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## **THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF CANDIDATES RUNNING FOR THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF POLAND IN 2010**

### **ABSTRACT**

The article presents the principles of economic policy of candidates in the 2010 presidential elections in Poland. It shows both differences as well as similarities in the approaches to various economic issues of the candidates running for election. It tries to give an answer which of the campaign promises caused an increase in endorsement from the electorate and which led to a conflict. The text describes the candidates' solutions to economic issues and also presents their in-depth analysis.

### **Key words**

presidential elections in Poland in 2010, economic policy, healthcare system reform, tax system, support of entrepreneurship

### **STRESZCZENIE**

Artykuł ma na celu przedstawienie założeń polityki gospodarczej kandydatów na urząd Prezydenta w wyborach roku 2010 w Polsce. Prezentuje zarówno różnice, jak i podobieństwa w podejściach poszczególnych kandydatów do kwestii związanych z gospodarką. Stara się odpowiedzieć na pytanie, które z obietnic przyczyniły się do zwiększenia poparcia dla danego polityka, a które stały się zarzewiem konfliktu. Tekst nie tylko opisuje deklaracje kandydatów dotyczące rozwiązywania problemów gospodarczych, lecz również przedstawia wnikliwą ocenę owych propozycji.

### **Słowa kluczowe**

wybory na urząd Prezydenta w roku 2010 w Polsce, polityka gospodarcza, reforma służby zdrowia, system podatkowy, rozwój przedsiębiorczości

On 21 April 2010, the Marshall of the Polish Sejm, Mr. Bronisław Komorowski, who was the then acting in the capacity of the President of the Republic of Poland, called for presidential elections to be held.<sup>1</sup> The election was scheduled to take place on 20 June 2010, which meant that the potential second round would have to be held in two weeks' time. The presidential candidates included Marek Jurek,<sup>2</sup> Jarosław Kaczyński,<sup>3</sup> Bronisław Komorowski,<sup>4</sup> Janusz

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<sup>1</sup> According to the election schedule, the presidential election in Poland was supposed to take place in the autumn of 2010. However, because of the crash of a Tupolev Tu-154M aircraft owned by the Polish Air Force near the city of Smolensk, which killed the Polish President Lech Kaczyński, the election was held earlier. *Postanowienie Marszałka Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 21 kwietnia 2010 r. o zarządzeniu wyborów Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, DzU 2010, nr 65, poz. 405 [The decision of the Speaker of the Sejm (the lower house of parliament in Poland) of 21<sup>st</sup> April, 2010 of a presidential election of the Republic of Poland, DzU (Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland, abbreviated DzU) 2010, No. 65, par. 405]; J. Cieśla, M. Kołodziejczyk, C. Łazarewicz, B. Mikołajewska, M. Papuzińska, J. Podgórska, P. Pytlakowski, J. Wilczak, E. Wnuk, *Ostatni lot* [Last Flight], "Polityka" 2010, No 16, pp. 5–7.

<sup>2</sup> Marek Jurek is the leader of Right of the Republic political party. He served as an MP in the Polish People's Republic parliament in the 10<sup>th</sup> term and then, after the political transformation, in the Polish parliament in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, and 5<sup>th</sup> terms. Between 2005 and 2007, he served as the Speaker of the Polish parliament. <http://www.marekjurek.pl/omnie> [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>3</sup> J. Kaczyński is the chairman of the Law and Justice party. In 1989, he was elected to become a senator. He then served as an MP in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> terms of the Polish parliament. In 2001, together with his twin brother, L. Kaczyński, he co-founded Law and Justice party and, two years later, he was elected the leader of the party. He served as the Prime Minister between 2006 and 2007. [http://jaroslawkaczynski.info/jaroslaw\\_kaczynski/Notatka\\_biograficzna](http://jaroslawkaczynski.info/jaroslaw_kaczynski/Notatka_biograficzna) [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>4</sup> B. Komorowski was Civic Platform's candidate. He served as an MP in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> terms of the Polish parliament. In 2005, he was elected a Deputy Speaker of the Polish parliament and, in 2007, he became the parliament's speaker. He has been a member of Civic Platform since 2001. After the tragic death of L. Kaczyński, B. Komorowski, as the Speaker of the Polish Parliament, became the acting President of the Republic of Poland. <http://www.bronislawkomorowski.pl/o-mnie.html> [access: 17.07.2011].

