

# THERE IS NO FREEDOM WITHOUT SOLIDARITY

30 years of *Gazeta Wyborcza*



Photo: Anna Bielak/AG

gazeta  
KONSTITUCJA '97

30  
LAT

GAZETA

wyborcza

NAM NIE JEST WSZYSTKO JEDNO



Photo: Sławomir Sierżputowski/AG



Photo: Sławomir Sierżputowski/AG



Photo: Tomasz Wierzejski/AG

▲ Editorial meetings in the first hedaquarter of *Gazeta Wyborcza* - a nursery at Iwicka street

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**Adam Michnik**  
Editor-in-Chief

**T**hirty years ago, we started more than modestly, on the premises of a former nursery. Editorial meetings sometimes took place in the sandbox. There was little space for anything as the journalists wrote their articles sitting at low children tables.

The first edition of *Gazeta Wyborcza* opened with the words of Lech Wałęsa, "There is no freedom without Solidarity". Since then, *Gazeta Wyborcza* has changed beyond recognition, as has Poland.

Today, *Gazeta Wyborcza* is part of a media group listed on the stock exchange. It is growing dynamically on the internet, and for the last thirty years, it has remained an important, opinion-setting voice in the Polish debate.

We were born when Poland was reborn. We are also a part of the great historical success - civic, economic and democratic - although the Polish democracy today is being tested in the fight with the nationalist/populist government.

Our ideal has always been a free Poland and human freedom in Poland. Poland, a common homeland for all its citizens. Poland of truth and reconciliation, dialogue and tolerance. Poland, a state without hostility and hate. Poland secure within NATO and democratic within the European Union.

Today, *Gazeta Wyborcza* is being taken over by a new generation. Still, we all are thinking with gratitude about our readers who have remained faithful and who usually begin their correspondence to us with sacred words: "My name is Jan Kowalski and I have been a reader of *Gazeta Wyborcza* since the first edition..."

I can assure you of one thing, our Friends and Readers - that even as the years pass on, we will never stop caring for Poland, and that democracy, free courts, human rights, the Constitution and Europe will always have a devoted defender in *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

Adam Michnik

# gazeta WYBORCZA

Nie ma wolności bez Solidarności



Cena 50 zł  
Numer pierwszy (1/89)  
Poniedziałek  
8 maja 1989  
Redakcja:  
Warszawa, Iwicka 19,  
tel. 412080, 411410  
Wydawca: „Agora” s-ka z o.o.  
Skład i druk: ZG DSP  
Nr indeksu: 350141, A-38  
Nakład 150 tys. egz.

## PZPR:

### Będą nas skreślać

Zakończona w piątek Krajowa Konferencja Delegatów PZPR po ostrych sporach potępiła okres stalinizmu w Polsce. Rozmowa, choć dość lagodna, wypadła w głosowaniu najłatwiej ze wszystkich przyjętych dokumentów. Ponadto w dość nielubianej deklaracji wyborczej napisano dla przeciwwagi: „40-letni trud naszego narodu (...) nie pomógł na marne”.

## ZSL:

### Wymiana dachu

Czy zmieniać Zjednoczone Stronnictwo Ludowe, czy też z niego wychodzić? — zapytał jeden z mówców na niedzielnym spotkaniu w auli warszawskiej Szkoły Głównej Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego. I odpowiedział sam sobie: — Fundamenty są zdrowe, tylko dach trzeba zmienić.

Było to już drugie spotkanie członków ZSL z całej Polski. Chęć przekształcić Stronnictwo w ogólnopolską partię nawiązującą do tradycji PSL z lat 30-tych i 40-tych. Dąga do zwolnienia nadzwyczajnego zjazdu Stronnictwa (na zwyczajny trzeba by czekać 3 lata) i w tym celu powołali w niedzielę Społeczną Naczelną Komisję Kongresową. Władze ZSL nazywają to działalnością rozbijacką i odrzucają żądanie zwolnienia zjazdu. (leg)

## Lech Wałęsa:

### Droży Czytelnicy

Oto, po z górą czterdziestu latach, pierwszy w Polsce, a chyba i w całym bloku radzieckim, wielkonakładowy dziennik niezależny. Przez „normalny” rozumiany taki, który stara się przede wszystkim informować — wszechstronnie, szybko i obiektywnie, wyraźnie oddzielając komentarz od informacji. Takie gazety znamy dotąd tylko ze słyszenia, teraz zamierzamy je robić. W miarę możliwości już teraz, będą jeszcze gazeta wyborcza i w odległej przyszłości, gdy zastaniemy po prostu dziennikiem.

Jesteśmy grupą kilkudziesięciu dziennikarzy, z różnym doświadczeniem zawodowym. W większości przypadków obejmujemy one również pracę drugiego obiegu. Gazeta powstaje w wyniku porozumienia swawolnego przy „okrągłym stole”, ale sami ją wydajemy i redagujemy na własną odpowiedzialność.

Chcemy się związać z „Solidarnością”, lecz zamierzamy przedstawiać poglądy i opinie całego niezależnego społeczeństwa, różnych opozycyjnych kierunków.

Chcemy na wstępie wyznaczyć parę ramy. Gazeta jest mała, bo na taki tylko rozmiar, przy nakładzie pół miliona, pozwala nasz papier, który nam podstawa sprzedaje. Jest przy tym droga, gdyż mamy tego papieru za mało, aby drukować ogłoszenia, jak inne gazety, a nikt nam nie pokryje deficytu. Jeśli chcecie, droższy Czytelnicy, mieć wolną prasę, poprzyście ją, kupując naszą gazetę.

Zespół redakcyjny



„Żeby było inaczej i lepiej musimy te wybory wygrać”

Fot. Jarosław M. Goliszewski

Nie ma wolności bez „Solidarności”.

Wypiliśmy to hasło na naszych sztafardach i pozostaliśmy mu wierni przez długich siedem lat działalności podziemnej. I cnota wytrwałości została wynagrodzona — mamy dzisiaj naszą „Solidarności”.

Miesiąc zaledwie mija od podpisania porozumienia zawartego przy „okrągłym stole”, a już mamy nie tylko swój związek zawodowy, ale i program wyborczy, kandydatów do Sejmu i Senatu, no i wreszcie „Gazetę Wyborczą”, pierwszy niezależny dziennik między Łabą a Pacyfikiem. I on już zostanie na stałe.

Zyje się nam ciężko. Od porozumienia „okrągłego stołu” nie przybyło ludziom ani pieniędzy, ani chleba. Ale przybyło trochę nadziei, że będzie lepiej.

Potrzebujemy teraz mądrości i jedności. Mamy przecież wspaniałych ludzi. Mamy dobrą koniunkturę międzynarodową. Mamy pewność, że proponowane przez nas reformy są w Polsce potrzebne. Przed sobą zaś mamy wybory do Sejmu i Senatu, gdzie po raz pierwszy wybierać będziemy własnych kandydatów.

Ludzie pytają: Co będzie dalej? Co będzie za cztery lata? Żeby było inaczej i lepiej, musimy te wybory wygrać.

Widzę, że każdego dnia szanse nasze rosną i coraz lepiej dajemy sobie radę. Z „Gazetą” pójdzie nam jeszcze lepiej.

*Lech Wałęsa*

# PRYMAS POLSKI

## rozmawia z Wałęsą o wyborach

5.V. Prymas Polski, kardynał Józef Glemp, przyjął przewodniczącego NSZZ „Solidarność” Lecha Wałęsę oraz:

Zbigniewa Bujaka, Bronisława Geremka, Tadeusza Mazowieckiego, Andrzeja Stelmachowskiego, Witolda Trzcińskiego, Andrzeja Wierłowickiego.

