



TDIP Secretariat

Temporary Committee on the alleged use of European countries by the CIA for the transport and illegal detention of prisoners

Dossier for the TDIP delegation to Warszawa, November 2006

The dossier was prepared by the TDIP Secretariat.

Please note, that some of the information is available in Polish language only (indicated with Polish flag). Please be aware that information provided in this section is **fully accessible only from the electronic version** as it contains many internet links and documents pasted into the text.

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1. INTRO TO THE ALLEGED EXISTENCE OF A CIA PRISON IN POLAND

Introduction

This briefing note brings together information concerning the alleged existence of secret prisons in Poland used by or for purposes of the CIA for illegal detention of prisoners.

This information comes mostly from reports by journalists, NGOs and the Council of Europe but also includes information from investigators in Poland.

The accusation¹

Persons suspected of being terrorists were transferred by the CIA from Afghanistan to Poland, most probably using the small airport at Szymany.

At least one CIA secret prison was operating in Poland, most probably from 2002 until November 2005, when it was shut down following media reports of its existence. The prison location was possibly a former Soviet air base, an intelligence facility or the airport itself. Around 10 high ranking al Qaeda members were held in this prison and were subjected to the harshest interrogation techniques. The detention of prisoners was both illegal and secret.

Grounds of the accusation

Since the accusation of the existence of secret CIA prisons in Europe was made in November 2005, numerous publications (both investigative and speculative) have referred to several European countries as having provided prisons on their territory. Most frequently named in this regard were Poland and Romania. Two major sources point to Poland's involvement:

- **Leaked information from CIA** sources first reported in November 2005 by Dana Priest, American journalist. Countries involved were merely referred to as "Eastern-European Democracies". Although those countries were indeed known to Dana Priest, this information was not revealed following pressure from the White House on the editor². Other media reports followed, with *ABC News* naming Poland and Romania for the first time as those countries where secret prisons existed. "*It is interesting to recall that this ABC report, confirming the use of secret detention camps in Poland and Romania by the CIA, was available on the Internet for only a very short time before being withdrawn following the intervention of lawyers on behalf of the network's owners.*"³ Indeed, apart from the aforementioned *Washington Post* and *ABC News*, additional, independent confirmations were made with CIA sources, at least, by *New Yorker* and *AP* press agency⁴.
- **Data analysis by Dick Marty** in his report of June 2006. Following analysis of reports and records available, Dick Marty indicates that Poland is a country "*which bears all the characteristics of a detainee transfer or drop-off point*". His logical analysis is as follows: "64. (...) persons suspected of being high level terrorists were transferred out of a secret CIA detention facility in Kabul, Afghanistan in late September and October 2003. During this period, my official database shows that the only arrival of CIA-linked aircraft from Kabul in Europe was

¹ The accusation is formulated on the basis of following sources:

- Washington Post "CIA Holds Terror Suspects in Secret Prisons" by Dana Priest, November 2, 2005 [LINK](#)
- Human Rights Watch Statement on U.S. Secret Detention Facilities in Europe, November 7, 2005 [LINK](#)
- ABC News "Sources Tell ABC News Top Al Qaeda Figures Held in Secret CIA Prisons", December 5, 2005;
- The Amnesty International report "Below the radar: secret flights to torture and 'disappearance'" AMR 51/051/2006, April 5, 2006 [LINK](#)
- Draft report – Part II (Explanatory memorandum) of the Committee on Legal Affairs and Human Rights of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly "Alleged secret detentions and unlawful inter-state transfers involving Council of Europe member states" by its Rapporteur Dick Marty, further "the Marty Report".

² Gazeta Wyborcza interview with Dana Priest, April 19, 2006 [LINK](#) and The Washington Post "Bush Presses Editors on Security" by Howard Kurtz, December 26, 2005 [LINK](#)

³ Quotation from the Marty Report, p. 8

⁴ Gazeta Wyborcza "Więzienie CIA w Polsce od 2002 roku?", December 8, 2005 [LINK](#)



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at the Polish airport of Szymany. The flights in question, carried out by the well-known 'rendition plane' N313P, bear all the hallmarks of a rendition circuit. (...) 66. Thus, the circuit in question continued on 22 September 2003, when the plane flew from Kabul to Szymany airport in Poland. On the same grounds given above for the case of Romania, one may deduce that this flight was a CIA rendition, culminating in a "detainee drop-off" in Poland. (...)"⁵

Polish authorities' investigation and their position towards the accusation

To date, and since publication of the first news about alleged existence of the CIA prison and illegal transportation of prisoners, Poland has constantly denied any illegal involvement in any aspect of the accusation.

President of Poland: On December 7, 2005, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, President, rejected any allegation of the existence of secret CIA prisons in Poland. He made conflicting statements, namely that any decision taken by Polish authorities of this nature would have been brought to his attention and then that sometimes the secret services do not inform politicians of top secret operations.⁶ Subsequent denials have been made by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs following each new allegation involving Poland.

Heads of Intelligence: Zbigniew Siemiątkowski, former Head of the Internal Security Agency (ABW) stated, in December 2005, that he was unaware of existence of any such prisons in Poland. The current Chief of Intelligence Zbigniew Wassermann (Minister Coordinator of Polish Intelligence Services) presents the same position.⁷ Former Head of the Intelligence Agency (Urząd Ochrony Państwa), Gromosław Czempieński stated that no possible location existed for a secret prison that would not have attracted immediate media attention, including Stare Kiejkuty⁸.

Parliament: In December 2005, Roman Giertych, chairman (to May 2006) of the Special Services Committee of the Sejm initially considered setting-up a special inquiry committee regarding the allegations. This proposal received opposition, among the others, from Zbigniew Wassermann⁹. No such special inquiry committee was set-up but on 21 December 2005 the Committee held an *in camera* sitting with the Minister Coordinator of Special Services, Zbigniew Wassermann and two heads of intelligence services Zbigniew Nowak (Agencja Wywiadu) and Witold Marczuk (Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego). In fact, this was the only Parliament activity that dealt with the accusations and the Committee released no documentation or final statement in this regard. Unofficial statements by Committee members indicate that heads of special services proved in a comprehensive manner that no CIA prisons had existed in Poland.¹⁰

Poland's response to the Council of Europe

The Polish authorities repeated their position by letter to Terry Davis, Secretary General of the Council of Europe: "*The findings of the Polish Government's internal enquiry into the alleged existence in Poland of secret detention centres and related over flights fully deny the allegations in the debate.*"¹¹ However, they have never officially shown how this investigation was conducted.

