

REPORT

ON FOR ACTIVITIES

2019

Ladies and Gentlemen,

even in a mature democracy, supporters of the rule of law and freedom, especially economic freedom, must be mobilized and well organized to effectively defend these foundations of a good political system. This is all the more true of the times in which Poland has found itself since 2016.

Acting in accordance with its mission, FOR has last year strengthened its analytical and communication activities aimed at defending the economy against the politicization and continued to develop its activities in the field of protection of the rule of law, especially the independence of judicial institutions, headed by the courts.

I thank all those who support us. Without you we could not have been so active and effective.

Leszek Balcerowicz
Chairman of the FOR Council



FOR in figures

196 000 Our publications were displayed nearly 200,000 times	170 170 people took part in the Free Market Road Show 2019	43 We have released 43 publications
230 230 works were submitted to the "Economic Comics" competition	104 We have organized over 100 economic workshops in schools...	2860 ...in which nearly 3,000 students took part.
100 100 applications were sent to the Leszek Balcerowicz School 2019	21 We have organized 21 lectures and meetings with authors	11 We have published 11 positions of the Committee for the Defence of Justice – KOS, in which FOR is actively involved
1600 We have gained 1600 new Facebook observers	700 000 The muzeum1989.pl campaign on Instagram generated 700 thousand displays per month	20 We have organized 20 press breakfasts for Polish journalists and foreign correspondents

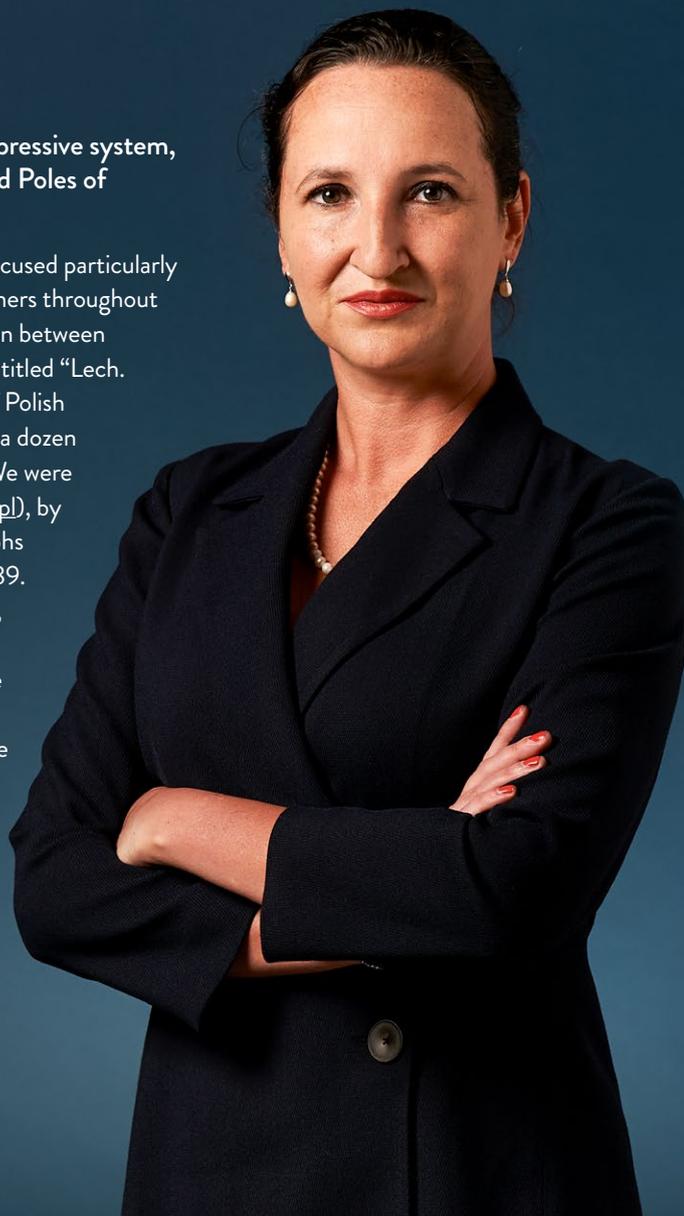
Ladies and Gentlemen,

30 years ago we regained freedom in Poland. After years of oppressive system, which led the country to economic and political ruin and robbed Poles of freedom and dignity.

Therefore, in 2019, in addition to its daily analytical activities, FOR focused particularly on the anniversary of 30 years of freedom, celebrating it with its partners throughout Poland. The result is an extraordinary book – a record of a conversation between Leszek Balcerowicz and Lech Wałęsa with Katarzyna Kolenda Zaleska, titled “Lech. Leszek. To Win Freedom”, in which we get to know the background of Polish transformation. As part of the promotion of the book, we visited over a dozen Polish cities and over 10 thousand people took part in the meetings. We were the first in Poland to launch the virtual Museum 1989 (muzeum1989.pl), by means of which we wanted to show on hundreds of archival photographs and films, especially to young people, the Polish transformation of 1989. This year’s edition of comics, as well as the Leszek Balcerowicz School, were devoted to the history of transformation, but – what is most important in our educational projects – to conclusions for building the future. On December 17, 2019, we celebrated the anniversary of the announcement of the Balcerowicz Plan, which allowed Poland to move from a centrally controlled country to today’s free economy.

I encourage you to read the full report on the activities of our think-tank, although many of you actively participated in last year’s activities: as donors, speakers, participants or observers of our social media. I would like to thank all of you very much. I very much hope that you will also be with us in 2020 and together we will make a small contribution to building an even stronger, conscious civil society.

Agata Stremecka
President of the Management Board of FOR



Our experts were quoted in the media on average **1.2 thousand times a month**

Their comments, articles and interviews are regularly released in “Rzeczpospolita”, “Gazeta Wyborcza”, “Dziennik Gazeta Prawna”, “Puls Biznesu”, Radio TOK FM, TVN24, TVN24 BiŚ, Polsat News, Onet.pl, Wirtualna Polska, Interia, Money.pl or on Gazeta.pl.

Own articles, comments and interviews on TV, press, radio and internet were published on average **33 times a month**

In 2019 the name of the Civil Development Forum has appeared in the media on average **200 times a week**

Citation rate of FOR in the press: average **25 times a month**

Citation rate of FOR on websites: average **240 times a month**

Citation rate of FOR in television and radio: average **32 times a month**

Altogether our publications were quoted in the media **over 600 times**

We run **10 websites** and **5 Facebook profiles**

FOR is active on 4 social networking platforms: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, LinkedIn



LIBERAL THINK-TANKS ARE NECESSARY

SPEECH BY MAREK TATAŁA

Speech delivered on 17 December 2019 during a conference to celebrate the 30th anniversary of economic change in Poland, organized by the Civil Development Forum Foundation (FOR).

Easter is coming, and so is the time to meet with family and friends. It is often a time to ask questions about one's career. I have been working for several years in the Civil Development Forum myself and sometimes I answer such questions. Then words like "foundation", "non-governmental organization" or "think-tank" appear. Sometimes, looking at the expressions on the faces of the interlocutors, I can see that their heads are full of questions – is this a real job at all?

The last 30 years have been a period of growth in the involvement of Polish women and men in non-governmental organizations. According to data from ngo.pl, at the end of 2018 there were 26 thousand foundations and 117 thousand associations registered in Poland, of which it is estimated that about 2/3 of the organizations remain active. At the same time, the Klon/Jawor Association's report shows that 37 per cent of the organizations have permanent, regular employees.

The second question that often arises in such conversations is, what is a think-tank? In a nutshell, organizations such as FOR produce and promote research-based ideas, including proposals that can be turned into real policies.

On Wikipedia, 56 organizations are listed under the keyword "Think-tanks in Poland", including a few with a freedom or liberal profile. It should be stressed that the FOR Foundation's profile does not stem from a blind attachment to a particular ideology, as some critics claim, but is supported by the research and experience of other countries.

The Civil Development Forum, like many other think-tanks, has its mission. It is to increase active support in society for a wide range of individual freedoms (including, in particular, economic freedom) and, consequently, to raise standards of the rule of law. A wide range of freedoms and the improvement of the rule of law are necessary for Poland to continue to pursue its historical goal: to reach the standard of living of Western countries.

The FOR belongs to several think-tank networks. We are a member of 4Liberty Network, which associates liberal organizations from Central and Eastern Europe, as well as EPICENTER Network, a network of liberal think-tanks from several EU countries. We are also a member of Atlas Network, which associates 500 freedom organizations from all over the world. The American Atlas Network supports its member organizations through training, grants and awards, including the most important one, the Templeton Freedom Award, which is granted once a year and is worth USD 100 thousand.

What do liberal think-tanks do and what do they achieve? This year's winner of the award mentioned just now, the Foundation for Economic Freedom from the Philippines, has contributed to freeing up trade in agricultural land in its country, thus strengthening the right to property and the freedom of 2.5 million Filipinos to exercise that right. In Argentina, Libertad y Progreso has made a significant contribution to reducing the taxation of computers, which have become more accessible, for example in the education process.

In turn, the Centre for Civil Society has succeeded in increasing the protection of street vendors in India against illegal activities, including seizures, by the police. All these changes have benefited low-income earners by helping them improve their livelihoods through work, entrepreneurship and education.

In the United States, Pacific Legal Foundation is involved in so-called strategic litigation and fights for freedom in the courts.

As many as 13 cases of Pacific Legal Foundation clients have reached the Supreme Court. As many as 11 of them ended up winning for economic freedom, property rights or freedom of speech. In addition, there are many cases and successes in state courts. Right abroad, the Lithuanian Free Market Institute has published a textbook on entrepreneurship and economics for students, which collects awards at national and international book festivals and is used in over 80 percent of schools in Lithuania.

FOR is a politically neutral organization and is not a think-tank of any political party. Of course, we have nothing against politicians using our publications. At the same time, the FOR is a very political organization – both as a producer and distributor of ideas for "politics" as well as an institution reviewing proposals and actions of political or ruling parties. Politics is not only government, parliament or local authorities, but also civil policy, in which the FOR is involved, influencing what politicians do, and at the same time influencing the world of ideas to make the free pressure on politicians even stronger.

In FOR we have many good ideas that would allow Poland to catch up with Western countries richer than us faster, and at the same time would make the living conditions of the Polish people better and better. What is an important part of the think-tank's work today is communication and in this area, thanks to the support of our donors, the help of the supporters of the FOR and the work of our professional Civil Development Forum team, we are also getting stronger every year. The experience of organizations from other countries, as well as the FOR's achievements so far, show that the existence of think-tanks is needed and the influence on policies and politicians is achievable.

Even when the ground for liberal ideas in the political world is, as sometimes happens, unfavourable, one should not remain passive, but influence it and create an atmosphere more conducive to individual freedoms and the rule of law. And if the ground becomes more susceptible, then you have to be ready to make the most of this window of opportunity. Many people are already working to make this possible and those who are not already doing so are encouraged to cooperate and work together for greater freedom and the rule of law in Poland.

FULL CONTENT OF THE SPEECH IS AVAILABLE ON THE FOR BLOG [BLOGOBYWATELSKIEGOROZWOJU.PL](https://blogobywateLSkieGOROZWOJU.PL)

CONFERENCE TO COMMEMORATE THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF POLISH ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

The event was attended by the authors and witnesses of the reforms initiated by Plan Balcerowicz and prominent representatives of the world of economy, business, media, culture and politics.



Agata Stremiecka – Contrary to what some people think, bad systems will not fall under the weight of their own abomination. They need two things: great social resistance and a very brave leader.

Leszek Balcerowicz – If we go back to the beginning of 1989, we will remember that few people thought that in 10 months' time Poland would be carrying out changes of freedom that we did not even dream of. I was not one of those people who expected it. If we go back to September 1989, we will remember that hardly anyone in the world – as well as in Poland – expected that Poland would turn out to be a country of great success and we will finally manage to catch up with the West in terms of civilization and economy after a hundred years.

Bronisław Komorowski – It's easy to forget that it didn't have to work at all. It didn't have to succeed in moving away from real socialism, breaking its rules in order to open up to Poland completely new prospects for living in the world we dreamed of, but without full knowledge of what its principles are, what its foundations are. Thanks to Leszek Balcerowicz, among other things, Poland's economic success has been possible all these years.

Adam Bodnar – When I think of the 30th anniversary of transformation, one of the emotions that accompanies me is a sense of pride. Pride in the fact that it was possible to carry out very powerful changes in the economy, in the political world leading to Poland's membership in the Council of Europe, NATO and the European Union. It is hard to disagree with those who say that this is one of the best periods in Polish history.