Władze radzieckie wyraziły zgodę na przyjazd do Gruzji delegacji Międzynarodowego Czerwonego Krzyża, która ma pomóc w określaniu składu chemicznego gazu użytego w „krwawą niedzielę” w Tbilisi 19.V. Pofermował o tym Andrzej Sacharow, uczestniczący w pracach Komisji powołanej na wniosek Rady Najwyższej Gruzji. Według Sacharowa jest to bezpośredni wynik prajli ro-

dzinnym. Wskazał także na wagę sprawy ochrony życia nienarodzonych, przypominając, że ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko uznawał ten problem za szczególnie doniosły. Kościół przywiązuje do tego zagadnienia szczególną wagę. Ksiądz prymas podkreślił, że kwestia ochrony życia nienarodzonych nie może być przedmiotem gry politycznej, ani eseny kasdydów na posłów i senatorów.

Wymieniono poglądy na temat spraw organizacyjnych powstającego NSZZ „S”, jego struktur regionalnych i zakładowych oraz na temat formowania się niezależnej prasy.

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## Gruzja chce znać prawdę

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# Gazeta Wyborcza

## ALL ABOUT ELECTIONS AGAIN



Jarosław Kurski  
First Deputy Editor-in-Chief



Jerzy Wójcik  
Publisher

Thirty years ago the democratic opposition led by Lech Wałęsa under the banner of Solidarity sat down for discussions with its hated enemy - the communist party. Until then, both sides spoke to each other with the language of conflict: protests, strikes, rocks, police batons, tear gas and intern camps. There were also deadly bullets. Martial law claimed several dozen lives. And then something amazing happened. Poles, instead of dying on the barricades, which has been a tradition, decided to talk. Not even one window was broken. The Round Table brought partially free elections and free press.

This is why *Gazeta Wyborcza* in Polish means the Election Gazette. Because as the first independent newspaper in the Soviet bloc from the Elbe to Vladivostok was to present to the Polish citizens the first really independent and democratic candidates to the new national Parliament and Senate.

It worked. All but one of the Solidarity candidates won seats in the new parliament. To commemorate that victory we kept the name *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Although today we give this an additional meaning.

Each edition of our newspaper is a choice for us. Each day we choose: democracy, separation of powers, respect of the constitution, human rights, free speech, conscious and faith, equality under the law, tolerance, separation of Church and State, Europe. We choose everything that speaks to the character of our newspaper: on the one hand, about the liberal dimension of an individual and solidarity in the social dimension.

A democratic society is an aware and well-informed society. In order for a traditional newspaper that we were 30 years ago not to get lost in the era of information and information technology revolution, we must be co-creating this revolution. And even though a large part of our output (100,000 copies on average) can be bought in kiosks in as a printed copy, an even larger

part (180,000) directly reaches the computer, tablet and phone screens of our modern readers in the form of a paid subscription. They are our ambassador as they share our content on Facebook and Twitter. Although it still happens that, like in the good old days, on the streets paper couriers hand out *Gazeta Suwerena*, which many times has delivered information and words of support to people who in huge numbers have turned to the streets to defend democracy, the Constitutional Tribunal, free courts, free media and teachers.

There is no editorial independence without financial independence. Fortunately, our readers are the main guardians of our independence, who testify this each day through their decision to buy our newspaper both in the analogue and digital worlds.

This is a great responsibility for us. We feel that we are more to them than just a source of information, of which there are many in the internet world. We are THEIR newspaper, which describes and co-defines their world.

Through our mission, expressed in the words “It’s not all the same to us” and “There is no freedom without solidarity”, from the very first editions of *Gazeta Wyborcza* it became not just a free medium, but an institution of civic life.

This year is unique because it brings together all of the anniversaries in which *Gazeta Wyborcza* played an essential part. The first non-communist prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, took office 30 years ago after Adam Michnik’s article, “Your president, our prime minister”. Twenty years ago, Poland joined NATO, leaving behind our national and historical fatalism. Fifteen years ago we became a member of the European Union. Our membership changed the face of Poland...

There is a saying in Poland: “Don’t worry about how bad it is because it will get better. Only worry when it’s good because it will get worse”. Unfortunately, we did not worry enough. We overslept a little. We decided that democracy

has been given to us for good and it can only get better. We fell victim to our Polish fatalism.

Today we are back to the beginning. On our 30th anniversary, our fate has looped back on itself. *Gazeta Wyborcza* is again Election Gazette.

*Gazeta Wyborcza* is not just 450 journalists and editors. It is not just 804 people in Warsaw and 21 local newsrooms. *Gazeta Wyborcza* is You.

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# Digital FIRST



**Danuta Breguła**  
Head of Digital Strategy



**Mateusz Szaniewski**  
Subscription Marketing Team

The readership of *Gazeta Wyborcza* has continued to grow in recent years thanks to digital subscriptions. We have more than 170,000 of them, giving us the 15th spot in the world. At the same time, thanks to joining the digital world, we are rediscovering the value of journalism and are guaranteeing it a future.

In February 2014, hardly anybody predicted success. *Gazeta Wyborcza* was the first daily in Poland that decided that readers should pay for news and articles on the internet. Thanks to a digital subscription, readers have full access to our articles. And we write a lot of them - 400-500 each day. Without a subscription, access to them is limited.

The system was a hit from the start. At the end of 2014, we had 55,000 paid digital subscriptions. Since then we have ended each year well ahead of our own, ambitious goals.

In 2022, *Gazeta Wyborcza* wants to have 327,000 digital subscribers. In 2018, we had 170,000. This is the 15th highest number in the world, even though we compete with newspapers with a global reach.

The Online Strategy team is responsible for the everyday contact with subscribers. We create offers, build sales systems, serve clients and care about the money and the satisfaction of our readers.

We are a team that helps change the way we all work at the newspaper. We cooperate with virtually all of the departments. Key to success is the daily talks and meetings with the newsroom because it is the heart of the newspaper. We talk about the figures, show a new approach in which journalists can discover new value in their articles. We are working on an intelligent and effective transformation of journalism in a digital world.

This required completely new skills that had previously not been seen at the newspaper. Some member of the team have news experience, but many came to us from other businesses. We have people specialising in UX, performance marketing, business analysts and those with e-commerce experience. And who would have thought that a newspaper would need a copywriter?

But this range of specialists gives us the power to effectively transform the newspaper, discover why the readers are on board and how to invite new generations of readers.

Of course, this transformation has a direct effect on our company's financial results. The business model is changing. Today, 21 percent of *Gazeta Wyborcza's* revenue comes from digital sources. Importantly, most of the revenue comes from the readers, not advertisers. This highlights, even more, our responsibility to our loyal readers who trust us.

These are not random readers. A subscriber visits our services four times as much on average than a non-paying user. And when she visits, she spends three times as much time here than other readers.

Each new subscriber gives us the green light to take on difficult journalistic investigations, time-consuming series, reports and the protection of civil liberties and democratic order. Our journalists regularly win the most important national awards. Their acknowledged work is possible thanks to the support of loyal readers.

Subscribers clearly value the content, which we also see as the most valuable: our investigations or reports in *Large Format*, our weekly with in-depth reporting. Many subscriptions regularly bring articles from *Gazeta Wyborcza's* local newsrooms. This was clearly seen in the autumn of 2018. Local reporting is our great strength.

In the summer of 2017, we could see how the involvement of our newsroom in important civic causes translates into results. The readers could see that we were together with them on the city streets in protests that lasted several weeks in the defence of the independent judiciary. We provided 24/7 coverage. It was *Wyborcza.pl* where they received full information but also felt a sense of community.