Korwin-Mikke,<sup>5</sup> Andrzej Lepper,<sup>6</sup> Kornel Morawiecki,<sup>7</sup> Grzegorz Napieralski,<sup>8</sup> Andrzej Olechowski,<sup>9</sup> Waldemar Pawlak,<sup>10</sup> and Bogusław Ziętek.<sup>11</sup>

This paper aims to present the economic aspect of the electoral platforms of the presidential candidates in the last election. The study presents both the differences and similarities between the economic policies that made up a part of the candidates' platforms. It also tries to answer the question about which promises the candidates made in the area of economics that increased their vote tallies and those which led to conflicts between them.

The Polish constitution allows the President to exercise a limited influence on the economic policy. He or she has the right to veto legislation or send the

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<sup>5</sup> J. Korwin-Mikke is the leader of Freedom and Lawfulness political party. An MP in the Polish parliament's first term. [http://korwin-mikke.pl/strony/o\\_jkm](http://korwin-mikke.pl/strony/o_jkm) [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>6</sup> A. Lepper was the leader of the Self-Defense of the Republic of Poland political party. He served as an MP in the Polish parliament's 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> term. Between October and November 2001 and 2005–2006, he was the Deputy Speaker of Sejm (the Polish parliament). In Mr. Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz and J. Kaczyński's cabinets, he served as the Deputy Prime Minister and the Minister of Agriculture and Rural Development. <http://www.kw-andrzejleppera.home.pl/index.html> [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>7</sup> K. Morawiecki was the candidate of Fighting Solidarity. <http://kornelmorawiecki-radem.pl/informacje> [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>8</sup> G. Napieralski is the leader of the Republic of Poland Democratic Left Alliance. He served as an MP in the Polish parliament's 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> term. In April 2010, the party supported him as its candidate in the presidential election. He replaced the party's leader Jerzy Szmajdziński, who died tragically in Smoleńsk in December 2009, and was then named as the party's candidate in the presidential elections. <http://www.napieralski.com.pl/o-mnie> [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>9</sup> A. Olechowski, an independent candidate, was supported by the Democratic Party. In Mr. Jan Olszewski's cabinet, he was the Minister of Finance and, in Mr. Waldemar Pawlak's cabinet, he served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. He co-founded the Civic Platform party in 2001. <http://www.olechowski.pl/content/show/id/1> [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>10</sup> W. Pawlak, the chairman of the Polish Peasant Party. He was the Polish People's Republic MP and he also served as an MP in the 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> in the Polish parliament. In 1992, Lech Wałęsa, the Polish President, designated him as the Prime Minister. He failed to form a cabinet. He again became the Prime Minister in 1993 in the coalition government of the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party. <http://www.prezydentpawlak.eu/biografia> [access: 17.07.2011].

<sup>11</sup> B. Ziętek, the candidate of the Polish Labour Party and the Free Trade Union "August 80". Since 2005, he has served as the chairman of the party and the leader of the trade union. <http://wybory.onet.pl/prezydenckie-2010/kandydaci/zientek-boguslaw,1335,kandydat> [access: 17.07.2011].

bills to the Constitutional Tribunal.<sup>12</sup> An effective use of these prerogatives can block governmental economic reforms. This is also why economic policy is one of the elements of electoral programs of candidates running for this office. The economic platforms formed discussions between the candidates and voters. The principles of economic policy were connected with the vision of Poland presented by the candidates.

During the presidential campaign, the most attention was paid to the question of privatizing hospitals. The future shape of Poland's medical service stirred up voters' emotions and effectively led to conflicts between the candidates. B. Komorowski opted to transform hospitals into commercial companies, which later could be sanitized. Services in commercialized medical centers were supposed to be free of charge.

