



Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

REPUBLIC OF POLAND

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

9 October 2011

OSCE/ODIHR NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION REPORT

9-11 August 2011



Warsaw
9 September 2011

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**REPUBLIC OF POLAND
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OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report

I. INTRODUCTION

Following an invitation from government of the Republic of Poland to observe the 9 October 2011 parliamentary elections, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) undertook a Needs Assessment Mission (NAM) from 9 to 11 August. The NAM included Armin Rabitsch, OSCE/ODIHR Senior Election Adviser and Alexander Shlyk, OSCE/ODIHR Election Adviser.

The purpose of the mission was to assess the pre-election environment and the preparations for the elections. Based on this assessment, the NAM should recommend whether to deploy an OSCE/ODIHR election-related activity for the forthcoming elections, and if so, what type of activity best meets the identified needs. Meetings were held with officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Election Commission, the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court, the National Broadcasting Council, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration, the office of the Ombudsperson, as well as with representatives of political parties, the media and civil society. A list of meetings is included as an annex to this report.

OSCE/ODIHR would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for its assistance and co-operation in organizing the NAM. OSCE/ODIHR would also like to thank all of its interlocutors for taking the time to meet with the mission.

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the 9 October 2011 parliamentary elections, voters will elect 560 deputies. Candidates to the *Senat* (upper house) will contest 100 single-mandate constituencies, while 460 deputies to the *Sejm* (lower house) will be elected from 41 multi-member constituencies.

Following the 2007 parliamentary elections, OSCE/ODIHR concluded that the elections “demonstrated a democratic and pluralistic electoral process, founded on a high level of public confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the electoral administration.”¹ The authorities have followed up on a number of OSCE/ODIHR’s previous recommendations, including with regard to providing access for international observers to all stages of the electoral process and certain measures that may increase the participation of women in the electoral process. Recommendations that pertain to minimizing governmental influence on the composition of the National Broadcasting Council (NBC) and providing for a possibility of domestic non-partisan observation remain unaddressed.

¹ OSCE/ODIHR reports on previous elections in Poland are available at: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/poland>.

Most interlocutors met expressed confidence in the impartiality and professionalism of the election administration and their ability to organize the elections in an efficient manner. A new Election Code consolidating election-related legislation was adopted in January 2011, but was subject to several amendments since then, as well as a ruling by the Constitutional Court. In addition to traditional voting methods, the Election Code provides for the possibility of postal or proxy voting by certain categories of voters.

The campaign environment remains free and pluralistic. Some political parties embarked on 'information campaigns' prior to the official announcement of elections. This led the National Election Commission (NEC) to rule that, although parties can publicize their programme objectives, early campaigning is contrary to law.

Political party and campaign finance, including electoral committee incomes and expenditures, are regulated in detail by legislation. Some interlocutors opined that a number of regulations could be difficult to interpret. Decisions of the NEC to reject financial reports of political parties can be challenged at the Supreme Court.

Interlocutors expressed some concern that public media may be biased in its coverage of electoral contestants and that the NBC, due to its appointment procedure, is still subject to governmental control. Provisions of the Penal Code that foresee criminal liability for public insult of the president were recently upheld by a Constitutional Court ruling.

Most OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed overall trust in the complaints and appeals process but highlighted a limited number of areas of concern, including the question whether due process is guaranteed by the quick process for adjudicating campaign-related complaints. Complaints against validity of elections are considered solely on the basis of evidence accompanying a complaint.

Many OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors indicated they would welcome an OSCE/ODIHR election-related activity and considered that such an activity would bring added value. As highlighted by OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, a review of the implementation of the new unified Election Code would be useful. In addition to reviewing the legal framework and its implementation (including of the gender quota), a mission could usefully look into political party and campaign financing, as well as the regulation of the media.

In such circumstances, and given the fact that no concerns were expressed in relation to the conduct of election day itself, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM recommends deploying an Election Assessment Mission to specifically look into the issues outlined in this and previous reports. No systematic or comprehensive election day observation of polling station procedures is envisaged.

III. FINDINGS

A. BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

The Parliament of the Republic of Poland is a bicameral body that consists of 460 deputies of the *Sejm* (lower house) and 100 deputies of the *Senat* (upper house).