Some investigators indicate the internal inquiry was implemented in two stages. Firstly, the intelligence services (Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego, Agencja Wywiadu, Wojskowe Służby Informacyjne), Border Control and Police were to present reports to the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister would subsequently send a team of experts from intelligence and counter-intelligence services to suspected locations to conduct an investigation. The most possible locations would have been the Stare Kiejkuty training centre, some abandoned military bases and secret intelligence service premises.¹²

⁵ Quotation from the Marty Report, for more details see section 2.6.2 of the report

⁶ Gazeta Wyborcza "Więźnienie CIA w Polsce od 2002 roku?", December 8, 2005 [LINK](#)

⁷ as above

⁸ gazeta.pl "Po co CIA miałyby więzić al Kaidę akurat w Polsce?", December 10, 2005 [LINK](#) More information on Stare Kiejkuty in point 7 of this paper

⁹ Rzeczpospolita "Co się działo w Szymanach" December 8, 2005

¹⁰ Gazeta Wyborcza "Nie ujawnimy raportu Wassermanna", December 27, 2005

¹¹ Letter of Witold Waszczykowski, Undersecretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland to Terry Davis, Secretary General of the Council of Europe, March 10, 2006

¹² Newsweek Polska "Czarne Dziury" December 2005, # 50/05



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Polish authorities were unable to provide information from their own national aviation records to confirm or deny the alleged CIA flights.¹³

Non-governmental investigations in Poland

Non-governmental Organisations: Despite having launched investigations in November and December 2005, human rights NGOs quickly ceased investigative activities without issuing statements.

Media: The *Washington Post* article prompted all prominent newspapers and magazines to commence investigations. Around ten top investigating reporters worked on the topic in different printed media. In December 2005 there were some initial confirmations of the truth of these accusations from government insiders. However, in the following weeks these government insiders either ceased cooperation or actually denied the substance of information they had previously given. Journalists generally had the impression government officials with any involvement whatsoever had been intensively briefed with their responses and, since that period, no journalist has managed to find anyone willing to leak any kind of information. In addition, civilians (such as airport employees and the local population in the area of Szymany and Stare Kiejkuty) have been extremely apprehensive to discuss the topic.

Eventually it became clear that, aside from information obtained by American journalists through CIA leaks, no further information would be forthcoming. In the Polish media community at present, the general assumption that the topic is not open for investigation is because:

- No secret prison existed but, more likely, CIA flights in the natural scheme of cooperation with the United States on the war on terror and that any unveiling of such cooperation would only damage good relations with the United States or,
- If such a prison had in fact existed, it would be impossible to prove without information leaks. Further, any investigation in this regard, apart from damage to relations with the United States, would create the risk of terrorist attacks within Poland.

As a consequence, since January 2006, there has been no real attempt to investigate the topic in Poland. Alleged CIA flights and prisons reach the headlines when some report is published, such as the Council of Europe, the TDIP, of foreign NGOs. In general, there is no public interest to know the truth on this matter and there is no significant public pressure to investigate.

Input of Polish media into investigations

Local inhabitants of Szymany, the village where alleged "CIA flights airport" is located, reported more frequent transfers of "big" planes in recent years, calling the planes "spies" and preferring to only talk about them anonymously.¹⁴

Airport staff have reported to *Gazeta Wyborcza* that the Gulfstream jets with civilian registrations were the most suspicious, staying for a short periods on the outskirts of the airport and with engines running. These planes did not enter custom clearance and were not always accompanied by regular military. Landing costs were met by various private companies, always in cash and always over-priced - sometimes up to ten times more than normal. Two vehicles waited the arrival of these planes at the airport (in one instance with a medical emergency vehicle). The vehicles had military registration numbers starting with "H", associated with the intelligence training base in nearby Stare Kiejkuty. One airport staff member reported once following the vehicles and seeing them enter Stare Kiejkuty.¹⁵

Major Roman Krzemiński of the Border Control Department, Warmia-Mazury region reports that Bezledy border control staff (responsible for Szymany airport), show that a Boeing 737 landed at the airport on 22 September 2003 around 21:00 hours and departed one hour later. The records show seven airplane

¹³ Letter of Karol Karski, the Chairman of the Polish delegation to PACE to Dick Marty, May 9, 2006 reads:

"According to the information I have been provided with, none of the questioned flights was recorded in the traffic controlled by our competent authorities – in connection with Szymany or any other Polish airport."

¹⁴ gazeta.pl "Rozkład lotów CIA do Polski" by Włodzimierz Nechamkis, December 10, 2005 [LINK](#)

¹⁵ Gazeta Wyborcza "Tajmnicze lądowania gulfstreamów i boeinga w Szymanach" by Wacław Radziwinowicz, December 10, 2005 [LINK](#) and gazeta.pl "Rozkład lotów CIA do Polski" by Włodzimierz Nechamkis, December 10, 2005 [LINK](#)



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staff were on the plane, joined at the airport by five passengers, who declared themselves as tradesmen. Both staff and passengers were American citizens. No airplane staff and passenger identities, nor place of original departure and final destination appeared in the border control records. The Customs press officer, Ryszard Chudy reports that customs officers had not been informed of the plane's arrival and did not control it. Further, no record of the plane appears in documentation at Szymany airport, which is explained by the airport director by disorder in the airport records.¹⁶

Both ministers responsible for special services (formerly - Siemiątkowski and presently in office - Wassermann) do not exclude the possibility of the airport having been used by the CIA for transporting their officers, supposedly teaching at the nearby Intelligence Academy in Stare Kiejkuty.¹⁷

Journalists of *Newsweek Polska* were able to confirm existence of the prison in Poland from a "high-ranked member of the Polish government", who was not eager to talk further and wanted his name to be withheld.¹⁸ This seems to be the only information leak coming from Polish governmental sources.

Additional information

Stare Kiejkuty is a small village in northern Poland, 10 kilometres outside the town of Szczytno (location of the Police Academy) and 20 kilometres from Szymany airport (where allegedly CIA planes were landing). In 1971, a military garrison in the village was converted into the Intelligence Academy - existence of the Academy was secret until the end of communist rule. Zbigniew Siemiątkowski, former head of the Internal Security Agency (ABW), mentioned that the training facilities of the Stare Kiejkuty, have so-called "internal zones" that are accessible by CIA personnel. Siemiątkowski stressed, however, that those zones are not connected to media speculation of secret CIA prisons in Poland. According to Siemiątkowski, there are two zones accessible to CIA agents.¹⁹ According to all the reports, clearly the Academy would be a possible location for the secret CIA prison.

The Szymany airport originally served exclusively the purposes of the Academy.