Jerzy Owsiak – [to Leszek Balcerowicz] Należy się Nobel za to, że nie pę-kliśmy, że daliśmy radę. It wasn't easy, and other countries that enter this cycle of incredibly difficult work feel

it. And you've done what we're cutting off the coupons from today, and thanks a lot for that!

Wadim Tyszkiewicz – We managed to survive thanks to our work, our activity! That's why I get so angry when I hear that those in power are taking credit for themselves, that today in Poland life is better. This is the whole process that lasted these 30 years! It did not happen overnight that today there is really money for 500 plus and for all other social programs. We have worked out this success.

Agnieszka Holland – Democracy needs to fill it with living content – and that's the job for this generation.

Emilia Skrok – Poland grew not only because only one social group was growing, only one part of society was getting rich. The number of jobs was growing, salaries were rising, the level of poverty was dropping very quickly. Many countries want to learn from us. (...) We all have to work to make this success of Poland permanent.

Beata Javorcik – Foreign direct investments were very important in the transformation process – in Poland, in our region, as well as in other emerging markets. National concerns are producers of knowledge and information, and they transfer this knowledge to the countries in which they operate. (...) It is worth promoting investments even after 30 years of transformation.

Aleksander Łaszek – Thanks to the reforms launched in 1989, we were able to move from 20% of American GDP to over 50% today. Moreover, we were the fastest growing economy in our region. Thanks to the speed and depth of the reforms of the Balcerowicz Plan, our economy started to grow first in the region despite very unfavorable initial conditions.

Marek Tatała – Even when the ground for liberal ideas in the political

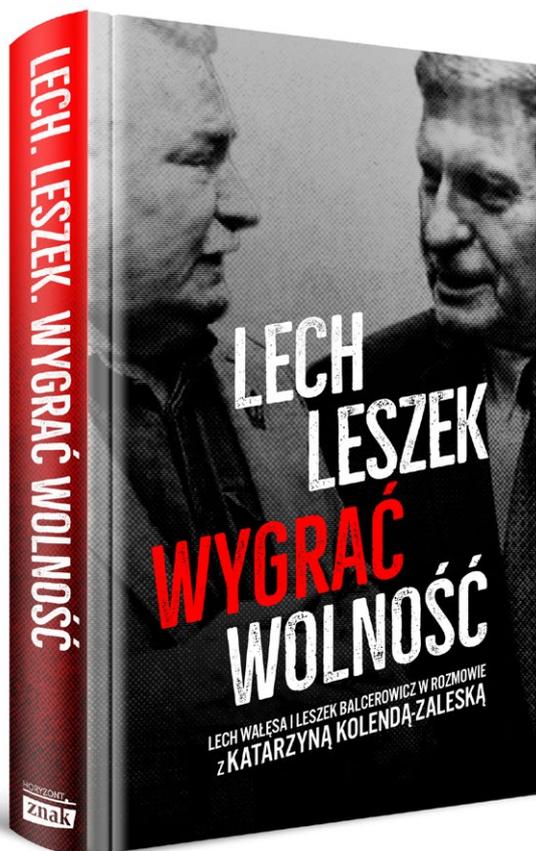
world is, as sometimes happens, unfavorable, one should not remain passive, but influence it and create an atmosphere more conducive to individual freedoms and the rule of law.

Ryszard Wojtkowski – Why did we make it in 1989? In my opinion, first of all because there were people, not to say one person who had a vision of the overall changes, who had the courage to take responsibility for these changes, but also needed a miracle. This miracle, in my opinion, was that he was allowed to act and above all that he was allowed to finish. Even as they realized what he was doing.

Tadeusz Syryjczyk – In the 30th anniversary of Balcerowicz's plan, FOR rightly deals with the myths disseminated by politicians from left to right and by numerous publicists, not necessarily declared writers, creating various false assessments of both the plan itself and its consequences.

Jakub Karnowski – Between 1997 and 2000 a number of fundamental reforms were implemented: public finance reform, local government reform, pension reform, health reform and mining sector reform. A fundamental phase of legislative preparation for Poland's membership in the European Union began. Privatisation was significantly accelerated. What mattered was the long-term interest of Poland and Poles, not the short-term interest of a party.

Jacek Fedorowicz – I had a saying that within a radius of 1.5 meters around me there is no socialism, there wasn't and won't be. What happened in December 1989 was basically a dream come true for my life. And for the introduction of the Balcerowicz Plan, I will say more, for the fact that Balcerowicz not only shouts out that it is necessary to fight, but also fights further, to him, as well as to his co-workers and collaborators, with Ewa Balcerowicz at the head, thank you!



30 YEARS AGO, POLES DECIDED THAT FREEDOM IS THE MOST IMPORTANT.

**WE BUILD FREE
POLAND TOGETHER
– ENTREPRENEURS,
PEOPLE OF CULTURE,
SOCIAL ACTIVISTS,
EVERYONE**

Freedom is fundamental for Polish democracy. In 1989, the foundations for Poland's future success were laid by many people, including Lech Wałęsa, founder of "Solidarity" and later President of Poland, and Leszek Balcerowicz, author of the Polish economic transformation.

What is freedom for Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz? How did their actions and decisions lead to changes in Poland? What price did their architects pay? And is freedom given once and for all?

These and other important questions are answered by the book, which is a record of an extraordinary conversation between the authors of the Polish transformation. Wałęsa and Balcerowicz reveal the backstage of that period, its difficult choices, personal sacrifice, crazy work and their mutual relations – the union leader who became president and the scientist to whom the responsibility for rebuilding a ruined country fell. Together they did something great – they won freedom.

The book is a record of a conversation between Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz and Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska.

AS PART OF THE BOOK PROMOTION, MEETINGS WITH AUTHORS WERE HELD THROUGHOUT POLAND:

- 3 June 2019, Gdańsk – First meeting about the book with participation of Lech Wałęsa, Leszek Balcerowicz, Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska and Agata Stremiecka
- 7 June 2019, Empik Silesia, Katowice – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 17 June 2019, Empik Junior, Warsaw – Premiere of the book with participation of Lech Wałęsa, Leszek Balcerowicz and Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska
- 8 July 2019, Wiślany Ogród & Statek Sobieski Restaurant, Kraków – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz and Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska
- 13 August 2019, Książnica Polska Publishing House, Book Centre, Olsztyn – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 3 September 2019, Stanisław Staszic Książnica Pomorska Publishing House, Szczecin – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 14 September 2019, Freedom Games 2019, Łódź – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 15 September 2019, Podkowa Leśna – Meeting with Lech Wałęsa, Leszek Balcerowicz and Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska
- 16 September 2019, Łask House of Culture, Łask – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 30 September 2019, Klub Myśli Obywatelskiej Club, Gdańsk – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 1 October 2019, Olkusz – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 3 October 2019, Ruda Śląska – Meeting with Leszek Balcerowicz
- 4 October 2019, Rzeszów – Meeting with Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz



FOR at the Feast of Freedom and Solidarity in Gdańsk,

June 2019

From June 1-4, 2019 we took part in the celebration of Freedom and Solidarity Day, organized by the European Solidarity Centre (ECS) and the City of Gdańsk.

The celebrations included the premiere of the virtual Museum 1989 and the presentation of the “Polish Economic Miracle. The Road to the West”. Moreover, in the NGO zone in the Democracy tent, where the FOR stand was located, we promoted the ideas of freedom and the rule of law, together with other NGOs.

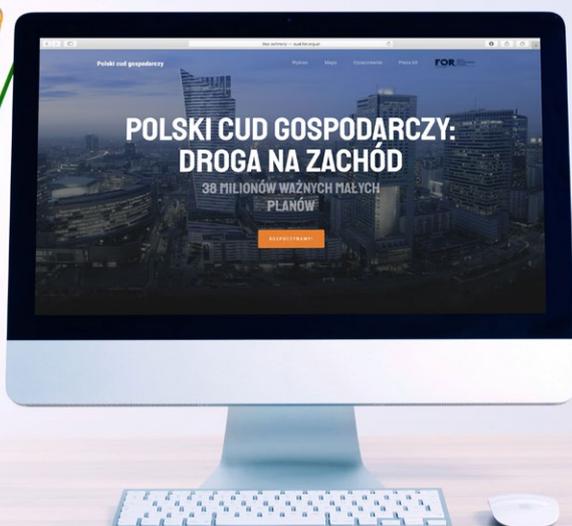
Our experts took part in numerous panels and debates, including: the ban on trade on Sundays, free courts and the rule of law, the development of the Polish economy, myths concerning economic transformation as well as ecology and economics. Thanks to these activities, we built up recognition among the participants of the Feast of Freedom and Solidarity and other organizations taking part in the event.

The culmination of our stay in Gdańsk was the first meeting around the book “Lech. Leszek. To Win Freedom” with the participation of all authors – Lech Wałęsa, Leszek Balcerowicz and Katarzyna Kolenda-Zaleska.

This unique event, which was attended by over 500 people, was led by the President of FOR, Agata Stremiecka.

At the end of the celebrations, on 4 June, members of the FOR team took part in celebrations at the European Solidarity Centre to commemorate the first partially free elections of 1989.

The trip turned out to be a great opportunity to establish new contacts with NGOs, which, like the FOR, are fighting for democracy, openness, free courts or education of young people. We also laid the foundations for further promotion of our project “30 Years of Freedom” and the December celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Balcerowicz Plan.



38 MILLION OF IMPORTANT SMALL PLANS

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of freedom and economic transformation, Civil Development Forum prepared a special website, presenting a chart of the living standards of Poles since 1918 and a map of the living standards, economic freedom and liberal democracy in Poland and Europe since 1989.

cud.for.org.pl

VISIT TO WASHINGTON, DC NOVEMBER 2019

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of democratic transformation in Poland and Central and Eastern Europe, President Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz, the architect of Polish economic transformation, visited Washington at the invitation of the leading American organization supporting the development of democracy in the world – National Endowment for Democracy (NED) – to celebrate together the anniversary of the transformation in Poland. The organizers of the visit were also present: Civil Development Forum and the Lech Wałęsa Institute.

The first of the events on 13 November was Lech Wałęsa's speech to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the US House of Representatives. The main theme of the meeting was "Democracy and NATO Alliance: supporting common democratic values". The event was attended by a dozen or so congressmen and senators.

On the same day, the National Endowment for Democracy organized a banquet to celebrate the "30th anniversary of Poland's democratic transformation in 1989", with Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz as its main guests. The event was attended by William Keating, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia, Energy and the Environment in the House of Representatives; Marcy Kaptur, Congresswoman in the House of Representatives; Carl Gershman, Chairman of NED and Daniel Fried, former US Ambassador to Poland.

On 14 November, Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz gave speeches at the conference "Democracy in Central Europe after Thirty Years", commemorating the 30th anniversary of historical democratic changes in Poland and Central Europe. The speakers at the conference were also eminent congressmen and historians, such as Anne Applebaum (historian, Washington Post columnist), Victoria Nuland (Senior Advisor at Albright Stonebridge Group) and Daniel Fried.



On 15 November, Leszek Balcerowicz spoke in front of one of the most famous free market think-tanks in the USA, Cato Institute, where during his lecture entitled "Liberalism, authoritarianism and good and bad transformations", he introduced the audience to the subject of the systemic economic transformation and threats to freedom from populism.

In the further part of the program of the joint visit to the USA, Leszek Balcerowicz met with David Malpass, President of the World Bank, while Lech Wałęsa paid a visit to the White House, where he was received by Mikea Pence, Vice-President of the United States.

All major media in Poland, including TVN24, Onet.pl, Gazeta Wyborcza, Rzeczpospolita, RMF FM and other major opinion portals, wrote and informed about our delegation to the USA. Despite the ongoing impeachment, the local media also mentioned the visit of the transformation heroes.