Deputies of the *Senat* are elected in 100 single-member constituencies by simple majority. Deputies of the *Sejm* are elected in 41 multi-member constituencies from lists presented by political parties, party coalitions, or committees of voters. The size of constituencies varies from 7 to 19 deputies. A national threshold of five per cent exists, which increases to eight per cent for party coalitions. Lists presented by committees of voters who are members of a national minority organization are exempt from the national threshold.

Following the 21 October 2007 elections, candidates from five lists were elected to the *Sejm*. The Civic Platform (PO) gained the largest number of seats (209), followed by the Law and Justice Party (PiS; 166), the Left and Democrats coalition (LiD; 53), the Polish People's Party (PSL; 31), and the German minority (MN; 1). Following the elections, PO formed a majority coalition government with PSL. Subsequently, several deputies from PiS formed a separate party, Poland Comes First (PjN), with its own faction in the *Sejm*. LiD also dissolved into its constituent parties, including the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) and Social Democracy of Poland (SDPL).

OSCE/ODIHR observed the 2007 parliamentary elections, concluding that the elections “demonstrated a democratic and pluralistic electoral process, founded on a high level of public confidence in the integrity and impartiality of the electoral administration.” Among other things, the mission recommended that governmental influence on the composition of the National Broadcasting Council (NBC) be minimized, that the law specifically provide for international and domestic non-partisan observation, and that election day procedures be enhanced.

B. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Parliamentary elections are conducted under a legal framework that is comprised of the 1997 Constitution, the 2011 Election Code, the Political Parties Law (last amended in December 2010), the Broadcasting Act (last amended in March 2011), and other legislation.

A unified Election Code was passed on 5 January 2011, in line with past OSCE/ODIHR recommendations. It consolidates provisions of various laws pertaining to the conduct of elections and referenda. Since January, the code has been amended five times by parliament with one amendment cancelled as a result of a ruling of the Constitutional Court.² Amendments included establishing more detailed provisions, providing a list of *Sejm* constituencies, and extended postal voting to disabled voters. Additionally, in addressing a request by a group of *Sejm* deputies, the Constitutional Court ruled that electing senators in single-member constituencies is constitutional, but found the provision to hold voting over two days in parliamentary elections to be unconstitutional. The Court also upheld provisions allowing postal and proxy voting, and overturned a ban on paid political advertising on radio and TV as well as on outdoor election posters.³

² The Election Code was amended on 3 February (amendment cancelled by a Constitutional Court ruling from 20 July), 1 April, 15 April, 26 May, 27 May.

³ Regarding posters larger than two square meters in size. The operative part of the judgment remains to be published, while the press release summarizing the 20 July 2011 judgment of the Constitutional Court is available at http://www.trybunal.gov.pl/eng/press_releases/k0911.htm.

The Election Code introduced a provision allowing observation of elections by international organizations, but does not regulate election observation by domestic non-partisan groups. This change partly addresses a previous recommendation of OSCE/ODIHR. All electoral contestants, however, can nominate one agent to each election commission.

C. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Parliamentary elections are administered by 3 election commission levels, comprising the National Election Commission (NEC), 41 Constituency Election Commissions (CECs) and approximately 25,000 Precinct Election Commissions (PECs). Constituency commissions have territorial jurisdiction for *Senat* elections. Regulations and instructions issued by the NEC are binding for lower-level commissions.

The NEC is a permanent body of nine members, composed of three acting or retired judges each from the Constitutional Court, the Supreme Court and the Supreme Administrative Court. NEC members are appointed by the Polish president. They then elect a chairperson and two deputies from among themselves. The NEC secretary is the head of the National Election Office (NEO), which is responsible for the administrative, financial and technical issues related to the organization of elections.

Constituency commissions are composed of 5 to 11 judges, nominated by the Minister of Justice. Each CEC is chaired by one of the 51 election commissioners,⁴ who represent the NEC throughout the country and are responsible for supervising compliance with the electoral legislation, providing clarifications to the CECs and PECs, and submitting election results along with reports on the conduct of elections to the NEC, among other issues.

PECs are composed of electoral contestant representatives.⁵ The mayor also nominates one additional member from among the public employees of the *gmina* (municipality) or from among the employees of a unit where a special PEC⁶ is formed. PEC members are appointed by the heads of municipal administrations.

OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed confidence in the impartiality and professionalism of the NEO and, generally, of the election commissions at all levels.

D. CANDIDATE REGISTRATION

Parliamentary candidates for *Sejm* and *Senat* are presented by electoral committees that can be formed by political parties, party coalitions or by voter groups. The NEC registers such committees up to 50 days before elections. Committees of voters have to

⁴ For some constituencies more than 1 election commissioner is appointed.

⁵ Regular PECs include six to eight (special PECs – four to six) representatives of electoral contestants. Each political party or contestant can nominate one member each to each PEC. If they nominate an insufficient number, the mayor supplements the PECs with members from among the voters registered in the municipality. In case of an excessive number of PEC nominees, the mayor publicly draws PEC members by lot.

⁶ Special PECs are formed at the health care facilities, nursing homes, prisons and detention centres.

submit signatures of at least 1,000 voters to be registered.

The CECs subsequently register the constituency lists of candidates nominated by the duly registered electoral committees; each list of candidates for the *Sejm* has to be supported by at least 5,000 signatures of voters residing in a corresponding constituency.⁷ The number of candidates on the list can vary between the number of deputies to be elected from that constituency, up to twice that figure. The current electoral framework does not provide for independent candidates to run for the *Sejm*. In contrast, electoral committees can nominate only one candidate for the *Senat*, supported by at least 2,000 voters' signatures. Each voter can support as many candidate lists for the *Sejm* and candidates for the *Senat* as s/he wishes.

The NEC informed the OSCE/ODIHR NAM that it is planning to issue binding guidelines for the CECs to standardize the method of verification of support signatures. This would address a recommendation of the 2007 OSCE/ODIHR EAM.

New amendments to the Election Code provide for quotas of at least 35 per cent of either gender in candidate lists for the *Sejm*, which addresses a recommendation made by the 2007 OSCE/ODIHR EAM. A number of the OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors highlighted this as a positive development and were hopeful that electoral committees would place women in higher positions on their lists.

E. VOTER REGISTRATION AND METHODS OF VOTING

The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration (MSWiA), in consultation with the NEC, is responsible for establishing the manner of maintaining and updating permanent voter registers, and making them accessible. These registers are drawn from the Universal Electronic System for Registration of the Population (*PESEL*),⁸ at the level of *gmina*, with no central voter register in place. As of 30 June 2011, there were 30,612,295 voters registered in Poland.

For each election, voter lists are drawn from permanent voter registers, as defined by the MSWiA. A voter can request to be included in a list at his/her temporary residence. In this case, the municipality where a voter is permanently registered is notified of a voter's intent to be included in a voter list elsewhere. Any voter unable to vote at the polling station where he/she is registered can apply for an absentee voter certificate and use it to cast a ballot at any polling station in the country.⁹

The Election Code provides for a variety of ways to cast a ballot. The primary way of voting is in person by ballot paper at a polling station on election day. According to the Election Code, polling stations are to be open from 7:00 to 21:00, with this new standardized provision abolishing a past practice of voting hours varying from one election to another.

⁷ The electoral committees that register lists of candidates to the *Sejm* in at least half of the 41 constituencies can automatically submit candidate lists for the remaining constituencies.

⁸ The OSCE/ODIHR NAM was informed that, according to the 1974 Law on Census and Personal Identification, every person permanently or temporarily residing in Poland is obliged to be registered.

⁹ See Art.32 of the Election Code.

Voters residing abroad will be able to cast their ballot at Polish consulates. In order to do so, they need to declare an intention to vote at the consulate until three days before the elections. The MFA organizes and is responsible for the conduct of voting at PECs abroad, establishing election results and transferring materials to one constituency in central Warsaw. Despite previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendations, all out-of-country votes (some 200,000 in past elections), are still assigned to this constituency.