Two recent Szymany airport managers were suspected by journalists to be, at least to some extent, connected with the intelligence services. Jerzy Kos (President of airport owner, PPL Mazury from 2003 to 2004) was posted to Iraq as director of a housing company only two months after finishing work at the airport. In Iraq he was kidnapped but within a week was rescued by US Special Forces in circumstances that, to date, still remain unclear.

The present airport director, Tomasz Maria Starowieyski reportedly had vague business connections in Afghanistan at the beginning of 1990's.²⁰

Final Remarks

Polish authorities categorically deny any of the accusations, citing their secret investigation. Indeed, those responsible for the secret services, at both political and administrative level, have issued denials many times and in the same fundamental manner.

The government investigation was speedily conducted and remains secret, both in terms of methods used and in presenting its detailed conclusions. The Polish parliament has not conducted an independent investigation. Also, Polish human rights watch-dog organisations have not come up with conclusions to their provisional investigations. Journalists have received one information leak from within government and, by January 2006, had given up investigation.

Opposition parties and the present government are now unanimously stressing the need to maintain close cooperation with the United States concerning security matters and are opposed to further investigation which would, as they constantly stress, create the risk of terrorist attacks within Poland.

¹⁶ gazeta.pl "Rozkład lotów CIA do Polski" by Włodzimierz Nechamkis, December 10, 2005 [LINK](#)

¹⁷ Rzeczpospolita "Co się działo w Szymanach" December 8, 2005

¹⁸ Newsweek Polska "Czarne Dziury" December 2005, # 50/05

¹⁹ Polish News Bulletin "More on CIA in Poland, Two "Zones" for US Agents" December 16, 2005

²⁰ gazeta.pl "Dziwne losy dyrektorów lotniska w Szymanach", December 10, 2005 [LINK](#)



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2. INFORMATION ABOUT INTERLOCUTORS

The TDIP Committee has invited nineteen people to meet with its delegation to Warsaw. Please find below the list of those of who accepted (13) and declined the invitation (4) and have not answered yet (2). Information about each person follows the list.

Accepted the invitation:

Marek BIERNACKI

MP, Chairman of the Special Services Committee of the Sejm

Jarosław GIZIŃSKI,

Journalist, *Newsweek Polska*

Major **Mariusz HARAF** (no biographical info)

Chief of the Bezledy Border Guards (responsible for controls at the Szymany airport)

Jarosław JURCZENKO

Chairman of the Board of the Szczytno/Szymany Airport owner

Jerzy KOS

former Chairman of the Board of the Szczytno/Szymany Airport owner

Adam KRZYKOWSKI (no biographical info)

Journalist, Public TV Olsztyn

Marek KSIAŻEK

Journalist from the region of the airport (free lance)

Andrzej LEPPER

Deputy Prime Minister - confirmation might be withdrawn

Marek Antoni NOWICKI

President of the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights

Zbigniew SIEMIĄTKOWSKI

former Head of the Foreign Intelligence Agency (AW) 2002 - 2004

Paweł SMOLEŃSKI

Journalist, *Gazeta Wyborcza*

Paweł WROŃSKI

Journalist, *Gazeta Wyborcza*

Declined the invitation:

Anna FOTYGA

Minister of Foreign Affairs, elected MEP 2004

Radosław SIKORSKI

Minister of National Defence

Andrzej BARCIKOWSKI

former Head of the Internal Security Agency (ABW) 2002 - 2005

Tomasz Maria STAROWIEYSKI

former Chairman of the Board of the Szczytno/Szymany Airport owner 2004 - 2006

No answer:

Sylwester ŁATKOWSKI

Film director and journalist (free lance)

Zbigniew WASSERMANN

Minister Coordinator of Special Services

Jerzy SZMAJDZIŃSKI, MP

former Minister of National Defence (2001 - 2005)



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Marek BIERNACKI, Chairman of the Special Services Committee of the Sejm (since May 2006)



Born April 28, 1959 in Sopot is a Polish politician. He was elected to Sejm on September 25, 2005 getting 41336 votes in 26 Gdynia district, candidating from Platforma Obywatelska list. He was also a member of Sejm 1997-2001. He was Minister of Interior and Administration (7.10.1999-19.10.2001).



Witam serdecznie, mam 47 lat, z wykształcenia jestem prawnikiem. Urodziłem się w Sopocie, wychowałem w Gdańsku, a obecnie mieszkam w Gdyni. Moje życie związane jest z wydarzeniami, którego świadkami byli mieszkańcy Pomorza, a szczególnie Trójmiasta. W latach 80. byłem członkiem Ruchu Młodej Polski i podziemnych struktur Solidarności. W przełomowym dla Polski roku 1989 byłem pracownikiem Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, potem założyłem własne przedsiębiorstwo. Wydawałem książki m.in. wspomnienia Margaret Thatcher „Lata na Downing Street”.

W 1991 roku zostałem powołany na stanowisko likwidatora majątku po byłej PZPR. W ciągu 4 lat pełnienia tej funkcji wygrałem dziesięć spraw sądowych z SdRP odzyskując milionowy majątek dla Skarbu Państwa. Gazeta Polska uznała mnie za to „Człowiekiem Roku”. W 1997 roku dzięki Państwa głosom zostałem wybrany Posłem na Sejm RP. W czasie swojej kadencji przewodniczyłem trzem komisjom sejmowym. Współtworzyłem Instytut Pamięi Narodowej. Przewodniczyłem Komisji do Spraw Służb Specjalnych oraz Komisji ds. Uchwalania Ustawy o Ochronie Informacji Niejawnych.

