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Reshuffle to push PiS to the centre

The reshuffle marks the start of Jarosław Kaczyński’s preparations for the parliamentary elections. The aim is to get a constitutional majority.

**Wojciech Szacki**  
Senior Analyst for Political Affairs

**PiS moves to the centre and sheds dead weight.** The appointment of new ministers completed the cabinet reshuffle that began with Mateusz Morawiecki’s appointment as PM. The common denominator of most of the dismissals and appointments is the desire to demobilise the opposition and court Poles with moderate views, undecided voters and the less politically savvy. That is why Jarosław Kaczyński removed ministers who were the biggest political and image burden: Antoni Macierewicz, Jan Szyszko, Witold Waszczykowski and Konstanty Radziwiłł. They were the easiest target for the opposition. Their successors, apart from MinDef Mariusz Błaszczak, arouse fewer emotions and appear more moderate.

**A younger and less political government.** After the reshuffle, the ministers’ average age fell from 57 to 54. Two of the oldest ministers were dismissed (Szyszko - 74 and Macierewicz - 70). People in their forties joined the government; MinHea Łukasz Szumowski is 46, and MinFin Teresa Czerwińska and MinTech Jadwiga Emilewicz are 44. Krzysztof Szczerski would also fit the pattern (he lost the chance to become MinFor at the last moment because he demanded the post of deputy PM), as would Piotr Nowak (he was close to being appointed MinDig). The new ministers are mostly people from outside parliament, without much political experience, which will bolster the message about a “government of professionals”.

**Morawiecki, Duda and Gowin strengthened.** The reshuffle was divided into two stages to show that Morawiecki would co-decide on ministers’ fate. The PM did have some influence on dismissals and appointments, especially at the economic ministries (although he also supported the departure of Macierewicz). This gives Morawiecki a stronger position at the start of his government than Beata Szydło when she became prime minister. Jarosław Gowin has also grown stronger; the deputy head of his party, Emilewicz, and two former deputy ministers from his ministry (Czerwińska and Szumowski) joined it. Andrzej Duda also won in personnel terms; according to public opinion, he forced PiS to sack Macierewicz, showing himself to be a powerful and effective politician.

**State power ministries controlled even more tightly by Kaczyński.** Like Szydło, Mateusz Morawiecki will have limited influence over areas that the PiS leader considers key: internal affairs, defence, the special services and prosecution. They are controlled by the politicians closest to Kaczyński, each of whom is a deputy leader of PiS: MinInt Joachim Brudziński, MinDef Mariusz Błaszczak and coordinator of the special services Mariusz Kamiński. Zbigniew Ziobro remains ProsGen and MinJust. The presence of these politicians not only gives Kaczyński a sense of control over the state, but also aims to appease PiS’s core electorate, which is worried by the dismissal of Macierewicz and Szyszko.
Conflict on the right will not weaken PiS. Macierewicz’s dismissal creates the risk of political conflict. The former MinDef has an independent political position and influence in the media and could, in theory, start his own party. Financially supported by the government, Father Tadeusz Rydzyk will not risk a war on the right, even though Szyszko, another minister close to him, lost his job too. Macierewicz’s sacking has been sharply criticised by Gazeta Polska’s associates. Its columnists attacked the president; Dorota Kania announced that Duda “stands where ZOMO once stood” and Tomasz Sakiewicz declared that he would never vote for “that president”. This low-intensity warfare (Gazeta Polska will not attack Kaczyński himself) will not damage PiS’s ratings.

WHAT’S NEXT

The government reshuffle is the opening shot in the campaign before the next parliamentary elections. Jarosław Kaczyński sacrificed several political veterans, in particular Antoni Macierewicz, and gave the government a technocratic look to start the fight for the political centre. The new team has to soothe the conflict with the EU, which will not be easy, and restore good relations with Andrzej Duda. The ultimate goal is to repeat the success of Viktor Orbán and win a constitutional majority in the 2019 elections.
How Morawiecki is reshaping the economic ministries

Jadwiga Emilewicz takes over the ministry of entrepreneurship and Jerzy Kwieciński the one for investment and development. The PM will temporarily oversee construction and digitisation.

Emilewicz's key role. Associated with deputy PM Jarosław Gowin, Jadwiga Emilewicz, a former deputy MinDev, will oversee the new ministry of entrepreneurship and technology. The ministry will deal with economic policy, entrepreneurship and innovation. Its powers may resemble the MinEco’s during the PO-PSL government, with more emphasis on facilitating business and supporting innovation. The new ministry is set to implement the Morawiecki Plan, which includes increasing R&D spending. On behalf of the PM, Emilewicz will probably supervise some state-controlled companies. That area is currently being discussed.