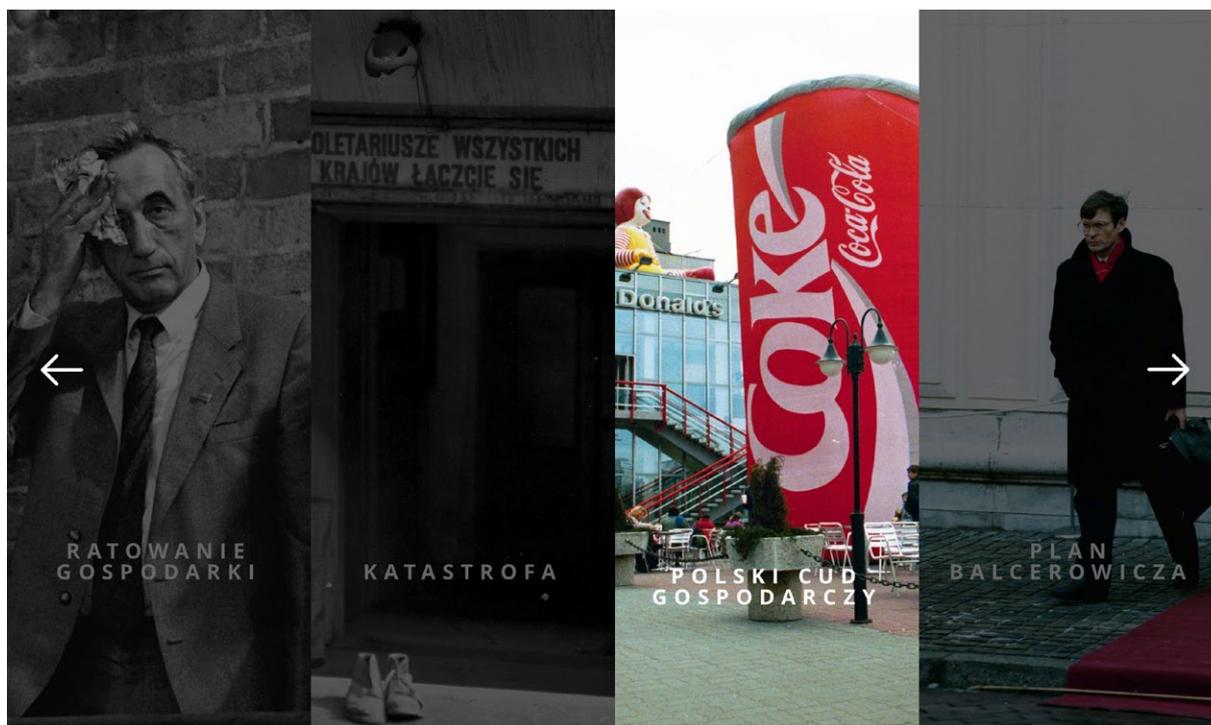


Press briefing with Madeleine Albright, March 2019

At the invitation of several non-governmental organizations to celebrate the 20th anniversary of Poland's accession to NATO, Prof. Madeleine Albright, former US Secretary of State, one of the architects of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary's accession to NATO in 1999, came to Poland in March 2019. During her short visit she gave a lecture at Warsaw University and held several meetings in Warsaw.

On the initiative of the Civil Development Forum and the Lech Wałęsa Institute, a special press briefing was also organized on 8 March 2019. Apart from Madeleine Albright, President Lech Wałęsa and Leszek Balcerowicz, heroes of the Polish transformation, took part in it. Many Polish and for-

eign editors have accredited for the event, including The New York Times, Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), Associated Press, Polska The Times, TVN24, Polsat News, Super Express and RMF FM.



The 1989 Museum

Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju launched the first virtual museum in Poland, the 1989 Museum, which shows the Polish transformation in an attractive form. The exhibition used several hundred archival photographs and films, and the “passage” of the whole is about two hours of an extraordinary story.

There has never been such a story about the Polish transformation before. The events of 1989 are presented in the form of a virtual museum, accessible to every computer or smartphone owner. An internet user gets to know the past by “immersing themselves” in historical spaces reconstructed in 3D: among others, the interior of a communist apartment, the Round Table meeting room, the “Solidarity” electoral staff in a former “Niespodzianka” café. The exhibition – addressed mainly to pupils and students – combines a modern form of communication with a comprehensive historical narrative. It illustrates the scale of the economic and civilizational collapse in which the Polish People’s Republic found itself at the end of the 1980s. It also shows the merits of the Solidarity opposition for leading Poland from dictatorship and central planning to democracy and the free market – and especially the role of the Balcerowicz Plan in freeing the natural activity of society. It will become clear to the viewer that the political transformation of 30 years ago was the “transformation” of the state, paving Poland’s way to the European Union.

In the past 30 years, no other government has enjoyed such public trust. In the autumn of 1989, more than 80% of Poles declared their support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki; the percentage of optimists, believing that the new team would manage to get the collapsing economy back on its feet, was also growing rapidly. 12 September 1989 The Sejm, by the votes of 402 MPs, approved the composition of the Mazovian government, the first non-communist cabinet after World War II. In our virtual 1989 Museum we present the backstage of this event and show how “Solidarity” managed to drive PZPR communist party out of power. We also talk about the background of the Balcerowicz Plan.

Subsequent “rooms” of the museum were unveiled in three stages:

- I. **4 June** on the occasion of the elections anniversary
- II. **12 September** on the occasion of the appointment of the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki
- III. **17 December** on the occasion of the announcement of the Balcerowicz Plan

The opening of the subsequent “rooms” was accompanied by a campaign at the Instagram aimed at young people, and thanks to the cooperation with MaturaToBzdura, the virtual 1989 Museum is now a permanent element of quizzes in which one can check one’s knowledge of the Polish transformation of 1989.

Curator of the exhibition:

– PROF. PIOTR OSEKA

Cooperation:

– MAŁGORZATA KOZERA-TOPIŃSKA
– DR JAN OLAŠZEK

Coordination of the 30 Years of Freedom project:

– AGATA STREMECKA
– PATRYCJA SATORA

Design and execution:

– PRO UNIT SP. Z O.O.
– BUILDINGVR

Promotional campaign:

– FFW COMMUNICATION

muzeum1989.pl



LESZEK BALCEROWICZ SCHOOL 2019

Leszek Balcerowicz School 2019 was the 18th edition of one of the most important FOR projects. It is a series of exceptional lectures and workshops, addressed to people between the ages of 18 and 30, interested in the political and social changes in Poland and the economy and entrepreneurship, willing to exchange experiences among their ambitious peers.

This year, as in the previous edition, we decided to put more emphasis on social media activities and new tools that School participants can use to promote the idea of freedom and their own activity. We also wanted them to share the views of the FOR on the importance of a liberal economy and constitutional democracy based on the rule of law.

The participants of the Leszek Balcerowicz School listened to the following speakers:

- Leszek Balcerowicz, Chairman of the FOR Council
- Marek Tatała, Vice-President of the Management Board of FOR
- Agata Stremecka, President of the Management Board of FOR
- Aleksander Łaszek, Chief Economist and Vice-President of the Management Board of FOR
- Patryk Wachowiec, legal analyst at FOR
- Mariusz Szeib, businessman, Texet
- Jacek Bury, businessman, Senate of the Republic of Poland
- Jarosław Sroka, Board Member of FOR, Kulczyk Investments
- Grażyna Piotrowska-Oliwa, CEO of Virgin Mobile
- Beata Biel, journalist, Konkret24
- Piotr Osęka, 1989 Museum curator
- Sylwia Gregorczyk-Abram, lawyer, Wolne Sądy
- Elżbieta Łukacijewska, Member of the European Parliament
- Katarzyna Zwolak-Szwechowicz, coach, TechSoup

On the first day, the participants also took part in the premiere of Donald Tusk's book entitled "Szczерze" [Frankly] in the Agora S.A. building.



Jacek Bury, Senator of the 10th term:

The invitation was an award and a surprise for me, I am very happy that I could participate in the next meeting at the Balcerowicz School. It is motivating and edifying for me to share my knowledge and experience with young people. This meeting was a very positive experience for me, because the participants willingly interacted with me, asked very wise questions, which prove their knowledge of topics related to marketing, economy and politics. I congratulate the youth on their achievements so far, I wish them deep self-confidence and success for the future. I would like to thank FOR for their invitation and for their work for development.



Barbara Pietrzak, graduate of the University of Warsaw:

To all those who read this text – if you are also planning tasks to be performed in the new year, you know that public money does not come from nowhere and the subject of freedom and the rule of law in our country is close to you, it is necessary to plan your time for Leszek Balcerowicz's School in your calendar right now.



Paweł Siejak, graduate of Maria Skłodowska Curie University in Lublin:

Leszek Balcerowicz's school is not only interesting speakers, but most of all wonderful young people whom I was able to meet, talk, exchange views and discuss. (...) To sum up: 14-17 December this year was a very intense time for me, I met many fantastic people and I feel "full" intellectually.



Katarzyna Iwanowska, student of the West Pomeranian University of Technology in Szczecin:

The Leszek Balcerowicz School made it possible not only to meet the Authority directly in the lecture hall, but also during the integration, in a relaxed manner. Then such a person becomes someone closer, at your fingertips, when you can talk like an equal, when the difference between years, life and work experience disappears, and a common ground of thought appears. This is the Leszek Balcerowicz School. A school that is a great and positive denial of all the schools I have had the opportunity to meet so far in my life.



Bartłomiej Jarzemiński, student of the University of Gdańsk:

It is worth appreciating FOR and Leszek Balcerowicz for actively promoting civic activity and enabling the development of people who plan to undertake or undertake such activity. Certainly, each selected participant felt appreciated by indicating him or her to participate in the SLB and the opportunity to take part in such a momentous event as the conference on the 30th anniversary of the Balcerowicz Plan.



Jarosław Szewczyk, student of the University of Economics in Katowice:

Together with other participants of SLB 2019 we have learned the point of view of great Poles for the past 30 years. Everyone had their own opinion, but they agreed on the facts. As a country we have taken a giant step in our development. If you value freedom, are curious how to achieve success, and perhaps you want to change for the better the next 30 years in Poland, apply for the next edition of Leszek Balcerowicz School. I guarantee that nothing better in education will happen to you.



ECONOMIC COMICS

The 10th edition of the “Economic Comics” project, which we have been carrying out continuously since 2009 in cooperation with the Ignacy Jan Paderewski Santander Bank Polska S.A. Foundation, is behind us.

The tenth edition was also supported by Eko Cykl Organizacja Odzysku Opakowań S.A. company. The scheme of the project implementation remains the same from the very beginning – the first stage is to organize a competition for an economic comic book. This year’s topics were:

1. **Poland’s great success after 1989 – that is what we owe to the economic transformation**
2. **People’s Republic of Poland and Poland after the transformation – find the differences!**
3. **Towards the West – Poland’s road to NATO and the European Union**
4. **Development of banking after 1989**
5. **Benefits from the transformation – improvement of protection and condition of the natural environment in Poland after 1989**

In the 10th anniversary edition, the second theme enjoyed the greatest popularity, for which more than half of the applications were submitted. The aim of the competition is to familiarize participants with interesting economic issues, which do not have to be difficult at all. This is also their goal: to provide knowledge in a pictorial form without losing its merit. The best works are published by the FOR as part of the comic book anthology in 15 thousand copies, which are then sent free of charge to schools all over Poland and distributed at various events.

The second stage of the project is economic education based on comic books. Jakub Przeździecki, coordinator of FOR projects, travels all over Poland throughout the school year, where he conducts workshops and lectures on economic issues in primary and secondary schools.

The culmination of the project is a conference for teachers of social subjects, whose main theme is economic education.



CONFERENCE FOR TEACHERS

Since the 5th edition we also organize conferences for teachers, which are a symbolic end of each edition of the project. This year’s conference entitled “The project is a great success. This year’s conference entitled “30 Years of Freedom” referred to the unique initiative of FOR, entirely devoted to celebrating the 30th anniversary of the political and economic transformation in Poland.

This year’s conference was opened by Agata Stremecka, President of the FOR, who stressed the important role of historical and social education. Leszek Balcerowicz, President of the FOR Council, was the first to give a lecture during which he told the gathered teachers about the global economic system and the difficulties encountered by Poland when it was responsible for the implementation of its economic plan. The next speakers were: Jakub Przeździecki from FOR, Marzena Atkielska, President of Santander Bank Polska S.A. Foundation together with the guests and Katarzyna Michniewska, President of the Board of Eko Cykl Organizacja Odzysku Opakowań S.A. company, who presented their educational projects to the guests.

After a break, during which the teachers engaged in lively discussions behind the scenes, the following spoke about the transformation from their point of view: Sylwia Żmjevska-Kwiręg, Program Director of the Center for Citizenship Education, Joanna Kaczyńska, President of the Ekspertki Razem Association and Mariusz Szeib, President of the Board of Text Poland. At the end of the conference Agata Stremecka and her guests: a historian and lecturer at the Polish Academy of Sciences, Piotr Osęka and a history teacher and journalist, Jan Wróbel, presented the 1989 virtual museum and answered the question: “What is missing in historical and social education?”

Each participant of the conference received gadgets funded by the project partners and the Ziąja Ltd. company, as well as the latest book entitled “Lech. Leszek. To Win Freedom”.