This community of values is very important to us. You can see it in charity drives, which we conduct in important moments, such as during

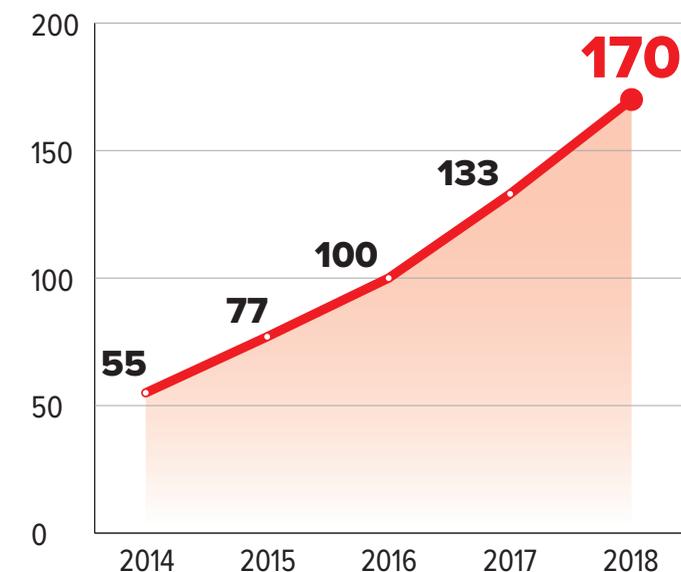
the teacher's strike or protest of the handicapped people. Together with our readers, we stand to defend those in need. They buy access to our articles and we transfer the money to a worthy cause.

The community can be also seen every day in our comments section. Only subscribers have access to the discussions because we value their opinion the most. We can see which texts they appreciate and how they comment on them. We have to be careful because every error will be spotted.

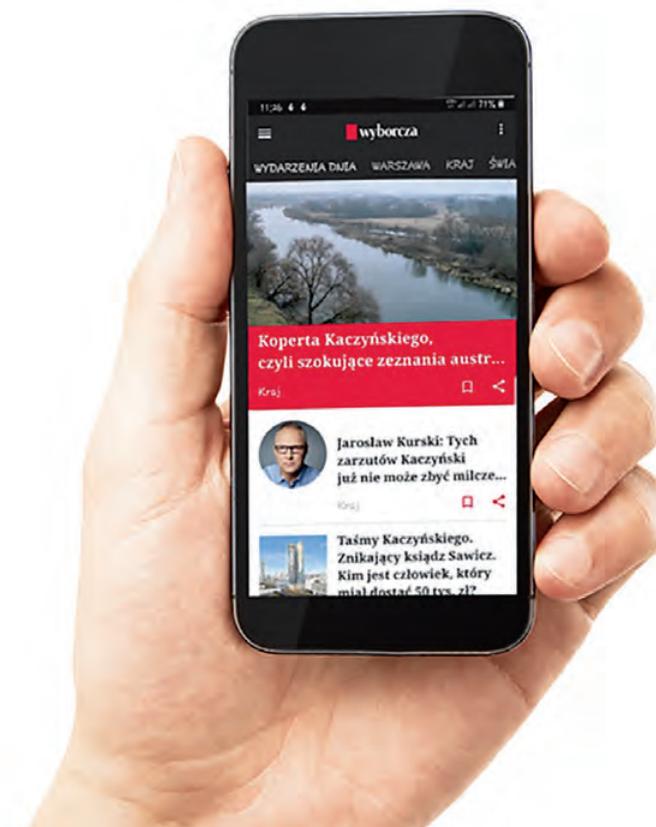
The conclusions are encouraging: those who are always with us expect high quality. They only want proven, reliable information. This is the content worth writing. This is great news in the era of fake news, half-truths and the free circulation of pseudo-information.

We believe that the foundation of our success in digital subscriptions is respect for loyal readers. The subscribers are our reference point. We want to deliver our most interesting articles to them, the people who are really interested in good journalism. Every day we aim not to disappoint their trust.

**Number of digital subscriptions (in thousands)**



Digital subscriptions team ▶



▲ *Gazeta Wyborcza's* mobile app

Quality and independent journalism has its price that is worth paying. I enjoy reading online, it has lots of benefits, like comment section, where you can confront your views with others.



**Beata Łyżwa-Sokół**  
Head of Photo Department  
and Agencja Gazeta

If you were to divide the 10 million photos from the archive Agencja Gazeta, which was launched in 1994 by *Gazeta Wyborcza's* photo department, by the number of days since then, you would learn that around 1,000 photos are created every day. They depict the current events in Poland and in the world in the paper edition of the newspaper and magazines, appear on the internet pages of *Wyborcza.pl* and *Gazeta.pl* and many other news media, including Reuters, the world's largest photo news agency.

# WORLD IN IMAGES



Photo: Bartosz Banika



Photo: Agata Grzybowska



Photo: Adam Stepien

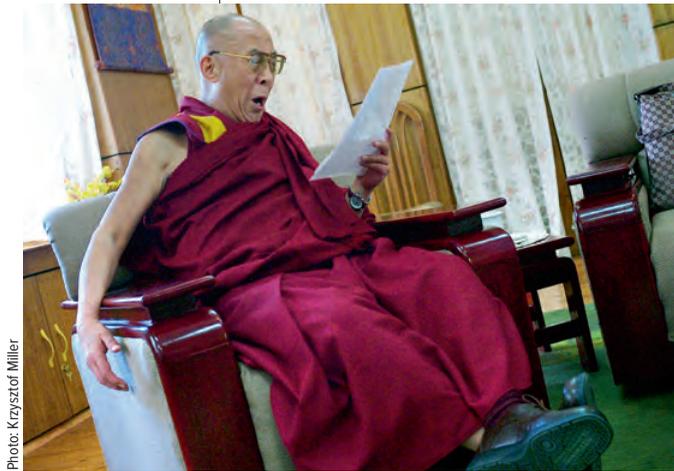


Photo: Krzysztof Miller



Photo: Krzysztof Miller



Photo: Sławomir Kamiński



Photo: Sławomir Kamiński



Photo: Kuba Atyś



Photo: Agnieszka Sadowska



Photo: Adam Stepien



Photo: Krzysztof Miller

And yet, photos are not just numbers, but stories. The most important ones, painting the history of Poland and the world over the last 30 years, and those less spectacular, depicting the fate of individual people in the furthest corners of the world. Over the last three decades, the photo reporters of Agencja Gazeta have documented the changes in Poland, Romania, Russia, the Czech Republic, Hungary and South Africa. They took readers to the armed conflicts, coups and revolutions in places like Ukraine, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Congo and Rwanda. They documented the visits of the greatest statesmen and papal visits; painted the portraits of outstanding artists. From the early days, they are close to people, revealing them with exceptional sensitivity in their moments of success, but also in the middle of the most painful defeats or tragedy.

Agencja Gazeta represents dozens of photographers, winners of prestigious prizes in competitions that include World Press Photo, Grand Press Photo, BZ WBK Press Photo and Polish Press Photo Competition.

# Wyborcza IS YOU



**Waldemar Paś**  
Head of Readers' Engagement Department

*Wyborcza is You (Wyborcza to Wy)* is a newsroom initiative that opens up *Gazeta Wyborcza* to its readers. Every week we set aside several columns in the national section of the newspaper for letters from readers and opinions of social media users important for the public debate.

**W**yborcza is You is also surveys conducted among the users of wyborcza.pl. Thanks to these surveys we learn the views of our readers about their core views and political preferences.