Investment a priority. Jerzy Kwieciński was appointed head of the ministry of investment and development. He will focus on increasing investment, implement EU programmes and prepare Poland for the new EU multiannual budget for 2021-2027. His ministry will control the implementing authorities responsible for EU programmes (the so-called IA), so he will now oversee deputy minister Paweł Chorąży, Adam Hamryszczak and Witold Słowik. Chorąży manages the implementation of “Human Capital”, “Knowledge, Education, Development” and “Digital Poland”. Hamryszczak is responsible for “Eastern Poland” and regional operational programmes, among other things. Słowik, supervises EU’s largest programme “Infrastructure and Environment” and a funding instrument “Connecting Europe”.
Infrastructure stripped of construction. Andrzej Adamczyk remains part of the cabinet, but his ministry has shrunk. It has lost construction, which is set to be transferred to a new structure; it is unclear what it might be. Until then, the PM will supervise that area. The new structure will be responsible for the Housing+ programme; the government’s plenipotentiary for housing construction, deputy MinInfra Tomasz Żuchowski, might play an important role. MinInfra will focus on developing transport infrastructure, including railways and roads. Talks are underway about a possible separation of powers between Adamczyk, Kwieciński and Mikołaj Wild, the plenipotentiary for the construction of the Central Airport.

Digitisation temporarily overseen by PM. The PiS leadership discussed a possible shutting down of MinDig, but the ministry has survived. MinDigi Anna Streżyńska was dismissed, but contrary to what we had said, no new MinDig has been appointed. The ministry will be temporarily overseen by Morawiecki. According to our sources, Piotr Nowak, deputy MinFin, had been considered for MinDig but was eventually rejected, perhaps because he worked at PresChan under Bronisław Komorowski for several months, which drew criticism in the right-wing media. The new MinDig might be announced in coming days; possible candidates include deputy MinDig Krzysztof Szuwert.

Independent MinFin. As expected, Teresa Czerwińska became the new MinFin. Until now, she served as deputy MinFin, responsible for preparing the budget. Her key tasks will now include adopting the budget for 2018. Yesterday, the second reading of the budget took place in the Sejm. Czerwińska will also have to find a candidate to take her post at MinFin. She oversaw five departments; apart from the state budget, she was also responsible for local government finances and the department of payment institution, which oversaw EU funds. The new minister will oversee public finances and be an expert who will be politically dependent on PM Morawiecki.

WHAT’S NEXT

The establishment of new economic ministries and ministers merely marks the beginning of the reshuffle. The next stage will include changes in deputy ministers and heads of department, followed by the heads of state-controlled companies. There are also ongoing discussions about a detailed division of powers between government ministers. After that, laws on government administration departments will need to be amended. PM Morawiecki will model the changes to help implement his “Strategy for responsible development” and the promises in his exposé.
New government:

- Beata Szydło, Deputy PM for Social Affairs
- Piotr Gliński, Deputy PM for Culture
- Jarosław Gowin, Deputy PM and Minister of Maritime Economy and Inland Navigation
- Andrzej Adamczyk, Minister of Infrastructure
- Witold Barika, Minister of Sport
- Mariusz Błaszczak, Minister of Defence
- Joachim Brudziński, Minister of Internal Affairs
- Jacek Czaputowicz, Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Teresa Czerwińska, Minister of Finance
- Jacek Czaputowicz, Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Mateusz Morawiecki, Prime Minister

- Marek Gróbarczyk, Minister of Maritime Economy and Inland Navigation
- Krzysztof Jurgiel, Minister of Agriculture
- Henryk Kowalczyk, Minister of Environment
- Jerzy Kwieciński, Minister of Investments and Development
- Elżbieta Rafalska, Minister of Family, Labour and Social Policy
- Łukasz Szumowski, Minister of Health
- Krzysztof Tchorzewski, Minister of Energy
- Anna Zalewska, Minister of Education
- Zbigniew Ziobro, Minister of Justice
- Jadwiga Emilewicz, Minister of Entrepreneurship and Technology
- Mateusz Morawiecki, Prime Minister

- Beata Kempa, Minister of Humanitarian Aid
- to be appointed – Minister of Digitisation

- Mariusz Kamiński, Minister-coordinator of Special Services

- Mateusz Morawiecki, Prime Minister
Kwieciński: EU funds and foreign investors

Jerzy Kwieciński is seen as an expert. He lacks political backing, but will provide PM Morawiecki with substantial support.