FOR publications in 2019

COMMUNICATION | Amendment of the Trade Ban Act on Sundays: powdering bad laws | Patryk Wachowiec, Marcin Zieliński

ANALYSIS | Mass demonstrations in France are a reaction to the effects of interventionism, not liberalism | Rafał Trzeciakowski, Marcin Zieliński

ANALYSIS | Deglomeration: an expensive redistribution of prestige | Rafał Trzeciakowski

REPORT | Regional development, regional policy | Grzegorz Gorzelak, Maciej Smętkowski

COMMUNICATION | The monopolization of the energy market is advancing | Rafał Trzeciakowski

ANALYSIS | The myth of German deglomeration | Rafał Trzeciakowski

COMMUNICATION | Employment Flexibility Index 2019 – Poland in is behind the rest | Rafał Trzeciakowski

REPORT | Central Communication Port: Billions of good money thrown after bad? 10 questions from the taxpayer | Tadeusz Syryjczyk

ANALYSIS | Disciplinary system for judges under the control of the Minister of Justice | Karolina Wąsowska

COMMUNICATION | Populism Index 2019: The highest support for populist parties since 1980 | Marek Tatała

COMMUNICATION | Law and Justice: after us the deluge | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | The right to observe the sessions of the Sejm in the light of the recent case law of administrative courts | Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | Capital Investment Fund – another instrument for the nationalization of the economy | Marcin Zieliński

COMMUNICATION | Morawiecki's fake counting-out | Tomasz Drózdź

COMMUNICATION | The extension of Radom airport has no justification | Tadeusz Syryjczyk

COMMUNICATION | Polish rule of law before the EU Court of Justice – reflections after the hearing on the Disciplinary Chamber and the new NCJ | Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | The test for the entrepreneur – more power in the hands of authorities | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | Who's going to pay for the new "Kaczyński's Five"? | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | Less freedom by weakening the rule of law – Poland in the Human Freedom Index | Marek Tatała

COMMUNICATION | Ministerial evaluation of the trade ban: unreliable, biased and anti-business | Patryk Wachowiec, Marcin Zieliński

COMMUNICATION | The Kaczyński's loop around the taxpayer's neck | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | Bill from the State for 2018 | Aleksander Łaszek, Rafał Trzeciakowski

COMMUNICATION | Alcohol, cigarettes, food and beverages – Poland more restrictive than Germany and the Czech Republic | Marek Tatała

COMMUNICATION | How much money do we get from work? | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | Poles vote with their feet for economic freedom | Rafał Trzeciakowski

REPORT | "Rodzina 500+" program evaluation and proposals for change | dr hab. Iga Magda, dr hab. Michał Brzeziński, dr hab. Agnieszka Chłoń-Domińczak, prof. Irena E. Kotowska, dr hab. Michał Myck, Mateusz Najszub, dr hab. Joanna Tyrowicz

COMMUNICATION | Transparency of the NCJ elections – 7 to zero for citizens | Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | The Polish economic miracle – The road to the West | Rafał Trzeciakowski, Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | Myths of economic transformation in Poland | Marcin Zieliński

COMMUNICATION | PSL election promises – but that has already been before | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | What do we know after the ECJ ruling on the Supreme Court? | Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | Transparency of the NCJ elections – we have a final judgment! | Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | PIT exemption for young people – buying votes instead of reforms | Aleksander Łaszek, Rafał Trzeciakowski

COMMUNICATION | 10 most frequently asked questions about the sense of deglomeration of authorities in Poland | Rafał Trzeciakowski

COMMUNICATION | Deglomeration by force: the government report does not satisfy | Rafał Trzeciakowski

ANALYSIS | The prosecutor's office in the hands of the authorities, that is, what the law allows | Karolina Wąsowska

COMMUNICATION | "Balanced" budget – great manipulation | Aleksander Łaszek, Rafał Trzeciakowski

LFMI REPORT | Reducing the grey economy in the Baltic States | Aleksander Łaszek (introduction to the report)

REPORT | FOR audit: Economy and Rule of Law under Law and Justice party government (2015-2019) | Aleksander Łaszek, Marek Tatała, Rafał Trzeciakowski, Patryk Wachowiec, Karolina Wąsowska, Marcin Zieliński

COMMUNICATION | Morawiecki's PowerPoint at the end of his term. Analysis of the "Plan for Responsible Development" | Aleksander Łaszek, Marcin Zieliński

PRESENTATION | FOR on taxes: How not to create tax legislation | prof. dr hab. Adam Mariański, Aleksander Łaszek

REPORT | Comparison of programs of main electoral committees before the 2019 parliamentary elections: Rule of law and economy | Aleksander Łaszek, Marek Tatała, Rafał Trzeciakowski, Patryk Wachowiec, Karolina Wąsowska, Marcin Zieliński

COMMUNICATION | How seriously does the government take taxpayers and the spending rule? | Aleksander Łaszek

COMMUNICATION | New International Monetary Fund forecast: warning for Poland | Rafał Trzeciakowski

COMMUNICATION | The Disciplinary Chamber and the new NCJ under the EU's criticism – effects of the CJEU judgment of 19 November 2019 | Patryk Wachowiec

COMMUNICATION | Morawiecki's exposé – a review of the statements and announcements | Marcin Zieliński

The Civil Development Forum provides structures for joint action to meet common needs. It establishes channels of representation and advocacy of social interests of particular groups and mechanisms for their reconciliation. From the Foundation we can learn how to act together and we can practice democratic rules. I cannot imagine fighting for a law-abiding state without the participation of FOR experts. I am particularly close to the Foundation's educational activities related to meetings with young people. I believe that such work at grassroots level will bring results and will allow us to educate in the spirit of freedom, democracy, tolerance and respect for law and another human being.



SYLWIA GREGORCZYK-ABRAM, a lawyer, co-founder of the Wolne Sądy [Free Courts] initiative and the Committee for the Defence of Justice

All publications are available in electronic version for download at www.for.org.pl.

SELECTED FOR PUBLICATIONS

THE ECONOMY

Communication: Amendment of the Trade Ban on Sundays Act: powdering up a bad law

The Trade Ban on Sundays Act disproportionately interferes with economic freedom and contains numerous errors of a legislative nature, making it impossible to clearly state whether or not a particular trader can trade on banned Sundays.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC, MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Analysis: Mass demonstrations in France are a reaction to the effects of interventionism, not liberalism

Contrary to the claims of some commentators, it was interventionism, not liberalism, that led to a situation where people took to the streets. Unfortunately, the protesters present the postulates of lowering taxes and increasing expenditures, i.e. simultaneous lowering and increasing the role of the state.

– RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI, MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Analysis: Deglomeration: expensive redistribution of prestige

Poland needs decentralization, which involves moving decisions to a lower level of administration, closer to citizens. Unfortunately, deglomeration does not change the citizens' influence on the decisions taken, but is only a facade action that redistributes prestige from Warsaw to small towns.

– RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Communication: The monopolization of the energy market is advancing

The state ownership of enterprises always creates a conflict of interest, putting the state in the role of creating the rules of functioning of the market and the owner of companies operating on it. This conflict is not completely eliminated by the existence of an independent ERO.

– RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Analysis: The myth of German deglomeration

In the Polish public debate, Germany is presented as a country that has successfully deglomerated in the sense of the distribution of central government offices across the country and thus achieved a balanced pace of development of cities of different sizes – without the uncontrolled growth of large cities and the depopulation of small towns. This picture is not true.

– RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Communication: Employment Flexibility Index 2019 – Poland is behind the rest

Poland is currently twice as close to France, the worst in the ranking than to Denmark, which is the best. However, efficient reforms are possible – this year the leader of reforms was Lithuania, which advanced from 27th to 15th place.

– RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Communication: Law and Justice: After us deluge

While it will still be possible in 2019 to finance new expenditure entering from mid-year without increasing the planned deficit, the situation will be much more difficult in 2020. During the economic slowdown, the next government will have much more limited room for manoeuvre.

– ALEKSANDER LASZEK

Communication: Capital Investment Fund – another instrument for the nationalization of the economy

On Thursday 21 February 2019 The Sejm adopted an amendment to the Act on the principles of state property management. It provides for the establishment of the Capital Investment Fund – a special purpose fund, from which the Prime Minister will be able to finance the acquisition or acquisition of shares in companies by the state. It will be another instrument in the Law and Justice nationalization arsenal.

– MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Communication: The test for the entrepreneur – more power in the hands of authorities

In the test proposed by the Ministry of Finance, officials will determine whether a given taxpayer can be considered an entrepreneur and benefit from 19% PIT, or

whether he should be treated as an employee and pay PIT according to the scale and the full Social Security contribution accordingly. Such a solution fights the symptoms and not the reasons for the abuse of self-employment, which are large differences in taxation and in the contribution of self-employment and work under an employment contract.

– ALEKSANDER LASZEK

Communication: Ministerial evaluation of the trade ban: unreliable, biased and anti-business

At the beginning of April 2019, the Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology (MPiT) presented an Impact Assessment on trade restrictions on Sundays. However, reading the study does not allow to conclude that the MPiT proposals are based on the presented data.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC, MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Communication: The Kaczyński loop around the taxpayer's neck

The costs of the “Kaczyński's Five” promises are accumulated with the costs of previously announced government programs, forcing tax increases and reducing spending on other purposes, primarily public services. Despite the high costs, the new programs do not solve any significant problems, but are primarily focused on the electoral effect.

– ALEKSANDER LASZEK

Communication: Bill from the State for 2018

On 30 April 2019, the Civil Development Forum (FOR) presented the “Bill from the State for 2018”, which shows the structure of our country's expenditure. As every year – this eighth edition of the project – was organized on the last day of submitting tax returns for the previous year.

– ALEKSANDER LASZEK, RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Report: “Rodzina 500+” program evaluation and proposals for change

From the moment of launching the “Rodzina 500+” program until the end of April 2019, state expenditure on this purpose has already exceeded PLN 70 billion. After the program has been extended by the first child, its annual cost, calculated per one employee, will amount to almost PLN 2.5 thousand.

– DR HAB. IGA MAGDA, DR HAB. MICHAŁ BRZEZIŃSKI, DR HAB. AGNIESZKA CHŁOŃ-DOMIŃCZAK, PROF. IRENA E. KOTOWSKA, DR HAB. MICHAŁ MYCK, MATEUSZ NAJSZTUB, DR HAB. JOANNA TYROWICZ

Communication: Polish economic miracle – The road to the West

To celebrate the 30th anniversary of Freedom and Economic Transformation, the Civil Development Forum prepared a special website cud.for.org.pl, presenting a chart of the living standards of Poles since 1918 and a map of the living standards, economic freedom and liberal democratization in Poland and Europe since 1989.

– RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI, PATRYK WACHOWIEC

Communication: Myths of economic transformation in Poland

Effective myth control requires making comparisons. The following FOR communication deals with at least some of the most popular myths in our country concerning the Polish economy after 1989.

– MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Communication: PIT exemption for young people – buying votes instead of reforms

Exempting people under 26 years old from PIT is unfair. On the one hand, the government sees no problem that the salary of a 27-year-old earning the minimum wage (PLN 1774 net) should be burdened with 40% of taxes and contributions, including PLN 150 PIT, and on the other hand it proposes to exempt a 25-year-old earning more than 3 times better from PIT, thanks to which his or her net income will increase from PLN 5909 to PLN 6584 and the total burden will fall to 35%.

– ALEKSANDER LASZEK, RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Communication: “Balanced” budget – great manipulation

The Law and Justice government, when publishing the draft state budget for 2020, called it “sustainable”. This “sustainability” is based on one-off revenues and concerns only the state budget, which accounts for half of the entire public finance sector.

– ALEKSANDER LASZEK, RAFAL TRZECIAKOWSKI

Communication: Morawiecki's PowerPoint at the end of his term. Analysis of the "Plan for Responsible Development"

In order to avoid bias accusations, in this presentation we compare all the goals chosen by Morawiecki with their realization. At the same time, in order to make the evaluation more complete, at the end we compare the dynamics of indicators with the period before Law and Justice came to power, when the PO-PSL coalition ruled.

– ALEKSANDER ŁASZEK, MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Presentation: FOR on taxes: How not to create tax legislation

The Civil Development Forum organized a press breakfast, during which specific charges were brought against the Polish tax system. The basic problem of the Polish tax system is generating unnecessary collisions between taxpayers and the tax administration.

– PROF. DR HAB. ADAM MARIAŃSKI, ALEKSANDER ŁASZEK

Communication: Morawiecki's exposé – a review of the statements and announcements

Staying on the course taken by Law and Justice in 2015 will finally have a negative impact on the process of catching up with the West. The great projects of Morawiecki do not mean "a real leap forward for our country". Poland made such a leap, replacing socialism with a market economy.

– MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Communication: Alcohol, cigarettes, food and beverages – Poland more restrictive than Germany and the Czech Republic

Poland is still among the countries with strong restrictions and is currently ranked 12th. The improvement compared to the ninth place in the previous edition does not result from the liberalisation of regulations in our country, but only from slight changes in methodology and the deterioration of the situation in other countries.