The team at *Wyborcza is You* immediately reacts to the groundbreaking developments that take place in Poland by, for example, preparing a free edition of *Gazeta Suwerena* that describe events such as the protests in defence of the courts in July 2017 and again in July 2018. In May 2018, *Gazeta Suwerena* accompanied the protests of the handicapped in the Sejm.

In April 2019, the newsroom published a free *Gazeta* for teachers, students and parents for the first days on the teachers' strike. The special editions are distributed in Poland's largest cities. During such events, interaction with the readers is especially important. Before the teachers' strike, we invited readers representing this profession to describe their workday. This way we created a service called "My teacher's day" - letters from teachers published both in the internet and paper editions of the newspaper. Select letters also appeared in social media, where many reached more than 100,000 readers.

The team at *Wyborcza is You* listens to the voices and suggestions of the readers. Often they are an inspiration for undertakings that later turn out to be a great success. This was the case with the *Black Books of the PiS Governments*. In October 2018, people queued up at newsagents around Poland to get their hands on the first Black book. An extra run was needed. It turned out that the readers wanted to have a paper version documenting all of the violations of the ruling party.

Every day, *Wyborcza is You* listens to its readers, often intervening on their behalf based on their letters. Often these are stories later published on the first page of the paper edition of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and then are very popular on the internet.

*Gazeta Wyborcza* has always been engaged in civic activities. The "Give birth like humans" campaign organised in 1994, together with our readers, created a guide for hospitals and maternity clinics.

In nearly 15,000 letters to the newsroom, women described their experiences from maternity wards, gave examples of violations of patient's rights and expectations for hospitals and medical staff. It seemed that a revolution was not possible. Today, everything has changed, also thanks to the intervention by *Gazeta Wyborcza*.

In the 1990s, instead of joggers, you could spot a deer in parks and forests. A decade later, Poland has transformed from the running backwater to a jogging nation. *Gazeta Wyborcza* has played a part in this change in Poles' habits. In 2006, we began, along with RMF FM, a campaign called "Poland runs". We began to persuade readers to take part in this sport and local governments

to organise running events for their residents.

In another project, three *Gazeta Wyborcza* editors wrote anonymous letters to their fathers. These were moving testimonials of the difficult relations of the then forty-somethings with their parents. The reaction exceeded all expectations. We received letters from hundreds of Poles who in an anonymous manner wanted to settle accounts with their fathers who were either absent or badly present in their childhood. This was a collective national therapy that led to the introduction of parental leave for fathers in the labour code.

And the letters were turned in a book that was a bestseller.



Photo: Jędrzej Nowicki/AG



Photo: Michał Walczak/AG

▲ *Gazeta Wyborcza* was there during massive protests against changes in Polish law and breaching the Constitution



Photo: Grzegorz Skowronek/AG

▲ *Gazeta Wyborcza* supported the fight for the rights of people with disabilities and their guardians by publishing dedicated supplements and raising money for the cause



▲ WWF and *Gazeta Wyborcza* campaign collecting funds for protecting endangered species

## ASSISTANCE CAMPAIGNS

*Gazeta Wyborcza* readers are not indifferent to the fate of the aggrieved and those in need. The newspaper organises assistance campaigns that are met with an incredible reaction. Often these campaigns are created as a reaction to the suggestions from our readers. We could always count on them. Regardless of whether the campaigns supported the protesting handicapped people, striking teachers, organisations somewhat forgotten by the government, endangered species or simply the idea of planting trees - the response was amazing. Many of these campaigns are conducted in line with a prove scheme: the money from a *Wyborcza.pl* subscription is transferred to a specific cause.

► In spring 2018, people with disabilities and their families protested in the Sejm for 40 days. *Gazeta Wyborcza* readers were angered by the callousness of the politicians towards the protesters. Thanks to their generosity, we collected €35,000 for the protesters.

► Each year, *Gazeta Wyborcza* takes part in the Great Orchestra of the Christmas Charity (WOSP), Poland's most famous charity organisation. In 2019, our readers collected more than €58,000 in the WOSP virtual piggy bank.

► Thanks to our readers, we collected €16,000 for WWF Poland to help the most endangered animal species in Poland.

Just since the start of 2018, we collected around €250,000 this way. This gigantic support, from campaign to campaign the engagement of our readers has grown. We repeat this every day: *Wyborcza is You* and this shows through in these actions the most. *Gazeta Wyborcza's* readers really are a great army of effective help.



**G**azeta *Wyborcza*, since its creation, has always been devoted to social causes. We have not just written about issues most important to us. The challenges that arise in today's world, including disinformation, rightist extremism and attempts to take away the fundamental rights of women, require decisive responses. In order to continue serving our readers to the best of our ability, we have established the *Gazeta Wyborcza* Foundation; thanks to this we will engage the community more deeply. We believe that our initiatives and projects, with the support of our readers, will create a better tomorrow for all of us. Check us at [www.fundacjagazetywyborczej.pl](http://www.fundacjagazetywyborczej.pl)



**Joanna Krawczyk**  
President of the Board,  
*Gazeta Wyborcza* Foundation



Aleksandra Klich Editor-in-Chief of High Heels Magazine, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Gazeta Wyborcza

# On the side OF WOMEN

We like to say that *Gazeta Wyborcza* is a woman. Thirty years ago it was, along with Adam Michnik and associates, by a woman - the legend of underground press in Poland, Helena Łuczycwo. But also because the rights of women, their stories, values and lives are some of the most important subjects and at least half of our readers are women.

For 20 years, every Saturday, we have published *High Heels (Wysokie Obcasy)*, a special magazine in print and online at [wysokieobcasy.pl](http://wysokieobcasy.pl).

It is a unique place in Polish press: we look at the world from the perspective of women, who are aware of their rights and choices, want to be free and equal and are fighting for this freedom and equality for others. We are feminists, both women and men, because we believe that feminism is the solidarity of women and men, without which there is no freedom. Aware of their rights, free women can change our world for the better. Readers appreciate the in-depth, reliable, proven journalism, the wealth of topics, objectivity and engrained values. Several dozen authors from all around Poland and the world who cooperate with us are everywhere where women need us. We are their voice at work, at home, at school and in politics. When they work, rest, protest and strike.

Always on the side of the women.



Lidia Popiel – awarded Polish photographer on the cover of High Heels Magazine



Joanna Mosiej-Sitek Deputy Publishing Director of Gazeta Wyborcza

*High Heels* is a socially committed feminist brand for smart, ambitious women who are curious about the world and seek inspirations. We promote women and inspire them to fight for their rights and a better life. We encourage them to create their dreams and goals and to reach them. Unlike mainstream media we don't promote pop-feminism (such as useful know-how and inspiration to influence the world they live in. We invite our readers not only to read our magazines but also to become a part of our feminist community. That's why we run empowerment campaign across media platforms "Women know what they're doing" addressed to women, which includes

- series of articles presenting case studies and profiles of brave, active and creative women involved in changing a world around them - with passion and success,
- route of artistic murals in Polish cities, designed by various artists, presenting portraits of women who made a significant difference in the world, against all odds,
- series of local meetings for women in Gdańsk, Łódź, Poznań and Kraków, with few hundreds participants taking part in discussion panels, workshops and power speeches, both with local leaders and influential experts, coaches, businesswomen, and artist,
- series of concerts of famous Polish singers, who joined forces to manifest that women's voices should be heard and listened to.

Photo: Jacek Marczewski/AG



◀ Mural of Kora - Polish iconic rock singer and songwriter

Concert of famous singers, who joined forces to manifest that women's voices should be heard and listened to



Joanna Jaśkowiak – successful local politician





**Roman Imielski**  
Head of National Desk

# How we have been **CHANGING** **POLAND**

**A**lthough over the years we have published nearly 5 million articles and all of them are important to us, some are indeed more important because they have contributed to the changes in Poland. We would like to highlight a few of them because we cannot list them all.