Expert on EU funds. Although Kwieciński is an engineer by training, he has been working on European issues and the management of EU funds for more than 20 years. He worked at the EurCom representation in Poland for nearly 12 years, even before Poland joined the EU. He supervised more than 50 projects worth a total of over EUR 600 mln. These included regional development, SMEs and corporate restructuring. He also advised the Polish government on the designing and implementation of pre-accession funds, including the largest one, PHARE.

Associate with Grażyna Gęsicka’s team. Kwieciński took part in the creation of MinDev after PiS won the elections in 2005, which was then led by Gęsicka. He was responsible for drafting and negotiating the EU budget for 2007-2013. He prepared the National Cohesion Strategy for 2007-2013 and the National Development Strategy for 2007-2015. Kwieciński managed his team in a conciliatory and substantive manner, convincing co-workers to support his ideas. He was effective in negotiations with Brussels and open to dialogue with experts and the opposition. He often initiated meetings at the EU level himself.

He monitored the government at BCC. After his departure from MinDev in 2008, Kwieciński was a minister for regional development in the shadow cabinet of the Business Centre Club (BCC). His responsibilities included preparing an annual report on the spending of EU funds by the PO government, of which he was very critical. In 2014, he warned that Poland may not use PLN 16-24 bln of the funds for 2007-2013 (settled by the end of 2015). In 2015, he cautioned that the government was neglecting the planning of the next multiannual budget (for 2014-2020) while making up for the delays in spending old funds.

Expert without political backing. Kwieciński is seen as expert on EU funds, praised for his work both at home and abroad. He does not engage in politics; however, he became a member of PiS’s programme board in 2014 and a member of the National Development Council by President Andrzej Duda in 2015. In the BCC shadow Cabinet he worked with people including former KNF head Stanisław Kluza and Krzysztof Szubert, deputy MinDigi and government plenipotentiary for the digital single market, who is a close associate of Anna Streżyńska.

Considerable autonomy at MinDev. After becoming deputy MinDev at the end of 2015, Kwieciński had to deal with rescuing funds from the previous EU budget that had to be spent by the end of the year. He then focused on accelerating expenses under the 2014-2020 financial perspective. It is being accomplished relatively smoothly, though there are delays in some fields. In October, Kwieciński criticised PKP PLK (subordinate to MinInfra) for its slow spending of EU funds. One of his failures was Łódź’s unsuccessful bid to host Expo 2022; Kwieciński was the government plenipotentiary for Expo.

WHAT’S NEXT

Jerzy Kwieciński is responsible for the government’s development policy. He is an expert in this field and successful in his role. However, he is not a politician, which may impede his work as minister of investment and development. Nevertheless, the post has been held by experts before, including Grażyna Gęsicka, Elżbieta Bieńkowska and Maria Wasiak. Kwieciński can count on PM Morawiecki’s support and will be his ally in the PiS government.

Dominik Sipiński
Analyst for Infrastructure and Transport

Leszek Baj
Senior Business Analyst

MINISTER OF INVESTMENTS AND DEVELOPMENT
Emilewicz: business and innovation

One of Jarosław Gowin’s closest associates is an innovation expert, and now she will also deal with enterprises.

Recently entered professional politics. Jadwiga Emilewicz has been interested in politics since university. In 1998-2002 she worked as a counsellor in Jerzy Buzek’s PMChan, but was not actively involved in politics until 2013. She joined Jarosław Gowin’s Polska Razem party, having previously worked at his university in Kraków. In 2014, she unsuccessfully ran for EurParl; a few months later, she became a councillor in the Małopolska regional assembly. In addition to Gowin, she was backed by Jan Maria Rokita (whom Emilewicz considers her political mentor) and professor Jadwiga Staniszkis. In November 2015, she was appointed undersecretary of state at MinDev. She is deputy leader of Gowin’s new party, Porozumienie.

Technocrat in the government. Emilewicz does not take part in ongoing political debates; she is mainly focused on the economy. She works closely with her friend, deputy MinSci Piotr Dardziński. Within the government team for innovation, she cooperates with Michał Kurtyka from MinEner and Piotr Woźni, who used to be deputy MinDigi and will now be the government plenipotentiary for combating smog. Politically, she is close to Marek Żagórski, former deputy MinTrea, who is, like her, a deputy leader of Porozumienie. She is valued for her diligence and commitment to working for the state. Her critics accuse Emilewicz of focusing on easy projects and avoiding more difficult tasks.