– MAREK TATAŁA

ECONOMY/RULE OF LAW

Report: Regional development, regional policy

Contrary to the emerging opinions, no "decline" of small and medium-sized towns is observed; the loss of the voivodship function is not a common disadvantageous factor. Metropolisation has so far not led to a significant depopulation of the extra-metropolitan part of the country.

– GRZEGORZ GORZELAK, MACIEJ SMĘTKOWSKI

Report: Comparison of programs of main electoral committees before the 2019 parliamentary elections: Rule of law and economy

In view of the special role and unprecedented scale of the destructive actions of the ruling party in the area of the rule of law, in addition to economic issues, we are also looking at the party's announcements concerning the judiciary and prosecution.

– ALEKSANDER ŁASZEK, MAREK TATAŁA, RAFAŁ TRZECIAKOWSKI, PATRYK WACHOWIEC, KAROLINA WAŚOWSKA, MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Report: FOR audit: Economy and Rule of Law under Law and Justice party government (2015-2019)

This is the first citizen's guide to the most frequently asked questions about Law and Justice (PiS) rule prepared by FOR experts.

– ALEKSANDER ŁASZEK, MAREK TATAŁA, RAFAŁ TRZECIAKOWSKI, PATRYK WACHOWIEC, KAROLINA WAŚOWSKA, MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI

Communication: Populism Index 2019: The highest support for populist parties since 1980

Swedish think-tank Timbro presented another edition of the Authoritarian Populism Index. The measurement of support for populist parties, which are characterized, among others, by the creation of conflicts between "people" and "elites", strong nationalism, striving to remove institutional limitations of power or anti-capitalism, shows the strongest support for these parties since 1980.

– MAREK TATAŁA

RULE OF LAW

Analysis: Disciplinary system for judges under the control of the Minister of Justice

Dependence on politicians to decide on disciplinary charges against judges threatens the independence of judges and the independence of courts. Such a mechanism can very easily influence judgments and decisions of judges.

– KAROLINA WAŚOWSKA

Communication: The right to observe the sessions of the Sejm in the light of the recent case law of administrative courts

The possibility for citizens to enter the Sejm meeting and observe the proceedings is a direct result of the provisions of the Constitution; however, in May 2018, some people were denied access to the gallery, which made it possible for the administrative courts to verify this decision.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC

Communication: Polish rule of law before the EU Court of Justice – reflections after the hearing on the Disciplinary Chamber and the new NCJ

Is the Disciplinary Chamber an independent court, since it has been fully formed by the new National Judicial Council, mostly elected by politicians? This is the question the Supreme Court had to ask the EU Court of Justice at its hearing on Tuesday in Luxembourg.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC

Communication: Less freedom by weakening the rule of law – Poland in the Human Freedom Index

In the latest edition of the Human Freedom Index 2018, which covers the first year of the rule of law and justice, Poland ranked 39th out of 162 countries with 7.81 points. This is a fall of 3 positions in the ranking and a deterioration in the index of 0.18 points. Most of this decrease is due to the deterioration of the personal freedom index, including to a large extent the rule of law.

– MAREK TATAŁA

Communication: Transparency of the NCJ elections – 7 to zero for citizens

On 27 May 2019 the seventh sentence in favor of transparency was passed. The Voivodship Administrative Court in Warsaw ruled that the President of the Supreme Administrative Court had no right to refuse to disclose the names of judges from administrative courts who supported candidates for the new NCJ.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC

Communication: What do we know after the ECJ ruling on the Supreme Court?

This is the first ever judgment in which the CJEU has found that a Member State has violated the principles of independence and irremovability of judges. Contrary to what the politicians of the ruling majority claimed, withdrawal from the "purge" in the Supreme Court did not stand in the way of the Court's ruling that the Polish government violated EU law.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC

Communication: Transparency of NCJ elections – we have a final judgment!

In the verbal recitals of the judgment, the Supreme Administrative Court stressed that the publication of part of the information on the candidates for the new NCJ on the Sejm's website does not preclude the provision of other information upon request.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC

Analysis: The prosecutor's office in the hands of the authorities, that is, what the law allows

The system of disciplinary prosecution of judges has also changed in recent years. It has become strongly dependent on the Minister of Justice (the General Prosecutor). It has made it possible for judges to be disciplined and harassed for disobedience to the authorities and criticism of their actions detrimental to the justice system.

– KAROLINA WAŚOWSKA

Communication: The Disciplinary Chamber and the new NCJ under the EU's criticism – effects of the CJEU judgment of 19 November 2019

In its ruling, the CJEU reaffirmed that the organization of the judiciary in a Member State must comply with EU law, including guaranteeing the independence of the courts. As there may potentially be a need to interpret or apply EU law in every case before a court, this applies to all courts in Poland.

– PATRYK WACHOWIEC

FOR REPORT

CENTRAL COMMUNICATION PORT: BILLIONS OF GOOD MONEY THROWN AFTER BAD? 10 QUESTIONS FROM THE TAXPAYER



On 13 February 2019 the Civil Development Forum published a report entitled “Central Communication Port: Billions of good money thrown after bad? 10 questions from the taxpayer” by Tadeusz Syryjczyk on the project to build a Central Communication Port.

Each investment requires the acquisition of capital, the return on which is obtained provided that the target and the scale of the investment are chosen correctly. The capital may come from a private investor – an entrepreneur, a stock market investor or a bank – or from a taxpayer through the State Treasury. You don’t know why the first three have the obvious right to ask for details, demand a business plan, etc. before they put the money on the table, and the taxpayer is to pay without murmuring and not ask troublesome questions. His rights are in fact less than those of a potential private shareholder on the stock exchange, to whom a prospectus must be provided.

The design of the Central Communication Port is entering a stage of relatively small but visible expenditure. A company has been established, a logo has been designed and a promotional plan for the port is being ordered, which is to be operational in 10 years’ time. One can understand that for the time being it is about convincing about the sense of construction, as it is a little too early to encourage flying. So now the taxpayer is paying for PR activities which are to convince him to pay even more in the future. It would probably be more sensible to spend money on investigating which solution is optimal than on strengthening the autosuggestion about the advisability of the choice already made. All the more so because the taxpayer’s expenses are already visible, and they are expected to be more serious than the design of the logo, and related to the expropriation and purchase of real estate for the benefit of the State Treasury – as provided for in the Act on the CCP.



AUTHOR:

– TADEUSZ SYRYJCZYK – MINISTER OF INDUSTRY IN THE GOVERNMENT OF TADEUSZ MAZOWIECKI (1989-1991) AND MINISTER FOR TRANSPORT AND MARITIME AFFAIRS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF JERZY BUZEK (1998-2000)

FOR REPORT

„FAMILY 500+” PROGRAM EVALUATION AND PROPOSALS FOR CHANGE

From the moment of launching the “Rodzina 500+” [Family 500+] program until the end of April 2019, state expenditure on this purpose has already exceeded PLN 70 billion. After the program has been extended by the first child, its annual cost, calculated per one employee, will amount to almost PLN 2.5 thousand.

A multidisciplinary team of the best experts in demography, the labour market, poverty and social policy prepared the analysis and evaluation of the “Family 500+” program in a report issued on 7 May 2019.

The declared objectives of the “Family 500+” program were to improve the financial situation of families and increase fertility rates. The realism of the main declared objective: increasing the fertility rate was questioned by experts from the very beginning.

The main conclusions of the balance sheet are as follows:

- 500+ has not increased the birth rate
- 12% of the 500+ budget would be sufficient to alleviate extreme child poverty
- 500+ pushed 100,000 women out of the labor market (especially those with low income, lower education and from small towns)
- The high cost of the program limits the room for manoeuvre in public finances, forcing tax increases and other expenditure restraint



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The 500+ is the main reason for the increase in spending on social transfers from 14.3% of the GDP in 2015 to 15.3% of the GDP in 2020 as planned by the government. As a result, despite a reduction in spending on other objectives, total spending is set to rise from 41.7% of GDP in 2015 to 42.8% of GDP in 2020.

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- MATEUSZ NAJSZTUB
- DR HAB. JOANNA TYROWICZ

THE FOR WAS ONE OF THE ORIGINATORS OF THE REPORT AND HELPS TO POPULARISE ITS RESULTS, BUT WAS NOT INVOLVED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE REPORT, EITHER IN TERMS OF CONTENT OR FINANCIAL TERMS.

FOR AUDIT: ECONOMY AND RULE OF LAW UNDER LAW AND JUSTICE PARTY GOVERNMENT (2015-2019)

The report published on 25th September 2019 is the first citizen's guide to the most frequently asked questions about Law and Justice party rule, prepared by FOR experts.

Two big propaganda tricks dominate the public debate. First, the merits of the economic recovery are automatically attributed to the current government. Secondly, the settlement of election promises does not take into account the fact that the implementation of promises bad for the economy, society and the state should be assessed negatively from the point of view of Polish development.

Main facts in the field of economy:

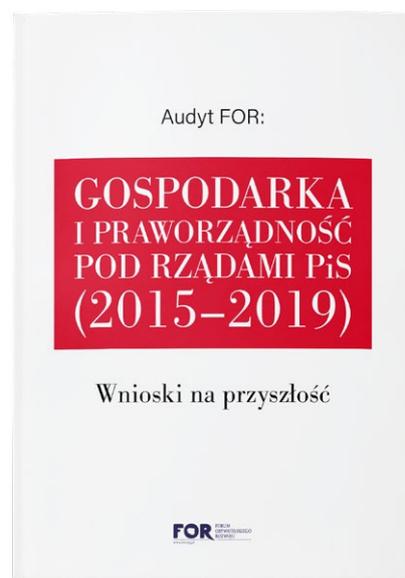
- at least half of the additional VAT revenue is independent of government action
- the public finance sector in 2020 will have a deficit, reduced only by one-off revenues and increases in Social Security contributions
- the government has introduced many burdens for citizens and businesses: bank tax, continuation of freezing of PIT thresholds, increase of Social Security contributions, emission fee, solidarity fee, recycling fee
- as predicted by experts, the 500 plus program did not cause a sustainable birth rate increase
- after the decrease in poverty in 2014-2017, it started to increase in 2018
- the PO-PSL governments were better at pursuing legitimate objectives, as listed in the Morawiecki's strategy, than the Law and Justice governments
- the companies of the State Treasury are today worth over 75 billion less than when Andrzej Duda was elected President of Poland
- repolonization of companies, including banks, is their nationalization and grabbing by the Law and Justice nominees

Main facts in the area of the rule of law:

- the Law and Justice party carried out an attack on the independence of the judiciary, which is an essential foundation of sustainable democracy
- the existing problems, such as the protractedness of courts, have been deepened and at the same time an unprecedented threat to their independence has been created
- there is a huge concentration of power in the prosecutor's office in the hands of a member of the Law and Justice government, the Minister of Justice and the Prosecutor General, which threatens the independence of prosecutors from political decisions
- three persons, commonly referred to as doubles, were appointed to the already occupied seats in the Constitutional Tribunal, which made it possible to take political control over CT, while at the same time the prime ministers of the Law and Justice government illegally refused to publish CT's judgments
- 92% of the members of the new National Council of the Judiciary are politicians or persons elected by politicians
- the new NCJ, dominated by Law and Justice nominees, recommended individuals to the new Supreme Court chambers, including the unconstitutional exception court, the Supreme Court Disciplinary Chamber
- the Minister of Justice arbitrarily named almost 160 presidents and vice-presidents of common courts
- attempts were made to remove the First President of the Supreme Court and almost 40% of Supreme Court judges, citing, among other things, the need for alleged "decommunization"
- the disciplinary system in common courts has been made dependent on the Minister of Justice and the Attorney General
- a number of tools have been created to allow the Minister of Justice and the General Prosecutor to discipline prosecutors – punishing those who are critical of changes in the prosecution system and the judiciary and rewarding those who are loyal to the party in charge of prosecutions
- following the amendments introduced by the Law and Justice Party, the procedure under Article 7(1) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) was initiated in order to 'establish the existence of a clear risk of a serious breach' of the rule of law
- the Court of Justice of the European Union found that Poland has infringed the second subparagraph of Article 19(1) TEU, which requires Member States to take the measures necessary to ensure effective legal protection in the fields covered by Union law.

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- PATRYK WACHOWIEC, FOR LEGAL ANALYST
- KAROLINA WĄSOWSKA, FOR LAWYER
- MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI, FOR ECONOMIST



FOR NUMBER OF THE DAY

"Number of the Day" is a FOR project that started in August 2016 and is very popular among users of our channels in social media.