We began soon after the creation of *Gazeta Wyborcza* in July 1989. At the time, Editor-in-Chief Adam Michnik wrote an article entitled, "Your president, our prime minister". In it, he called for a separation of powers between the communist regime and the democratic opposition: the president was to represent the former and the prime minister the latter. This unblocked the path for the creation of the cabinet of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the first non-communist government in the entire Soviet bloc.

We did not just change the authorities. "Giving birth like humans", was the title of an article from May 1994, in which we asked our women readers: "write to us about giving birth, evaluate the hospitals. Together we will create a guide for hospitals and maternity wards." We did not expect at the time that this would be the start of a campaign that would last for many years and would change Polish maternity clinics, lifting them to European levels.

A report by Małgorzata Bujara and Małgorzata Froń entitled, "Nothing bad" from June 2001 showed for the first time that the Polish Catholic church has a problem with paedophilia among priests. The story of a priest from a small town of Tylawa, defended publicly by the church hierarchy and the prosecutor led to the conspiracy of silence to start to crack.

We also broke the conspiracy of silence in the emergency services in Łódź after Tomasz Patora and Marcin Stelmasiak published their shocking

report, "Skin hunters" in January 2002. In it, they described how some of the workers killed patients and then informed funeral homes, which made money from burials, about the deaths. Of course, they paid bribes to those who informed them about the deaths. As a result, several people received prison sentences.

In December of the same year, we rocked Poland with the article, "Law for a bribe, or how Rywin visited Michnik". In the article, we revealed that an important businessman attempted to extract a bribe from Adam Michnik on behalf of people from the ruling Left: pay 17 million dollars and we will not block the expansion of Agora, which owns *Gazeta Wyborcza*. The matter ended with a special parliament investigative committee and the collapse of the government.

Four years later, we again shook up the political scene. An investigation by Marcin Kącki, which lasted for many months, concluded with an article entitled, "Work for sex". In it, we reported how important politicians from a ruling coalition party was forcing women to perform sexual favours in exchange for lucrative positions. This was the beginning of the end of another government.

Thanks to Justyna Kopyńska and her report "Will God forgive sister Bernadette?" from April 2014, we uncovered a dark history of an orphanage led by nuns in Zabrze. For years, children there were tortured and humiliated. Following our article, such institutions finally became subject to supervision by social services and the order of Borromeo sisters apologised and expressed remorse.

And finally the most recent times. "Kaczyński's Tapes" from January 2019 revealed a completely different face of the leader of the ruling party, Jarosław

Kaczyński. For years he had been seen not only as a person boasting of not having a bank account, but also an idealist for whom business and politics are two separate and mutually exclusive worlds. The publication of recordings from the headquarters of the Law and Justice party showed that it is completely different. Kaczyński, without the knowledge of some of his close associates, was preparing a huge real estate investment with a company linked to his political circles. The skyscraper worth 300 million euros was to be a tribute to his twin brother Lech Kaczyński, the president of Poland who died in the air crash in 2010.



**Piotr Stasiński**  
Deputy Editor-in-Chief

# We defend **OUR VALUES**

**I**n 1989, *Gazeta Wyborcza* was a phenomenon and a pioneer - the first example of the free press in the eastern communist bloc. Many generations of Polish democrats had aimed for this.

We took on the name *Gazeta Wyborcza* (*Election Gazette*) to emphasise the support for the first democratic, although not completely free, elections in Poland. They were the result of the "Round Table" talks, or the compromise between the democratic opposition centred around the "Solidarity" union, which emerged from the underground under the leadership of Lech Wałęsa, and the communist regime.

The '89 elections were a great victory, also for *Gazeta Wyborcza*. The first non-communist government

of Tadeusz Mazowiecki began the transformation of Poland into a democratic state under the rule of law and a market economy. Soon, the "iron curtain", which separated the countries controlled by the Soviet Union and western democracies, came down.

After the elimination of censorship, Poles gained free access to information and pluralistic opinions, along with contact with the free world.

A curtain that covered a huge swath of the world fell. Poland joined NATO and the European Union.

*Gazeta Wyborcza* played a role in all of this.

Over the 30 years of our existence, we work to protect civil rights and against all forms of discrimination, on behalf of free elections and indepen-

dent institutions monitoring power. We speak in favour of the rule of law, the separation of power, a just and responsible state.

Unfortunately, today, because of the expansion of populism and authoritarianism, these fundamental democratic values are under threat or even dismantled in Poland and some post-communist states. *Gazeta Wyborcza* must defend these values and is doing exactly that. We see this as our mission and civic responsibility.

We are on the side of the powerless, not those in power. This is how we see the essence of the free press.

## Niezależne dziennikarstwo wymaga odwagi. I wsparcia Czytelników.

Nowość: od teraz możesz czytać także w aplikacji,  
a w pakiecie Premium podzielić się dostępem z bliskimi.

wyborcza.pl

Dołącz teraz



**Żaneta Gotowska**  
Publisher in Online Strategy Department

*Gazeta Wyborcza* is all about the articles. Great reports that took hundreds of hours of work. Journalistic investigations that uncover the biggest scandals. And stories that moved our readers and subscribers.

**ON LOVE AND BUREAUCRACY**

Such as the one Agnieszka Domanowska wrote in October 2008: "I kissed Dudek for the penultimate time". This is one of the most read articles in the history of *Gazeta Wyborcza*. A moving story about the love between two doctors. He is dying; she's fighting for his life, as well as with the health care sector and bureaucracy.

**SPEAKING UP ABOUT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN**

Or like Magdalena Sroda's conversation with actress Weronika Rosati, which showed that violence at home may be hiding behind any door, even those of a celebrity. We must speak out loud about the suffering of women. After this publication, our readers sent in hundreds of letters in which they told their stories.

**COMMON FIGHT FOR NATURAL ENVIRONMENT**

It is also Tomasz Kwasniewski's interview with Prof. Szymon Malinowski: "35 degrees in the shade. It's super so far, right? But we'll soon die out", in which he opens our eyes to what is happening to our planet and how much of it is our fault. Similarly with the BiqData report, "Scars after Szyszko", which shows how much we lost after the Sejm decision cut down trees.



Photo: Adam Wejrak/AG

**GIVING VOICE TO THOSE WHO ARE SPEECHLESS**

Or the interview by Katarzyna Włodkowska with the mother of Stefan W., who brutally murdered Gdansk mayor Paweł Adamowicz. Our journalists show that it is good to talk to give a voice to those who usually do not have a voice.



Photo: Mateusz Skwarczek/AG

The interview with Weronika Rosati triggered thousands of mostly positive and supportive comments ▶



Photo: Mateusz Skwarczek/AG

▲ *Gazeta Wyborcza*'s undercover reporter Piotr Szostak as Uber Eats driver



**Vadim Makarenko**  
Publisher of *Wyborcza.tech*

**"I WORKED ILLEGALLY AT UBER EATS"**

Our reporter went undercover and worked as an Uber Eats courier for six months. As the majority of UberEats deliverymen in Warsaw came from India, we were expecting some exciting story of Indians living in Warsaw, adapting and building their careers while trying to maintain their way of life in Europe. However, as Piotr Szostak blended into their community and learned the hardships of cycling and delivering meals to homes and offices, we realised that the story will be much bigger than expected.