She promotes innovation. At university, Emilewicz focused on philosophy of politics and theory of public administration. After the establishment of the “Better Poland” Foundation in 2013 and becoming a councillor, she turned to entrepreneurship and innovation. Her initiatives, such as support for electro-mobility, fit Morawiecki’s “Strategy for responsible development”. At MinDev, she was responsible for the EU operational programme Innovative Economy and Digital Development and competitiveness. Emilewicz is convinced of the important role of start-ups in the economy and engaged in support programme “Start in Poland”. Emilewicz has managed to bring the administration, start-up environment and state-owned companies closer together.

A conservative from Kraków’s intelligentsia. Emilewicz was born in Kraków and is strongly connected with the city. As a teenager, she was a girl scout of the “Szara Siódemka” group and is still associated with its circle. She graduated from Jan III Sobieski High School (Andrzej Duda was a pupil there too, two years earlier). She highlights her ties with Kraków’s conservative intelligentsia. One of her favourite professors was Bogdan Słachta, who has served as member of the State Tribunal since 2015, on PiS’s recommendation. She is interested in the philosophy of Michael Oakeshott and Allan Bloom and has published in the Jagiellonian Club’s quarterly Pressje, which she co-founded.

Close to Gowin. After working at PMChan in 2003, Emilewicz returned to Kraków. She became a lecturer at Tischner European University. Since then, her political career has been linked to Jarosław Gowin, co-founder of the university and its vice dean from 2003 until 2011. Like him, Emilewicz was first associated with PO’s conservative wing; in 2013, she joined Polska Razem, which is now called Porozumienie. She is involved in Klub Jagielloński’s activities and is friends with Dariusz Karłowicz, co-founder of Teologia Polityczna, the conservative intelligentsia’s magazine, where her husband Marcin sometimes publishes.

WHAT’S NEXT

In MinDev, Emilewicz was a link between Jarosław Gowin and Mateusz Morawiecki; the area of innovation that she supervised required coordination with the ministry of science. She owes her position to her engagement. Other government members acknowledge her expertise on innovation. She is now taking over a new ministry, set up to support entrepreneurship and technological development. She will oversee a large share of state-controlled companies. Emilewicz’s task will be to facilitate entrepreneurship, one of Morawiecki’s priorities.

Dominik Sipiński
Analyst for Infrastructure and Transport
Mariusz Błaszczyk comes from Legionowo, where he still lives. During his studies, he was an activist involved in right-wing and anti-communist organisations, including the Independent Students’ Association and the Association of Catholic Students. In 1991, he joined Porozumienie Centrum (PC), Jarosław Kaczyński’s first party. After finishing his studies in History in 1994, he worked at the Legionowo city office. He joined PiS in 2001. Representing the party, he ran unsuccessfully for mayor of Legionowo in the 2002 election.

Thanks to then-mayor of Warsaw Lech Kaczyński, Błaszczak became deputy mayor of Warsaw’s Wola district in 2002 and mayor of Warsaw’s Central district in 2004. His subordinates from that time remember him as a business-like, balanced and hardworking official, who used to have problems with the firm enforcement of his decisions. Błaszczak has been an MP since 2007, running continuously from the Greater Warsaw region. He has also been a member of the PiS leadership in the capital, although Mariusz Kamiński, head of the local structures, is more influential in the region.

Błaszczak owes his position in the party to his absolute loyalty to Jarosław Kaczyński. He was appointed to his first important position, head of PMChan during Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz’s times, because he was trusted by the party leader. In 2010, after Grażyna Gęsicka’s death in the Smoleńsk plane crash, Błaszczak replaced her as head of the PiS caucus. He became known as an able spokesman for the party line and an active critic of the ruling PO. Błaszczak was head of the caucus until November 10, when he was replaced by Ryszard Terlecki.

Błaszczak is married and has three children. He is religious, which is reflected in his political views; he supports a ban on abortion in cases when the child could be gravely ill. He often appears on Father Tadeusz Rydzyk’s TV Trwam. His views on social and economic issues are close to the centre: he is in favour of free higher education, opposes privatising state-owned companies and supports the bank and supermarket taxes. Above all, though, Błaszczak is a faithful member of PiS and his public appearances do not deviate from the party line.

As MinInt, Błaszczak was vehemently opposed to Poland taking in refugees, whom he linked to terrorism. He considered the completion of the NATO summit and World Youth Day in 2016 without serious incidents his biggest success. He also put in place a PLN 10 bln programme modernising the uniformed services. He is weighed down by the death of Igor Stachowiak at a Wrocław police station, frequent changes of the top police officers in Warsaw, car accidents involving BOR vehicles and the rise of race-related crime. Citing safety concerns two years ago, Błaszczak halted “small border traffic” with Kaliningrad and has not reopened it since.