J. Kaczyński did not go into details on the issue of hospitals. He said that the medical service in Poland should be public and should run smoothly. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of June 2010, during an election rally in Lublin, Kaczyński accused the Civic Platform candidate of wanting to privatize public hospitals.<sup>13</sup> Mr. Komorowski's campaign filed a lawsuit, based on Polish electoral law, against the Law and Justice leader, charging him with slander in relation to the question of privatizing the medical service in Poland.<sup>14</sup> The regional court in Warsaw found Kaczyński guilty of lying and manipulation when he said that Komorowski wanted to privatize Poland's medical service. The court of appeal sustained the first court's ruling.<sup>15</sup>

In response to this, the Law and Justice campaign team suggested that Komorowski could take part in a debate on the reform of the national medical service. The Civic Platform candidate initially accepted the proposal. However, he set some conditions – that the court's ruling should be implemented and that the range of issues to be discussed should be broadened.<sup>16</sup> Other candidates running for the office joined the discussion between B. Komorowski and J. Kaczyński. G. Napieralski appealed to both candidates that they should issue

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<sup>12</sup> See article 122 of the *Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [The Polish Constitution], Warszawa 2007, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>13</sup> "Gazeta Wyborcza", June 16, 2010.

<sup>14</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>15</sup> The regional court in Warsaw told J. Kaczyński's campaign team to correct his statement about privatization being one of the issues of B. Komorowski's economic electoral program. "Rzeczpospolita", [access: 23.07.2011].

<sup>16</sup> The debate on the medical service between J. Kaczyński and B. Komorowski did not take place.

official statements about commercialization and privatization of hospitals.<sup>17</sup> In his opinion, this would dispel any doubts about their opinions on this matter, which is so significant to Poland. The Democratic Left Alliance's candidate also advocated free access to medical service for all Polish citizens. He was against commercialization and privatization of Polish hospitals. W. Pawlak, A. Lepper, M. Jurek, B. Ziętek, and K. Morawiecki adopted similar stances on the issue of the future of the medical service in Poland. The candidates stressed that the public medical service should operate smoothly. According to Pawlak and Lepper, the existence of public hospitals should not limit the possibility of setting up privately owned medical services.<sup>18</sup> The Self-Defence candidate blamed the lack of funds for treating patients in Polish hospitals on the economic crisis. He advocated suspending the payment of debts and to diagnose the causes of the Polish medical service's bad financial situation. He also suggested that funds gained in this way should be later used to write off the debts of the country's medical service.<sup>19</sup> The independent candidate, A. Olechowski, was not entirely against privatizing the medical service. In his opinion, any changes in the ownership of hospitals should take place only when such changes would be absolutely necessary, bearing in mind the best interests and the financial situation of patients. J. Korwin-Mikke, the leader of Freedom and Lawfulness, advocated that both public hospitals and the Ministry of Health<sup>20</sup> should be closed down as, in his opinion, only a private medical system could significantly lower the cost of running the system.

During the campaign, less attention was paid to the tax system than to the reform of the medical service. The candidates were reluctant to make public statements on the issue. W. Pawlak, M. Jurek, A. Lepper, and K. Morawiecki did not suggest any changes be introduced to the tax system. B. Komorowski and A. Olechowski supported the introduction of a linear tax. The Civic Platform candidate promised that the parliamentary majority would support the motion of changing the progressive tax into a linear tax.<sup>21</sup> Olechowski supported the introduction of the linear tax and pointed out that this would be beneficial for

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<sup>17</sup> <http://prywatnezdrowie.pl/artykuly/poradnik-pacjenta/kandydaci-na-prezydenta-rp-2> [access: 10.04.2011].

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.tvn24.pl/1,1658533,druk.html> [access: 14.05.2011].

<sup>19</sup> [http://www.newsweek.pl/artykuly/lepper-%E2%80%9Edlugi\\_luzby\\_zdrowia](http://www.newsweek.pl/artykuly/lepper-%E2%80%9Edlugi_luzby_zdrowia) [access: 13.05.2011].