Piotr discovered that migrants from India became a good business not only for Uber but also for private universities dealing with significant falls in admissions for demographical reasons. There is a couple of schools where Indian citizens are the only students. With student visas, no job permission, poor Polish and means they are in fact railroaded into low jobs with almost no control from the state like Uber and Uber Eats.

Uber relies on the network of external businesses it calls fleet partners.

That means if one is looking for a side job as an Uber Eats courier, he needs to have a registered business. If he doesn't, a fleet partner comes in handy. The fleet partner contracts a courier and takes fees for accounting services. For Uber, fleet partners are „independent subcontractors” to which it transfers the responsibility for drivers and suppliers. It insists, it has no knowledge about conditions and arrangements couriers are working in. For example, the fleet partner our reporter got hooked up with was reluctant to pay and in the end, it turned out he was ready to pay under the table.

What started as a quick adventure was actually a story of the invisible world around us. The world we import migrants, imposing massive admission fees on them and dispatch them – often illegally – to jobs no one wants.

Read the story at [http://extra.wyborcza.pl/ubereats\\_en/](http://extra.wyborcza.pl/ubereats_en/)

Thanks to the support of our subscribers, which is woven into the positive response to our articles or how eagerly they read a given article, we can create *Gazeta Wyborcza* that is in constant touch with the most important person - the reader.

# LOCAL IMPACT



**Mikołaj Chrzan**  
Head of Local Newsrooms

Since mid-2018, I have been running the network of *Gazeta Wyborcza's* 21 local newsrooms. We are present in Poland's biggest cities, where we have nearly 200 journalists, editors and photojournalists. We provide current and important local news. We monitor the people in power. We reveal the pathologies. We defend those who are often unable to defend themselves, such as LGBT people, tenants threatened by the owners of their flats and harassed participants of protests against the authorities. Matters related to the protection of environments are close to our hearts; we fight with the terrible air quality in Polish cities.

Every day we prepare the local editions that appear in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, but the priority for us is the growth on the internet. In January 2019, we had 6.2 million visitors. It is not just traffic. We are a key driver for the growth of *Gazeta Wyborcza's* subscriptions. Readers appreciate that we are close to them and their issues. We are able to quickly get to the place where something is happening and deliver trustworthy information.

On the map, we present some of the most high-profile subjects from 2018, highlighting the variety of issues that we deal with.

## SZCZECIN

**A T-SHIRT ON A MONUMENT AS AN ACT OF TERROR. POLICE ON THE TRAIL OF PEOPLE BEHIND A POLITICAL PROTEST**

During protests around Poland against the attack by PiS on courts, activists from the Committee to Defend Democracy put a t-shirt with the words "Constitution, Andrzej" on the statue of deceased president Lech Kaczyński, who was a lawyer and the brother of the leader of PiS. The message was directed at the current president, Andrzej Duda. The police rolled out the biggest guns against the perpetrators. We have been writing about this affair from the very start.  
Started in July 2018

## POZNAŃ

**FLAT CLEANERS SENTENCED. SERIES PUBLISHED BY GAZETA WYBORCZA'S POZNAŃ OFFICE ENDS UP IN COURT**

In 2018, six years after we wrote for the first time about the so-called flat cleaners in Poznań, a court sentenced the perpetrators to prison. Owners of tenant houses terrorised and threatened the tenants to force them to move out. The sad part is that many of them thought they had the right to do it.  
April 2018

## POLKOWICE

**THEY RAPED AN 18-YEAR-OLD ON HER BIRTHDAY. THE VILLAGE SIDED WITH THE PERPETRATORS**

In a small village of Biedrzychowice in the Polkowice municipality (Lower Silesia), two male friends invited a female friend to a party. They gave her a drink with a dissolved rape pill and then raped her multiple times. The second blow for the 18-year-old was the fact that when the matter became public, the local community sided with the perpetrators and ostracised her.  
December 2018

## WROCLAW

**PIŚ POLITICIANS FINANCE AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN WITH FUNDS FROM RED CROSS IN WROCLAW**

An investigation by *Gazeta Wyborcza* reporter Jacek Harłukowicz shows how funds from the Wrocław office of the Polish Red Cross were used by PiS politicians. An investigation is being conducted by the prosecutor's office (overseen by a PiS politician) and has been going for months. We have also written about this.  
August 2018

SZCZECIN

GORZÓW WLKP.

BYDGOSZCZ

GDAŃSK

OLSZTYN

BIALYSTOK

TORUŃ

POZNAŃ

PŁOCK

WARSZAWA

ZIELONA GÓRA

ŁÓDŹ

RADOM

LUBLIN

WROCLAW

OPOLE

CZĘSTOCHOWA

KIELCE

KATOWICE

KRAKÓW

RZESZÓW

## GDAŃSK

**FIRINGS AFTER GAZETA WYBORCZA PUBLISHED EMAILS ABOUT HIGH ELECTRICITY PRICES**

We were first to report that in emails with companies, state power utility Energa has questioned the government promise to keep electricity prices unchanged. Our report sparked an avalanche of dismissals at the company. Among the people who lost their jobs was the CEO of Energa Distribution and the head of the press office.  
December 2018

## BIALYSTOK

**NATIONALISTS PROVOKE NATIONAL MINORITIES IN HAJNÓWKA**

We showed the right-wing groups and nationalists in Hajnówka, whose hero was Romuald Rajs "Bury". He is responsible for murders of Belarusian Orthodox residents of the Białystok region. The families of those murdered still live in Hajnówka.  
February 2018

## RABKA ZDRÓJ

**RABKA WITH CANCER THREAT? POLLUTED AIR IN THE FAMOUS POLISH SPA TOWN**

Breaking the conspiracy of silence that lasted for years, we wrote about the awful quality of the air in some of the spas in Lesser Poland (Małopolska). These are places that attract hundreds of people to treat illnesses such as lung disease.  
January 2018

# THERE ISN'T JUST ONE Gazeta Wyborcza

There are so many interesting things going on, so many subjects worth exploring, that from the very start we knew that we must move beyond the formula of a daily newspaper. We wanted to have a place to regularly publish the best long-form reports, so we created the weekly *Large Format*. As book lovers, we wanted to talk about the world of literature with other book worms, so we have *Books. A Magazine for reading*. In the time of the EU crisis we wanted to describe the European reality, so magazine *Our Europe* was created. We put together some of these magazines with the labour of our journalists, while some together with other publishers or business partners. Together, we search for opportunities and ways to best describe the world. One thing is important to us - without these magazines, the world of *Gazeta Wyborcza* would not be complete.



## Reporters' Magazine Large Format (Duży Format)

**W**e dive into the biggest topics. Our work begins where it ends for other journalists. We uncover what other do not see.

We are always close to the characters. We try to tell their real stories in many dimensions and in a literary form. We print long-form articles by Poland's best reporters, those well known and the young ones.

Each year, our authors win prestigious Polish awards: Ludmiła Anannikova and Tomasz Kwaśniewski (Teresa Torńska Award), Katarzyna Włodkowska (Grand Press), Paweł Piotr Reszka (Ryszard Kapuściński Award), Mariusz Szczygieł (MediaTory Award).



**Mariusz Burchard**  
Editor of Large Format Magazine

## What History Weekly (Ale Historia)



**H**istory has always been present in the pages of *Gazeta Wyborcza*. After all, *Gazeta* itself is part of history. Over the last 30 years, it did not just describe the most important events in our modern history, but contributed to the creation of many. The first edition of the What History weekly appeared seven years ago and to this day it accompanies *Gazeta* every Monday and from the start, it attracted a large number of readers who react with passion to its content. Since the creation of the magazine, we aim for the golden mean: to satisfy both the readers expecting articles about the most significant events and phenomena that influence the lives of entire nations, as well as those who simply seek fascinating tales - about specific people, everyday lives, scientific discoveries and cultural events. We try to participate in the most important historical discussion currently taking place. We stake our positions that we always defend with the power of the argument. We criticise the interpretations of historical events that not only contradict facts but also serve only to support particular political interests.