Jarosław Kaczyński’s confidant is to restore cooperation with the president, but will not alter defence policy.

**WHAT’S NEXT**

Mariusz Błaszczak has experience in the administration, but little with the army. Jarosław Kaczyński wants someone from the party’s core to take over MinDef from Antoni Macierewicz. The minister, who does not have his own political ambitions, will guarantee the execution of orders from Nowogrodzka, including extinguishing the conflict over the army with the president. At MinDef, he will replace deputy ministers and use associates to bring the ministry under control, but will not significantly shift Poland’s defence policy. In coming months, he will have to decide on multi-billion złoty armament orders, including the air defence system.
From a rank-and-file activist in PC to a general in PiS. In 1991, Joachim Brudziński joined the Kaczyński brothers’ party, Porozumienie Centrum (PC). He was a rank-and-file activist, unknown to Jarosław Kaczyński. When PiS replaced PC, Brudziński joined the new party and his career accelerated. From 2002 until 2006, he was the party’s chairman in Zachodniopomorskie. In 2005, he joined the Sejm. One year later, he became head of PiS’s structu-
res, the equivalent of secretary general in other parties. When this appointment was rejected by the first candidate, Przemysław Gosiewski, the MP from Szczecin was recommended by the chair-
person of PiS’s office, Barbara Skrzypek.

Number two after Kaczyński. As the head of the PiS executive committee, Brudziński manages the party, organises congresses and mobilises PiS activists to participate in marches and demon-
strations. He often joins the party’s electoral teams. Thanks to his activity in the regions, he has the best knowledge of the party after Kaczyński. He is a member of the PiS political committee, which consists of the top 30 party authorities. Brudziński is one of Kaczyń-
ski’s close associates, who form the party structures. Brudziński is the only leader of PiS who on regularly appears in all types of media, from Radio Maryja to TVN24. After becoming MinInt, he will probably cease to run the party structures. His replacement will have to prepare the party for the local elections. He will also give up his post as deputy marshal of the Sejm.

Kaczyński’s trusted lieutenant. Brudziński has his roots in PC and belongs to Kaczyński’s inner circle. He is on very good terms with the PiS leader, who spends his summer holidays with Brudziński. As head of the party structures, he built a strong position that will prevent any politicians from entering into open conflict with him. He has good relations with Mateusz Morawiecki, better than with Beata Szydło. Brudziński was a member of the party internal committee, which threw Bartłomiej Misiewicz, a close associate of then-MinDef Antoni Macierewicz, out of PiS. He once competed with Adam Lipiński and Zbigniew Ziobro, but has been on decent terms with other leaders of the governing camp in recent years.

Reluctant to take over the ministry. Brudziński often said that he did not want to join the cabinet because “he enjoys the tasks in front of him”. Nevertheless, he always highlighted that he would go along with Kaczyński’s decision. His appointment to the cabinet resulted from Macierewicz’s dismissal; Mariusz Błaszczak, another Kaczyński confidant, move to MinDef and Brudziński took over MinInt. The new MinInt’s main task is to calm the situation in the scandal-ridden police, which is also struggling with recruitment. He will establish the State Protection Service, which is supposed to replace the Government Protection Office (BOR).

Man of the people. Brudziński, a former sailor, is famous for his sharp tongue and known as a brutal politician. After the Smolensk plane crash, he said that Donald Tusk “left the president’s body in the mud in a Russian coffin”. He has compared Lech Wałęsa to “a guy standing by the beer booth”. At party marches, he has succeeded in inspiring crowds. He always speaks of Kaczyński with deference and highlights his successes, including calling the 500+ programme “kaczorowe”. As deputy marshal of the Sejm he was better at running sessions than Marek Kuchciński and, unlike the marshal, he also admonished PiS MPs. He is rather liked by opposition MPs. He also argues with journalists and is active on Twitter. He seeks to read a lot and uses quotes in interviews to speak colourfully and show off his reading.

WHAT’S NEXT
PiS is staffing the power ministries with politicians associated with the party’s core, which is why MinInt had to be headed by a PiS politi-
cian at the deputy party leader level. Joachim Brudziński joining the cabinet, probably at the PiS leader’s request, means he must aban-
don his important party function. The outgoing head of the executive committee will likely handpick his successor. His appointment is also a signal to PiS’s hard electorate that, despite the new prime minister and Antoni Macierewicz’s dismissal, politicians close to Kaczyński will hold power in the cabinet – Brudziński, Błaszczak, Marek Suski and Mariusz Kamiński.
Czaputowicz: the mild face of PiS’s diplomacy

The new minister of foreign affairs is a second-choice candidate. The PM will play the leading role in Poland’s diplomacy.