Several times a week we select an important and interesting number of economic or legal topics for our readers, presenting it using a short and legible description on Facebook and Twitter graphics.

The numbers of the Day are linked to current studies and the current political and economic situation in the country and the world, and the sources we use are proven and reliable.

#LiczbaDniaFOR

ok. 13 tys. zł

Przy takim pełnym koszcie pracy wynagrodzenie pracownika obłożone jest najwyższymi składkami i podatkami, łącznie aż 44%. Powyżej pensja przestaje być obciążona składkami emerytalnymi i rentowymi, co prowadzi do nieznacznego spadku klina podatkowego. Ciągłe jednak umowy o pracę są dużo wyżej opodatkowane niż samozatrudnienie, stwarzając sztuczny bodziec do zmiany formy pracy.

#LiczbaDniaFOR

10,6 mld zł

Tyle za pakiet akcji banku Pekao SA zapłaciło w 2017 roku państwowe konsorcjum PZU i PFR. Zakup banku przez państwo zawsze niesie ryzyko używania go do celów politycznych lub partyjnych. Ujawnione we wtorek (29.01) nagranie ukazuje dyspozycyjność prezesa, kontrolowanego przez państwo Pekao do finansowania inwestycji osób związanych z obozem władzy.

#LiczbaDniaFOR

3,1% PKB

Na tyle prognozuje deficyt Polski w 2020 roku Międzynarodowy Fundusz Walutowy. To ponad dwukrotny wzrost prognozy z 1,4% PKB w październiku ubiegłego roku. Kolejne obietnice wyborcze partii rządzącej zmniejszają szanse na trwałe ograniczenie deficytu budżetowego. Obniżenie deficytu mogło poprawić wiarygodność Polski, pozwalając na tańsze finansowanie inwestycji i szybszy wzrost gospodarczy.

#LiczbaDniaFOR

100

Tyle razy więcej polskie państwo wydaje na dotowanie konsumpcji cukru niż na walkę z otyłością. Cukier jest objęty preferencyjną stawką VAT, co rocznie kosztuje ponad 600 mln zł. Jednocześnie, w ramach Narodowego Programu Zdrowia, rząd chce wydać w latach 2015-2020 na walkę z otyłością 37 mln zł. Zamiast ograniczać preferencje wywalczone przez różne grupy rządowi łatwiej jest wydawać publiczne pieniądze na kolejne szumnie brzmiące programy.

#LiczbaDniaFOR

111

Tyle dni trwało przeprowadzenie Planu Balcerowicza, czyli pakietu reform, dzięki którym 30 lat temu Polska przeszła ustrojową i gospodarczą transformację.

10 fundamentalnych ustaw weszło w życie 1 stycznia 1990 roku, zaledwie 2 tygodnie po tym jak po raz pierwszy zostały one zaprezentowane w Sejmie. Za sprawą Planu Balcerowicza udało się wyprowadzić kraj z ekonomicznej zapaści i rozpocząć proces doganiania zachodnich gospodarek.

FOR in social media

Fundacja FOR (Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju)
Opublikowane przez: Klaudia Walas | 12 września

📅 Dziś obchodzimy 30. rocznicę powołania rządu Tadeusza Mazowieckiego!

Z tej okazji otworzyliśmy kolejny pokój w muzeum 1989, gdzie wirtualnej sali sejmowej można zobaczyć m.in. słynne wystąpienie Tadeusza Mazowieckiego oraz archiwalne zdjęcia z tamtych lat.

A już wkrótce ogłosimy konkurs związany z muzeum 1989... #StayTuned! <https://muzeum1989.pl>



👍 **Uzyskaj więcej polubień, komentarzy i udostępnień**
Promuj ten post za 78 zł, aby dotrzeć do nawet 3900 osób.

20 176 Liczba odbiorców 1505 Aktywność [Promuj post](#)

🗨️ 89 Komentarze: 6 33 udostępnienia

Fundacja FOR (Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju)
Opublikowane przez: Helena Krąpiecka | 2 sierpnia

Politycy lubią podkreślać, jak obywateli korzystają na ulgach podatkowych czy świadczeniach, czego najniższym przykładem jest program 500+. Takie podejście pomija zasadnicze pytanie, jak inaczej można było wykorzystać te pieniądze – czy lepiej wprowadzić nowy zasilek, czy ograniczyć deficyt? A może zostawić te pieniądze w kieszeni podatników ograniczając deficyt?

Co by było gdyby? W infografice przygotowanej przez dr. Aleksandra Laszkę, głównego ekonomistę FOR, pokazujemy przykłady takich wyborów.

JAK MOGLYBY WYGLĄDAĆ POLSKIE FINANSY PUBLICZNE?

SZACUNKI WŁASNE DR. ALEKSANDRA LASZKA, GŁÓWNEGO EKONOMISTY FOR

Wydatki mogłyby być niższe o...

60 mld zł gdyby podnieść wiek emerytalny do 66 lat i zlikwidować przywileje górników i mundurowych	9 mld zł gdyby 500+ na drugie dziecko trafiła tylko do biedniejszej połowy gospodarstw domowych
23 mld zł gdyby wydatki na policję, służby, sądy, prokuraturę i więzienia oraz na kulturę ograniczyć do średniej unijnej, a na administrację do poziomu Holandii	

Dochody mogłyby być wyższe o...

87 mld, gdyby zlikwidować preferencje podatkowe, zostawiając tylko wsparcie dla najuboższych

Z tej kwoty...

8 mld zł	56 mld zł
-----------------	------------------

👍 **Uzyskaj więcej polubień, komentarzy i udostępnień**
Promuj ten post za 78 zł, aby dotrzeć do nawet 9900 osób.

27 823 Liczba odbiorców 8989 Aktywność [Promuj post](#)

🗨️ 293 Komentarze: 22 144 udostępnienia

Fundacja FOR (Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju)
Opublikowane przez: Klaudia Walas | 12 lipca

- W przyszłym roku 500+ ma kosztować ponad 41 mld zł. Taka kwota znacząco no. na zwolnienie 80% najmniej zarabiających osób z PIT i NFZ albo na wzrost wydatków na zdrowie do 0,2% PKB (rządowy plan na 2020 to 4,5% PKB, jeden z najniższych w UE) - tłumaczy główny ekonomista FOR, dr Aleksander Laszka.

CO MOŻNA ZROBIĆ ZA 41 MLD ZŁ ROCZNIE?*

*KOSZTY PROGRAMU RODZINA 500+ W 2020 ROKU

SZACUNKI WŁASNE DR. ALEKSANDRA LASZKA, GŁÓWNEGO EKONOMISTY FOR

PODNIĘĆ KWOTĘ WOLNĄ DO OK. 12 TYS. ZŁ

Wbrew przedwyborczym obietnicom rząd PS zrezygnował z powszechnego podniesienia kwoty wolnej, podnosząc ją tylko dla osób o dochodach poniżej 1083 zł miesięcznie uznając, że np. dla zarabiających minimalne wynagrodzenie roczna kwota wolna 3089 zł w pełni wystarczą.

ZWOLNIĆ 30% PODATNIKÓW O NAJNIŻSZYCH DOCHODACH Z PIT I NFZ

Zamiast podnieść kwotę wolną dla wszystkich, można z podatków zwolnić osoby o najniższych dochodach, wciągając tym samym więcej osób na rynek pracy.



WYCOFAĆ WPROWADZONE I ZAPOWIEDZIANE PODWYŻKI PODATKÓW

By sfinansować program Rodzina 500+ rząd wprowadził bądź zapowiedział szereg podatków: podatek bankowy, daninę solidarnościową, opłatę emisyjną, opłatę recyklingową, zniesienie limitu składek ZUS, test przedsiębiorcy, podwyżki aktywności zawodowej, blokadę składek na ubezpieczenie zdrowotne.

👍 **Uzyskaj więcej polubień, komentarzy i udostępnień**
Promuj ten post za 78 zł, aby dotrzeć do nawet 9900 osób.

21 848 Liczba odbiorców 2487 Aktywność [Promuj post](#)

🗨️ 116 Komentarze: 11 31 udostępnienia

Fundacja FOR (Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju)
Opublikowane przez: Klaudia Walas | 27 lutego

Im dalej będziemy szli, tym bardziej będą się ujawniać szkody нанесione przez politykę Prawo i Sprawiedliwość - powiedział Leszek Balcerowicz we wczorajszej rozmowie z Moniką Olejnik w Kropka nad i na TVN24.

O nowych obietnicach PiS i ich kosztach przeczytacie w naszym najnowszym komunikacie <https://bit.ly/2tswtE>



TVN24.PL
Balcerowicz: PiS działa według zasady "po nas choćby potop". Ten zaczyna się po wyborach

👍 **Uzyskaj więcej polubień, komentarzy i udostępnień**
Promuj ten post za 78 zł, aby dotrzeć do nawet 9900 osób.

23 009 Liczba odbiorców 1437 Aktywność [Promuj post](#)

🗨️ 65 Komentarze: 4 100 udostępnienia

Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju @FundacjaFOR · 6 cze

Kapitalizm to jest zły!

Obchody 14 czerwca w Gdańsku były bardzo intensywne, zwłaszcza dla @Balcerowicz i @PrezydentKalesa! Uwertycie, że w 7 i pół minuty podpisał 150 książek? Na dowód mamy nagranie!

Kto кого nauczył kapitalizmu?

książka [lechleszekznachoryzoni.pl](#)



🗨️ 75 Wyświetlenia: 24 tys.

Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju @FundacjaFOR

Dzisiaj niedziela z zakazem handlu - nie możesz więc pójść na zakupy... **IDZ NA WYBORY!**

Nie daj się kupić - wybierz mądrze!

[#IdziemyNaWybory #wybory2019](#)



2:56 PM · 13 paź 2019 · [Twitter Web App](#)

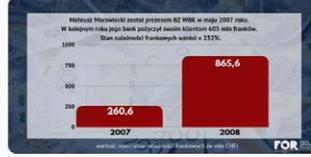
👤 Pokaż aktywność na Twitterze

46 postów dalej 162 polubienia

Forum Obywatelskiego Rozwoju @FundacjaFOR · 4 paź

Mateusz Morawiecki został prezesem 82 WKB w maju 2007 roku. W kolejnym roku jego bank pożyczyc swoim klientom 605 mln franków. Stan należności frankowych wzrósł o 232%.

[@MorawiecM #redytyfrankowe](#)



Leszek Balcerowicz i 7 innych osób

🗨️ 22 Wyświetlenia: 167 388 polubienia

Civic Development Blog

About alternative ways of transformation [in reply to R. Woś]

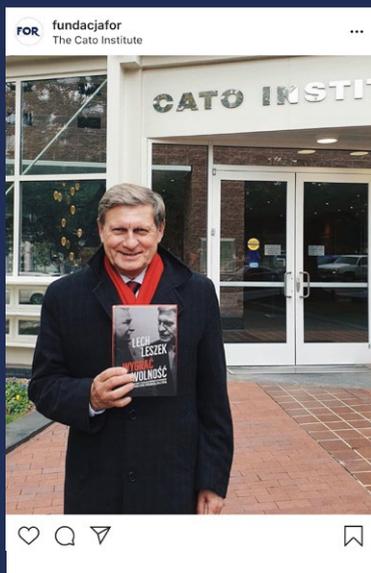
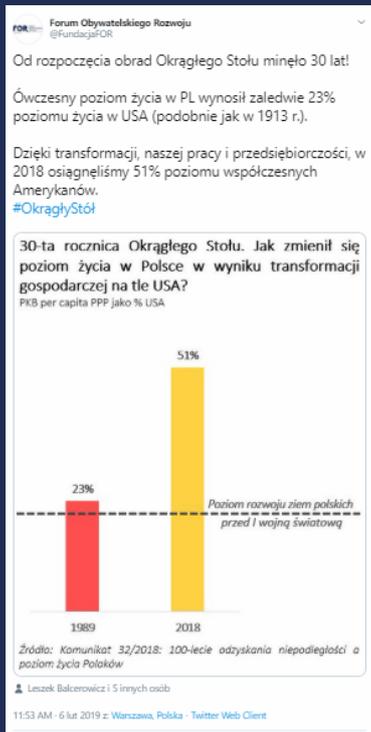
On the 30th anniversary of the first (partially) free elections Rafał Woś decided to present an alternative history of Polish transformation. Fighting the alleged lack of an alternative to the Polish way, Woś decided to recall that there were alternatives to the Balcerowicz Plan. It is obvious that there were. One can always introduce reforms without or in a different way. However, one should ask oneself what would be the likely effects of the possibilities presented by Woś.