**Mirosław Maciorowski**  
Editor of What History Weekly



## Books. A Magazine for Reading (Książki. Magazyn do czytania)

**W**hen eight years ago we published the first issue of *Books. A Magazine for Reading*, our colleagues snickered. They asked: "You want to publish a literal magazine in a country where nearly 2/3 of Poles don't even read one book in a year?" The first printing (40 thousand copies), sold like hotcakes; we had to do another run. Over eight years, cheered on by our readers, we transformed from a quarterly to a bi-monthly. We also inspired the creation of a faithful and active internet community. How was this possible? The secret is the magazine's formula. Books are not just a collection of reviews. It is a publication of a civilisation, where book premieres - Polish and foreign - are just a starting point. The aim is an analysis of the modern world, the presentation of new, intriguing cultural phenomena and the struggle

with civilisational questions that every thinking person asks herself. We do this with the pens of the best writers - Polish and global. And on top of the superbly written and edited essays, the speciality of Books are extensive, penetrating interviews with authors from around the world (including Zadie Smith, Jonathan Littel, George Saunders, Julian Barnes, Edward St. Aubyn, Hilary Mantel). We take a careful look at the world, with distance and scepticism. We try to avoid shallowness, gimmickry and cheap catastrophism. We search for inspiration among the great writers of the past and have open minds to the literature of the future. We believe that reading ambitious books makes us wiser and more ethical people and, as a consequence, changes the world for the better.



**Juliusz Kurkiewicz**  
Editor Chief of Books. A Magazine for Reading



## Our Europe (Nasza Europa)

**H**as the crisis of European values arrived? What does the French national therapy look like? Is there a possibility to systematically regulate the way childcare responsibilities are divided? What would a European "populists' map" presenting anti-EU, nationalist and extreme right parties in the European Union look like? These are just a few examples of questions from our readers. To meet their need to learn new things about the world around us we launched Our Europe editorial project, made possible thanks to *Gazeta Wyborcza's* membership in Leading

European Newspaper Alliance (LENA) and cooperation with its members - Europe's top newspapers *El Pais*, *Die Welt*, *La Repubblica*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Soir*, *Tages-Anzeiger* and *Tribune de Genève*. In the form of a weekend insert appearing every week, as well as a thematic internet platform, we deliver unique information about the upcoming elections to the European Parliament, along with analyses, reports and discussions about European topics. *Wall Street Journal*, with which *Gazeta Wyborcza* cooperates in text syndication, also adds to this project by providing an overseas perspective on European issues.



**Mariusz Kania**  
Editor, Foreign Desk

**Wyborcza Classic Magazine**  
(Wyborcza.pl/classic)



The archives of *Gazeta Wyborcza* contain 4 million articles - this is a unique treasure trove with thousands of news items related to the most important events at home and abroad, outstanding reports, interviews and analyses. Their heroes come everywhere and represent all strata of the society (plus animals, plants and things).

In the autumn of 2017, we decided that many of these texts have a universal value. So they cannot be kept under lock and key. Which is why we not only gave our readers access to a new, more accessible archive, but once a week we also publish internet magazine *Wyborcza Classic*, which consists entirely of archival articles. The topics are only limited to one criterion - we publish the most interesting texts. So far we have published editions about topics that included women, men, world leaders, violence, language, money, loneliness, love, history of nonsense and psychological illness. We also publish so-called "author" editions, focused on one outstanding and award-winning author. Out intuition was right. Readers are so eager to read archival texts that often it is news that competes with them, and not vice versa. *Wyborcza Classic* is one of most read internet magazines at *Gazeta Wyborcza* and one most effective in attracting subscribers.



**Ewa Zientarska**  
Editor of *Wyborcza Classic*



Photo: Dawida Zuchowicz/AG

**TOMORROWNAUTS. REACH BEYOND THE HORIZON**

Imagine a community which helps your dreams come true... A dinner with Elon Musk - consider it done. Flying across the globe to talk to Apple designers - check. Meeting significant people in the entertainment industry in Hollywood - you've got it. That is why we created Tomorrownauts - a joint project of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and Kulczyk Investments. In the project we presented future-riders - Poles who are

world-class innovators, role models for entrepreneurs, academics, artists who incorporate new technology, courage and groundbreaking perspectives and who found a way to turn their world around to fulfill their dreams and create the future now. For months tomorrownauts' stories inspired thousands of people across Poland, both: the readers of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and attendees of the meetings in many cities in Poland. We have also opened up a contest for "Beyond the Horizon Ticket" scholarship for individuals who work on interesting and ground-breaking projects. We wanted the readers and attendees to

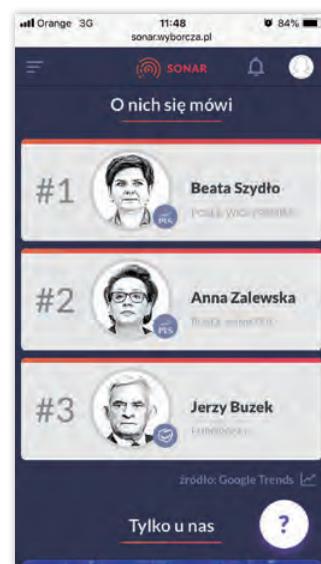
have a chance to experience how we will all live in 10, 15 or 20 years from now - how technology, entertainment and food will change in the future. In its two editions the project reached over 52 million Internet users and readers, with 75 articles published, 60 experts involved, over 200 applications to the contest and over 1300 participants in our events. The project won prestigious awards: INMA Global Media Award for the Best Public Relations or Community Service Campaign and the WAN-IFRA European Digital Media Awards Honorable Mention of in the Best Branded Content Project category.

**SONAR AND SONAR EUROPE**

Sonar is a joint project of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Laboratorium EE and Google's Digital News Initiative, and is based exclusively on data and facts. It collects and presents in one place the latest information on the political and social life and Polish politicians. In the form of attractive infographics it shows the statistics on the most important topics and persons. Sonar is a place where readers can learn more or organise their knowledge about the most important topics and people who make the most important decisions in Poland and objectively compare their credibility, integrity and reliability. In a simple, visually attractive and interactive way, Sonar explains complex issues in

a way to make them understandable, interesting and tailored to the interests of internet users.

In March 2019, *Gazeta Wyborcza* decided to add European focus to Sonar and joined forces with *Le Soir* (Belgium), *Le Figaro* (France) and *El País* (Spain) to create a project to show multiple perspectives and points of view from different European countries in the form of in-depth, investigative, multimedia stories around EU topics, as well as shorter articles and infographics. The materials in Sonar Europe will include data-driven materials around health, economy, society, politics, education and youth. It will also offer educational resources on data, tools to create and share data journalism, and workshops for media professionals.



▲ Sonar presents ranking of the most talked about Polish politicians

**GAZETA WYBORCZA'S EDITORS' SCHOOL**

The School is a practical professional workshop that fills in the skill gap between the generations of *Gazeta Wyborcza's* editors. The topics of the workshops include the basic ability to construct sentences, language flexibility, working with an author (it is not based on simple edition of her texts, but the creation of a common language and independence), coming up with "effective" titles and leads, to adjusting texts in various types of journalism. In *Gazeta Wyborcza* team want to strengthen the team of "editorial leaders" who understand the needs of modern journalism in the changing media environment, are able to find, select and formulate topics both essential and attractive to the readers, acquire texts and authors also from outside the newsroom, work with them. For the programme, we selected young editors from 21 local newsrooms at *Gazeta Wyborcza* who will be developing their skills and gain new ones not just by working with the best editors from our newspaper, but also its additional sections and magazines, as well as through contact with experts around the world.