Recognised dissident. Jacek Czaputowicz was born in 1956 in Warsaw. Under Communism, he was part of the democratic opposition and was detained by the secret police (SB) several times, first in December 1979, when the SB suspected him of cooperating with anti-communist movements in Czechoslovakia and the USSR. He co-founded the Independent Students’ Association in 1980. From 1985, he was a member of pro-democracy movement Wolność i Pokój (Freedom and Peace), where he met future MinHea Konstanty Radziwiłł, PO’s co-founder Jan Maria Rokita and two future ministers in Donald Tusk’s Cabinet, Bohdan Klich and Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz.

International relations theorist. Czaputowicz is a graduate of the Central School of Planning and Statistics (now the Warsaw School of Economics). In 1997, he completed a doctorate at the Polish Academy of Sciences for his thesis on European Security since the end of the Cold War. In 2008, he became a Doctor of Humanities and a full professor eight years later. He has graduate degrees from foreign universities, including the University of Oxford. He was a lecturer at the Warsaw School of Economics and Collegium Civitas, where Rafal Trzaskowski and Jacek Saryusz-Wolski also taught. More recently, Czaputowicz was head of the European Studies’ methodology department at the University of Warsaw’s European Institute.

Experienced MinFor employee. The new minister began his career at MinFor in 1990, where he was deputy head and then head of the consular and emigration department. In the late 1990s, he worked at the Office of European Integration, where he met Mateusz Morawiecki. From 1998 until 2006, under the AWS, SLD and PiS governments, he was deputy head of the Civil Service, but later returned to MinFor as head of the foreign policy strategy and planning department. From January 2017, he headed MinFor’s diplomatic academy. In September, PM Beata Szydło appointed him deputy minister for legal and treaty issues.

Conflict with Tusk brought him closer to PiS. In 2008, Czaputowicz was appointed head of the National School of Public Administration (KSAP) by Donald Tusk. Three years later, the school underwent an inspection by PMChan. Its final report was critical of the KSAP head; he was mainly accused of failing to adjust the training of future civil servants to the administration’s needs. Tusk allegedly considered closing down the school, but in the end only dismissed its head. This led Czaputowicz to draw closer to PiS; in 2014, he became a member of the party’s programme council led by Piotr Gliński. As deputy MinFor, he argued in an interview with Do Rzeczy that there had been irregularities in Tusk’s re-election as head of EurCou. His arguments were repeated by Witold Waszczykowski.

A pleasant introvert. Czaputowicz has considerable experience in administration and management. Our sources point out that he has prioritised his academic career so far, devoting the most time and energy to it; hence the poor assessment of his administrative work, confirmed by the PMChan’s report of 2011. Czaputowicz is a highly-regarded expert on international relations theory. As an academic and later deputy minister, he publicly criticised the position of EurCou and the Venice Commission on the changes in the Polish judiciary. Unlike Witold Waszczykowski, though, he avoids a confrontational tone. He is not associated with any PiS faction.

WHAT’S NEXT

According to our sources, Mateusz Morawiecki decided to appoint Jacek Czaputowicz as MinFor the day before the reshuffle was announced. Krzysztof Szczerski had allegedly made excessive demands: the separation of the EU division from the ministry and the post of deputy PM, which is why the PM opted for the modest deputy MinFor. The appointment of Czaputowicz, an understated person with considerable academic achievements, will improve PiS’s image with foreign partners. As minister, Czaputowicz will not play a prominent role – the EU’s sanctions procedure and relations with Brussels and the key capitals will be handled by the PM.

Joanna Popielawska
Senior Analyst for European Affairs
Maths teacher, Solidarity activist, local government official. After university, Kowalczyk worked as a maths teacher in Golądkowo, near Pułtusk. Following the strikes in August 1980, he headed the Solidarność cell at his workplace. After the Roundtable agreements, Kowalczyk was involved in building Civil Committees. Following the first local elections in 1990, he became a head of Winnica municipality. He held the post for 15 years with a one-year break, when he became voivode of Ciechanów region. From 1992, Kowalczyk was a member of ZChN. In 1997, he ran for Sejm from the AWS list; he received a sound result, but failed to win a seat. In 2005, he joined PiS. He has been an MP since then.

Gained in stature in the PiS election campaign in 2015. In June 2006, he became deputy MinAgr in Jarosław Kaczyński’s government. Second only to Andrzej Lepper at the ministry, he led the institution twice after the Samoobrona leader left the cabinet. In 2014, he became the party’s treasurer and began his close cooperation with Beata Szydło. He started appearing in the media in July 2015, when he presented the proposed changes to public finances. Although not a trained economist, he became one of the party’s experts in the area. He led work on the laws on the sales tax and taxes on bank assets, along with consultations on the presidential bill on lowering the retirement age.