— MARCIN ZIELIŃSKI, 25 JUNE 2019

The beginning of the end of the “yellow vests revolution”?

When nearly 290,000 people took to the French streets in November 2018, public opinion announced the beginning of a new French revolution. However, for some time now the “yellow vest” movement has been associated only with aggression and vandalism. The twenty-sixth act of demonstration has only gathered 18,600 people throughout France. So can we risk the thesis that the gilets jaunes have lost the support and mandate from the public?

— KAMIL DĄBRÓWKA, 26 AUGUST 2019



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BLOGOBYWATELSKIEGOROZWOJU.PL

Not so free trade within Canada

International trade often makes the headlines in newspapers and internet portals, but we don't hear much about trade within individual countries. Hence it is interesting to read the article by Jorge Alvarez, Ivo Krznar and Trevor Tombe "Internal Trade in Canada: Case for Liberalization" published by the IMF. Also in the case of Canada, more free trade would bring more benefits.

— MAREK TATAŁA, 16 AUGUST 2019

Legal "fact-checking" in the information society era

At a time of rapid development of new technologies, universal access to the mass media and the ever-increasing share of social media in our everyday life, the flow of information takes on new forms and speeds unknown until now. In the era of the information society, a single message or a quickly spread headline can have a big impact on whole societies and become a source of manipulation. Hence the popularity of fake news, i.e. news based on disinformation, published with the intention of misleading the recipient in order to achieve various benefits.

— BARBARA SIP, 25 JULY 2019

BILL FROM THE STATE FOR 2018

On 30 April 2019, the Civil Development Forum presented the "Bill from the State for 2018", which shows the structure of our State's expenditure. As every year, this eighth edition of the project was organized on the last day of submitting tax returns for the previous year. The employees and volunteers of FOR under the tax offices in Warsaw, Poznań and Kamień Pomorski informed the applicants about the condition of state finances.

THE STATE IS SPENDING MORE AND MORE

The Civil Development Forum has been analyzing public expenditure for 8 years now, presenting it in an accessible form per capita of Poland. Data presented in this way can be much easier to relate to our earnings and expenses.

In 2018, the "Bill from the State" per capita was PLN 23,135 and was PLN 1,644 higher than a year ago and PLN 5,117 higher than 8 years ago.

In 2011, when we were preparing the first edition of the "Bill from the State", public expenditure per capita amounted to PLN 18,018.

WHAT DOES THE GOVERNMENT SPEND MOST ON?

Pensions, education and health care together account for more than half of state expenditure.

In 2018, the largest items in the Bill (per capita) are:

- Pensions – PLN 7025
- Education – PLN 2596
- Health care – PLN 2534
- Social assistance – PLN 2136 (including PLN 589 of the Rodzina 500+ program)
- Transportation – PLN 1981
- Army, police, prisons, courts – PLN 1675
- Administration – PLN 1119
- Interest on public debt – PLN 826

State expenditure is not only the expenditure of the state budget, but also of local governments, NFZ (National Health Fund), FUS (Social Insurance Fund) managed by ZUS (Social Insurance Institution), KRUS (Agricultural Social Insurance Fund) and many other entities.

Although the vast majority of public expenditure falls on several of the above mentioned institutions, it should be remembered that the whole public finance sector includes over 61 thousand different units. Apart from the above mentioned, it includes numerous schools, universities, hospitals, but also entities such as e.g. municipal cemetery management boards, municipal parks, "TOR", "ZEBRA", "KADR" film studios. Due to the impossibility



RACHUNEK OD PAŃSTWA RZECZPOSPOLITA POLSKA ZA WYDATKI W ROKU 2018

Usługa	Cena na 1 mieszkańca
Emerytury z ZUS	3 406 zł
Emerytury z KRUS	279 zł
Renty z ZUS i KRUS	962 zł
Emerytury żołnierzy, policjantów i pozostałych służb	410 zł
mundurowych, sędziów i prokuratorów	
Dodatki do rent i emerytur, dodatki pielęgnacyjne,	766 zł
zasiłki chorobowe, itp.	
Składki NFZ i PIT emerytów i rencistów	1 201 zł
Przedszkola, podstawówki, gimnazja i szkoły średnie	2 078 zł
Szkolnictwo wyższe	518 zł
Pomoc społeczna, wsparcie dla bezrobotnych	1 547 zł
Rodzina 500+	589 zł
Ochrona zdrowia	2 534 zł
Wojsko	855 zł
Policja, straż pożarna, straż graniczna, BOR, ABW, AW i CBA	487 zł
Sądy i więzienia	333 zł
Drogi krajowe	545 zł
Drogi samorządowe	733 zł
Pozostałe wydatki na transport	308 zł
Kolej i tory	396 zł
Administracja rządowa	381 zł
Administracja samorządowa	605 zł
Administracja ZUS, KRUS i NFZ	132 zł
Urzędy naczelnych organów władzy państwowej, kontroli	71 zł
i ochrony prawa oraz sądownictwa	
Ochrona środowiska	611 zł
Rolnictwo, leśnictwo i rybołówstwo	383 zł
Kultura	301 zł
Sport i wypoczynek	182 zł
Składka do budżetu UE	490 zł
Inne	1 204 zł
Koszt obsługi długu publicznego	826 zł
RAZEM	23 135 zł

Łącznie wydatki publiczne w 2018 roku były o 202 zł wyższe od dochodów. W rezultacie tego deficytu oraz osłabienia kursu polskiej waluty, dług publiczny w przeliczeniu na jednego mieszkańca wzrósł do poziomu 27 214 zł i był o 730 zł wyższy niż w 2017 roku.



www.dlugpubliczny.org.pl
www.sprawdzpodatki.pl
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www.for.org.pl

of obtaining data for all 61 thousand entities and adjusting the cash flow between them, the Bill from the State includes a balancing item "Other".

The "Bill from the State" presents the state expenditure per average citizen deliberately in a very simplified way.

The amount of taxes and contributions a person pays depends on how much they earn and what they buy. On the website prepared by FOR sprawdzpodatki.pl everyone can check how many taxes and contributions are included in the salary of any amount. By giving an additional estimation of the amount of purchases, everyone can receive their own, individualized bill from the state.

Knowledge of the structure and size of state spending is essential, as the lack of such knowledge makes it impossible for Poles to assess and control irresponsible promises made by politicians.

CIVIL DEVELOPMENT FORUM PROTECTS THE RULE OF LAW

We are convinced that a prerequisite for the success of the solutions we propose is to guarantee an appropriate level of rule of law. In recent years we have witnessed an unprecedented decline in the quality of the rule of law in Poland. As the title of one of our analyses says: “Without independent courts, the economy develops more slowly and civil freedoms are under threat”.

In the last year, the FOR has been very active in the area of the rule of law. As a member of the Komitet Obrony Sprawiedliwości – KOS (Committee for the Defence of Justice – KOS), we cooperated with several non-governmental organizations (including associations of judges and prosecutors) organizing assistance for lawyers affected by disciplinary proceedings and other types of repression. Together with our partners, we participated in many events, presenting information to the public on the state of compliance with the rule of law by Polish authorities. Participation in the work of KOS allowed us to establish a dialogue with the institutions of the European Union, supporting us in our efforts to restore the rule of law – thanks to this we are able to provide reliable and independent information about the situation in Poland. We have also been personally involved in proceedings before Polish and EU courts concerning the rule of law.

The year 2019 is also a new initiative of FOR, within the framework of which we cooperate with the Osiatyński Archive and the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights. By joining forces, we managed to launch an English language service on the rule of law in Poland – Rule of Law in Poland (ruleoflaw.pl). With the help of our partners we are able to reach out to foreign NGOs, academics or diplomats with a professional message about the situation in Poland. This is a unique initiative thanks to which we cooperate closely with organizations with which we may have different views on many issues on a daily basis.

We believe that ensuring a proper level of rule of law is an overriding value, more important than everyday differences of opinion. With the help of professional translators, we provide recipients with detailed information about the crisis around the rule of law in Poland, which is often appreciated by our foreign partners. We believe that this valuable project can be continued in the coming years.

Through the FOR's commitment to the rule of law, we also have the opportunity to work with the experts on the rule of law who are recognized in Europe and with whom we make diagnoses and recommendations in this important area. We have become one of the leading centres on this issue, allowing us to actively participate in many efforts to restore the rule of law, not only at national but also at European level.

We also continue our own initiatives, taking part in strategic court proceedings – recently we have specialized in matters concerning openness of public life and independence of courts. Last year we led, among other things, to the Supreme Administrative Court issuing a favourable verdict in the already famous case of disclosure of letters of support for members of the new NCJ. In 2020 we want to be able to act actively also in this area.

Finally, as part of our regular reports and analyses, we have presented the negative effects of increasing the control of politicians over courts and prosecutors' offices, dealing with common myths about the justice system. By focusing our diagnoses from a constitutional and EU perspective, we have gained the trust of leading media as constant commentators on changes in the law and related threats to the state system.

There is no freedom without the rule of law. When the rule of law is violated, our commitment to this issue has been natural and, as it turns out, very effective. We hope that in the coming years there will be even more publicity for our initiatives in this area.



FOR-LETTER

In 2019, we launched a new edition our newsletter, namely FOR-letter!

FOR-letter is an overview of the week's most important information from the world of freedom and the topics undertaken by the Civil Development Forum.

We send out the subsequent editions once a week, every Thursday.

Why is it worth subscribing to FOR-letter?

- it contains the most important information from the world of freedom in one place,
- in a flood of information on the Internet, our experts point out the topics worthy of attention in the economy, politics and foreign affairs,
- is an antidote to the populism of politicians and interest groups.

Subscriptions to FOR-letter: newsletter.for.org.pl

AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE NEWSLETTER

Additionally, every two weeks we issue a newsletter in English for our English-speaking readers, in which we present the latest publications of FOR experts and comment on the latest events from Poland and abroad.

It is an important source of information for embassies, chambers of commerce, international organizations, friendly foreign think-tanks and foreign correspondents in Poland.

Subscriptions to the English-language newsletter: newsletter.for.org.pl/en



FREE MARKET ROAD SHOW 2019 IN WARSAW

FREEDOM IN EUROPE IN THE RUN-UP TO THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

On 3 April 2019, Warsaw was once again hosted the Free Market Road Show conference, which took place at the University of Warsaw. This is an annual English-language event, organized in more than 30 European cities.



Ivan Miklos, former Minister of Finance of Slovakia, was the first speaker. He noted that “freedom, open society and liberal democracy are currently under threat”. The threat to them comes from both the right and the left. Miklos pointed to erroneous political actions taken at the European Union level: migration policy, social policy and quantitative easing. However, despite its problems, the EU plays a great role in defending freedom. He gave examples of how the EU defended economic freedom from the statist government in Slovakia. According to Miklos, the convergence of competitiveness is needed, a policy that would push less competitive countries to undertake more reforms strengthening economic freedom.

The next speaker was **Richard Zundritsch**, representing the Austrian Economics Center. He pointed out the overregulation as a Hayekian way to enslavement. He also noted that “inevitably too much central planning and organization leads to a lack of freedom and dictatorship”. As a historical illustration of his thesis, he pointed to socialist planning in Central and Eastern Europe.

The third speaker was **Marcin Nowacki** from the Association of Entrepreneurs and Employers. At the beginning he noted that “Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia are excellent examples of economies that have benefited greatly from the four European freedoms”. He added, however, that the growing protectionism on the EU market raises concerns. As examples, he pointed to the food market and transport sector, where better developed countries use national and EU regulations to protect their companies from Central and Eastern European competitors.

Karol Zdybel, associated with the Polish Mises Institute, agreed that so far European integration has been a success story. He added that European nations believe so, as the polls confirm. Zdybel tried to answer the question why, on the one hand, people seem to be satisfied with the EU, and on the other hand, anti-EU movements are gaining in importance. He agreed that some of the allegations against the EU are justified from the perspective of classical liberalism, pointing here to the growing lack of transparency of EU bodies.

The topic of **Leszek Balcerowicz’s** speech was “Globalization and its Critics”. At the beginning, Leszek Balcerowicz noted that “every social process can be analysed from three perspectives: economic, political and moral”. He stressed that it is a mistake to “focus on the losers and not to mention the winners”, and this is the perspective of nationalistic ethics that does not take into account the fate of people from other countries. He also pointed to the mutual benefits of free trade.

The topic of the second panel was “Illiberal movements in Europe and other countries. Are they a threat to freedom”. The first question concerned populism and its relations with Donald Trump, Brexit, Victor Orban and the situation in Poland. **Dan Mitchell** from Cato Institute stated that it is a mistake to compare the populism practiced by Trump and Kaczyński. He noted that in political terms, Donald Trump’s and Brexit’s populism differs from what is currently happening in Europe. He emphasized that in the American elections, as in the case of Brexit, people voted for lesser evil.

