However, with the rapid turnover of expert officials in the Foreign Ministry, a small number of senior think-tank figures are consulted and provide advice and also contribute to speech-writing.

The most important think-tanks specialising in international/European and economic affairs are:

### 1. Think Tanks

#### ► CASE – Centre for Social and Economic Research (Centrum Analiz Społeczno Ekonomicznych)

[www.case.com.pl](http://www.case.com.pl)

Henryka Sienkiewicza 12

00-010 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 622 66 27

CASE was established in Warsaw in 1991. It is now an international non-profit independent research and policy-advisory institute working mainly on European integration, the transition process in Central and Eastern Europe, the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. It is one of the largest specialist centres in Poland, with over one hundred affiliated researchers. CASE conducts numerous projects on economic reform in Eastern and South European countries.



**Ewa Balcerowicz** is Chairwoman of the Supervisory Council of CASE. She is a noted specialist on Central and Eastern European countries in transition. She is the wife of Leszek Balcerowicz.

Email: [ewa.balcerowicz@case-research.eu](mailto:ewa.balcerowicz@case-research.eu)

<http://www.case.com.pl>



**Marek Dąbrowski** is President of CASE. Since the late 1980s he has been involved in policy advising and policy research in various countries including Belarus, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Poland, Romania and Serbia. His work also covers EU and EMU enlargement, perspectives of European integration, European Neighbourhood Policy and the political economy of transition.

E-mail: [marek.dabrowski@case-research.eu](mailto:marek.dabrowski@case-research.eu)

<http://www.case.com.pl>

**Mireille Hazenbosch** is the Managing Director. E-mail: [mireille.hazenbosch@case-research.eu](mailto:mireille.hazenbosch@case-research.eu)

CASE's Western Balkans projects include the briefing compiled for the European Parliament: "Trade and Economic Relations between the EU and the Western Balkans", by Małgorzata Jakubiak and Nermin Oruc: [http://www.case.com.pl/strona--ID-projekty\\_Balkany,nlang-710.html](http://www.case.com.pl/strona--ID-projekty_Balkany,nlang-710.html)

► **Centre for International Relations (Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych – CSM)**

Emilii Plater 25

00-688 Warsaw

<http://www.csm.org.pl/?l=en>

CSM was founded in the mid 1990s. It covers German-Polish relations, trans-Atlantic relations, Eastern Policy, the Weimar Triangle, the Visegrad Group, and migration. Research also covers climate change, development, human rights, and lately, CAP.

CSM is also interested in future EU-enlargement, including the West Balkans. It held a conference in April 2008 on the Polish and German policy on future enlargement of the EU. In spring 2009 CSM is launching a new project entitled “Communicating Europe”, focusing on bringing together media owners and decision-makers from the Western Balkans. It is the co-organiser of the March 2009ESI Communicating Europe workshop.



President: **Eugeniusz Smolar**. He is a former head of the Polish section of the BBC World Service. He was also active in helping the Workers’ Defence Committee (KOR) and other democratic opposition groups in Poland, later Solidarity, as well as underground publications. After his return to Poland in 1997 he became member of the Management Board of Polish public radio. In October 2005 he became the President of the Centre for International Relations.

Tel: +48 (22) 646 5267.

Email: [smolar@csm.org.pl](mailto:smolar@csm.org.pl)

**Andrzej Bobiński** is Programme Director. He has previously worked with a number of Polish NGOs and think-tanks, including the Institute of Public Affairs, The Polish Federation of NGOs, and The School for Leaders Association. He collaborated with Time magazine and worked for The Guardian and The Observer. He is one of the co-founders of Article 61, the first vote-smart initiative in Poland.

Email: [abobinski@csm.org.pl](mailto:abobinski@csm.org.pl)

**Krystyna Iglicka** is an economist and a social demographer. She is a Professor at the Lazarski School of Commerce and Law, and a Polish government expert on migration policy. Her research areas include strategies and mechanisms of emigration in the CEE region, labour mobility, East-West European migration, immigration and integration models, EU immigration policy, patterns of return migration, brain-drain and the mobility of highly skilled labour.

Tel: +48 (22) 646 52 67, 646 52 68. Email: [kiglicka@csm.org.pl](mailto:kiglicka@csm.org.pl)

**Łukasz Stawikowski** is running CSM’s EU-funded project called Communicating Europe which aims to engage media decision-makers in the Western Balkans.

Email: [lstawikowski@csm.org.pl](mailto:lstawikowski@csm.org.pl)

**Wojciech Borodzicz-Smoliński** is the Co-ordinator of the Eastern Programme. His main focus is on Belarus and Ukraine. Recent projects include: Belarusian School of Journalism (2005-2008), [www.Belarus-Live.eu](http://www.Belarus-Live.eu), [www.Belarus-Live.tv](http://www.Belarus-Live.tv), European Radio for Belarus.

► **demosEuropa – Center for European Strategy**

ul. Idzkowskiego 4/6

Tel: +48 (22) 401 70 26, Email: [demoseuropa@demoseuropa.eu](mailto:demoseuropa@demoseuropa.eu)

<http://www.demoseuropa.eu/index.php?&newlang=eng>

demosEuropa is a new think-tank, which has already gained a pre-eminent reputation on the EU policy agenda for its innovative approach. It has a strongly pro-European stance. Unlike most other think-tanks in Poland demosEuropa co-operates with the private sector and receives funding from major Polish and foreign companies. demosEuropa aims to look over the horizon at future issues. There are 5 main strands to demosEuropa's work: the future of the European Union, the Union and the Citizen, the EU economy, EU in the World and enlargement. Sustainability and new approaches to climate change is a growing theme.



President: **Paweł Świeboda** is one of the country's most dynamic analysts of EU policies. He worked as advisor to the President of Poland on EU issues from 1996-2000. He then headed the Office for European Integration in the Chancellery of the President. From 2001-2006 he was Director of the EU Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.  
Email: [pawelswieboda@demoseuropa.eu](mailto:pawelswieboda@demoseuropa.eu)

**Maria Sadowska** is head of the Europe in the World programme. She specializes in management and communication strategies. E-mail: [mariasadowska@demoseuropa.eu](mailto:mariasadowska@demoseuropa.eu)

► **Institute of Public Affairs (Instytut Spraw Publicznych – ISP)**

ul. Szpitalna 5  
00-031 Warsaw  
Tel: +48 (22) 556 42 60  
<http://www.isp.org.pl/index.php?ln=eng>

ISP, which was established in 1995, is one of Poland's most prominent think-tanks. It covers both national and international issues, and its publications range from short policy briefs to books. Its sociological approach is one of its strengths. During Poland's EU accession phase, ISP analysed Polish public opinion on the European Union. It also examined key EU policies, as well as EU integration mechanisms. ISP has also focused on the European Neighbourhood Policy and Transatlantic issues.



Director: Prof. **Lena Kolarska-Bobińska** is a sociologist, and prominent public opinion specialist, previously the director of the Polish Centre for Research of Public Opinion. She works closely with Warsaw University and the Polish Academy of Sciences. From 2001-2005 she was advisor to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski. She was adviser to the Polish Government on the EU accession negotiations from 1998-2001.  
Tel: +48 (22) 845 68 67 Email: [isp@isp.org.pl](mailto:isp@isp.org.pl)



**Jacek Kucharczyk** is Director of Research. He is a sociologist and is one of the most active think-tank networkers in Warsaw. He is one of the founders and board members of the Policy Association for an Open Society PASOS, an association of think-tanks from Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia. In 2008, he co-edited "Democracy's New Champions – European Democracy Assistance after EU Enlargement", a PASOS publication. He is also a board member of the new European Partnership for Democracy (EDP) in Brussels. He has recently written an IPS policy brief on the new transatlantic agenda. In the 1980s he was active in the underground student and publishing movement.

Tel: +48 (22) 556 42 66. Email: [jacek.kucharczyk@isp.org.pl](mailto:jacek.kucharczyk@isp.org.pl)

**Agnieszka Łada** is Co-ordinator of the European Programme  
Tel: +48 (22) 556 42 88. Email: [agnieszka.lada@isp.org.pl](mailto:agnieszka.lada@isp.org.pl)

**Piotr Kaźmierkiewicz** is an expert in the Migration and Eastern Policy. He was the author of “EU Enlargement to the Western Balkans from the Polish Perspective” and “EU Accession Prospects for Turkey and Ukraine - Debates in New Member States.”  
Tel: +48 (22) 556 42 62, Email: [piotr.kazmierkiewicz@isp.org.pl](mailto:piotr.kazmierkiewicz@isp.org.pl)

**Tomasz Grzegorz Grosse** is an analyst on EU policies. His books on regional and cohesion policy include: “Europe at the Crossroads” (2008), “Innovative Economies on periphery” (2007), “Regional Policy of the European Union – The examples of Greece, Italy, Ireland and Poland” (2004), and “Towards the New Cohesion Policy of the European Union” (ed.) 2004.

### **Natolin European Center (Centrum Europejskie Natolin – CEN)**

ul. Nowoursynowska 84, 02-797 Warsaw  
<http://www.natolin.edu.pl/english/partnerzy.html>

CEN is a university think-tank based at Natolin, a country house located 10 km south of the city centre on the College of Europe campus. CEN takes a “euro-realist” approach to European policy and was particularly influential during the 2005-7 Law and Justice (PiS) government. It has four major programmes: EU institutions and policies, Euro-Atlantic security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, co-operation on the EU Justice and Home Affairs agenda, and Europe and its neighbours.