Szydło’s ally, tension with Morawiecki. He was one of one of the closest associates of former prime minister Beata Szydło, who often praised him in public. After the dismissal of MinTrea Dawid Jackiewicz in September 2016, Szydło put Kowalczyk in charge of abolishing the ministry and then coordinating of the division of companies between ministries. In the Cabinet, he competed with Mateusz Morawiecki, clashing over topics such as the future of OFE. The then-deputy prime minister also opposed the introduction of the single tax (including ZUS contributions) advocated by Kowalczyk. For Szydło, Kowalczyk was a counterweight to Morawiecki in the Cabinet, but he turned out to be much weaker.

Mediator and the cabinet's legislative face. Kowalczyk is considered a conciliatory person. Apart from the tensions with Morawiecki, he sought to avoid conflict with other politicians. He often played the role of mediator in disputes among ministries and sought compromise between different factions’ proposals. As head of the CouMin standing committee fromautumn 2015 until January 2018, he decided on the cabinet’s legislative priorities and the pace of proceedings. He also proposed his own drafts, including on the management of state property, which sought to strengthen Szydło’s influence on state companies and change the way salaries are set (after the change of prime minister Kowalczyk withdrew the draft). According to some politicians, he slowed down work on Morawiecki’s business constitution.

Conservative, proponent of progressive taxes. Until now, Kowalczyk has not spoken out on environmental issues. His views on economic and social matters are better known. He opposes a flat tax and would like to raise taxes on industries with a large share of foreign capital. According to mamprawowiedziec.pl, Kowalczyk believes that the Church should have influence over the state and politics. He supports a complete ban on abortion and is against legalising civil partnerships. In the early months of the PiS government, he often appeared in the media, but has recently been giving fewer interviews.

WHAT’S NEXT

Henryk Kowalczyk is well versed in the government’s legislation and economic policy, but is not an expert on environmental matters and climate policy. His position will be defined by the division of responsibilities between MinEnv and MinEner and his choice of deputies. The two ministries will not be combined, but it is still unclear whose powers will be changed. For example, climate policy may be shifted from MinEnv to MinEner. If Kowalczyk does not change the ministry’s staffing, deputy ministers who had little say under Szyszko should gain greater autonomy. The minister’s biggest challenge will be preparing the December COP24 climate summit in Katowice and de-escalating the conflict with EurCom over the Białowieża Forest. It is not yet clear what strategy the new MinEnv will pick.

Robert Tomaszewski
Senior Analyst for Energy
Highly regarded cardiologist and scientist. After graduating from the Medical Academy in Warsaw in 1997 (now the Medical University of Warsaw), he started working at the Institute of Cardiology in Anin in 1998. There, he obtained his doctoral and postdoctoral degrees in medical sciences. On June 21, 2016, President Andrzej Duda made him a professor of medical sciences. From 2004 until 2011, he headed the Electrophysiology Laboratory, and then, from 2011, the Clinic of Heart Rhythm Disorders. He has been a member of the Scientific Council of the Institute of Cardiology for years and its deputy chairman since September 12, 2017. He is valued not only as a scientist, but also as a practicing physician.

Ministerial expert on scientific research. From 2011, Łukasz Szumowski headed a specialist life sciences team at MinSci, which evaluated applications for research funding. On November 24, 2016, he was appointed undersecretary of state at MinSci, working with the science department. He dealt with the parameterisation of scientific units and the creation of the Academic Exchange Agency. He supported the higher education reform prepared by Gowin. In his opinion, Polish universities will never be equal to the foreign ones without fundamental systemic changes. At the ministry, he mainly seen as a scientific expert, rather than a politician.

Supporter of investment in the Polish biotechnology sector. Łukasz Szumowski presented the idea of creating a Medical Biotechnology Institute (IB-Med); its establishment was announced by Mateusz Morawiecki and Jarosław Gowin at the end of December. The Institute would finance research on new medicines. The government wants to allocate half a billion złoty for this purpose, hoping that the Polish biotechnology sector will become one of the strongest in Europe. Szumowski has advocated the creation of better conditions for clinical trials on new medicines in Poland. He believes that a special agency responsible for coordinating and financing research would help.