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.polskieradio.pl/jedynka/sygnalydnia/print.aspx?id=21930> [access: 18.07.2011].

<sup>21</sup> "Gazeta Wyborcza", May 18, 2010.

the country's economic effectiveness. He thought that the tax changes, meaning the introduction of the linear tax, would reduce the country's revenue in the first two years,<sup>22</sup> but would generate greater revenue later. Therefore, a change in the country's tax system, given the existing budget deficit, should not be considered as a priority in the economic policy of the country.<sup>23</sup> G. Napieralski critically referred to the proposed change of the progressive system into the linear one. He thought that this would result in smaller revenues to the country's budget. He advocated taxing the Catholic Church, introducing a religious tax, similar to the German system, and a re-introduction of the third income tax threshold.<sup>24</sup> J. Kaczyński spoke generally about issues connected with Poland's tax system. He highlighted the importance of the legal and tax systems, which affect the level of unemployment. The chairman of Law and Justice, just like B. Komorowski, was of the opinion that the so-called Belka's tax should be eliminated.<sup>25</sup> Olechowski presented an opposite opinion on this matter.<sup>26</sup>

J. Korwin-Mikke thought that the income tax and corporate income tax should be eliminated, but that the VAT and excise duty should stay in place.<sup>27</sup> Instead of the income tax, he suggested introducing a poll tax, which would be used to finance the army and the police force.<sup>28</sup> The leader of Freedom and Lawfulness thought that the level of other taxes should be lowered seven-fold.

B. Ziętek suggested other changes should be introduced in the tax system. He proposed the introduction of a local tax (10.00 PLN) that would be used by the local administration to help the medical system financially.

Apart from A. Olechowski, other candidates in vague, general words spoke about the issue of the entrepreneurial spirit. Very little attention was paid to the issue in the candidates' electoral platforms.

According to Komorowski, politicians should not "disturb or interfere" with business people, but make sure the country enjoyed a healthy economic growth, limit the level of red tape, and try to increase the transfer of scientific discoveries

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<sup>22</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>24</sup> "Dziennik Gazeta Prawna", June 1, 2010.

<sup>25</sup> In 2002, Marek Belka, the Minister of Finance, introduced a special tax on the profits of deposit accounts. It was commonly known as Belka's tax. A 19% tax was levied on the profits in bank deposit accounts. "Gazeta Wyborcza", July 28, 2009.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem; "Dziennik Gazeta Prawna", June 2010.

<sup>27</sup> "Rzeczpospolita", June 17, 2010.

<sup>28</sup> <http://korwin-mikke.blog.onet.pl/Jeszcze-o-podatkach,2,ID388871084,n> [access: 15.07.2011].

into the sphere of business activity. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> European Economic Congress in Katowice, the Civic Platform candidate defined the Polish economy as a country friendly to business.<sup>29</sup> J. Kaczyński tried to assess both the condition of the Polish economy and to point out the direction in which it should be developing. The chairman of Law and Justice thought that the future of the Polish economy depends on the initiatives of people and their resourcefulness.<sup>30</sup> He promised to introduce streamlined procedures for business people, including the reactivation of *Kluska's Project*,<sup>31</sup> simplify procedures necessary to obtain a building permit, reduce the time for retaining receipts from cash registers, and to amend the Polish labor law.<sup>32</sup> On 1 July 2010, at the Congress of Entrepreneurs, Kaczyński promised to lower the number of concessions and licenses from more than 400 to 25 and to prepare a white paper similar to the one prepared by Minister Wilczek in the late 1980s,<sup>33</sup> which would eliminate all of the barriers in the economy and would stimulate its development.<sup>34</sup>

G. Napieralski, W. Pawlak, A. Lepper, M. Jurek, and J. Kaczyński promised to support the country's economic sector by simplifying the procedures for

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<sup>29</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> European Economic Congress in Katowice was held 31 May – 2 June, 2010. *Europejski Kongres Gospodarczy 2010* [European Economic Congress 2010], "Nowy Przemysł" 2010, No. 7–8, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> "Gazeta Wyborcza", May 14, 2010.

<sup>31</sup> Mr. Kaczyński's government prepared the economic project known as *Kluska's Project* in March 2007. The project includes a number of legal acts that would make the bureaucratic procedures less complicated and conducive to encouraging business. Because of the earlier parliamentary elections and the creation of Donald Tusk's government, the project was never accepted by the parliament. More on the issue: M. Kamola-Cieślak, *Założenia i realizacja programu gospodarczego Prawa i Sprawiedliwości w latach 2005–2007* [The Assumptions and Implementation of the Economic Program of Law and Justice, 2005–2007] [in:] *Partie polityczne – przywództwo partyjne* [Political Parties – Party Leadership], J. Sileski, M. Czerwiński (eds.), Toruń 2008, pp. 217, 218.

<sup>32</sup> "Dziennik Gazeta Prawna", June 8, 2010.

<sup>33</sup> The act on the economic activity from 1988 (commonly referred to as *Wilczek's Act*) proposed by the then-Minister of Industry Mieczysław Wilczek in Mieczysław Rakowski's government made it possible to conduct economic activity by everyone on the same terms. In effect, it led to an outburst of small business activity. *Ustawa z dnia 23 grudnia 1988 r. o działalności gospodarczej*, DzU 1988, nr 41, poz. 324 [An Act from 23 December, 1988, on economic activity. Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland 1988, Number 41, par. 324].

<sup>34</sup> M. Wilczek, to whom the chairman of Law and Justice referred, appealed to business people to support Komorowski as "Kaczyński represents everything but economic entrepreneurialism [mentality]". "Gazeta Wyborcza", July 2, 2010.



obtaining permits to set up and run companies.<sup>35</sup> According to the leader of the Republic of Poland Democratic Left Alliance, this would eliminate the risk of corruption. The candidate of Self-Defence,<sup>36</sup> in a presidential debate in which he took part, declared to introduce changes for business people that would simplify procedures. This was supposed to lead to the creation of new jobs, mainly for young people.<sup>37</sup> M. Jurek wanted to support business people through his tax policy.

A. Olechowski in his electoral program, *Contract for Poland*, paid much attention to matters connected with the development of Polish companies. This non-aligned candidate promised to promote Poland among foreign investors and abroad.<sup>38</sup> He promised to be active in the field of promoting the entrepreneurial spirit in order to increase its social prestige. He also promised to create the position of an entrepreneurial spokesperson. The entrepreneurial spokesperson would be responsible for ensuring its development.<sup>39</sup>

J. Korwin-Mikke opted for liberal solutions for stimulating the economic development. He was against governmental or presidential interventions into business matters, which could only result in slowing down the economic activity or lead to companies going bankrupt. The state, according to him, should only make sure that companies respect the law. In his view, the Wilczek Act best defined what needed to be done in order to stimulate the economic development. As a presidential candidate, he advocated that this piece of legislation should be reactivated.

B. Ziętek and K. Morawiecki promised to create job places for young people. The leader of the Polish Labour Party and Free Trade Union “August 80” promised to create preferential conditions for business people who would employ young people.<sup>40</sup> All of these actions should lead to a drop in unemployment and should stimulate the economic development of Polish companies.

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<sup>35</sup> <http://wyborcza.biz/biznes/2029020,101562,8009606.htm?> [access: 14.07.2011].

<sup>36</sup> On 8 June 2010, a presidential debate took place in which A. Lepper, K. Morawiecki and B. Ziętek participated. <http://wiadomości.wp.pl/drukuj.html?wid=1234701> [access: 17.05.2011].

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.polskieradio.pl/prezydent2010/wiadomosci/artukul16467.html> [access: 16.07.2011].

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.olechowski.pl/program/show/id/6> [access: 21.05.2011].

<sup>39</sup> *Wybory 2010* [Elections 2010], “Polityka” 2010, No 25, p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> [http://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosci/print.html?article\\_id=2157629](http://www.bankier.pl/wiadomosci/print.html?article_id=2157629) [access: 30.07.2011].

Before the run-off election, agricultural policy became one of the main issues. The platforms that were presented were geared towards winning the support of Polish farmers. B. Komorowski used his vision of how to develop Poland's agriculture as a weapon against his main opponent. On 28 June 2010, in the final minutes of the televised presidential debate, he accused Kaczyński of agreeing in an interview published in "European Voice" that subsidies for farmers should be eliminated in order to create a strong European army.<sup>41</sup> Kaczyński denied the accusations and promised to take steps to ensure that Polish farmers would receive farming subsidies at the same level as farmers in France and Germany. Kaczyński promised to eliminate the gap in the quality of life between the countryside and Polish cities. In a meeting with agricultural leaders he stressed that he wants to "develop the countryside because he opts for the idea of the nation's cohesion."<sup>42</sup> The Civic Platform candidate promised to create a forum of rural communities that would act as part of the presidential staff. The forum would act as a think tank and work out solutions that the president could use more effectively to persuade the government and the parliament to implement concrete policies in the area of agriculture.<sup>43</sup>

Waldemar Pawlak also promised to help the rural communities and particularly foarmer producing organic food.<sup>44</sup> The leader of Polish Peasant Party, just like Kaczyński, Napieralski,<sup>45</sup> Lepper, and Olechowski,<sup>46</sup> promised to increase the EU subsidies for farmers and to improve the situation in the Polish countryside. According to Napieralski, the president should cooperate with the government and the parliament to make sure Polish farmers would be able to compete with farmers from other EU countries on equal terms. Korwin-Mikke, Jurek, Ziętek, and Morawiecki in their electoral programs and during the campaign did not refer to farmers as their potential voters. The main points in the economic programs of the presidential candidates in 2010 presidential election are presented below in Table 1.

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<sup>41</sup> "Gazeta Wyborcza", June 29, 2010.

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.kolkarolnicze.eu/nprint.php?Nid=113> [access: 14.07.2011].

<sup>43</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>44</sup> [http://www.prezydentpawlak.eu/upload/obrazki/PROGRAM/WP\\_03.jpeg](http://www.prezydentpawlak.eu/upload/obrazki/PROGRAM/WP_03.jpeg) [access: 02.07.2011].

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.napieralski.com.pl/program> [access: 08.07.2011].

<sup>46</sup> <http://suwalki.naszemiasto.pl/drukuj/454424,w-suwalkach-andrzej-lepper-namawial> [access: 08.07.2011].

**Table 1.** The economic policies presented in electoral programs of the candidates running for the office of the President of the Republic of Poland in 2010

Candidate	The main points of the economic programs			
	privatisation of hospitals	changes in the tax system	support of entrepreneurial spirit	the agricultural policy
Jarosław Kaczyński	no	elimination of Belka's tax	streamline procedures for people starting and running businesses	increased EU subsidies for farmers
Bronisław Komorowski	no	introduction of linear tax, elimination of Belka's tax	less red tape in economy, transfer of scientific discoveries to business	creation of a forum of rural communities at the presidential office
Janusz Korwin-Mikke	yes	elimination of income tax, corporate income tax, introduction of poll tax	no presidential or governmental intervention of into business activity	no stance
Andrzej Lepper	yes	no	streamline procedures for people starting and running businesses	increased EU subsidies for farmers
Kornel Morawiecki	no	no	preferential conditions for employers employing young people	no stance
Grzegorz Napieralski	no	Catholic Church taxed, introduction of religious tax (like in Germany), reintroduction of the third income tax threshold	streamline procedures for people starting and running businesses	increased EU subsidies for farmers

Candidate	The main points of the economic programs			
	privatisation of hospitals	changes in the tax system	support of entrepreneurial spirit	the agricultural policy
Andrzej Olechowski	only when it is absolutely necessary	introduction of linear tax	promotion of Polish business both at home and abroad, spokesperson for entrepreneurial activity at the office of the president	increased EU subsidies for farmers
Waldemar Pawlak	no	no	streamline procedures for people starting and running businesses	increased EU subsidies for farmers
Bogusław Ziętek	no	introduction of local tax	preferential conditions for employers employing young people	no stance

The table prepared by the author on the basis of “Gazeta Polska”, June 17, 2010; “Gazeta Wyborcza”, July 2, 2010; “Rzeczpospolita”, June 23, 2010; <http://www.wprost.pl/ar/196163/Debata-prezydencka-2010-we-Wprost-cz-I-Gospodarka> [access: 07.07.2011].

The presidential campaign was overshadowed by the tragic crash of the presidential plane at Smolensk. Right from the start, Bronisław Komorowski and Jarosław Kaczyński became the campaign’s most important candidates.<sup>47</sup> This was evidenced in opinion polls that were organized by many institutions, including OBOP (Polish Centre of Opinion Polls).

On 20 June 2010, the number of eligible voters was 30,813,005. A total of 16,923,832 votes were cast, including 16,806,170 votes valid. The turnout amounted to 54.94%.<sup>48</sup> The results were as follows; Bronisław Komorowski:

<sup>47</sup> J. Paradowska, *Barwy kampanii: sepia i czerń* [The Election Campaign Color: Sepia and Black], “Polityka” 2010, No 19, p. 13.

<sup>48</sup> <http://prezydent2010.pkw.gov.pl/PZT1/PL/WYN/W/index.htm> [access: 09.07.2011].

6,981,319 votes (41.54%); Jarosław Kaczyński: 6,128,255 votes (36.46%); Grzegorz Napieralski: 2,299,870 votes (13.68%); Janusz Korwin-Mikke: 416,898 votes (2.48%); Waldemar Pawlak: 294,273 votes (1.75%); Andrzej Olechowski: 242,439 votes (1.44%); Andrzej Lepper: 214,657 (1.28%); Marek Jurek: 177,315 votes (1.06%); Bogusław Ziętek: 29,548 votes (0.18%); and Kornel Morawiecki: 21,596 votes (0.13%).<sup>49</sup> Two weeks later the second round of the election was held. 17,050,417 people took part in the election and 16,853,021 valid votes were cast. The turnout was 55.31%. 8,933,887 votes (53.01%) were cast in favor of Bronisław Komorowski and 7,919,134 (46.99%) for Jarosław Kaczyński.<sup>50</sup>

The main points of the economic policies in the presidential candidates' electoral platforms were presented in a very general way. Olechowski turned out to be the only exception with his *Contract for Poland*, in which the candidate referred to both entrepreneurs and farmers and where he stressed that he would focus on the economy as the future president.

The presidential candidates made many declarations on economic problems during their meetings with voters and during televised debates. The most attention was paid to the questions of privatization, the tax system, and the development of the entrepreneurial spirit. The visions presented by the respective candidates were similar. Only Korwin-Mikke advocated that the state should not intervene in the economy. The problems of commercializing the medical system and EU subsidies for farmers led to a legal dispute between Komorowski and Kaczyński. The fact that the court's ruling in the legal dispute about the privatization of the medical system was in Komorowski's favor did not help him to gain undecided swing voters as can be seen in the results of opinion polls conducted shortly before the election.

Komorowski won the presidential election by a small margin. Kaczyński's defeat was due to his larger negative campaigning. Komorowski's voters perceived the Law and Justice candidate as a politician of conflict, who is unable to come to a compromise despite the fact that during the campaign he called for reconciliation and avoided radical statements.

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<sup>49</sup> <http://prezydent2010.pkw.gov.pl/PZT1/PL/WYN/W/index.htm> [access: 19.07.2011].

<sup>50</sup> Ibidem; *Półowa Polaków dała Platformie czerwoną kartkę. Politycy o wyborach prezydenckich* [Half of Poles Gave Red Card to Civic Platform. Politicians about Presidential Election], "Gazeta Polska" 2010, No. 27, p. 4.