Photo: Sławomir Kaminski/AG



**KRZYSZTOF MILLER AWARD FOR THE COURAGE TO LOOK**

The Award was launched in 2018 to promote photography of special journalistic value, representing a deep, thorough and courageous perspective of difficult subjects - social, political, economic and cultural. It commemorates Krzysztof Miller, a legendary wartime photographer, the author of numerous widely-recognised photos. The competition for the Award is open to professional and amateur photographers, individuals and collectives. Any form of photography is accepted, including photo stories, documents, series of portraits or landscapes, etc., made with the use of any technique, professional photographic equipment or a smartphone camera. We received nearly 300 photo projects and announced seven finalists. The 2018 Award was won by Anna Liminowicz for her photo story "Among Blocks" ("Miedzy blokami").

◀ Anna Liminowicz with Krzysztof Miller Award



Photo: Mateusz SkwarcekJAG

▲ Students and coaches of Gazeta Wyborcza's Editors' School

# Wyborcza LIVE



**Anna Kołtunowicz**  
Head of Premiere Centre  
Czerska 8/10



**Joanna Parczyńska**  
Head of Events

## PREMIERE CENTRE CZERSKA 8/10 AND WYBORCZA LIVE

Our newsroom organises series of meetings, debates, festivals, concerts and awards for our readers. In 2018, our events were attended by around 65,500 people.

For the last three years, we have been meeting in Warsaw and dozens of other Polish cities, mainly in places where there are *Gazeta Wyborcza* newsrooms, to talk about current events, social phenomena, books, theatre, movies, as well as local issues close to the heart of its residents.

"Wyborcza Live" is the name for the series of meeting with people whom we want to meet and talk to. In our 21 local newsrooms, coffee shops and theatres,

our readers get to meet outstanding guests. Meetings with the Editor-in-chief of *Gazeta Wyborcza* have proven extremely popular. Adam Michnik has already met with *Gazeta Wyborcza* readers dozens of times. We realise that it is essential to get together outside the newsroom and invite guests into it. People, our readers, want to talk, meet, get together to discuss the issues most important for Poland and for themselves.

At the Premiere Centre Czerska 8/10 in Warsaw, at the headquarters of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which for the meetings transforms into a theatre, the stars are usually unique authors and their creations. They included director Agnieszka Holland and writer Olga Tokarczuk, director Hugh Welchman, writer Dan Brown and writer and publicist Anne Applebaum.



Photo: Sławomir Kamiński/AG

▲ Premiere Centre Czerska 8/10 with Dan Brown as a guest

## PERSON OF THE YEAR

Every year since 1999, as part of the celebration of our anniversary, the journalists of *Gazeta Wyborcza* award the title of Person of the Year. In 2019, this honour went to Donald Tusk, the president of the European Council and former prime minister of Poland. The main speech was delivered by Timothy Snyder.

Winners from the previous years were: Vaclav Havel (1999), George Soros (2000), Sergey Kovalev (2001), Joschka Fischer (2002), Günter Verheugen (2003), Bronisław Geremek (2004), Javier Solana (2005), Zbigniew Brzeziński (2006), Archbishop Józef Życiński (2007), Andrzej Wajda (2008), Tadeusz Mazowiecki (2009, Person of Two Decades), Władysław Bartoszewski (2010), Richard von Weizsäcker (2011), Tadeusz Konwicki (2012), Yoani Sánchez (2013), Mikhail Khodorkovsky (2014), Bronisław Komorowski (2015), Timothy Snyder (2016), Frans Timmermans (2017) and Anne Applebaum (2018). Lech Wałęsa received the Person of the Quarter Century award.



Photo: Maciek Jazwiecki/AG

▲ Person of the Year debate



Photo: Maciek Jazwiecki/AG

▲ Anne Applebaum - Person of the Year 2018, accompanied by her husband Radosław Sikorski

## NIKE AWARD

Founded in 1997, the Nike Literary Award is presented annually in October for the best book published in the previous year. The main idea behind the award is to promote Polish literature, in particular novels (including autobiography, essays, memoirs, etc.) humanist writing of great literary value.

Winners receive a prize of €25,000 and the NIKE statuette, funded by *Gazeta Wyborcza* and Agora Foundation.

## FESTIVALS

We enjoy meeting our readers outside the newsroom. For them, we organise well-known music and culture festivals. The most popular ones are Olsztyn Green Festival and Co Jest Grane 24 Festival. Olsztyn Green Festival in an event co-organised with the City of Olsztyn in the summer on the banks of the Ukiel lake. Over the last four years, Olsztyn Green Festival includes concerts by popular and highly esteemed artists. In addition, the event includes meetings with artists, workshops and activities linked with ecology, health care and a healthy lifestyle.

The Co Jest Grane 24 Festival is a two-day city festival in Warsaw, celebrating the best artists in Polish alternative and pop music, art, theatre and culture. It takes place at the beautiful grounds surrounding the Centre for Contemporary Art Ujazdowski Castle and in the castle itself. This unique festival features live music stages with best Polish pop and alternative artists and bands, a special all-day programme for adults and children (theatre, workshops, concerts, movie screenings etc.) and vendor activities showcasing culture-friendly businesses, sponsors, artisans, Warsaw's best restaurants, media partners and brand activations.

Together they gather an audience of almost 50,000 people annually.

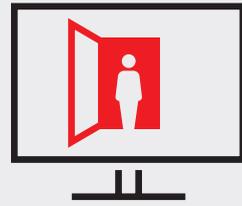


Photo: Dawid Zuchowicz/AG

Caring for close live contact with our readers is one of the foundations of the popularity of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and its strong market position.

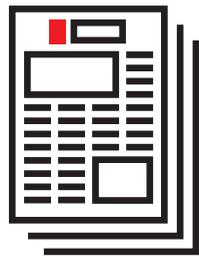
# GAZETA **wyborcza**

MEANS:

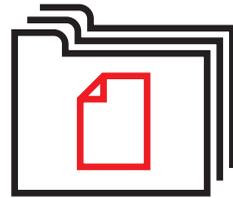


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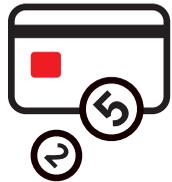
Internet users visiting our services in a month



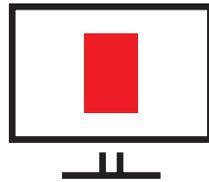
**3.389.232.131**  
pages printed in a year



**4.876.104**  
texts collected in our archive



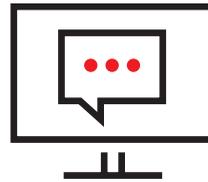
**270.000**  
people paying for its printed and online editions every year



**170.500**  
digital subscriptions



**117.000**  
Euro collected and donated to charities via our actions in 2018



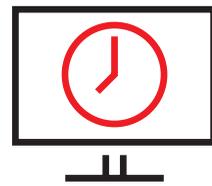
**101.300**  
comments in a month



**18.815**  
quotes in other media in 2018



**327**  
texts published every day



**153**  
years spent by Gazeta Wyborcza's subscribers on our websites in a month



**21**  
awards for our journalists and photographers since 2018



Find more about us at [Wyborcza.pl/aboutus](http://Wyborcza.pl/aboutus)

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