Hope in start-ups. The new MinHea supports closer cooperation between science and the economy. He shares many of the initiatives spanning science and business with his brother Marcin Szumowski, co-founder of the Medicalgorithms and OncoArendi start-ups. The first implemented tele-medical solutions in cardiology; Łukasz Szumowski supported them with his scientific authority. The second is a biotechnology company with Michal Sołowow’s investment. Both are in sectors in which opportunities for Polish industry linked to the medical sciences are prospected.

Poles in the Borderlands and Cavaliers of Malta. For many years, Szumowski has been involved in the activities of the Kresy w Potrzebie Foundation - Poles for Poles. Its aim is to improve the material and professional situation of the Polish minority in Poland’s eastern neighbours and to support Polish language, culture and national traditions. Szumowski has also supported the Knights of Malta for years, joining the order in June 2017. He is also a signatory of the declaration of faith, a document signed by Polish doctors who oppose medical practices that go against the ethics of the Catholic Church.

WHAT’S NEXT

Łukasz Szumowski will have to face the problems that Konstanty Radziwiłł left behind. The resident doctors have announced that they will send him a letter expressing their readiness to discuss their demands, including a rapid increase in healthcare spending, to 6 per cent of GDP. They have also expressed their concern that replacing the MinHea will prolong the protest. Radziwiłł also left several drafts, some of which have been waiting for referral to the Sejm since 2016. Many of the ministry’s announcements are waiting to be implemented, including a new drug policy and a restriction on the export of medicines from Poland.
Czerwińska: securing funding for PiS’s programmes

The investment and budget expert will help carry out the Morawiecki Plan and the sealing of the tax system. Her position is not the subject of a coalition deal.

Academic from the Tri-City. Teresa Czerwińska comes from a family of Polish emigrants from Daugavpils in Latvia. She was educated in Gdańsk. She obtained her master’s degrees in management and social sciences from the University of Gdańsk. She wrote her PhD thesis on insurance companies’ investment activity. She became an associate professor at UG and has lectured in Sopot and Warsaw (from 2011). At the universities, she met Konrad Raczkowski, a former deputy finance minister at Paweł Szałamacha’s ministry, who is secretary of the financial sciences committee at the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Insurance specialist. Czerwińska specialises in investment, especially by insurance companies and pension funds. In 2004-2005, she worked as a chief specialist in the European Integration Department at the Office of the Insurance and Pension Funds Supervisory Commission. She dealt with cooperation with international organisations and creating analyses on the insurance market. In 2014, she joined the working group for corporate social responsibility at Janusz Piechociński’s MinEco. She was an independent member of Pekao Pioneer Investment Management’s supervisory board for several months.

18 months at MinSci. In December 2015, Czerwińska became deputy minister of science. She was responsible for the budget and finance department’s work, as well as the control and audit office’s. She also dealt with the implementation of a new algorithm for distributing a basic grant for public universities. It made the subsidies not depend on the number of students by introducing an index that determined the optimal relationship between staff and the number of students. Czerwińska also argued that the 50-per cent cost of earning one’s income covers not just artists, but researchers, too. She also prepared the ministry’s budget for 2016, which significantly increased spending on science.

Responsible for the state budget. In June 2017, she replaced deputy MinFin Hanna Majszczyk, probably recommended by MinSci Jaroslaw Gowin, who was satisfied with her work at his ministry. She took over the supervision of five departments, including the most important for her function, the state budget one. After joining MinFin, she did not replace her subordinates and works with the previous directors. Czerwińska led work on the budget for 2018. The act assumes the lowest deficit in three years and provides funding for PiS’s key projects, such as the 500+ programme.

No political powerbase. Although Czerwińska is associated with Jarosław Gowin, she has never belonged to his party. For this reason, her position will not be treated as one of a coalition nature. So far, she has not been politically engaged, is not an MP and has rarely appeared at Sejm sessions. Since joining the ministry of finance, she has Sejm committee meetings more often and appears in the media. Czerwińska’s work is valued by Morawiecki, which prompted him to suggest her as minister of finance to Jarosław Kaczyński.

WHAT’S NEXT

Czerwińska took over the ministry of finance, becoming alongside Polish Development Fund head Paweł Borys and new MinDev Jerzy Kwieciński – the prime minister’s closest associate. Her main task will be to provide funding for the implementation of the 500+ programme, the lowering of the retirement age and the planned revaluation of retirement and disability pensions this year. This will be made possible by a further tightening of the tax system and the good economic situation. Czerwińska will also support MinDev in the implementation of the Morawiecki Plan and head the CouMin economic committee’s work.

Piotr Sobolewski
Senior Analyst for Financial Sector
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Contact us:

Maciej Michalik  
Assistant, PI Research  
m.michalik@politykainsight.pl  
(+48) 22 436 73 12