Director: **Marek Cichoński** is a well-known “euro-realist.” Since 2001 he has taught at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences of the University of Warsaw. He specialises in the history of ideas and political philosophy – his PhD thesis was on Affirmative Conservatism. He was Programme Director of the Centre of International Relations (CSM) from 2000-2003. He is Editor-in-Chief of the magazine “New Europe – Natolin Review.” His books include: “Poland – European Union – halfway” (2002), “Europe Kidnapped” (2004), and “Power and Remembrance” (2006). He is EU adviser to the President.  
E-mail: [mcichoński@natolin.edu.pl](mailto:mcichoński@natolin.edu.pl)



**Olaf Osica**, a Research fellow, is an expert on international security, transatlantic relations and European security and defence policy. He is a guest columnist of the “Tygodnik Powszechny” catholic weekly and also a senior lecturer at Collegium Civitas (Institute of European Union) and at KSAP (National School of Public Administration). Email: [oosica@natolin.edu.pl](mailto:oosica@natolin.edu.pl)



**Rafał Trzaskowski** is adviser to the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament, Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, and a Senior Lecturer at Collegium Civitas (Institute of the European Union). In *Gazeta Wyborcza* on 9 January 2009, Trzaskowski discusses Poland’s “failure” to build a “friendly regional environment in East and Central Europe,” arguing that Poland is giving NATO more than it is getting from the alliance. Email: [rtrzaskowski@natolin.edu.pl](mailto:rtrzaskowski@natolin.edu.pl)

► **PAUCI - Polish-Ukrainian Cooperation Foundation**

<http://www.pauci.org/en/>

ul. Mokotowska 65/7

00-533 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 626 16 10, 626

E-mail: [pauci@pauci.pl](mailto:pauci@pauci.pl)



The Director of PAUCI is **Jan Piekło**, one of Poland's most respected Balkans correspondents in the 1990's. He co-wrote "The Balkan Conundrum" ("Węzeł bałkański") with Stefan Wilkanowicz in 1999. (<http://www.fundacja.znak.org.pl/files/balkanski.pdf>). He also wrote, "Epitafium dla Jugosławii" (An Epitaph for Yugoslavia, 1994).

He says: "*I found myself growing increasingly critical of the way the media were presenting the conflict in the Balkans.*"

<http://www.instesw.ebox.lublin.pl/ed/1/pieklo.html.en>

Jan Piekło's team at PAUCI aims to build the capacity of Ukraine to integrate more closely with the European Union and NATO, building on Polish and European experience. It also aims to involve Ukraine in the active support of democratic processes in the other parts of the region: Belarus, Moldova, Russia and other countries in the post-Soviet space. Jan Piekło is also interested in Turkish affairs, especially with regard to the Black Sea dimension.

► **Sobieski Institute (Instytut Sobieskiego)**

ul. Nowy Świat 27 00-029 Warsaw

[http://www.sobieski.org.pl/podstrona.php?id\\_strony=18](http://www.sobieski.org.pl/podstrona.php?id_strony=18)

The Institute's primary interest is in policies at national level, though it also covers a range of international issues. On European and international affairs it has an interest in energy issues. It does not work on enlargement. The institute is currently directed by **Sergiusz Trzeciak** and **Ryszard Sowiński**.

## 2. Government-funded think-tanks

► **BBN – National Security Bureau (Biuro Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego)**

National Security Bureau is a state entity under the President. It was established by a presidential decree in 1991. Its goal is to conduct research and provide expertise in international affairs and especially security and defence issues. BBN employs around 100 people.



10 Karowa Street, Warsaw, Tel +48 (22) 695 18 75, <http://www.bbn.gov.pl/>

The director is **Aleksander Szczygło**. From 2001 to 2009 he was a MP from the [Law and Justice Party](#). From 2006 to 2007 he headed also the Office of the [President of the Republic of Poland](#). In 2007 he acted as [Minister of National Defence](#). He was appointed to the head of BBN at the beginning of 2009.



**Witold Waszczykowski** is the Deputy Director. From 1999 to 2002 he was Polish ambassador to Iran, from 2005 to 2008 Deputy Foreign Minister and from 2006 to 2008 chief negotiator on anti-missile shield talks. Since 2008 he is deputy director of BBN.

Turkish and Balkan research: **Konrad Zasztowt** is an analyst responsible for Black Sea and Caucasus affairs, including Turkey. [kzasztowt@bbn.gov.pl](mailto:kzasztowt@bbn.gov.pl).

► **PISM – Polish Institute of International Affairs (Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych)**

1a Warecka Street

Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 556 80 00

<http://www.pism.pl/index.php?LANG=2>

The Polish Institute of International Affairs is a state entity; it was established by the Act of Parliament in 1996. Its goal is to conduct research and provide expertise in international affairs, organise courses for public servants, inform the public, co-operate with political, research and academic organisations in Poland and abroad, maintain a library, organize conferences, publish books, periodicals – the most important is *Przegląd Dyplomatyczny* – and documents on Polish foreign policy. During the PiS government, PISM's then director was dismissed for criticising Government policy on the defence missile issue. However, under the PO Government and the current Director, PISM is one of Poland's major research centres. It is listed among the top 50 think-tanks world-wide in the much-quoted Pennsylvania University survey. As well as state funds, PISM receives research grants and revenues from its own commercial activities. PISM employs about 75 people.



Director: **Sławomir Dębski** graduated from the History Faculty of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and the Central European University (Budapest). His areas of expertise are history of diplomacy, Polish history, and Polish foreign policy.

**Balkans research:**



In 2008, PISM published “A European protectorate? Bosnia-Herzegovina from a Central European Perspective” in collaboration with experts from Skopje, Brno and Bratislava. It was edited by **Mateusz Gniazdowski**, co-ordinator of PISM's Europe programme and co-author of “Western Balkans: a Matter of Central European Solidarity”, which appeared in “The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs.” Email: [gniazdowski@pism.pl](mailto:gniazdowski@pism.pl)



**Beata Górka-Winter**, the co-ordinator of European Security programme, also contributed a chapter to the Bosnia book. Her main areas of expertise are NATO transformation, European Security and Defence Policy, US missile defence, and Polish security policy. Tel: +48 (22) 556 80 00. Email: [gorka-winter@pism.pl](mailto:gorka-winter@pism.pl)



**Leszek Jesień** holds the Konrad Adenauer Chair at the Tischner European University in Kraków. He specializes in the institutions and policies of the European Union. His research interests focus on multilevel structure of the EU. He was an advisor to the Polish Prime Minister and Chief Negotiator during Poland's accession to the EU. During the PiS government he was state secretary in the Office of the Prime Minister (first Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, then Jarosław Kaczyński). He is co-editor of the book; "Enlarged EU – Enlarged Neighbourhood" (2005), which also covers the Western Balkans. E-mail: [jesien@pism.pl](mailto:jesien@pism.pl).



**Adam Szymański** is an expert on Turkey. He wrote many articles on Turkish affairs. His PhD title was "Między islamem a kemalizmem. Problem demokracji w Turcji" (Between Islam and Kemalism. The problem with democracy in Turkey). It was published by PISM in 2008. E-mail: [szymanski@pism.pl](mailto:szymanski@pism.pl)

#### ► The Diplomatic Academy of PISM (Akademia Dyplomatyczna PISM)



It trains young Polish diplomats on one year-long courses. It has been a part of PISM since 2005.

Director: **Andrzej Ananicz** a well-respected former diplomat and Iran specialist. He headed the Foreign Intelligence Agency (2004-2005). He is former Ambassador to Turkey (2001-2004). He was Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1997-2001) and Deputy Head of the Negotiation Team for Poland's Accession to the EU (1998-2001). E-mail: [aananicz@pism.pl](mailto:aananicz@pism.pl)

#### ► The Centre for Eastern Studies – (Ośrodek Studiów Wschodnich – OSW)

[www.osw.waw.pl](http://www.osw.waw.pl)

6a Koszykowa Street  
00-564 Warsaw  
Tel: +48 (22) 525 80 00  
E-mail: [info@osw.waw.pl](mailto:info@osw.waw.pl)

The Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW) is an expert institution that monitors and analyses the political, economic and social situation in Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Germany and the Balkans. OSW was founded in 1990 and is fully financed from the state budget. Its studies are mainly for state institutions including the Chancellery of the President, the Chancellery of the Prime Minister, ministries and government agencies, as well as the Sejm and Senate. Many of OSW's publications are available online. <http://osw.waw.pl/en/eindex.htm>.



Director: **Jolanta Darczewska**

Jolanta Darczewska has been Director of OSW since 2007. She is a Russian specialist and publishes articles in journals such as Eurasia, Policies and Political Review. She is the content editor of OSW's publications. She is a graduate of the Pedagogical Academy and of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. E-mail: [info@osw.waw.pl](mailto:info@osw.waw.pl)



Deputy Director:

**Adam Eberhardt** specializes in Russian foreign policy and international relations in the post-Soviet space. He is author of a book on relations between Russia and Belarus from 1991-2008 published in 2008. He has also been a correspondent in Moscow for the Polish Press Agency, PAP.