Voters residing abroad will also be able to vote by postal ballot addressed to the consulate. A recent amendment of the Election Code extends the right to cast a vote by postal ballot to disabled voters.¹⁰

The new Election Code also provides a possibility for the disabled and elderly (over 75 years) voters to cast their ballots by proxy. Only those voters who have not declared their intention to vote by postal ballot can grant the power of attorney to another voter registered at the same municipality. One person can act as proxy for at most two voters.¹¹ The Election Code also forbids charging fees to act as a proxy or “to issue a power of attorney to vote for any financial or personal benefit.”¹² Many OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors welcomed the newly introduced alternative methods of voting to enfranchise vulnerable groups.¹³ Some acknowledged that proxy voting contradicts the secrecy of the vote.

The NEC and other state authorities informed the OSCE/ODIHR NAM of their efforts to disseminate voter education information.¹⁴ Interlocutors met noted that these initiatives are particularly welcome given the relatively recent adoption and subsequent amendments of the Election Code, as well as the high number of invalid voters in some constituencies during recent elections.¹⁵

F. ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

The campaign environment remains free and pluralistic. The election campaign officially started on 5 August, when the presidential decree ordering *Sejm* and *Senat* elections was published. In accordance with the Election Code, campaign activities can only be conducted by registered electoral committees and their authorized supporters, and have to end 24 hours before election day.

Several parties that were expected to contest the elections displayed billboards featuring party leaders or acting deputies as part of an ‘information campaign’ before the elections were officially announced. The NEC opined that such ‘information campaigns’ contradict legal provisions on the conduct and financial regulations of the

¹⁰ The 27 May 2011 Act (Section 7a) amending the Election Code to this effect is available at <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/Download?id=WDU20111470881&type=1> (in Polish).

¹¹ According to Art.55 Para.3 of the Election Code, a voter can receive such power of attorney from two other voters only if at least one of them is a close relative.

¹² See Art.60 of the Election Code.

¹³ This step meets provisions of Art.29 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD). Poland signed the UNCRPD but has not yet ratified it.

¹⁴ Office of the Ombudsperson initiated a coalition of state authorities, NGOs and media, “Effective Democracy” (“*Sprawna Demokracja*”), to promote participation of the disabled and elderly voters.

¹⁵ During the 2010 local government elections, in some constituencies the share of invalid votes was as high as 15-18 per cent.

election campaign.¹⁶ However, in a subsequent opinion, the NEC pointed out that a political party may publicize its programme objectives, with expenses covered from its own funds, in the period between the announcement of elections and the registration of its electoral committee.¹⁷

Campaign finance is regulated by provisions of the Election Code, which specify that electoral committees can only pay for their campaign activities from their own funds. These funds can come from a political party, a coalition of parties or a group of voters who set up an electoral committee, as well as from individual contributions that do not exceed some 5,100 Euro.¹⁸ Some interlocutors met opined that some regulations could be difficult to interpret.

The ceiling on campaign expenditures for an electoral committee registering lists in all constituencies amounts to approximately 7.6 million Euro. According to the Election Code, up to 80 per cent of spending can be allocated to advertising. After elections, each electoral committee can receive a subsidy from the state budget that is calculated on the basis of the total expenditures it declares in its financial reports and is proportionate to the number of *Sejm* and *Senat* mandates it obtains.

Electoral committees submit their financial reports within three months of election day to the NEC, which reviews them within six months. The NEC can either adopt the report without reservations, point out the irregularities, or reject it. The rejection of a report by the NEC could result in the reduction of the subsidy.

Additionally, every political party that forms its own electoral committee and receives more than three per cent of votes or is part of a coalition electoral committee that receives more than six per cent of the votes in the *Sejm* elections is eligible for an annual state subvention during the term of the *Sejm*. As mandated by the Political Parties Law, parties submit financial reports to the NEC on subventions received and expenses incurred.¹⁹ Decisions of the NEC to reject financial reports of political parties can be challenged at the Supreme Court. In late 2010, amendments to the Political Parties Law lowered state subventions for eligible political parties by some 42 per cent.²⁰

G. MEDIA

A diverse media landscape in Poland allows for a broad range of public and political views. Apart from the public *Polskie Radio* and *Telewizja Polska* (TVP) that includes a news channel and 16 regional outlets, such private broadcasters as TVN (including a news channel TVN24) and *Polsat* also have a large audience. Print media featuring

¹⁶ NEC opinion ZPOW-557-1/11; see <http://www.pkw.gov.pl/gallery/23/54/13/235413/ZPOW-557-1-11.pdf>.