Edit Zgut from the European Centre of the University of Warsaw indicated that the spread of populism is caused by increasing centralization of power. As an example, she gave the fact that in Hungary almost all media are under the control of those in power and propagate governmental propaganda, while the activity of civil organizations is very limited. According to Zgut, this only aggravates the situation there, because people often change their attitudes very quickly, supporting the actions of the government.

Cris Lingle from Francisco Marroquin University in Guatemala indicated that populism is a serious problem. “It will be difficult to maintain democracy.” – he said. He added that the new legislation is mainly about taking away from ones and giving to others. Currently in many countries there is a redistribution game, politicians are gaining more power and people are losing their freedom, Lingle emphasized.

Leszek Jajdzewski, editor at “Liberte!”, noted that people in Poland used to believe that democracy will last forever and defeat all other systems. However, the opinion that democracy is resilient and durable will always be wrong, as Jajdzewski pointed out. He added that one should realize that democratic states are weakening. As an example, he gave the United States, which is politically stronger than China, but which is catching up with the US in economic terms.

FULL REPORT ON THE FOR WEBSITE: WWW.FOR.ORG.PL

FOR RESEARCH AREAS

PUBLIC FINANCES

We propose how we should reduce public expenditure. This is the only responsible way to cut taxes significantly, to gradually pay back public debt and to sustainably accelerate economic growth.

RULE OF LAW

We point out the dangers of legal changes that undermine the rule of law and violate the constitutional order. We look at the quality of legislative processes and decisions taken by public institutions.

LABOUR MARKET

We analyse government projects in terms of employment growth in Poland. At the same time, while researching the experiences of other countries, we look for good practices that, when transferred to Poland, can make more Poles find a job.

EUROPEAN UNION

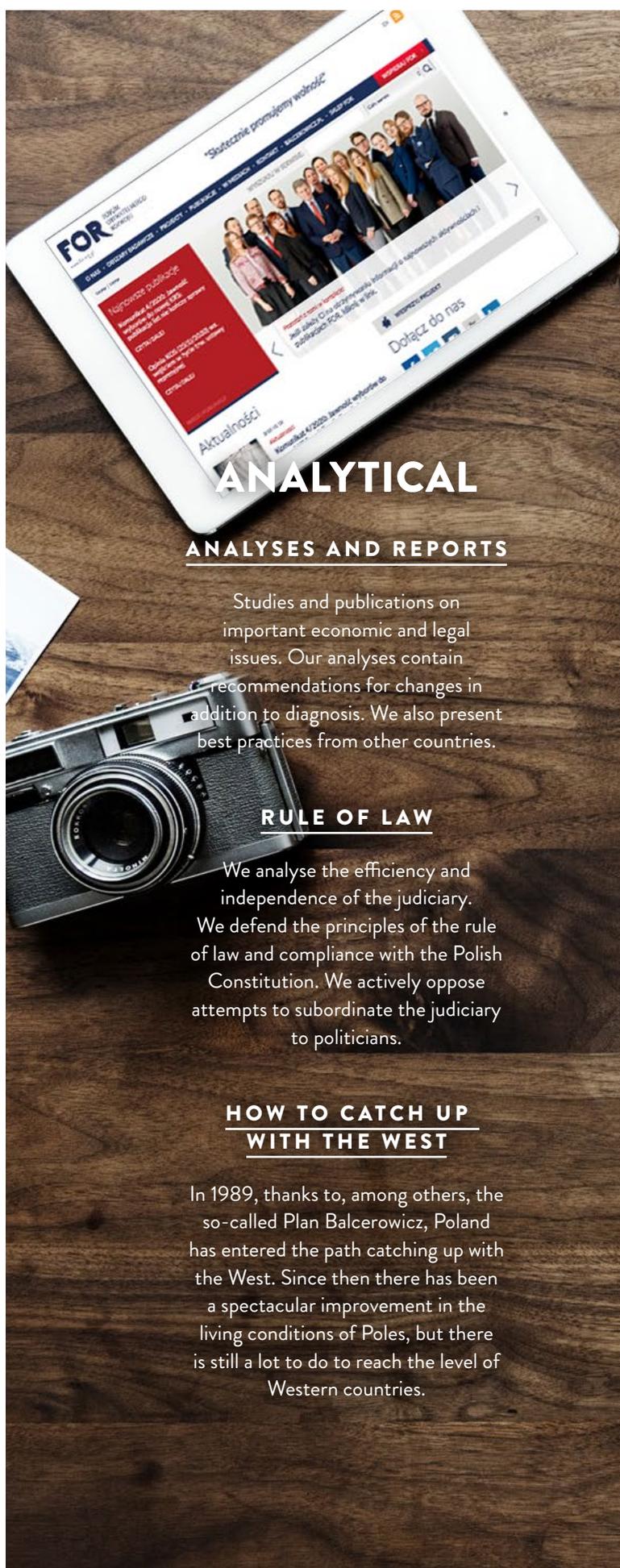
We analyse draft EU directives, regulations and other documents in terms of the impact of EU proposals on economic freedom and civil liberties, and above all, how they translate into the development of Poland and other member states.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM

We take systematic action against anti-freedom influences and support proposals that increase freedom and individual responsibility. More economic freedom is the best recipe for rapid development and improved living conditions.

JUDICIARY

We monitor the legislative process in the entire judiciary system. We examine the efficiency and independence of the justice system and recommend actions aimed at eliminating errors in its functioning. We defend the independence of the judiciary from politicians and guard the integrity of public debate in this area.



ANALYTICAL

ANALYSES AND REPORTS

Studies and publications on important economic and legal issues. Our analyses contain recommendations for changes in addition to diagnosis. We also present best practices from other countries.

RULE OF LAW

We analyse the efficiency and independence of the judiciary. We defend the principles of the rule of law and compliance with the Polish Constitution. We actively oppose attempts to subordinate the judiciary to politicians.

HOW TO CATCH UP WITH THE WEST

In 1989, thanks to, among others, the so-called Plan Balcerowicz, Poland has entered the path catching up with the West. Since then there has been a spectacular improvement in the living conditions of Poles, but there is still a lot to do to reach the level of Western countries.



FOR projects

WATCHDOG

RULE OF LAW

A new initiative of FOR, in the framework of which we cooperate with the Osiatyński Archive and the Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights. Joining forces, we have managed to launch an English-language service on the rule of law in Poland – Rule of Law in Poland (ruleoflaw.pl). With the help of our partners we are able to reach out to foreign NGOs, academics or diplomats with professional information about the situation in Poland.

DEBT COUNTER

One of the first FOR projects. The counter indicates the amount of the national public debt. Since 2013, the counter shows the hidden debt (in the pension system) in addition to the open debt. The counter in the form of a light screen is located in the centre of Warsaw and on the website dlugpubliczny.org.pl

SPRAWDZPODATKI.PL

An innovative platform that allows for an easy way of checking what part of the remuneration is given back to the state in the form of all taxes and contributions. The aim of the mechanism is to show that the taxes and public expenses we pay are two sides of the same coin.

EDUCATIONAL

THE LESZEK BALCEROWICZ SCHOOL

Seminars for high school and university students conducted by renowned economists, lawyers, journalists and entrepreneurs. Over 500 people from all over Poland have already graduated from the LB School.

ECONOMIC COMICS

Competition for the best comic books on economic issues. The comics, together with lesson plans for the subjects Entrepreneurship and Social Knowledge, go to thousands of schools in Poland. As part of the project we organize trainings and conferences for teachers and lessons for students.

1989 MUSEUM

There has never been such a story about the Polish transformation before. The events of 1989 are presented in the form of a virtual museum, accessible to every computer or smartphone owner. An internet user gets to know the past by “immersing themselves” in historical spaces reconstructed in 3D: among others, the interior of an apartment in the communist Poland, the Round Table meeting room, the “Solidarity” electoral staff in a former “Niespodzianka” café. The exhibition – addressed mainly to pupils and students – combines a modern form of communication with a comprehensive historical narrative.

FOR activity abroad

ABOUT THE SUCCESS OF THE TRANSFORMATION AT THE 4LIBERTY.EU NETWORK

FOR was involved in the activities of the think-tanks network from Central and Eastern Europe, 4Liberty.eu Network, which is supported by the Friedrich Naumann Foundation. The website of the network regularly publishes articles by FOR analysts and our Foundation's experts take part in meetings and conferences organized by 4Liberty.eu. In April 2019, another issue of the "4Liberty.eu Review" magazine devoted to regulations was published. "Small Is Not Always Beautiful, Especially When Aided by (Polish) Government". In the September issue of the magazine, which addressed the topic of transformation, there was a text "It's Not Only the Economy, Stupid: Progress in Poland after Socialism" by the Vice-President of FOR, Marek Tatała.



MEETING OF EPICENTER NETWORK IN WARSAW

The Civil Development Forum, as the only organization from Poland, belongs to EPICENTER Network – a European network of recognized freedom think-tanks that share a common vision of a society based on economic freedom, personal freedom and the limited role of the state in human life. One of the network's meetings in 2019 was organized in Warsaw by FOR. Marek Tatała spoke at the EPICENTER conference devoted to the Nanny State Index, and FOR supported other projects of the network, e.g. Authoritarian Populism Index and published texts on the EPICENTER website, among others on the rule of law in Poland.

FOR ON THE RULE OF LAW AT THE ATLAS NETWORK CONFERENCE

The FOR is also part of the Atlas Network, an international network of about 500 non-governmental freedom organizations from over 90 countries around the world. FOR experts regularly participate in conferences and trainings organized by the Atlas Network. Marek Tatała gave a speech on threats to freedom and the rule of law in Poland during the "Europe Liberty Forum" in Athens, and was one of the co-organizers of the first edition of the "Global Influencer Summit". Moreover, the Civic Development Blog published eight articles from the "World of Freedom" series, inspired by the activities and successes of freedom organizations from Atlas Network.



RELIABLE INFORMATION ABOUT POLAND ABROAD

FOR experts have been quoted many times in foreign media, e.g. on economic policy, the attacks of the ruling party on the rule of law and on the transformation in Poland. Our comments have been published in "Financial Times", "Reuters", "Politico" or "BBC Radio". The FOR headquarters regularly held meetings with foreign correspondents accredited in Poland. An important channel of communication on the rule of law was the ruleoflaw.pl portal co-created by FOR. Moreover, FOR analysts took part in meetings with representatives of diplomatic missions, foreign chambers of commerce, NGOs from other countries and international institutions. This shows that we are an important and reliable source of information on the situation in Poland for many entities not only in Poland but also abroad.

FOR FINANCING

The activities of the FOR are financed by donations from supporters, individuals and private companies who share the belief that civil and economic freedoms and the rule of law are the basis of a good life for each of us.

The FOR does not use government funds or carry out commissioned analyses in order to remain fully independent. The selection of the analysis and publication topics, as well as the research and think-tank activity agenda, depends exclusively on the decision of the Foundation's Council and Board of Directors, and the results of our research, analyses and publications are the result of the work of their authors and FOR experts.

In 2019 almost 95 per cent of the Foundation's revenues came from private donors, including both individuals and companies (business donors). The remaining part of the budget came from grants from foundations and foreign organizations (including in connection with the scientific cooperation of FOR in international research programs and conferences) and in a small part from business activities (book publications and participation in joint educational projects).

We are proud that our current activity gains more and more supporters every year, ready to provide financial support to FOR. The number of donations for statutory purposes and individual projects of the FOR is constantly growing.

We believe that the activities conducted by the FOR Foundation will find a source of funding in the active attitude of people involved in building civil society. Thank you!

FOR SKLEP

FORUM
OBYWATELSKIEGO
ROZWOJU

In the middle of the year we launched an online shop.

On the website sklep.for.org.pl you can buy Leszek Balcerowicz's publications – among others, "Lech. Leszek. Wygrać wolność" [Lech. Leszek. To win the freedom] and "Trzeba się bić z PiS z o Polskę" [One has to fight with the Law and Justice party for Poland], books from the "FOR Poleca" [FOR Recommends] series, as well as gadgets with the Foundation's logo (badges, notebooks).

We would like to invite you to support our activities also in this way – all income obtained from the shop is allocated to the statutory activities of FOR.



I am glad that every year our activity gains more and more supporters who share the belief that civil and economic freedoms and the rule of law are the basis of a good life for each of us. We try to work together to achieve our statutory mission, involving experts, specialists and volunteers. By supporting the FOR, you become an important part of our Foundation and build civil society.



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BY DONATING EVEN
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