E-mail: [adam.eberhardt@osw.waw.pl](mailto:adam.eberhardt@osw.waw.pl)

**Katarzyna Pelczyńska-Nałęcz** is a Russia specialist. E-Mail: [katarzyna.nalecz@osw.waw.pl](mailto:katarzyna.nalecz@osw.waw.pl)

OSW's external relations are co-ordinated by **Antonina Michalowska**.

E-mail: [antonina.michalowska@osw.waw.pl](mailto:antonina.michalowska@osw.waw.pl)

The Central European Department includes the countries of SE Europe. It is headed by **Rafal Sadowski**. The area of research is the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, and Slovenia.

#### **OSW analysts covering SE Europe:**



**Adam Balcer** specializes in South East Europe, especially issues of nationalism, and geopolitical and security issues, the Black Sea region, Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Romania, Turkey. He also co-ordinates a project called; "Turkey after the start of EU accession negotiations: foreign policy and domestic politics." By March 2009 within the framework of this project two reports have been published. He also lectures in South East European studies at the Centre for East European Studies at Warsaw University and published many articles on the Balkans and Turkey. E-mail: [Adam.Balcer@osw.waw.pl](mailto:Adam.Balcer@osw.waw.pl)

**Mariusz Bocian** researches energy issues, the Visegrad-4 countries, Slovenia, and Croatia.

E-mail: [mariusz.bocian@osw.waw.pl](mailto:mariusz.bocian@osw.waw.pl)

**Tomasz Dąbrowski** researches economic issues, Bulgaria, Romania and the Visegrad-4 countries.

E-mail: [tomasz.daborowski@osw.waw.pl](mailto:tomasz.daborowski@osw.waw.pl)



**Maciej Nowakowski** researches energy issues, Romania, and Bulgaria.

E-mail: maciej [nowakowski@osw.waw.pl](mailto:nowakowski@osw.waw.pl)

**Marta Szpala** (left) specializes in the EU and NATO, the social and political transformation of the Western Balkans, the role of the EU in the WB, civil society development in post-communist and post-conflict societies, and social issues.

E-mail: [maria.szpala@osw.waw.pl](mailto:maria.szpala@osw.waw.pl)



**Wojciech Stanislawski** is an associate of OSW who covers Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. Along with Adam Balcer and Marcin Kaczmarek he published "Kosovo before the final decision. Regulating Kosovo's international status – historical & political conditions and prospects for future developments", an OSW paper (February 2008), available at:

[http://osw.waw.pl/files/PRACE\\_27.pdf](http://osw.waw.pl/files/PRACE_27.pdf)

E-mail: [wojciech.stanislawski@osw.waw.pl](mailto:wojciech.stanislawski@osw.waw.pl)

### 3. Foundations



#### ► Amicus Europae Foundation (Fundacja Amicus Europae)

<http://www.kwasniewskialeksander.eu/>

The Amicus Europae Foundation was established by former President **Aleksander Kwaśniewski**. One of its areas of interest is European integration; along with the Hertie School of Governance in Berlin it has been co-organising a Summer Academy on European Integration at Korokowa Castle near Gdańsk, a symbolic place for Polish-German reconciliation and dialogue ([2007 agenda](#)).

The Foundation is located at Aleja Przyjaciół 8/1 in Warsaw.

Tel: +48 (22) 622 66.

**Andrzej Majkowski** is Chairman of the Board. **Ireneusz Bil** is the Director.

**Justyna Bielak** is the assistant to Aleksander Kwaśniewski. Tel: +48 (22) 848 73 85. Email: [j.bielak@kwasniewskialeksander.pl](mailto:j.bielak@kwasniewskialeksander.pl)

#### ► Polish Robert Schuman Foundation (Polska Fundacja im. Roberta Schumana)

<http://www.schuman.org.pl/>

<http://www.schuman.org.pl/english>

Al. Ujazdowskie 37/5; 00-540 Warsaw

Tel.: +48 22 6212161, 621755

<http://www.schuman.org.pl/english>



It was founded in the early days of Poland's transition by among the others, **Tadeusz Mazowiecki** and **Piotr Nowina-Konopka**, to support Polish accession to the European Union. Under the direction of **Róża Thun**, now Head of the EC Delegation in Warsaw, it was very active during the Polish accession referendum in 2003. The Polish Robert Schuman Foundation's current goal is to initiate debate on issues related to European integration among non-governmental organizations, the media, politicians, experts, and other opinion-making circles. It is famous for organizing the annual Schuman Parade on 9

May, Europe Day. It organizes conferences, workshops, and seminars. Its work is aimed at citizens, especially the younger generation – school-pupils and students.



President: **Anna Radwan-Röhrenscheff**.



Director of the Foundation: **Rafal Dymek**.

Email: [r.dymek@schuman.org.pl](mailto:r.dymek@schuman.org.pl)

► **The Stefan Batory Foundation (Fundacja im. Stefana Batorego)**

<http://www.batory.org.pl/>

10a Sapiezynska Street

Warsaw, 00-215

Tel: +48 (22) 536 02 00

Email: [sekretariat@batory.org.pl](mailto:sekretariat@batory.org.pl)

The Foundation is an independent private Polish foundation established by George Soros and registered in May 1988. Named after a sixteenth century Polish king of Hungarian origin, the Stefan Batory Foundation is one of the main foundations in the country. It focuses on issues such as EU accession; increasing political participation; human rights; addressing public distrust of professionals such as politicians, lawyers, journalists, doctors, and teachers; ensuring access to information; combating political corruption; and increasing accountability. The Foundation manages fourteen programmes, covering equality and tolerance, civic rights and awareness, transparency of public life, co-operation with eastern countries. The Foundation is also one of the most important sources of funding for other foundations.



The Chairman of the Board is **Aleksander Smolar**, currently Professor of Political Science, at CNRS, Paris. He was advisor to Poland's first non-Communist Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Executive director: Anna Rozicka. Email: [arozicka@batory.org.pl](mailto:arozicka@batory.org.pl)

**Ewa Kulik-Bielińska** is Deputy Director.

Tel: +48 (22) 536 02 59. Email: [ekulik@batory.org.pl](mailto:ekulik@batory.org.pl)

► **The Foundation in Support of Local Democracy (Fundacja Rozwoju Demokracji Lokalnej)**

<http://www.frdl.org.pl/index.htm>

Pl. Inwalidów 10

01-552 Warsaw

Tel. (22) 322 84 00



Director of FRDL: **Barbara Imiolczyk**

E-mail: [bimiolczyk@frdl.org.pl](mailto:bimiolczyk@frdl.org.pl)

Project officer: **Kartarzyna Morawska**.

E-mail: [kmorawska@frdl.org.pl](mailto:kmorawska@frdl.org.pl)

FRDL is a non-profit organization established in 1989 and the biggest NGO working on local government in Poland. FRDL uses 16 Regional Training Centres and four Colleges of Public Administration (in Białystok, Szczecin, Kielce, and Łódź). It trains civil servants in using EU funds, especially at the regional level. The Foundation also collaborates with the state administration on the National Development Plan, the key strategic document on the use of EU funds. FRDL has expertise in managing large regional or national training projects, including those financed by the EU. Assistance given outside of Poland includes:

- Reform of public administration;
- Building co-operation between citizens and local governments;
- Supporting institutions that provide education to public administration employees;
- Preparing NGOs and local governments for accession with the EU and for co-operation with its structures

FSDL has been systematically cooperating with Balkan institutions in several programmes including:

- Świętokrzyskie for Serbia: The Best Local Government Practices (2006):
- From Quantity to Quality Continued Polish Experiences from the Implementation of the Education Reform in Poland (2006):
- Implementation of capital improvement plans, preparation for the elaboration of development strategies for municipalities in Serbia and Montenegro (2005);
- Developing a strategy of co-operation between local authorities and nongovernmental organizations in Macedonia (2002)



► **Unia & Polska Foundation (Fundacja Unia & Polska)**

<http://www.unia-polska.pl/>

Mokotowska 65 m 7

**Chris (Krzysztof) Bobiński** was the FT Correspondent in Warsaw during Poland's transformation the 1980's and 1990's. Until 2004, he edited the Unia & Polska magazine covering Poland's EU accession. He now runs his own one-man think-tank, also called Unia & Polska. The Foundation covers issues not generally touched elsewhere in the Polish debate – including Turkey, Cyprus, Serbia, and Kosovo. He runs an occasional series of lunchtime workshops. Chris Bobiński is also active in the Association of Polish Journalists campaigning for higher standards in the media. He writes for the European Voice and is an associate editor on the Europe section of [Europe's World](#) and a contributor to the Open Democracy web forum. Email: [bobinski@it.com.pl](mailto:bobinski@it.com.pl)

#### 4. Academic Research Centres



► **College of Europe Natolin (Kolegium Europejskie Natolin)**

<http://www.natolin.edu.pl/english/index.html>

ul. Nowoursynowska 8402 - Warsaw 78

Tel: +48 (22) 545 94 00

Email: [info@natolin.edu.pl](mailto:info@natolin.edu.pl)

The College of Europe Natolin, which is located 10km outside the city centre, was founded in 1991 as the second campus of the College of Europe in Bruges. It accepts 100 postgraduate students from all over Europe each year. The College organises conferences, meetings and other events. One of the College's four specializations is the EU as a regional actor – focusing on the relations of the enlarged European Union with its neighbours to the East and to the South. A German academic, Marie-Janine Calic, lectures on the Western Balkans and integration. E-mail: [mj.calic@lrz.uni-muenchen.de](mailto:mj.calic@lrz.uni-muenchen.de). The lecturers also include Leszek Balcerowicz.



Director of Studies: **Dominik Hanf**, Professor of the College of Europe in European Law. E-mail: [dominik.hanf@coleurope.eu](mailto:dominik.hanf@coleurope.eu)

► **Warsaw School of Economics – Szkoła Główna Handlowa (SGH)**

<http://www.sgh.waw.pl/en/ogolne-en/>

al. Niepodległości 162 (in the Mokotow district).

Tel: +48 (22) 564 94 77, 564 94 86.

It was founded in 1906 as the first public university of economics and management in Poland. Today, it is rated as one of the leading centres in Europe. SGH's finance and accounting programme is ranked by the Financial Times among the top 40 European Masters courses in management. It has 15,000 students.

Rector: Prof. **Adam Budnikowski**. Email: [adam.budnikowski@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:adam.budnikowski@sgh.waw.pl)

Vice Rector, International Co-operation: **Prof. Elżbieta Kawecka-Wyrzykowska**.

Email: [elzbieta.kawecka-wyrzykowska@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:elzbieta.kawecka-wyrzykowska@sgh.waw.pl)



**Leszek Balcerowicz** is a Professor at SGH – he was Deputy Prime Minister and twice Finance Minister. Professor Balcerowicz himself graduated from SGH in 1970. He became a professor at the SGH in 1992 and was appointed Chair of International Comparative Studies, a position he still holds.

Email: [lbalce@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:lbalce@sgh.waw.pl)

There are nearly 1,000 faculty members working in five faculties:

**Economic Analyses:**

[www.sgh.waw.pl/kae](http://www.sgh.waw.pl/kae)

Tel: +48 (22) 564 93 95, 564 93 96

E-mail: [kae@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:kae@sgh.waw.pl)

Dean: **Prof. Marek Rocki**

**Socio-Economics:**

Wiśniowa 41 00-520 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 564 91 22

Dean: **Prof. Katarzyna Żukrowska**

E-mail: [kes@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:kes@sgh.waw.pl)

The faculty's major fields of study include the transition of Polish economy, and the role of the state in the economy.

**World Economy:**

Tel: +48 (22) 564 93 49, 564 950

E-mail: [kgs@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:kgs@sgh.waw.pl)

Dean: **Prof. Stanisław Wodejko**

The faculty's major areas of research include Polish foreign economic policy and adjustment process towards joining the European Union, the international competitiveness of the Polish economy, and economic transformation in Poland and other Central and Eastern European countries. Since 1991 it also includes the **World Economy Research Institute (WERI)** (Instytut Gospodarki Światowej) <http://www.sgh.waw.pl/en/ogolne-en/>. WERI was first established in 1985 to research the global economy and international economics, foreign trade and foreign direct investment, international economic relations, and the transition process in Central and Eastern Europe.

**Business Administration:**

Tel: +48 (22) 564 93 49, 564 93 50

E-mail: [knop@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:knop@sgh.waw.pl)

Dean **Prof. Andrzej Herman**

The faculty's major areas of research include the adjustment of technical, social and institutional infrastructures in Eastern Europe to the demands of the European Union, the privatization process in state-owned companies and their behaviour in the transformation process.

**Management & Finance:**

Tel: +48 (22) 564 92 65, 564 92 66

E-mail: [kzif@sgh.waw.pl](mailto:kzif@sgh.waw.pl)

Dean **Prof. Janusz Ostaszewski**

► **Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk - PAN)**

<http://www.english.pan.pl/>

The Polish Academy of Sciences is a state institution founded in 1952. It is a prestigious institution, but critics argue that its conservative structure blocks its potential development.

► **The Gdansk Institute for Market Economics  
(Instytut Badań nad Gospodarką Rynkową – IBnGR).**

<http://www.ibngr.edu.pl>

ul. Do Studzienki 63, Gdańsk.

Warsaw Office;

ul. Kołobrzeska 16, 02-923 Warsaw.

Tel: +48 (22) 651 86 60/61

IBnGR is one of the biggest and the most prestigious economic think-tanks in Poland. It was established in 1989 by people who had been active in attempts to reform the economic and political system in the 1980s. It deals with public administration, public finance, financial markets, corporate governance and the consequences of Poland's accession to the European Union, regional effects of globalisation and a knowledge-based economy, social policy and the labour market, Baltic integration and the “Northern Dimension” of the European Union. It conducts research and formulates recommendations on government policy and provides independent assessments of the economy for the public and the business sector. It provided consultancy services in selecting Łódź as the potential location for Dell computers to relocate from Ireland. IBnGR's main office is based in Gdańsk. There is also an office in Warsaw.

Director: **Jan Szomburg**. He is the author of “Managing European Regional Aid in Central and Eastern European Countries: Do the Countries Need Development Aid?”, “European Integration, Regional Policy, and Growth” (The World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2003) and “The Political Constraints on Polish Privatization – Monitoring economic transition”, with G. Blazyca, J. Dąbrowski. (1995). E-mail: [szomburg@ibngr.edu.pl](mailto:szomburg@ibngr.edu.pl)

Deputy Director: **Dr Bohdan Wyżnikiewicz** (Director of the Warsaw Office). He is a specialist in applied methods of economics, macroeconomics, research on markets and competition. E-mail: [wyznikie@ibngr.edu.pl](mailto:wyznikie@ibngr.edu.pl)

► **Kościuszko Institute (Instytut Kościuszki)**

<http://www.ik.org.pl>

ul. Szlak 65

Krakow

Tel: +48 (12) 632 97 24

The Kościuszko Institute has become an important think-tank dealing with the institutional dimension of the EU. The Kościuszko Institute and the Institute of Public Affairs were among the first think-tanks to start research on the 2011 Polish EU Presidency.

Director: **Mariusz Badura** is an expert on the structural transformation of enterprises, currently working on international trade issues.

**Rafał Kęsek** is Director of the Eastern Dimension Department. He also researches Ukraine-Russia relations, Polish Eastern policy and the EU at the Jagiellonian University.

**Tomasz Młynarski** is Director of the EU Institutions and EU Reform Department. He is also a political scientist specialising in international relations and European integration at the Jagiellonian University.

**Tomasz Sanecki** is Director of the Regional policy of the EU Department. He is a lawyer, specialized in Polish and EU regional policy. He is also Director of the Structural Funds Department in the Małopolskie Region.

► **Jagiellonian University – Uniwersytet Jagiellonski**

**Balkan Studies Department:**

Kraków, ul. Gołębia 13

Tel: +48 (12) 663-14-56; (12) 422-10-33

<http://jazon.hist.uj.edu.pl/~balkany/index.htm>

Dr. **Tadeusz Czekalski** (Albania specialist)

Email: [czekalski24@gmail.com](mailto:czekalski24@gmail.com)

Prof. **Irena Stawowy-Kawka** (Macedonia specialist)

**Institute of European Studies**

Head: prof. **Zdzisław Mach**

ul. Jodłowa 12, Kraków

Tel.: +48 (12) 429 80 00, 429 80 11

[kateurop@if.uj.edu.pl](mailto:kateurop@if.uj.edu.pl)

<http://www.europeistyka.uj.edu.pl/main.php>

It takes an interdisciplinary approach to the European problems. It covers anthropology, economy, cultural studies, political sciences, law and sociology. It also has a department of Turkology:

**Department of Turkology**

Adama Mickiewicza 3 Street,

tel. +48 (12) 663-23-26

31-120 Kraków

Director: **Ewa Siemieniec-Golaś**

► **Pedagogical University of Cracow, named after the National Education Commission (Akademia Pedagogiczna im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Krakowie)**

**Karol Bieniek** is a candidate for a doctor's degree at the Institute of Political Sciences. His field of interest is the contemporary Turkish political system. His MA was published in 2008 as a book:

“Polityka zagraniczna Turcji wobec państw bałkańskich” (Turkish Foreign Policy towards Balkan States). [karolbieniek@poczta.onet.pl](mailto:karolbieniek@poczta.onet.pl)

► **Warsaw University – (Uniwersytet Warszawski)**

**Centre for East European Studies**

Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28, Pałac Potockich, Warsaw

<http://www.studium.uw.edu.pl>

Tel: +48 (22) 552 25 55

Head: **Jan Malicki**

Balkan Studies:

**Jerzy Targalski** (The contemporary history of the Balkans)

**Adam Balcer**

**The Centre for Europe**

<http://www.ce.uw.edu.pl/>

Tel: +48 (22) 553 33 01

Director: **Dariusz Milczarek**

The Centre was established in October 1991 as one of the very first institutions of its kind in Poland. It is an autonomous inter-faculty institute specialising in European Studies. Its main research areas include: the European Union's position and role in international relations, its security and neighbourhood policy, the financial dimension of integration and the extension of the Euro zone, the EU's role in international trade, the legitimisation and democratisation of the EU, globalisation and governance in the EU and the development of civil society in times of globalisation.

**Department of Turkish Studies and Central Asian People**

Director: **Agata Bareja-Starzyńska**

tel. +48 (22) 55-20-353

**Dariusz Kołodziejczyk** is a historian of the Ottoman Empire at the Institute of History. He lectures at the Centre for East European Studies and the department of Turkish Studies. He is an author of the most popular contemporary history of Turkey. Tel +48(22) 849 00 82

► **Collegium Civitas**

**Institute of the European Union**

Plac Defilad 1, 00-110 Warsaw

Tel: +48 (22) 656 71 87/88

[www.collegium.edu.pl](http://www.collegium.edu.pl)

Head: **Jacek Saryusz Wolski**

Main research areas include: the European Union's position in international relations, EU security and neighbourhood policy, the financial dimension of integration, and EU governance.

► **Akademia Humanistyczna im. Aleksandra Gieysztora – The Aleksander Gieysztor Academy**

ul. Spacerowa 7, 06-100 Pułtusk

Tel: +48 (23) 692 98 57, 692 98 58, 692 98 66

[www.wsh.edu.pl/](http://www.wsh.edu.pl/)

Dr. **Jacek Wojnicki** (Contemporary political systems in Western Balkans) has written on the process of institutionalisation of the structural changes in post-Yugoslav states

► **Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań**

**Department of Turkic, Mongolian and Korean Studies**

Director: **Henryk Jankowski**

Międzychodzka 5 Street, 60-371 Poznań

tel: +48 (61) 829 2712

## 5. Key individuals

► **Economists:**



**Leszek Balcerowicz**, famous internationally for implementing the Polish economic transformation program, commonly known as shock therapy, in the 1990s, is still engaged in many of the country's top academic and research centres. He is also Director of the Civic Development Forum (FOR) <http://www.for.org.pl/> The Forum deals with domestic policies, mainly economic issues: "*The forum is not a political party, but rather an organization which brings together people who want to improve our democracy and strengthen the foundations of development and of the state of law,*" Leszek Balcerowicz said at its launch. Tel: +48 (22) 558 06 70.



**Witold Orłowski** is one of the country's top macroeconomists working mainly on the economics of transition and the European integration of Central and Eastern Europe. He is one of the founders of NOBE (Independent Center for Economic Studies), currently the WUT Business School. He is Chief Economic Adviser at PWC and is also one of the most active economists writing in the Polish and international media. He is a former adviser to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski; he also advised the Ministers of Finance and Economy. His blog: <http://witoldorlowski.bbblog.pl/>



**Krzysztof Rybiński** is one of Poland's most prominent economist-bloggers and one of the most active economists in the Polish media. <http://www.rybinski.eu/?language=en+pl> His blog is an invaluable resource on current economic debates. He is now a partner and leader of the Economic Strategy Team at Ernst & Young responsible for the preparation of economic and regulatory analyses. From 2004-2008 he worked as Deputy Governor of the Polish National Bank under Leszek Balcerowicz. He was also Deputy-Governor of the World Bank. E-mail: [rybinski@rybinski.eu](mailto:rybinski@rybinski.eu)



► **Legal Specialists:**

**Jan Barcz** is the pre-eminent Polish expert on the legal aspects of EU Integration, a former diplomat and now Professor of European law. He teaches at the private Leon Koźmiński College. E-mail: [jbarcz@hotmail.com](mailto:jbarcz@hotmail.com) [www.prawo.kozminski.edu.pl](http://www.prawo.kozminski.edu.pl)

**Stanisław Biernat** is Professor and Chair of European Law of the Jagiellonian University since 1995. In June 2008, he was appointed judge of the

Constitutional Tribunal. From 2001-2008 he was a judge of the Supreme Administrative Court and head of the Court's European Law Department of the Judicial Decisions Office in 2005-2008. From 1989-1992 and 1998-2001 he was member of the Legislative Council of the Prime Minister. In 2001, he was appointed Jean Monet Professor of European Law by the European Commission. He is the author of numerous books and other publications on public and European law.

**Henryka Bochniarz** – President of the Polish Confederation of Private Employers “Lewiatan” and member of the Presidents’ Council in UNICE. She is also a member of the Enterprise Policy Group – an advisory group to the EC. In 2005 she was a candidate in the Polish presidential elections – she came seventh.

► **Security Specialists:**

**Artur Bilski** writes on security issues. A retired naval officer, a graduate of the Polish Naval Academy in Gdynia and of the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey (California), Dept of International Security. In 1996-1998 he served in the headquarters of the Nordic-Polish Brigade in BiH.

**Roman Kuźniar** is Professor and Head of the Strategic Studies Department in the Institute for Foreign Relations at Warsaw University. He was Director of PISM from 2005 to February 2007. He was dismissed by the former PiS government after the publication of his critical opinion about US missile shield interceptors in Poland. He also twice headed the Analytical and Planning Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He specializes in Polish foreign policy, international security issues, and human rights.

**Adam Daniel Rotfeld** is a Polish diplomat and researcher. He was foreign minister in 2005. Previously, as deputy foreign minister, he established a Reflection Group on UN reform and the Transformation of the Euro-Atlantic Security Institutions, with the participation of leading US and European experts and politicians. From 1991 to 2002 he was Director of the Stockholm Institute of Peace Research (SIPRI).

► **Well-known Polish figures engaging on the Western Balkans:**

In August 1989 **Tadeusz Mazowiecki**, a founding member of Solidarity, was nominated as the first non-Communist premier of Poland. In August 1992, two years after resigning his premiership, he became Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights for the Territory of the former Yugoslavia. Over the course of three years he compiled 18 reports – based on firsthand evidence – of human rights violations in the Yugoslav conflict. He also sponsored a number of UN initiatives, notably the creation of 'safe areas' around Muslim enclaves in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On July 27, 1995, after the fall of Srebrenica, he resigned from his post in protest against the UN's failure to protect the enclaves. <http://www.haverford.edu>



**Jerzy Chmielewski** became Polish ambassador to Yugoslavia in 1991. In parallel to his ambassadorship – which formally continued till 1995 – he served as deputy director of the Foreign Ministry's Department for European Affairs, and headed of the Ministry's crisis group on the Balkans, and helped forge new diplomatic relations with the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Jerzy Chmielewski took part in the Polish delegation to the London conference on Bosnia-Herzegovina. In 1997-2003, he served as ambassador to Croatia. He then took over as National Co-ordinator of the Visegrad Group. In February 2007, he became Director of the Department for European Affairs at MSZ. In

2008, he became Poland's ambassador to Italy. Email: [ufficio.stampa@ambasciatapolonia.it](mailto:ufficio.stampa@ambasciatapolonia.it), Tel: +39 06.36204200, +39 06.36204204, +39 06.36204217.

## C. POLITICS

### 1. The Polish Political Scene – competing visions



Donald Tusk became Prime Minister after his Civic Platform (PO) won 41 per cent of the vote in the strongly contested October 2007 elections. PO's vote was up from 24 per cent in the previous 2005 election. The bitter campaign highlighted the divisions between the two Polands: the modern liberal conservative represented by PO and the conservative nationalist strata represented by the previous Government coalition led by the Law and Justice party (PiS).

PiS is led by Jarosław Kaczyński, the twin brother of President Lech Kaczyński. In the last elections, voters, especially younger ones, punished PiS and its two radical coalition partners, the ultra-Catholic League of Polish families (LPR) and the nationalist Self-Defence (Samoobrona Rzeczpospolitej Polskiej SRP), for their bickering and their crusades against the "Układ." This is an alleged shadowy network of former communist secret service agents, ex-apparatchiks, unscrupulous businessmen and corrupt officials that the PiS-led Government claimed seized economic and administrative power after communist rule was overthrown in 1989. PiS also brought Poland's relations with Germany and Brussels to a severe strain with their nationalistic foreign policy. Since their October 2007 election defeat, support for PiS has remained at around 20-28 percent, while the ruling PO has enjoyed opinion ratings ranging from 41-59 per cent.

Despite the wide margin of its victory in the 2007 election, PO was 22 seats short of an overall majority. It won 209 of the 460 seats in the Sejm (lower house), so it formed a coalition with the centrist Peasants Party (PSL) who had won 31 seats. Together they have a 10 seat majority.

Donald Tusk was sworn in as Prime Minister on 16 November 2007. He promised liberal economic policies and said he would "*take a machete*" to Poland's notorious red tape and to carry out an ambitious programme of privatisation and to increase the pace of Poland's economic boom.

Abroad, the new Polish Government has patched up ties with Berlin, Brussels and Moscow, while retaining a strong alliance with Washington. The Polish Foreign Ministry has also worked closely with Sweden on a new Eastern Partnership.

However, the harsh rhetoric between the ruling PO and the PiS-led opposition has continued. It is partly a result of the political system. As Jacek Kucharczyk has written: "*In the Polish constitutional system, the power lies mostly with the Prime Minister's office, nonetheless the President has special prerogatives in the field of foreign policy. Polish foreign policy has therefore been marked by a rivalry between these two centres of power.*"



<http://www.isp.org.pl/files/8105762090932918001232026762.pdf>

The friction between the Prime Minister's camp and the President poisons Poland's foreign policy, as well as its image abroad. The personal tensions were on full public show in the run-up to the October 2008 European Council summit, when Prime Minister Tusk and President Lech Kaczyński publicly bickered over who should be in the Polish delegation, with each man taking separate planes to Brussels and insisting on one of the two Polish places at the Summit.

The two men have also clashed over the Lisbon Treaty. While the government has underlined the urgent need to ratify the agreement, President Kaczyński, an instinctive euro-sceptic, has refused to sign the Treaty until after the Irish vote in a second referendum. By contrast PO has engaged actively with Brussels and its EU partners. This shift towards the EU also reflects a change of mood in Poland in favour of the EU as the dividends of EU accession have come in.

The differences between Prime Minister and President are much more than a clash of egos – though there is little love lost between them. The clashes mark different visions of Poland on most aspects of international as well as domestic policy. The two leaders have very different political constituencies.

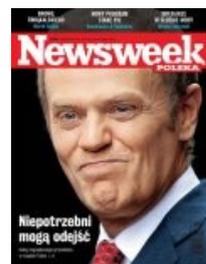
PiS is instinctively pro US. The PO-led Government is more measured in its dealings with Washington. During the negotiations in July 2008 on the proposed deployment in Poland of missile interceptors as part of the missile shield planned by the Bush Administration against a potential missile attack by Iran, the Polish government rejected what it called an “insufficient” offer from Washington. Lech Kaczyński enthusiastically endorsed the same US proposal. Poland and the US closed the deal a month later in August 2008 – spurred on by the Georgia crisis that month. However, the agreement is now in some doubt because of the Obama Administration’s scepticism over the cost and feasibility of the missile shield.

President Lech Kaczyński is much more anti-Russian than Donald Tusk, and he has been conducting a freelance foreign policy often at odds with the government over Georgia and Ukraine.

PiS has also criticised the government’s decision to recognise Kosovo in February 2008, saying it was premature and risked an impacted on relations with Georgia and Ukraine and warned it could push Serbia into the Russian camp. The President’s brother, Jarosław Kaczyński, said the decision to recognise Kosovo was contrary to Poland's long-term interests.



The ideological differences between Prime Minister Tusk and President Lech Kaczyński affect domestic policy. The President has used his veto to block proposed laws on economic and social reform. The government was forced to seek tactical alliances with the leftist opposition in the Sejm, thus strengthening the left’s position. The SLD (the mother party of the main left-wing parliamentary groupings) is getting between 7 and 11 per cent in the polls..



The Economist magazine quipped that Donald Tusk had been running in 2008 more of an election campaign than a government – interested less in ruling the country than in preparing for running in the next presidential elections against President Lech Kaczyński in 2010. If so, he can no longer afford to do so - given the financial crisis.

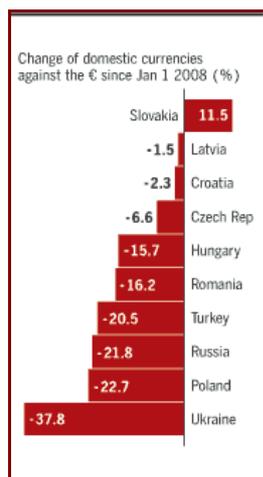
Though the government still enjoys considerable support (above 40 per cent), the global economic downturn has ended its honeymoon with the electorate. The

Polish economy – though driven to a large extent by domestic demand, making it less dependent on trade with the EU than, for example, the Baltic states – has slowed down rapidly. GDP growth, 5.5 per cent in 2008, is expected to fall to no more than 1.7 per cent in 2009. However this is one of the best growth figures in Europe. The Financial Times on 25 February 2009 gave a growth projection of 1.2 per cent for Poland – this is still second in Europe only to Slovakia – the newest member of the Eurozone [Graphics copyright Financial Times].



Unemployment in Poland, having reached record lows in 2008, is now once again in the double digits. A fall in exports has been reported, the first in over nine years. Credit markets are in a state of near-paralysis.

In response to the economic downturn, the government has announced a crisis package that includes extra liquidity for the banking sector, loan guarantees from the central bank, cuts in public spending of 17 billion zlotys, and investment in infrastructure. This adds to an economic agenda that prioritises tax cuts (with a view to an eventual flat tax policy) and accelerated privatisation.



The Polish zloty has lost 23 per cent of its value against the euro from January 1 to February 24 2009 (according to Financial Times figures (25 February 2009)). This is one of the largest falls in Central Europe. The Government is aware the country is increasingly unlikely to fulfil the main euro zone criteria: a deficit no higher than 3 per cent of GDP, government debt no higher than 60 per cent of GDP, and an inflation rate that does not exceed by more than 1.5 percentage points that of the three best-performing Member States. Ministers now admit that the euro entry target date of January 2012 may be postponed. Talks continue on joining ERM-2, the first stage.

PiS has yet to say whether it will support the constitutional changes necessary for euro entry. Moreover, it demands a referendum, despite the fact that Poland – like all of the new Member States – has legally committed to adopt the single currency under its 2004 accession treaty.

The economic crisis might spell trouble for Poland's plans for the euro – and for the Euro. Together with Ukraine, Poland is scheduled to host the European Football Championship in 2012. However, speculation has surfaced in the press that Ukraine, with its economy impacted by the global downturn far more than Poland's, might be unable to finance the infrastructure essential to host the event. The head of Ukraine's Soccer Federation Grigory Surkis admitted on February 5 that the latest meeting with UEFA "was the first time since we won the right to co-host Euro 2012 that I did not have a difficult discussion with UEFA."

Poland faces its own struggle to complete infrastructural projects – the failure to build more than 11km of roads in 2008 is a subject of passionate national debate. The Government says that over-complex procedures have now been stream-lined. The most severe potential threat to its plans to host the Euro could be the sorry state of Polish football. In the autumn of 2008, UEFA threatened to ban Poland from hosting the event after a corruption scandal forced the Sports Ministry to sack the board of the Polish Football Federation and replace it with an administrator. Poles might forgive their government for postponing entry into the single currency. But they wouldn't forgive it if the Euro were to be taken away. Football is Poland's national passion.

"Polska, biało-czerwoni" – "white and red" – chanted Polish football fans, out on the streets during the country's brief sortie at the European championships over the summer 2008," is how Ben Koschalka opened his article on Poland's divisions in the journal, Europe's World [autumn 2008 edition]. He went on:

"Faces were daubed in the national colours of red and white and the country basked in a moment of short-lived unity. Then the old rifts opened up again, with the familiar sound of arguments presented as straightforward dichotomies: right versus wrong, modernity against tradition, social liberal versus conservative. Maybe the true national colours of Poland should be black and white, not red and white,

*to reflect the way that politicians, the media and other public figures state their case. There are no subtle shades of grey in Polish debates.”*

Adam Michnik, the Editor in Chief of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and a leading figure among Poland’s liberal intelligentsia, has spoken of two conflicting societies; *“a Poland of suspicion, fear and revenge is fighting a Poland of hope, courage and dialogue.”*

Former President Aleksander Kwaśniewski referred in 1995 to two Polish societies; *“one an “enlightened, educated, enterprising, already today attracting the real interest of Europe and the world.”* But it faced, he said, an opposite Poland; *“a country of poverty, of humiliating unemployment, of functional illiteracy, of a backward civilisation.”* Ben Koschalka argues that Kwaśniewski’s bipolar vision of Poland is still familiar today:

*“One on-going economic divide is the so-called Poland A and Poland B of haves and have-nots. The income disparities and lack of cohesion between these groups is seen as a particular weakness in Polish democracy.”*

The Financial Times Survey of Poland (9 December 2008) came to similar conclusions on the clash between President and Prime Minister: *“The confrontation between the two is, in many ways, a fight between two visions of Poland... Mr Kaczyński represents the traditional values of a conservative, rural, Catholic country, while Mr Tusk has become the standard-bearer of a younger, more outward-looking Poland... These are the people who have made a success out of Poland’s economic transformation. Many have acquired diplomas, often from the numerous new private universities, and have migrated from smaller towns and villages to larger cities or abroad. They have modern cars, take foreign holidays and have bought apartments in new developments.*

*The countryside is changing as well, with large farms able to compete on a Europe-wide scale increasingly common, as the traditional peasant farmer becomes less economically significant. The changes sweeping Polish society stoke the fears of conservatives who warned of the pernicious social effects of the 2004 EU accession. Although church attendance remains high, priestly vocations have fallen.*

*Social acceptance of homosexuals is rising, as is support for measures such as in vitro fertilisation programmes, which the Catholic Church opposes but the government has said it will fund. Vodka long ago lost pride of place as Poles’ favourite drink, to beer and wine. These changes are fuelled by the return of some of the hundreds of thousands of migrants who left to work elsewhere in Europe after 2004. The returnees are bringing new expectations and ways of thinking.”*

<http://www.ft.com/reports/poland-2008>

The electorate is changing. An 18-year-old first-time voter at the October 2007 election would have been born after 4 June 1989, the date of the election which ended communist rule in Poland. To a young voter who hasn’t experienced communism the threat of the “układ” doesn’t mean much. As the veteran journalist Chris Bobiński has written in the Open Democracy web forum of the Polish first time voter:

*“That person will have been brought up and educated in conditions of complete freedom of speech, freedom of travel, in a functioning parliamentary democracy, in a sovereign country and with access to goods in the shops limited only by their parents’ incomes, a job market and attendant unemployment. In a word these young people, and each year there will be more of them, have been living in an entirely different country from their elders.”*

<http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/globalisation/institutions>

PiS has drawn lessons from its defeat and its low poll ratings. It has been doing a re-think and has begun to redefine itself as a modern party. At PiS's congress at the end of January 2009, its leader Jarosław Kaczyński said that his party's goals were "a modern state, a modern economy and a modern nation." The party's new platform includes more efficient absorption of EU funds, simplification of the tax system as well as a stronger emphasis on innovation and IT investments. "We need to have economic freedom," Kaczyński said. He also apologised for the party's past attacks on the Polish intelligentsia – long its biggest critic.