¹⁷ Opinion ZPOW-503-44/11, see <http://www.pkw.gov.pl/gallery/23/56/65/235665/3-44-11.pdf>.

¹⁸ An individual contribution can total up to 15 times the minimum wage (approximately 340 EUR in 2011).

¹⁹ The GRECO Third Evaluation Round Compliance Report on Poland noted that a recommendation that financial reports of the political parties “also cover those expenses for statutory activities which are not charged to subventions received from the State budget” has not been implemented. See [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/greco/evaluations/round3/GrecoRC3\(2010\)7_Poland_EN.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/greco/evaluations/round3/GrecoRC3(2010)7_Poland_EN.pdf).

²⁰ See <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/Download?id=WDU20102541702&type=1> (in Polish).

political content include newspapers *Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Rzeczpospolita*, *Dziennik* and a number of influential weekly editions.

TV and radio outlets are regulated by the 1992 Broadcasting Act that was last amended in 2011. This law establishes a National Broadcasting Council (NBC), to which the president and the *Sejm* each appoint two members and the *Senat* appoints one.²¹ Several OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors opined that the NBC, due to its appointment procedure, is still subject to governmental control. They also noted that the power of the NBC to appoint the management of public broadcasters has previously resulted in some political bias of public TV and radio stations. The Broadcasting Act prohibits any sponsorship of “electoral programmes or programmes directly related to electoral campaigns” or sponsorship of programmes or other broadcasts by political parties.²²

The Election Code provides for free broadcasting of campaign materials prepared by the electoral committees (15 and 30 hours of national coverage and 10 and 15 hours of regional coverage on TVP and *Polskie Radio*, respectively).²³ Additionally, the Election Code obligates TVP to hold debates between electoral committees that register *Sejm* candidate lists in all constituencies. The NBC informed the OSCE/ODIHR NAM that it has issued a regulation on the conduct of such debates.

A number of OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed concern with regard to several legal provisions pertaining to the media and freedom of expression. In particular, the Penal Code foresees criminal liability for public insult of the president. This provision was upheld by the 6 July 2011 ruling of the Constitutional Court. Additionally, the Press Law provides that journalists may face fines or criminal sanctions if they fail to publish statements *verbatim* and to have these statements authorized by those quoted prior to publication. The European Court of Human Rights recently ruled that prosecuting a journalist under this provision of the Press Act constituted a violation of the European Convention of Human Rights.²⁴

H. COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS

The process of election dispute resolution is primarily regulated by the provisions of the Election Code and the Code of Civil Procedure; both election commissions and courts receive and adjudicate complaints. In most cases, first instance decisions can be appealed to a court.²⁵ Most OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed overall trust in the election dispute resolution mechanism, with some highlighting limited concerns.

In particular, some interlocutors questioned whether due process is guaranteed by the

²¹ The NBC was dissolved, in accordance with Art. 12 Para.4 of the Broadcasting Act, after Bronisław Komorowski, temporarily discharging the duties of the President of the Republic of Poland, approved the rejection of an annual report of the NBC by both the *Sejm* and *Senat*.

²² See Art.17 of Broadcasting Act, available at <http://www.krrit.gov.pl/bip/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=tL1kXbiQARw%3d&tabid=374&language=en-US>.

²³ Electoral committees that register lists of candidates to the *Sejm* in at least half of constituencies are entitled for free broadcasts of their campaign materials in the nationwide programs.

²⁴ See European Court of Human Rights, Case of *Wizerkaniuk v. Poland*, No.18990/05, 5 July 2011.

²⁵ Art.12 Para.13 of the Election Code provides that complaints against decisions of the municipal council in matters related to constituency delimitation can be submitted to the election commissioner, whose decision is not subject to further legal remedy.

quick process for adjudicating complaints against publication of untrue information during campaigns. Deliberations in such cases last for 72 hours, at most. This tight schedule includes legal deadlines of 24 hours each for a decision of the first instance by the district court, the submitting of an appeal to a court of appeals, and the subsequent decision.