W 1999 roku objąłem stanowisko ministra spraw wewnętrznych i administracji, które sprawowałem do 2001 roku. Byłem przekonany, że na rozwijające się struktury przestępcze, lekarstwem może być tylko skoncentrowane i skoordynowane działanie państwa. Wydałem więc zdecydowaną wojnę przestępczości. Przyjąłem zasadę, że nie ma osób nietykalnych i każde naruszenie prawa było ścigane z całą bezwzględnością. Rozpocząłem wielką ofensywę Policji przeciwko korupcji i przestępczości gospodarczej, w tym np. mafii paliwowej. Przestępcy wreszcie przestali czuć się bezkarni. Do walki z przestępczością zorganizowaną powołałem Centralne Biuro Śledcze - wyspecjalizowaną, scentralizowaną jednostkę, zdolną do podjęcia walki z najgroźniejszymi grupami przestępczymi, działającymi na terenie całego kraju i mającymi powiązania z różnymi szczeblami władzy. Policjanci Centralnego Biura Śledczego zlikwidowali gang pruszkowski oraz rozbili większość innych groźnych gangów przestępczych, rozpoczęli ofensywę przeciwko mafii paliwowej. Postawiłem na Straż Pożarną. Trzonem polskiego systemu ratowniczego są strażacy z Państwowej Straży Pożarnej i ofiarni druhowie ze Straży Ochotniczej. Od 2002 roku pełniłem funkcję wicemarszałka województwa pomorskiego, będąc jednocześnie radnym Sejmiku Województwa Pomorskiego. Jako wicemarszałek odpowiadałem za rozwój infrastruktury regionu oraz wykorzystanie funduszy unijnych. W tym czasie nasze województwo uznane zostało za najskuteczniejszy region w kraju w wykorzystaniu środków pomocowych Unii Europejskiej. Dzięki tym środkom na Pomorzu rozpoczęto szereg inwestycji. Zbudowano i zmodernizowano ponad 150 km dróg. Rozpoczęto modernizację drogi Reda - Władysławowo - Hel, budowę tunelu w Lęborku oraz ul. Janka Wiśniewskiego i Trasy Kwiatkowskiego w Gdyni. Ruszyły duże inwestycje oświatowe, zbudowano i zmodernizowano ponad sto szkół i sal gimnastycznych. Rozpoczęto szereg inwestycji mających usprawnić działanie pomorskich portów, budowę Narodowego Centrum Żeglarstwa i sieci marin wokół Zatoki Gdańskiej. W końcu rozpoczęła się budowa autostrady A1, na którą wszyscy czekaliśmy. W trakcie pełnienia funkcji aktywnie współpracowałem ze Zrzeszeniem Kaszubsko-Pomorskim.

Jestem autorem szeregu artykułów i publikacji, w tym książki „Polska bez mafii...”. Wolny czas spędzam czytając książki historyczne, zwiedzając urokliwe zakątki województwa pomorskiego lub zdzierając buty na górskich szlakach. Jestem wiernym kibicem pomorskich drużyn sportowych. Kolekcjonuję Madonny na szkle malowane.

Links:

[Private webpage](#)



[A short article, where Biernacki declines existence of secret prisons in Poland
Biernacki: w Polsce nie było więzień CIA](#)





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Jarosław GIZIŃSKI, journalist of the Newsweek Polska



Jaroslaw Gizinski (born in 1958), journalist, foreign editor of Newsweek Polska weekly magazine. Linguist by profession (graduated from Budapest University) originally started scientific career, but after political changes in early 1990s switched to journalism. In 1991 he joined Wprost weekly, the very first independent political magazine in Poland. Wprost gained high popularity, widely regarded as modern, western-style publication promoting liberal values and free market economy. Mr Gizinski organized foreign department of the magazine and became its foreign editor. In 2002 he accepted an invitation to join the staff of newly established Newsweek Polska (the magazine's Polish edition).

Mr Gizinski's professional interests mostly concern European politics with special focus on transition process in Central and Eastern Europe.

Links & document:

'Secret CIA prisons' investigation to reopen in Poland	
<p><i>The only article in Polish media, which mentions "high representative of the Polish Government" to confirm the allegations.</i></p> <p>"Czarne dziury" Artykuł Newsweek Polska z wydania 50/05 ze strony 54</p>	 Microsoft Office Word Document 



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Jarosław JURCZENKO, Chairman of the Board of the Szczytno/Szymany Airport owner



Mr. Jurczenko is the chairman of the Szymany airport owner since July 2006 and he was the airport managing director between 1996 and 2002. He has complex aviation management education and experience as he is the main creator of the Szymany airport since it changed its status from military to civilian.



- Wykształcenie wyższe absolwent Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego – mgr - studia humanistyczne
- Podyplomowe Studia Zarządzania Organizacjami Lotniczymi (wydział cywilny)
- Akademia Obrony Narodowej Warszawa – 2003 r.
- Podyplomowe Studia Pedagogiczne, Uniwersytet Warmińsko Mazurski - Olsztyn
- Podyplomowe Studia Poradnictwa i Doradztwa Zawodowego Uniwersytet Warmińsko Mazurski - Olsztyn
- Międzynarodowy Instruktor AVSEC –w zakresie bezpieczeństwa na lotniskach - w ośrodku ICAO Boryspil – Ukraina 2000 r.
- Kurs zarządzania bezpieczeństwem AVSEC na lotniskach w ośrodku ICAO Boryspil – Ukraina 2000 r.
- Ukończony kurs zarządzania i tworzenia budżetu w projektach pozyskiwanych z UE
- Kurs koordynatorów ruchu lotniczego naziemnego – Warszawa
- Kurs dyżurnych Portu Lotniczego - Warszawa.

W okresie od 1996 – do końca 2002 r. – Dyrektor Portu Lotniczego Szczytno – Szymany w spółce z o.o. Porty Lotnicze "Mazury Szczytno "

2003 – 2004 – bezrobotny

2004 – 2005 – doradca zawodowy – szkoleniowiec w Stowarzyszeniu "Pro Publico Bono"- Szczytno – przy realizacji programu PHARE – pomoc osobom bezrobotnym

2005 – 2006 – nauczyciel – doradca zawodowy Zespół Szkół Zawodowych Nr 1 w Szczytnie, Publiczne Gimnazjum w Dźwierzutach (gmina Dźwierzuty) k/Szczytna.

Od lipca 2006 r. Prezes Zarządu spółki z o. o. Porty Lotnicze „Mazury – Szczytno”

Aktywny uczestnik i realizator programów realizowanych w Stowarzyszeniu „Pro Publico Bono” w Szczytnie, skierowanych do osób bezrobotnych.

Członek Stowarzyszenia Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Szczytna - współautor programów pozyskania funduszy w ramach Funduszy Inicjatyw Obywatelskich Ministerstwa Polityki Społecznej.

Zainteresowania – brydż sportowy, piłka siatkowa , muzyka elektroniczna , książki o tematyce beletrystycznej.

Document:

An interview with the former Szymany airport director Jerzy Jurczenko about alleged flights and prisons:

["Tajemnicze Lądowanie" Wywiad w Magazynie Gazety Olsztyńskiej, 9 grudnia 2005](#)





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Jerzy KOS, former Chairman of the Board of the Szczytno/Szymany Airport owner



Mr. Kos was the board chairman of the airport owner between 2002 and 2003. His next position, after work for the airport, was a head of an construction company project in Iraq, where he was kidnapped and rescued by the US Special Forces.

Links and documents:

<p><i>An interview with the former Szymany airport director Jerzy Jurczenko about alleged flights and prisons:</i> "Tajemnicze Lądowanie" Wywiad w Magazynie Gazety Olsztyńskiej, 9 grudnia 2005</p>	
<p>Polish Iraq Hostage Praises U.S. Rescuers</p>	
<p><i>Open letters from the "Wroclawska Jedynka" construction company (from the syndic & trade union), which claim among the others, that Mr. Kos might had have intelligence duties, while running the company's project in Iraq.</i></p>	 
<p>A different "Kos": Poland's mystery man and the CIA airport</p>	

Adam KRZYKOWSKI, Journalist, Public TV Olsztyn



No biographical info available.



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Marek KSIAŻEK, Journalist from the region of Szczytno (free lance)



Mr. Książek is 55, holds a master degree in political sciences and teaches journalism students. He works as a journalist since 1983. He is a free-lance since August 2006, when he has quitted regional paper "Gazeta Olsztynska". He is a regional investigative reporter and as such he has investigated the case of the Szymany airport and alleged CIA flights. In 2002 he was awarded with a title of the Journalist of the year of the Warmia-Mazury region.



Mam 55 lat, do sierpnia br. pracowałem na etacie w "Gazecie Olsztyńskiej", obecnie jestem dziennikarzem niezależnym, związanym m.in. z nowym miesięcznikiem ogólnopolskim "Reporterzy na tropie". Mieszkam w Olsztynie, a z rejonem Szczytna mam kontakt okazjonalny, gdy zbieram tam jakieś materiały do publikacji prasowych. Tak było w przypadku wywiadu z Jarosławem Jurczenko pt. "Tajemnicze lądowanie". Rozmówca, którego znałem już jako dyrektora Portu Lotniczego w Szymanach, zgłosił się do mnie z

propozycją wywiadu po ukazaniu się mojego tekstu w "Gazecie Olsztyńskiej" na temat lotniska ("Wysoki pułap" z 18 listopada). W artykule tym opisałem aktualną sytuację portu i zadałem pytanie, jak Szymany wykorzystają darmową promocję lotniska po publikacjach w światowych mediach o lądowaniu tam samolotów CIA.

Z dziennikarstwem na stałe jestem związany od 1983 roku, a wcześniej pracowałem w przemyśle. W 2002 roku zdobyłem tytuł Dziennikarza Roku Warmii i Mazur. W dorobku mam publikacje w innych gazetach, np. w nieistniejącym już regionalnym "Dzienniku Pojezierza", a także w pismach ogólnopolskich. Z wykształcenia jestem politologiem, a od kilku lat prowadzę warsztaty medialne na socjologii komunikacji społecznej Wyższej Szkoły Informatyki i Ekonomii TWP w Olsztynie. Żona, nauczycielka, jest już na wcześniejszej emeryturze, a dwoje dzieci mieszkają osobno i prowadzą samodzielne życie.

Document:

An interview with Szymany airport director about alleged flights and prisons: "Tajemnicze Lądowanie" Wywiad w Magazynie Gazety Olsztyńskiej, 9 grudnia 2005





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Andrzej LEPPER, Deputy Prime Minister

source: www.en.wikipedia.org



Andrzej Zbigniew Lepper (born June 13, 1954 in Stowięcino, Poland) is a Polish politician, the leader of Samoobrona RP (Self-Defense of the Republic of Poland) political party, and between May 5 and September 22, 2006 Deputy Prime Minister of Poland and Minister of Agriculture. After conflicts in the governing coalition the Prime Minister asked the President to dismiss Lepper. His civil profession prior to entering politics was farming in the village of Zielnowo, Pomerania.

Early years; Lepper was born in the village of Stowięcino, a tiny hamlet of roughly 200 which has suffered greatly since Poland's transformation to a market-based economy because of its previous reliance on the socialist agricultural system. He is a farmer by trade, with no formal higher education. During the period of economic transformation his farm fell into debt and he was on the verge of bankruptcy.

Political career; From 1977-1980 he was a member of PZPR, Poland's communist party. In 1992 Lepper formed a new political party, an organisation of struggling farmers like himself, naming it "Samoobrona" (Self defence). His first task was to displace and eliminate his rival Stanislaw Tyminski as a competitor. For this purpose Lepper adopted entire political program of Stanisław Tymiński as his own. Lepper organized anti-government demonstrations and other actions, especially against the Suchocka and Buzek governments, against what he saw as growing injustice, especially against farmers. As party president he challenged Aleksander Kwaśniewski in the run for Presidency in 1995 (1.3% votes). In the year 2000 Samoobrona organized a campaign of blocking major roads in order to bring media attention to the hard-pressed situation of the Polish agricultural industry. Lepper gained 3.05% votes in the 2000 presidential elections. In Polish legislative election, 2001, Lepper's party managed to enter the lower chamber of the Polish Parliament (Sejm) and formed an important fraction of it. Lepper was elected from Koszalin constituency. In the Polish presidential election, 2005 he gained 15.1% of votes, coming third.

Recent developments; Lepper was the candidate of his party in the Polish presidential election in 2005. He had the support of about 10% of the electorate, according to a poll conducted shortly before the election. His party received 13% of the vote and 56 seats in the Polish parliamentary election in September of 2005. In the October 2005 presidential elections, Lepper received 15% of the vote and became the third place candidate.

While collaborating with PIS he has accused his allies of spying him and trying to harm Samoobrona. After several conflicts Prime Minister Jarosław Kaczyński asked his brother to sack Lepper from the Cabinet. Kaczyński invited him back to his cabinet again on October 16.

Education; Lepper completed his secondary education at the State Agricultural Technical School in Sypniewo, and has two honorary doctorates.

Links:

Andrzej Lepper at Wikipedia	
Andrzej Lepper's Homepage	
A TV show, which discusses in detail the "Klewki Taliban case" Odcinek programu Konfrontacja: "Maria Wiernikowska: Zwariowałam"	
Warsaw Voice - A Grain of Salt	
POLAND'S ELECTIONS: Andrzej Zbigniew Lepper – Peasantry's Iron Fist	



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Sylwester ŁATKOWSKI, film director and journalist (free lance)



Born in 1966 in Elblag. Film director, novelist and screenplay writer, author of music clips, producer. Worked as a constructor, educator, teacher of physics and Polish language, managed a few companies, prepared a political campaign to the Sejm and the Senate for one of the parties. Lived in Hamburg, Minsk, Riga, St. Petersburg and Moscow. Has been a visitor to Poland. He lived as an outlaw for a few years, and spent a few months behind the bars.

Łatkowski except being an artist is also an investigative journalist. His public TV show "Konfrontacja" was in the air between October 2005 and August 2006. His broadcastings were on the air live and were very uncompromising - he was openly discussing the greatest scandals of Poland, in most cases involving Polish secret services and top politicians. His broadcastings were highly uncomfortable to many politicians and people of intelligence community. He was refused to broadcast his show as from September 2006 with no convincing justification. For few months already he is shooting a documentary film about the murder of Polish chief of Police, Marek Papala.

Links:

<p><i>Webpage of the TV show, which was directed and written by Mr Łatkowski. The webpage contains all broadcastings of the show. The show was stopped by authorities of the Public TV.</i></p> <p>Strona z odcinkami programu "Konfrontacja"</p>	
<p>Private webpage</p>	



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Marek Antoni NOWICKI, President of the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights



Marek A. Nowicki, born in 1953, from July 2000 to December 2005 was the UN appointed International Ombudsperson in Kosovo. Mr. Nowicki was a member of the European Commission of Human Rights from March 1993 until 31 October 1999. From December 1997 to November 1998, he was Vice - President of the Second Chamber of this Commission.

From 1982, during the period of martial law in Poland, Mr. Nowicki was a columnist for the underground press, a dissident with the Polish "Solidarity" movement. At the same time, he was co - founder and activist of the Helsinki Committee in Poland. From 1989 to 1991 he was a spokesperson of this Committee and was also co - author of all of its reports on the human rights situation in Poland, including a report on Poland under martial law published in 1983. Due to his activities within the human rights movement, he was prohibited from practising as a lawyer during this time.

From 1990 to 1993, he was a member of the Executive Committee of International Helsinki Federation of Human Rights (IHF) in Vienna. From 1992 to 1993, he served as its president. During this period he participated in fact - finding missions of the IHF to Romania, Bulgaria and Albania.

At the same time, he was the founder and president of the Human Rights Commission of the Polish Bar. He has been a member of the Polish Bar since 1987. From 1995 to 1998, he was also a member of the National Council of the Polish Bar.

Mr. Nowicki was a funding member of the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights in Warsaw and became its president in November 2003. He was a member of the Council of the Human Rights Institute of the International Bar Association (HRI IBA) and of the Advisory Council of the European Roma Rights Centre in Budapest. Today, he is still an active member of the Advisory Council of the International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights in London (INTERIGHTS), as well as of the Rule of Law Council of the International Helsinki Federation of Human Rights (IHF) in Vienna.

He was one of the "eminent lawyers" appointed by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to assess the legal and human rights situation in Moldova (1994) and Azerbaijan (1997). From 2000 to 2001, Mr. Nowicki was a member of the Committee of Special Advisors to the Council of Europe's Committee of Ministers, dealing with just satisfaction in cases of human rights violations.

In 1996 and 1998, the Council of Europe asked him to serve as a human rights expert during the evaluation of the compatibility of the legal systems of Georgia and the Russian Federation with the standards of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Since March 2003, Mr. Nowicki is Polish member of the EU Network of Independent Experts on Fundamental Rights.

In September 2005 he was nominated by the Committee of Ministers one of three candidates for the post of the Commissioner for Human Rights of the Council of Europe (elections on 5th of October 2005 - second after Mr. T. Hammarberg, the elected Commissioner).

Mr. Nowicki is the author of dozens of books and hundreds of articles on human rights published in Poland and abroad.

He is fluent in English, French, Russian, Serbian, Croatian, and has a good understanding of other Slavic languages.

Link:

[Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights website](#)





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Zbigniew SIEMIATKOWSKI former Head of the Foreign Intelligence Agency (AW)



Born on 8 October 1957 in Ciechanów

Education: university education - Master of Political Sciences (1981), Doctor of Humanities (1987)

Foreign languages: German, Russian

1977 - 1981 University of Warsaw - Faculty of Journalism and Political Sciences - Master studies

1981 - 1991 University of Warsaw - Faculty of Journalism and Political Sciences - Institute of Political Sciences - Department of the History of Political Thought - assistant reader (1981 - 1988), reader (1988 - 1991)

1989 participant of "round table" meetings - expert of the government party in the sub-team of political reforms

1991 - 1993 deputy to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (1st term) - Democratic Left Alliance - Parliamentary Club - participant of works of: the National and Ethnic Minorities Committee, Justice Committee, Extraordinary Committee to research into results of the martial law and the Committee to research into performance of the resolution of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland of 28 May 1992 by the Minister of Internal Affairs

1993 - 1997 deputy to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (2nd term) - Democratic Left Alliance - Parliamentary Club - press spokesman of the club (1993 - 1995), participant of works of: the Administration and Internal Affairs Committee, Committee for Special Services, Extraordinary Committee to examine draft constitution acts on amendments to the constitutional act on procedures for preparation and adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly, Extraordinary Committee to examine draft act on ratification of the concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland (chairman)

1994 - 1996 National Judiciary Council - member of the Council

1994 - 1996 Political Advisory Committee at the Minister of Internal Affairs - member of the Committee

1995 press spokesman of the presidential election campaign of Aleksander Kwaśniewski

1996 National Security Bureau - undersecretary of state in the Chancellery of the President of the Republic of Poland - Deputy Head of the National Security Bureau (January 1996)

1996 Minister of Internal Affairs (February - December 1996) in the cabinet of the Prime Minister Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz, authorized (since October 1996) to replace the latter in supervising the Office of State Protection (UOP)

1997 Minister - Member of the Council of Ministers - Coordinator of Special Services (January - October 1997)

1997 Committee for Special Services - secretary of the Committee (February - October 1997)

1997 - 2001 deputy to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (3rd term) - Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left Alliance - participant of works of: the Committee for Special Services (chairman: 1998-1999 and 2000-2001), Administration and Internal Affairs Committee, Extraordinary Committee to examine draft acts on general access to archives and documentation of former state security bodies, Extraordinary Committee to examine the government draft act on protection of classified information

1998 Institute of Security Issues - Scientific Foundation (currently: the Institute of Strategic Issues) - promoter of the concept to establish the same and president of the foundation management board; since 2002 - chairman of the foundation council

2001 - deputy to the Sejm of the Republic of Poland (4th term) - Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left Alliance - participant of works of the Committee for Special Services (October 2001)

2001 - 2002 secretary of state in the Chancellery of the Prime Minister (25 October 2001 - 29 June 2002), acting as the Head of the Office of State Protection - UOP (25 October 2001 - 25 April 2002)



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2002 - 2004 Head of the Foreign Intelligence Agency (29 June 2002 - 11 May 2004)

marital status: married (wife - Małgorzata); one child (daughter - Julita)

Links:

Europe: Pending Questions on CIA Activities in Europe	
CIA scandal raises level of terrorist threat in Poland	
The Guardians of Europe: Polish secret service protects the borders of the European Union	
A discussion with a journalist, where he confirms that there were few CIA flights (without detainees) and blames internal fights within the CIA for accusing Poland Monika Olejnik rozmawia ze Zbigniewem Siemiatkowskim	
The same journalist discusses the accusations with Siemiatkowski and two other politicians. Prosto w oczy: Siemiatkowski, Czempieński i Komorowski	



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Pawel SMOLEŃSKI, Journalist, Gazeta Wyborcza



Pawel Smolenski (b. 1959) - journalist and columnist for the newspaper "Gazeta Wyborcza" since 1992. Earlier he published his work in the clandestine periodicals. He has written several books and lives in Warsaw. Smolenski reports on national and international politics and transnational crime. In 1999, Smolenski pieced together the story behind the assassination of Poland's former police chief, Gen. Marek Papala. Smolenski showed that Papala was killed apparently for discovering key links in the Turkish-Polish heroin trade, allegedly involving government officials, politicians, businessmen, public figures, and organized crime. In 1991, Smolenski investigated the "Iron Affair," a secret operation by the Polish government in the 1960s, in which large amounts of stolen gold, jewelry, and other precious goods were smuggled into the country.

In 2005 Pawel Smolenski received a prestigious Kurt Schork Award granted by the Columbia University and Reuters. Pawel was awarded for a series of feature articles on Iraq published in "Gazeta Wyborcza" during 2003-2004. In its justification the jury panel stated that the author " with remarkable courage and insight ushers us into the back alleys and shadowy mosques of Iraq, illuminating a world of religious intrigue, grinding poverty, fear and anger at 'Mister Americas' who have taken control of the country. His is the view from the ground, and he presents it with an hypnotic subtlety that captures the labyrinth that is Iraq." Usually the Kurt Schork Award jury panel selects two journalists (or institutions for which they work). One prize goes to a reporter covering international news and the second is granted to a journalist from a developing country for local stories. This year however, Pawel was selected as the third winner - "for the originality of his work in portraying the most powerful man in Iraq Ayatollah Sistani, and his commitment to understanding those without a voice." The Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University is one of the most esteemed schools of journalism in the world.



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Paweł WRÓŃSKI, Journalist of Gazeta Wyborcza

source: www.pl.wikipedia.org



Paweł Wronski, a journalist of the wide circulation Gazeta Wyborcza, has been investigating the Polish connection of the CIA secret prison story ever since its publication by the Washington Post.



Absolwent historii, politologii i dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie. W latach 80 tych członek NZS, współpracownik prasy podziemnej. Następnie pracownik katedry historii najnowszej Instytutu Politologii UJ. Od 1991 r. dziennikarz "Gazety Wyborczej", autor reportaży, wywiadów (głównie o tematyce historycznej). W 2005 r. był korespondentem w Iraku, obecnie pracuje w dziale krajowym. Jego teksty dotyczą głównie polityki (w tym polityki bezpieczeństwa).

Publikował także w pismach: "Młoda Polska", "Courier International", "Slovo", "Znak".

Links:

Warsaw rejects accusations of harbouring CIA prison	
His article about possibility of using the airport by the CIA Director: SzeF CIA przylatywał do Szyman?	
His article summarising information about the accusation available in November 2005: CIA na Mazurach - kulisy skandalu	



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1. GENERAL BACKGROUND - POLAND²¹

Political system - Executive branch

President Lech KACZYNSKI (since 23 December 2005)

Prime Minister Jaroslaw KACZYNSKI (since 10 July 2006);
Ludwik Dorn - Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Interior and Administration;
Zyta Gilowska - Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance
Roman Giertych - Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Education;
Andrzej Lepper - Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development;
Anna Fotyga - Minister of Foreign Affairs, Chairwoman of the Committee for European Integration;
Grażyna Gęsicka - Minister of Regional Development;
Przemysław Gosiewski - Minister, Member of the Council of Ministers;
Wojciech Jasiński - Minister of State Treasury;
Antoni Jaszczak - Minister of Construction;
Anna Kalata - Minister of Labour and Social Policy;
Tomasz Lipiec - Minister of Sport;
Jerzy Polaczek - Minister of Transport;
Zbigniew Religa - Minister of Health;
Michał Seweryński - Minister of Science and Higher Education;
Radosław Sikorski - Minister of National Defence;
Jan Szyszko - Minister of Environment;
Kazimierz Michał Ujazdowski - Minister of Culture and National Heritage;
Zbigniew Wassermann - Minister of Special Forces;
Rafał Wiechecki - Minister of Marine Economy;
Piotr Grzegorz Woźniak - Minister of Economy;
Zbigniew Ziobro - Minister of Justice.

Political system - Legislative branch

Bicameral legislature is consisting of an upper house, the Senate or Senat (100 seats; members are elected by a majority vote on a provincial basis to serve four-year terms), and a lower house, the Sejm (460 seats; members are elected under a complex system of proportional representation to serve four-year terms);

The designation of National Assembly or Zgromadzenie Narodowe is only used on those rare occasions when the two houses meet jointly.

Elections

Last general elections held 25 September 2005 (next to be held by September 2009);

Election results:

- Senate - seats by party - **PiS** (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość - UEN) 49, **PO** (Platforma Obywatelska - EPP) 34, **LPR** (Liga Polskich Rodzin - IND) 7, **SO** (Samoobrona - Not Attached) 3, **PSL** (Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe - EPP) 2, independents 5;
- Sejm - percent of vote by party - **PiS** 27%, **PO** 24.1%, **SO** 11.4%, **SLD** (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej - PES) 11.3%, **LPR** 8%, **PSL** 7%, other 11.2%; seats by party - **PiS** 155, **PO** 133, **SO** 56, **SLD** 55, **LPR** 34, **PSL** 25, German minorities 2 (two seats are assigned to ethnic minority parties in the Sejm only).

Recent political developments in Poland

²¹ This section is prepared on the basis of a "BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON POLAND" note of the Unit for Multilateral relations with National Parliaments of the EP.



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On 10 July Poland's President Lech Kaczyński designated his brother, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, a new PM to replace Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz as head of the three party coalition cabinet of PiS [UEN], the Self-Defence party (SO [NA]) and the Leagues of Polish Families (LPR [NA,IND/DEM]) - the coalition was apart for some weeks in September/October 2006. The new coalition together with a small parliamentary group of 15 MPs (Ruch Ludowo-Narodowy) has majority of 245 members in the 460-member Sejm (lower house of the Polish Parliament). The controversial leaders of both parties, Andrzej Lepper and Roman Giertych (MEP Maciej Giertych's son) respectively, became deputy PMs. Many, particularly Western analysts label SO as leftist populists and LPR as ultra-catholic nationalists, even though their style has significantly "softened" while in the ruling coalition. PiS was sharply criticized by the opposition for forming such a coalition.

The Constitutional Treaty - for a new basic treaty

In his **inaugural speech as PM** Jarosław Kaczyński stressed before the Sejm that "we want to participate in everything that is to help overcome today's crisis in the EU". He expressed willingness to negotiate a "new basic solution" for the EU. He said Poland should use properly both EU funds and participation in the internal market. He reiterated Poland's support for Ukraine's EU membership. He said his government wants to have best possible relations with all Eastern neighbours, even if in the case of Russia it will require patience.

He reiterated the previous government's aim to keep the public finance **deficit under control** and maintain the strong currency. He stressed his government would keep **fighting bureaucracy and corruption** as well as "various groups of interests" which, according to him, have prevented Poland from developing more rapidly. His government will also pursue **former communist secret services agents** "wherever they are".

PiS retains popularity

Since the parliamentary and presidential elections which brought PiS and President Lech Kaczyński to power the party retains its popularity and constantly switches at the top of public polls of the voters' preferences with its biggest rival, the Civic Platform (PO [EPP-ED]). Some analysts are surprised with such good scores of the ruling party even if Jarosław Kaczyński as PM seems much less popular than his predecessor, Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz who was very successful at PR. Analysts explain that PiS and Mr Kaczyński himself have very clear-cut programme and seem to "know what they want to achieve", promising: reconstruction of the state and of the establishment, eradicating crime, solidarity with the poor, firmly fighting for Poland's interests on the international stage, reminding the world of the country's heroic past and sufferings. At the same time the Government profits from the economic recovery and opening of the EU markets for both Polish workers and products. Mr Kaczyński does not hide he counts very much on the EU structural funds to help modernize Polish outdated infrastructure, particularly roads. What makes him popular with the people is his critical attitude towards the elites which led Poland through painful transformation of the 1990s.

The opposition, liberal and left-wing commentators, human rights organizations, and recently the European Parliament and the Council of Europe, criticize the government, and LPR in particular, for neglecting human rights and some democratic principles (for example withdrawing support for the Council of Europe's Human Right Handbook and sacking the official who implemented this CoE's recommendation; serious shortfalls of the so-called Vetting Bill leading to publishing dossiers of former informers of the communist secret services, etc.). Some are accusing PiS of making the electoral law more favorable to the ruling coalition a few months before the local elections (**the elections will be held 2 days after the TDIP delegation leaves Poland - on 12th November**). Changes to the law on civil service enable recruitment of senior officials according to less restrictive criteria, and allow, according to the opposition, widespread political nominations.

Poles trust EU and the EP

According to Eurobarometer published on 21 July, the level of confidence in the European Parliament reached 56% among Poles. Confidence rates in the European Commission and the EU Council also rose



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to 53% and 49% respectively. The confidence in Poland's national institutions is several times lower: 22% in the Government and only 13% in the national Parliament. 56% of Poles also expressed support for the EU Constitution, one of the highest rates among those Member States which have not ratified the new treaty.

Polish Economy

Poland has steadfastly pursued a policy of economic liberalization throughout the 1990s and today stands out as a success story among transition economies.

Even so, much remains to be done, especially in bringing down the unemployment rate - currently one of the highest in the EU. The privatization of small- and medium-sized state-owned companies and a liberal law on establishing new firms has encouraged the development of the private business sector, but legal and bureaucratic obstacles alongside persistent corruption are hampering its further development.

Poland's agricultural sector remains handicapped by surplus labor, inefficient small farms, and lack of investment. Restructuring and privatization of "sensitive sectors" (e.g., coal, steel, railroads, and energy), while recently initiated, have stalled. Reforms in health care, education, the pension system, and state administration have resulted in larger-than-expected fiscal pressures. Further progress in public finance depends mainly on reducing losses in Polish state enterprises, restraining entitlements, and overhauling the tax code extending it to farmers, most of whom pay no tax.

The previous Socialist-led government introduced a package of social and administrative spending cuts to reduce public spending by about \$17 billion through 2007, but full implementation of the plan was trumped by election-year politics in 2005. The right-wing Law and Justice party won parliamentary elections in September, and Lech KACZYNSKI won the presidential election in October 2005, running on a state-interventionist fiscal and monetary platform.

Forecast summary

(% unless otherwise indicated)

	2004 ^a	2005 ^a	2006 ^b	2007 ^b
Real GDP growth	5.3	3.4	5.0	4.7
Industrial production growth	12.6	3.8 ^c	9.8	7.4
Gross fixed investment growth	6.4	6.5	8.0	8.0
Unemployment rate (av)	19.6	18.2	16.9	16.0
Consumer price inflation (av; national measure)	3.5	2.1	1.3	2.0
Consumer price inflation (year-end; national measure)	4.4	0.7	1.7	2.2
Consumer price inflation (av; EU harmonised measure)	3.6	2.2	1.7	2.1
Short-term lending rate	7.6	6.8	6.1	6.9
Central government balance (% of GDP)	-4.5	-2.9	-2.8	-2.7
General government balance (ESA, % of GDP)	-3.9	-2.5	-2.4	-2.2
Exports of goods fob (US\$ bn)	81.9	95.8	107.4	124.3
Imports of goods fob (US\$ bn)	87.5	98.5	110.1	128.2
Current-account balance (US\$ bn)	-10.5	-4.3	-4.7	-6.5
Current-account balance (% of GDP)	-4.2	-1.4	-1.4	-1.7
External debt (year-end; US\$ bn)	99.2 ^c	105.5 ^c	110.7	126.7
Exchange rate Zł:US\$ (av)	3.66	3.23	3.11	2.90
Exchange rate Zł:US\$ (year-end)	2.99	3.26	2.93	2.91
Exchange rate Zł:€ (av)	4.55	4.03	3.91	4.02
Exchange rate Zł:€ (year-end)	4.05	3.85	3.91	3.98

^a Actual. ^b Economist Intelligence Unit forecasts. ^c Economist Intelligence Unit estimates.

Poland joined the EU in May 2004, and surging exports to the EU contributed to Poland's strong growth in 2004, though its competitiveness could be threatened by the zloty's appreciation. GDP per capita roughly equals that of the three Baltic states. Poland stands to benefit from nearly \$23.2 billion in EU funds, available through 2006. Farmers have already begun to reap the rewards of membership via booming exports, higher food prices, and EU agricultural subsidies.