There has also been a rapprochement between PiS and PO – to the evident amusement of some in the press (left). Prime Minister Donald Tusk met with the leader of the opposition Law and Justice Party (PiS) on February 12 to discuss ways of combating the impact of the economic crisis. The PiS leader, Jarosław Kaczyński said after the meeting "It is a step towards what we discussed during the recent congress of our party - towards ending this state of war which is not beneficial for Poland and towards starting a regular political competition. Difference of opinions is something almost necessary in democracy, war is not."

## 2. The Government

Besides prime Minister Donald Tusk (PO), the government includes the following ministers:



**Waldemar Pawlak (PSL)**  
Deputy Prime Minister and  
Economy Minister



**Grzegorz Schetyna (PO)**  
Deputy Prime Minister and  
Interior Minister



**Marek Sawicki (PSL)**  
Agriculture and Rural  
Development



**Bogdan Zdrojewski (PO)**  
Culture



**Bogdan Klich (PO)**  
Defence



**Katarzyna Hall (PO)**  
Education



**Maciej Nowicki** (non party)  
Environment



**Jacek Rostowski** (non party)  
Finance



**Radosław Sikorski** (PO)  
Foreign Affairs



**Ewa Kopacz** (PO)  
Health



**Cezary Grabarczyk** (PO)  
Infrastructure



**Andrzej Czumę** (PO)  
Justice



**Jolanta Fedak** (PSL)  
Labour and Social Policy



**Elżbieta Bieńkowska** (non party)  
Regional Development



**Aleksander Grad** (PO)  
Treasury



The President of the Central Bank is **Sławomir Skrzypek**

#### Other key institutions and officials:

##### ► Chancellery of the President

Ul. Wiejska 10 00-902 Warsaw

[http://www.president.pl/x\\_node?id=4042741](http://www.president.pl/x_node?id=4042741)

Tel: +48 (22) 695 2900 (switchboard)

**Piotr Kownacki** is Head of the Chancellery of the President.





**Władysław Stasiak** (pictured right) is Deputy Head.



**Mariusz Handzlik** is responsible for foreign affairs.



**Marek Cichocki** (pictured right) is an adviser on European Affairs.



**Michał Kamiński** is the presidential adviser on public relations.

► **The Prime Minister's Office**

Al. Ujazdowskie 1/3  
00-583 Warszawa  
Tel: +48 (22) 8413832  
e-mail: [cirinfo@kprm.gov.pl](mailto:cirinfo@kprm.gov.pl)



**Tomasz Arabski**

Head of the Chancellery of the Prime Minister.  
Tel: +48 (22) 6947125, 6947549, 6283873



**Jacek Cichocki**

Secretary of State, adviser on national security.  
Tel: +48 (22) 6946308, 6947554, 6284496



**Władysław Bartoszewski**

Secretary of State, Plenipotentiary for International Dialogue.  
Tel: +48 (22) 6946668, 6947545

**Michał Boni**

Chief Strategic Adviser and economic adviser.  
Tel: +48 (22) 6947583, 6946025

**Sławomir Nowak**

Head of the political office - and one of Donald Tusk's most trusted colleagues since the early 1990s

**Rafał Grupiński**

Speech-writer.

**Paweł Graś**  
Government Spokesman.

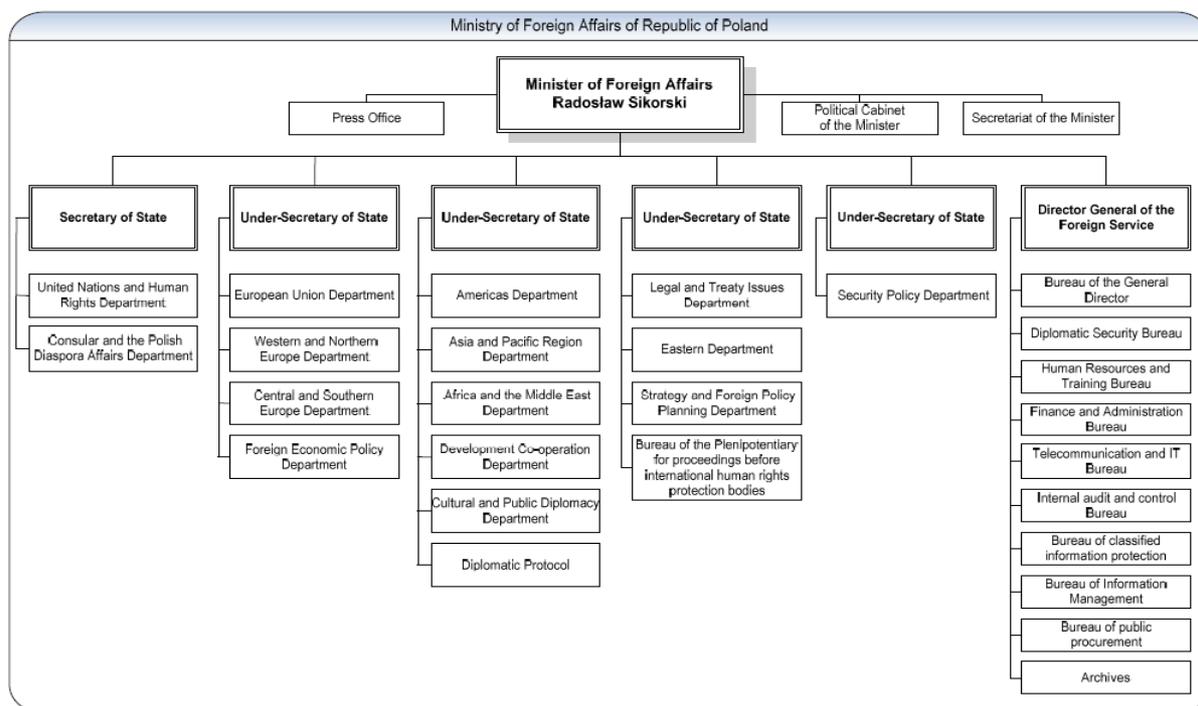
► **Ministerstwo Spraw Zagranicznych (MSZ) / Ministry of Foreign Affairs:**

<http://www.msz.gov.pl/index.php?document=2>

Tel: +48 (22) 523 9000 - general telephone number

**Radosław Sikorski**, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

For the current structure of the Ministry see the graph on the next page.



**Grażyna Bernatowicz** is the State Secretary with overall responsibility for the Western Balkans and Turkey. The organisation chart of the Ministry is available at: <http://www.msz.gov.pl>

The Head of the Office of the Committee on European Integration (UKIE), State Secretary, **Mikołaj Dowgiewiczyk**, is expected to become State Secretary for European Affairs as part of the amalgamation with UKIE, due later this year. However, it has been delayed. In an analysis of the Foreign Ministry's acute staffing problems at the senior level, Jacek Pawlicki of *Gazeta Wyborcza* wrote on 14 January 2009: "As state secretary, or first deputy minister, Sikorski will be gaining Mikołaj Dowgiewiczyk, who is already now something along the lines of a Minister for European affairs. Unfortunately, problems are occurring: the merger is proceeding slowly and there is friction between the employees of the Office of the Committee for European Integration and the Foreign Ministry over prestige and salaries."

#### **European Union Department:**

Director: **Artur Harazim**.

Email: [artur.harazim@msz.gov.pl](mailto:artur.harazim@msz.gov.pl)

**Anna Sochańska-Bialek**: Head of Unit for Co-ordination of Enlargement and Neighbourhood Policies. Email: [anna.sochanska@msz.gov.pl](mailto:anna.sochanska@msz.gov.pl)

**Jakub Wudarski**: Email: [jakub.wudarski@msz.gov.pl](mailto:jakub.wudarski@msz.gov.pl)

**Department of Central and Southern Europe:**

Tel: +48 (22) 5239251 (Secretariat)

Director: **Adam Hałaciński**. Adam Hałaciński has been Director of the Department of Central and South East Europe at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 2007. He was Deputy Chief of Mission at the Polish Embassy to Austria from 2002-2007. He was Director for Central and SE Europe, and Director for Western Europe from 2000-2002.

Email: [adam.halacinski@msz.gov.pl](mailto:adam.halacinski@msz.gov.pl)

Deputy Director: **Zbigniew Krużyński**. Email: [zbigniew.kruzynski@msz.gov.pl](mailto:zbigniew.kruzynski@msz.gov.pl)

Head of Western Balkans Section: **Piotr Siebeneichen**. Email: [piotr.siebeneichen@msz.gov.pl](mailto:piotr.siebeneichen@msz.gov.pl)

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**Development Co-operation Department:**

It has a dedicated website:

<http://www.polskapomoc.gov.pl/Main.page.160.html>

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**► Office of the committee for European Integration (Urząd Komitetu Integracji Europejskiej (UKIE))**

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The Office of the Committee for European Integration (UKIE) has co-ordinated the work of all ministries and institutions directly engaged in the process of Poland's integration with the European Union since 1996. Later in 2009 it is due to be amalgamated with the Foreign Ministry.



**Mikolaj Dowgielewicz** became State Secretary at the Office of the Committee for European Integration in December 2007. He is due to become Deputy Foreign Minister responsible for Europe (Officially: State Secretary for European Matters) at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the second half of 2009, as part of UKIE's amalgamation into the Foreign Ministry. He is also the Government Plenipotentiary for the Preparation of Governmental Administrative Bodies and the Republic of Poland's Presidency of the Council of the European Union.

He worked previously in Brussels as advisor to the President of the European Parliament, Pat Cox, and as Spokesperson for Institutional Relations and Communication Strategy and in the Cabinet of Margot Wallström, the Vice-President of the European Commission.

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**Piotr Serafin** is Undersecretary of State at UKIE and National Aid Coordinator for Phare and Transition Facility programmes.

### **National Aid Co-ordinator (NAC) Department**

The **National Aid Co-ordinator** is responsible for the Regional Partnership activities for the Western Balkans in Poland. The Director of the Department since April 2008 is **Aneta Kędziora**. She has worked at UKIE since 2004. She worked in the Department for Institution Building Programmes implementing Phare and Transition Facility projects, including twinning.

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For more:

<http://www.ukie.gov.pl>



### **Western Balkans Regional Partnership**

Poland recently took steps to support the Western Balkan countries' accession drive. In 2005, under the framework of the Regional Partnership of the Visegrad 4 plus two (Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia), Poland

agreed to lend support to the Western Balkans by sharing its experience on the absorption of EU assistance funds. Hungary is focusing on media education and communication issues, and on pre-accession funds. The Czechs are providing support in the field of visa liberalization and the single market, while Slovakia is providing assistance to civil society organisations and their role in the EU integration process (including communication issues).

Over the past three years UKIE has organised study visits, training programs, seminars and workshops for Balkan government officials, NGO representatives and journalists. In 2008 under the Regional

Partnership UKIE co-ordinated a series of study visits and workshops engaging government officials from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro. They included:

- Study trips to UKIE, Regional European Information Centres, the Agency for Restructuring and Modernisation of Agriculture, and CFCU, the Central Finance and Contracts Unit.
- Monitoring visits to the Polish Office for Foreigners, the Implementing Agency for European Programmes, the Office of Competition and Consumer Protection, and the Agriculture and Food Quality Inspection.
- Thematic workshops engaging CFCU, Paying Authority, and the Ministry for Regional Development, and UKIE.
- Visits of Polish experts to Western Balkan institutions (Serbia, Montenegro).

UKIE is planning to continue its support for the Western Balkans in 2009 after a new budget is agreed with the Foreign Ministry and the work-plan is agreed with other line Ministries. At a conference on 12 December 2008, co-ordinators from six Western Balkan states gave their proposals for support.

PowerPoint presentations by UKIE and other Polish government ministries and agencies and the country-presentations by the representatives from six Western Balkan states are on UKIE's website: <http://www.ukie.gov.pl>

UKIE says that it is planning future steps in the implementation of the Regional Partnership Initiative, funded from its own resources and a targeted reserve of the state budget for 2009 that is at the disposal of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

*“The aim is to present Polish experiences in the preparations for membership in the European Union, in particular the use of aid from the EU budget, which would be relevant to the reform process in the Western Balkans. Details of the planned activities will be determined on the basis of the interest claimed by the beneficiaries.”*

[www.ukie.gov.pl/partnership](http://www.ukie.gov.pl/partnership)

<http://www.ukie.gov.pl/www/dpr.nsf/0/00B4887EA0706F42C1257553003BABC9?open>

#### **Other Departments:**

##### **Department of Analyses and Strategies:**

###### **Director: Małgorzata Kalużyńska:**

She is responsible for analysis and in particular the annual assessment of the impact of the EU accession on Poland – a special publication is planned to celebrate the fifth anniversary of accession on 1 May 2009.

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###### **Deputy Director: Katarzyna Smyk**

She is also working on Poland's planning for its EU Presidency in 2011, and has also contributed to UKIE's paper, “The Western Balkans and EU Integration” (2008)

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**EU Presidency Co-ordination Department:**

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► **Other Ministries:**

**Ministry of Finance**

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**Ministry of Regional Development**

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<http://www.mrr.gov.pl/english/Departments/Strony/departments.aspx>

<http://www.fundusze-strukturalne.gov.pl/English/>

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### 3. Parliament

Next elections are due in October 2011. The date may be brought forward to spring 2011 as the current date is during Poland's EU Presidency.

Poland's parliament has two chambers, the Sejm (lower house), with 460 members, and the Senate (upper house), with 100 members. Here the seat distribution in both houses:



**The Government coalition: 240 seats**

**PO – Platforma Obywatelska**, (Civic Platform) – centre-right.

Party Leader: **Donald Tusk**.

PO has 209 seats in Sejm.

**PSL -Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe** (Polish Peasants' Party).

Party Leader: **Waldemar Pawlak**.

PSL has 31 seats in the Sejm.



**The opposition parties:**

**PiS – Prawo i Sprawiedliwość** (Law and Justice) - a [conservative](#) party.

Party Leader: **Jarosław Kaczyński**.

PiS has 166 seats in the Sejm.

**Lewica: The Left** (The parliamentary group of the SLD, the post-communist Social-Democratic Party).

Party Leader: **Grzegorz Napieralski**.

Lewica has 53 seats in the Sejm.

**The Senate**

PO has 60 seats.

PiS has 39 seats.

There is 1 independent Senator.

**► Key committees on EU and foreign policy:****The Sejm (lower house):**

<http://www.sejm.gov.pl/>



**Andrzej Grzyb** (PSL).

Chairman of the EU Affairs Commission.

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**Krzysztof Lisek (PO.)**

Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission.  
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The membership of the Foreign Affairs Commission includes **Tadeusz Iwiński** (Lewica), very active and much travelled, and **Paweł Kowal** (PiS), a former state secretary.

**The Senate (upper house):**



**Edmund Wittbrodt**

Chairman of EU Commission  
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**Polish Parliamentary Groups for the Western Balkans:**

There are parliamentary groups for relations with all Western Balkan states (except Kosovo). The groups vary in size. The BiH group has 6 members. The Croatia group has 21 members.

**Chairs:**

- Albania: **Senator Rafał Muchacki** (PO). He is also a member of the Macedonia group.
- BiH: **Eugeniusz Czykwin**, (Lewica). He is also Chair of the Serbia group and a member of the Montenegro group.
- Croatia: **Tomasz Głogowski** (PO). **Paweł Zalewski** is also a member of this group – he is a former member of PiS. He is now an independent. He is a prominent foreign affairs specialist.
- Macedonia: **Andrzej Halicki** (PO).
- Montenegro: **Jolanta Hibner** (PO).
- Serbia: **Eugeniusz Czykwin** (Lewica).
- Turkey: **Tadeusz Iwiński** (Lewica)

**Aleksandra Wojtal** is the Secretary to all the groups.  
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**4. Poland and the EU**

► **Permanent Representation of Poland to the European Union.**  
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**Jan Tombiński** is Poland's Representative to the EU. He has overall responsibility for the work of Polish Representation and represents Poland in *COREPER II*. From 1998 to 2001 he worked in Warsaw as Director of the Department of Central Europe and Southern Europe and Director of the European Policy Department.

**Karolina Ostrzyniewska** is the Minister Counsellor representing Poland in *COREPER I*.

**Karolina Nowak** is the First Secretary covering the Western Balkans and transatlantic relations.

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► **MEPs** – Until the June 2009 EP elections (Polish voters will elect 50 MEPs on 6-7 June 2009):



**Jerzy Buzek**, European People's Party.

Jerzy Buzek is the PO candidate to head the EP after the June 2009 elections. In the 80's he was a member of Solidarity, and Chairman of the 1<sup>st</sup> National Solidarity Congress of Delegates in 1981, then he was active in the Solidarity underground structure after 1981 martial law. He became Prime Minister in 1999, presiding over Poland's entry into NATO and the accession negotiations for EU membership. He was Parliament Magazine's MEP of the Year for 2006 in the scientific research and technology category.

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**Jan Jerzy Kulakowski**, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe.

He was head of the Polish Mission to the EU between 1990 and 1996, and negotiator for Poland's accession from 1998-2001. He has been Vice-Chairman of the Polish Robert Schuman Foundation since 1996. Email:

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**Janusz Onyszkiewicz**, Alliance of Liberals and Democrats for Europe.

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**Dariusz Rosati**, Party of European Socialists.

He is leader of the new left of centre grouping, "Agreement for the Future." He was Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1995-1997. He has been a member of the group of economic advisors to the President of the European Commission since 2001. Email: [dariusz.rosati@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:dariusz.rosati@europarl.europa.eu) Tel: +32 2 28 45182.



**Jacek Saryusz-Wolski**, European People's Party.

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Head of Polish delegation in the EPP-ED Group.

He was Director of the Centre for European Studies, University of Łódź (1988-1991) and then Vice-Rector of the College of Europe, Bruges and Natolin (1997-1999). He was as Chief Adviser to the Prime Minister on European integration

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Vice-President, European Parliament, Head of Polish delegation to the PSE.

He was a Member of Parliament from 1991-7. He was Secretary of State at the Chancellery of the President from 1996-2004 and Secretary of the National Security Council from 2000-2004. Email: [marek.siwiec@europarl.europa.eu](mailto:marek.siwiec@europarl.europa.eu)  
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As Director of the Schuman Foundation (Fundacja Schumana) **Róża Thun** helped launch a series of information campaigns (in schools, media, local government) on EU accession, including the annual Schuman Parade each 9 May. She was one of the most active campaigners for the “yes” vote in the 2003 referendum on the EU accession treaty. Email: [Roza.Thun@ec.europa.eu](mailto:Roza.Thun@ec.europa.eu)

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