The Election Code provides the right to any voter or contesting committee to submit a complaint to the Supreme Court regarding the validity of elections. Complaints have to be lodged within seven days after the NEC's official publication of election results. Some interlocutors met pointed out that, in practice, a significant number of complaints are not considered as they are prematurely submitted to the Supreme Court; after election day but before the official publication of the election results. The Supreme Court adjudicates complaints based on the evidence provided by the complainant in a written form and does not conduct its own investigation. As noted by OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, complaints are often declined as they are not accompanied by compelling evidence.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

Most of the OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed confidence in the impartiality and professionalism of the election administration and their ability to organize the elections in an efficient manner. They also did not express concerns about election day procedures.

The authorities have followed up on some of OSCE/ODIHR's previous recommendations, including to provide access for international observers to all stages of the electoral process. A newly adopted Election Code consolidated election-related legislation but was subject to several amendments, as well as a ruling of the Constitutional Court. In addition to conventional voting, the Election Code provides a possibility for some categories of voters to vote by postal ballot or by proxy for the first time. As highlighted by OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors, a review of the implementation of the new unified Election Code would be useful. In addition to reviewing the legal framework and its implementation (including of the gender quota), a mission could usefully look into political party and campaign financing, as well as the regulation of the media.

Many OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors indicated they would welcome an OSCE/ODIHR election-related activity and considered that such an activity would bring added value. In such circumstances, and given the fact that no concerns were expressed in relation to the conduct of election day itself, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM recommends deploying an Election Assessment Mission (EAM) to specifically look into the issues outlined in this and previous reports.

ANNEX: LIST OF MEETINGS

Officials

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Mr. Paweł Radomski, Deputy Director, Department of the United Nations and Human Rights

Mr. Stefan Skawina, Adviser to the Minister, Department of Consular Affairs and Polish Diaspora

National Election Commission

Mr. Stefan Jan Jaworski, Chairman

Mr. Stanisław Kosmal, Deputy Chairman

Mr. Antoni Włodzimierz Ryms, Member

Mr. Kazimierz Wojciech Czaplicki, Secretary, Head of the National Electoral Office

Ms. Beata Tokaj, Head of Department of Legal Affairs and Organization of Elections, National Electoral Office

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration

Ms. Małgorzata Piotrak, Director, Department for Civil Affairs

Mr. Grzegorz Ziomek, Director, Department for Public Administration

Mr. Robert Lewandowski, Chief Specialist, Department for Civil Affairs

Ms. Małgorzata Kutyla, General Councilor, Department for Public Administration

Constitutional Court

Mr. Marek Zubik, Justice

Supreme Court

Mr. Dawid Miąsik, Expert, Office of Studies and Analyses

Political Party Representatives

Mr. Jacek Protasiewicz, Civic Platform, MEP

Mr. Stanisław Wziątek, Democratic Left Alliance, MP

Mr. Adam Lipiński, Law and Justice, MP

Ms. Anna Fotyga, Adviser to President of Law and Justice

National Council for Radio and Television

Mr. Jan Dworak, President

Media Representatives

Ms. Hanna Andrzejczyk, Chief, Programme Department, TVP

Ms. Danuta Celińska-Bejgier, Chief, Programme Department, TVP

Ms. Małgorzata Stąpór-Romańska, Deputy Director, Legal Department, TVP

Mr. Jerzy Czerwiecki, Director, Information Programmes, TVP

Mr. Jerzy Kapuściński, Director, TVP1

Mr. Jan Szul, Director, TVP INFO

Mr. Andrzej Godlewski, Deputy Director, TVP1

Mr. Dariusz Łukawski, Chief, TVP2

Mr. Łukasz Lipiński, Chief of Department of National Affairs, *Gazeta Wyborcza* Newspaper

Mr. Piotr Zaremba, Journalist, *Rzeczpospolita* Newspaper

Civil Society Representatives

Mr. Jacek Kucharczyk, President of the Board of Institute of Public Affairs

Mr. Jarosław Zbieranek, Chief of Program of Law and Democratic Institutions of Institute of Public Affairs

Mr. Adam Bodnar, Vice-President of the Board of Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights

Ms. Dominika Bychawska-Siniarska, Project Co-ordinator “Europe of Human Rights” of Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights

Ms. Zuzanna Warso, Assistant in Project “Europe of Human Rights” of Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights