Naczyk, Marek

**Taking back control: Comprador bankers and managerial developmentalism in Poland**

*Review of International Political Economy*

APPENDIX A.5.

Sources of evidence and actor biographies

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# A.5.1. Approach to collecting evidence

In line with process tracing best practices defined by Bennett and Checkel (2015), I have done my best to be “equally tough on the alternative explanations” and to be “relentless in gathering diverse and relevant evidence”. Being “equally tough on the alternative explanations” does not mean that I have been trying to reject them without careful consideration. On the contrary, I have done my best to identify the *best* possible evidence for different actors playing a leading role in the processes I describe. I have tried to report that evidence directly in appendices A.6.-A.8. whenever possible. When I have not identified any evidence suggesting that some actor has been involved in *any* kind of attempt to promote, or to raise the profile of, a specific type of developmental policy (repolonization, creation of new developmentalist institutions, industrial policy), I do simply not report any evidence – or sometimes report evidence to the contrary – in those appendices.

In terms of data collection, my approach has been typically iterative (cf. Fairfield & Charman, 2019). As I have been following Polish news on a regular basis for more than two decades, I have at times noticed interesting/surprising political or policy developments and started delving into them and formulating conjectures that I would then try to evidence further by looking for – and sometimes reformulate those conjectures by finding – further media material (articles from newspapers with *any* kind of political orientation, radio interviews, televized interviews and online/YouTube recordings of debates and conferences), policy papers, material on government websites (e.g. for policy documents), etc. One tool that I have been regularly using has been Factiva that gives access to a large sample of more mainstream Polish news outlets (Dziennik Gazeta Prawna, Gazeta Wyborcza, PAP reports, Parkiet, Rzeczpospolita, etc.) and – via the use of logical connectors AND/OR and parentheses – gives the possibility of conducting both very broad term searches (thereby helping me to “cast the new widely for alternative explanations” and to “be equally tough on the alternative explanations” – Bennett and Checkel 2015) and narrow searches when seeking to find more fine-grained evidence (e.g. interviews given by specific actors). Finally, after searching for as many publicly available documents as possible, I have conducted more confirmatory interviews with actors sampled through purposive sampling (Tansey, 2007) – effectively with actors that documentary analysis helped me identify as playing a more or less important role in the outcomes I study. Overall, I conducted 15 interviews in three rounds (August 2014; September 2019; Summer 2020). The list is provided in the section below.

To be fully transparent, I should acknowledge that I must have suffered from confirmation bias in finding evidence on my own hypothesis (i.e. leading role of comprador bankers and, initially, more broadly, of Polish-born managers of the subsidiaries of any types of foreign-owned – not necessarily just banking – MNCs) after I clearly formulated this hypothesis sometime in early 2019. One sign of this is that, when I conducted a series of more confirmatory interviews in autumn 2019, I mainly asked questions about the role of managerial elites (and the mechanism leading to their preference change and their mobilization) and often failed to properly inquire into the role of other “suspects”.

Now, I should point out, firstly, that I formulated this hypothesis in an iterative manner and, in fact, at a late stage in data collection. I started working on this project at the end of 2012 (i.e. around the time the creation of PIR – “Polish Investments for Development” was announced) largely because I was surprised to notice Jan Krzysztof Bielecki’s apparent role in it. At the time, I assumed that he is a pro-market politician. And, although I saw the links with Polish business early on (Naczyk, 2014), I did not understand the drivers of Bielecki’s mobilization well, nor did I understand the networks of actors collaborating with him. Once PiS came to power in 2015, I also decided to wait and see what the political dynamics in terms of PiS’s more statist/developmentalist approach would be without necessarily assuming – or even more so expecting – that business would play a leading role there.

Secondly, in order to counteract confirmation bias and in order to address weaknesses in the evidence base that were pointed out by my reviewers, I did my best to collect the *best* possible evidence for different “suspects” playing a leading role in the processes through new intensive internet searches and by conducting – and sometimes unsuccessfully searching to conduct – additional interviews in the summer of 2020 with people as close as possible to the matter, including with more traditional state actors – e.g a high-profile official in the Ministry of the State Treasury and a Minister of Finance affiliated with PiS (A.5.2) – who could be suspected of having played a leading role in the revival of developmentalism after 2008. In organizing the 2020 round of interviews, I also approached four high-profile PiS politicians (including three members of the political bureau of Law and Justice with expertise in economic policy), two high-profile PO politicians (with expertise on economic issues and experience as a Minister in one of the Tusk governments), two other former heads of the BGK, two representatives of the European Investment Bank, two representatives of Polish employers’ associations, but, in most cases, I did not receive a response. The high-profile PO politician refused to give an interview, but accepted for his email response to be cited anonymously (see A.6.2.33).

# A.5.2.list-of-interviews

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Label** | **When?** | **With whom?** | **Where?** |
| A.5.2.1 | 2014-08-11 | Jan Filip Staniłko, think tanker with links to the Law and Justice party | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.2 | 2014-08-13 | Representative of the Polish Chamber of Commerce (Krajowa Izba Gospodarcza - KIG) | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.3 | 2014-08-13 | Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Chairman of Prime Minister Tusk’s Council of Economic Advisors | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.4 | 2014-08-14 | Economics consultant and former Finance Ministry official | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.5 | 2019-09-06 | Former official at Ministry of Development | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.6 | 2019-09-09 | Former journalist at Puls Biznesu newspaper | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.7 | 2019-09-10 | Jan Filip Staniłko, Director of the Department of Innovation at the Ministry of Entrepreneurship and Technology (previously at the Ministry of Development) | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.8 | 2019-09-12 | Marcin Piasecki, former Investment Director at Polish Investments for Development (PIR) and former Chief Investment Officer and Vice-President of the Management Board at the Polish Development Fund (PFR) | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.9 | 2019-09-13 | Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, former Chairman of Prime Minister Tusk’s Council of Economic Advisors, and Adam Jasser, former Secretary of State in the Chancellary of the Prime Minister and Secretary of Prime Minister Tusk’s Council of Economic Advisors | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.10 | 2019-09-14 | Senior executive at Warsaw Office of Boston Consulting Group | Warsaw |
| A.5.2.11 | 2020-05-20 | Paweł Tamborski, former Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of the State Treasury | online |
| A.5.2.12 | 2020-06-30 | Andrzej Nartowski, former President of the Polish Institute of Directors | online |
| A.5.2.13 | 2020-10-07 and  2020-10-17 | Paweł Szałamacha, former Minister of Finance | phone |
| A.5.2.14 | 2020-07-15 | Tomasz Mironczuk, former deputy CEO of PKO BP and former CEO of Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (BGK) | phone |
| A.5.2.15 | 2020-08-12 | Banker | online |

NB: As I have decided to comply with Polish Press Law (in particular with art. 14a of the Law of 26 January 1984 – “Prawo prasowe”) in conducting this research project, all informants who are identified by name in the text or in the appendix have been given the right to review and “authorize” their interviews before the paper was submitted or resubmitted to the Review of International Political Economy.

# A.5.3.actor-bios

Sources: institutional websites and LinkedIn

## *A.5.3.1.bio-Bielecki*

**Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**

* 2015-Now – EY Poland – Chairman of the Board of Partners
* 2010-2014 – Prime Minister’s Council of Economic Advisers – Chairman
* 2003-2010 – Bank Pekao S.A. – President and Chief Executive Officer
* 1993-2003 – European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD – London) – Executive Director
* 1992-1993 – Polish Government – Minister for European Integration
* 1991 – Polish Government – Prime Minister of Poland
* 1989-1993 – Polish Sejm – Member of Parliament

## *A.5.3.2.bio-Jagiełło*

**Zbigniew Jagiełło**

* 2009-Now – PKO BP – President of the Management Board
* 2001-2009 – Pioneer Pekao TFI S.A. – President of the Management Board
* 2000-2001 – Pekao/Alliance TFI S.A. – President of the Management Board
* 1998-2000 – PKO/Credit Suisse TFI S.A. – Vice-President
* 1996-1998 – PKO/Credit Suisse TFI S.A. – Sales and Distribution Director

## *A.5.3.3.bio-Klesyk*

**Andrzej Klesyk**

* 2007-2015 – PZU S.A. – Chief Executive Officer
* 2003-2007 – The Boston Consulting Group (Warsaw) – Partner and Managing Director
* 2000-2003 – Inteligo Financial Services S.A. – Co-Founder and Chief Executive Officer
* 1993-2000 – McKinsey (London branch) – Senior Engagement Manager

## *A.5.3.4.bio-Krupiński*

**Michał Krupiński**

* 2017-Now – Bank Pekao S.A. – Chief Executive Officer
* 2016-2017 – PZU S.A. – Chief Executive Officer
* 2011-2017 – Bank of America Merrill Lynch (Warsaw) – Managing Director, Head of Global Banking and Markets for Central and Eastern Europe
* 2008-2011 – World Bank Group (Washington D.C.) – Alternate Executive Director
* 2006-2008 – Ministry of the State Treasury – Undersecretary of State
* 2003-2006 – European Parliament - Adviser

## *A.5.3.5.bio-Kurtyka*

**Michał Kurtyka**

* 2018-Now – Ministry of Environment – Secretary of State and Government Plenipotentiary for COP24 Presidency
* 2016-2018 – Ministry of Energy – Undersecretary of State and Secretary of State
* 2012-2015 – BPI Group Polska – Chairman
* 2002-2012 – Bernard Brunhes Polska / BPI Group Polska – Chief Executive Officer
* 2000-2002 – University of Warsaw – Researcher
* 1998-2000 – Polish Government’s Office of the Committee for European Integration – Trainee and Head of the Analysis Department

## *A.5.3.6.bio-Morawiecki*

**Mateusz Morawiecki**

* 2017-Now – Polish Government – Prime Minister
* 2016-2017 – Polish Government – Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and Minister of Development
* 2015-2016 – Polish Government – Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Development
* 2010-2012 – Prime Minister’s Council of Economic Advisers – Member
* 2007-2015 – BZ WBK – Chief Executive Officer
* 2001-2007 – BZ WBK – Member of the Management Board
* 1998-2001 – BZ WBK – Advisor to the CEO
* 1998 – Polish Government’s Office for the Committee for European Integration – Deputy Director of the Accession Negotiations Department

## *A.5.3.7.bio-Piasecki*

**Marcin Piasecki**

* 2016-2018 – Polish Development Fund (PFR) – Chief Investment Officer and Vice-President of the Management Board
* 2013-2016 – Polish Investments for Development (PIR) – Investment Director
* 2011-2013 – Kulczyk Investments S.A. (London) – Project Manager / Director
* 2008-2011 – Mubadala Development Company (Abu Dhabi, UAE) – Associate / Manager
* 2005-2008 – Citigroup (Paris and London) – Analyst

## *A.5.3.8.bio-Tamborski*

**Paweł Tamborski**

* 2014-2015 – Warsaw Stock Exchange – Chief Executive Officer
* 2012-2014 – Ministry of the State Treasury – Undersecretary of State
* 2010-2012 – Wood & Company – Head of Investment Banking
* 2008-2010 – UniCredit CAIB Securities UK (London) – Managing Director responsible for capital markets team and CEE operations
* 1999-2007 – UniCredit CAIB Poland S.A. – Member of the Board, Director General, responsible for investment banking
* 1994-1999 – CAIB Securities S.A. – Director, Head of New Issues Department
* 1993-1994 – Central Brokerage Office of WBK S.A. – Head of Stock Exchange Transactions and Deputy Director

## 

## *A.5.3.9.bios-BGK-heads*

**Bios of Presidents of the Management Board of Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (BGK)**

**2007-2009 – Ireneusz Fąfara**

* 1998-2007 – Social Insurance Institution (ZUS) – Vice-President of the Management Board / Chief Financial Officer
* 1992-1998 – Bank Energetyki S.A. – Vice-President of the Management Board

**2009-2011 – Tomasz Mironczuk**

* 2008-2009 – PKO BP – Vice-President of Management Board
* 2001-2008 – Bank BPH – Managing Director – Treasurer
* 1998-2001 – BRE Bank – Deputy Treasurer
* 1994-1998 – Polski Bank Rozwoju – Head of Treasury and Trading Department

**2011-2013 – Dariusz Daniluk**

* 2008-2011 – Ministry of Finance – Under-Secretary of State
* 2002-2008 – Narodowy Bank Polski (central bank) – Director of Department of Internal Audit
* 2002-2002 – Bank Gospodarki Żywnościowej – Director of Department of Internal Audit
* 1994-2000 – Narodowy Bank Polski (central bank) – adviser to President and deputy director of International Department

**2013-2016 – Dariusz Kacprzyk**

* 2009-2013 – BRE Bank – director of Corporation Cooperation Department
* 2007-2009 – Bank Pekao S.A. – Managing director in Corporate Banking Real Estate Financing and International Markets Divison
* earlier: worked at Bank BPH S.A., Powszechny Bank Kredytowy and PKO BP

**2016 – Mirosław Panek (Acting President from 03.2016 until 10.2016)**

* 2009-2016: independent Member of Supervisory Boards of public limited companies, including: ATM S.A., Mostostal Zabrze S.A., Vistula Group S.A., Mennica Polska S.A., Protektor S.A., Atende S.A.
* 2008: member of Management Board of Opera TFI
* 2006-2007 – PZU S.A. – member of the Management Board
* 2002-2006 – ING TFI – President of the Management Board
* 1999-2006 – ING Investment Management (Poland) S.A. – Board Member and Investment Director
* 1997-1998 – ABN AMRO Asset Management (Poland) S.A. – Board Member and Investment Advisor in

**2016-Now – Beata Daszyńska-Muzyczka**

* 1994-2016 – BZ WBK
* 2015-2016 – BZ WBK – Member of Management Board
* 2014-2015 – BZ WBK – Head of HR Partnership Area
* 2012-2014 – BZ WBK – Business Partnership Division
* 2007-2014 – BZ WBK – Head of Logistics and Real Estate Area
* 2005-2007 – BZ WBK – Head of Real Estate Department

## *A.5.3.10.bios-PIR/PFR-heads*

**Bios of Presidents of the Management Board of Polish Investments for Development (PIR - Polskie Inwestycje Rozwojowe S.A.) / Polish Development Fund (PFR - Polski Fundusz Rozwoju S.A.)**

**2013-2014 – PIR S.A. – Mariusz Grendowicz**

* 2012-now – Aviva Poland (various entities) – Member of Supervisory Boards
* 2008-2010 – BRE Bank – Chairman and CEO
* 2001-2006 – Bank BPH – Deputy CEO, Head of Corporate Banking and Commercial Real Estate Division
* 2000-2001 – ABN AMRO Bank (Polska) S.A. – CEO and Country Representative
* 1997-2000 – ABN AMRO Bank (Polska) S.A. – Deputy CEO
* 1995-1996 – ING Bank (Hungary) Rt. – Deputy Managing Director
* 1992-1995 – ING Bank NV, Warsaw Branch – Head of Structured Finance and Capital Markets
* 1991-1992 – Citibank N.A. (London)
* 1987-1991 – Grindlays / ANZ Merchant Bank (London) – Manager, Emerging Markets

**2014-2016 – PIR S.A. – Jerzy Góra**

* 2014-2016 – PKO BP – Chairman of the Supervisory Board
* 2010-2014 – Agencja Rozwoju Przemysłu S.A. (Industrial Development Agency) – Vice-President of the Management Board
* 2009-2010 – Ministry of the State Treasury – Director of Corporate Governance and Privatisation II Department
* 2004-2009 – Bank Gospodarstwa Krajowego (BGK) – Director of Project Finance Department
* earlier: various positions including at Stocznia Szczecińska Group (shipyard), Polska Żegluga Morska Group (cargo ship operator), Bank Morski S.A.

**2016-Now – PFR S.A. – Paweł Borys**

* 2010-2016 – PKO BP – Managing Director (Corporation Development and Investment Department; Analysis and Strategy Department)
* 2007-2010 – AKJ Investment TFI S.A. – Chairman of the Management Board
* 2005-2007 – AKJ Capital S.A. – Managing Director, Deputy Chairman of the Management Board
* 2001-2005 – Deutsche Bank Group (DWS Polska TFI S.A. and Deutsche Asset Management S.A.) – Equity Market Analyst, Equity Market Manager and the Director of the Investment Department
* 2000 – Dom Inwestycyjny Erste Securities Polska S.A. – Equity Market Analyst and Economist

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