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TWINS IN POWER. JAROSŁAW KACZYŃSKI AND LECH KACZYŃSKI AS LEADERS OF LAW AND JUSTICE

DOI: 10.2478/ppsr-2019-0006

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ORCID no. 0000–0003–3099–5806**e-mail:** maciej.hartlinski@uwm.edu.pl**Abstract**

Rarely do twins play active and significant roles in politics. Yet in 2006 President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński, designated his twin brother Jarosław to be prime minister. The aim of the current publication is to analyse the political activity of Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński in the context of the founding of PiS and its functioning. Their position inside the party is undisputed. Moreover, as there is no opposition inside the party and Jarosław Kaczyński achieves spectacular electoral results, his legitimisation as autonomous leader of the party is strengthened even further.

Keywords: populism, party leaders, Law and Justice, Kaczyński**Introduction**

Rarely do twins play active and significant roles in politics. Even more rarely can we see twins concurrently holding the highest state posts. Yet in 2006 President of the Republic of Poland Lech Kaczyński designated his twin brother Jarosław to be prime minister. The party they both established in 2001, Law and Justice (PiS), has been one of the two most important political powers in Poland in recent years. What is significant is that it is a party often called populist. That is why an analysis of the activity of the twin brothers and their populist party seems to be devoted to a case unique on a global scale, thus a case worth particular attention.

The aim of the current publication is to analyse political activity of Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński in the context of founding PiS and its functioning. Special attention will be paid to their position inside the party as well as their public and electoral activity. It will be cognitively valuable to compare the activity of both brothers. This will make it possible to understand better the current shape of Polish politics when it comes to a populist party holding power. Additionally, this will allow a wider group of international researchers to identify a certain point of reference for studies of political activity, not only of political leaders who are twins, but also of populist parties and their functioning. Presenting the issue accentuated in the title, it will be possible to address two significant current issues

pervading political sciences in Poland and worldwide. One of them is the dominant role of political leaders, while the other concerns populist parties holding power.

The main research hypothesis assumes that the Kaczyński brothers play a fundamental role in the internal and external activities of PiS. Two main research questions are: what is the intraparty position of the PiS chairman and what have the public and electoral activities of the Kaczyński brothers looked like?

The study combines theoretical and empirical aspects. Having indicated key contexts and problems in the literature on the subject, it progresses to analyse the statute of the party and data from the National Electoral Commission showing the number of votes the presented politicians and their party have won. There are three research methods which proved particularly useful in the course of this study. The first refers to the institutional and legal perspective, which contributed to a better recognition of formal conditions inside the party. In turn, the quantitative and qualitative approach made it possible to analyse data concerning the analysed problem across a number of years. The third method, which is the comparative approach, made it possible to distinguish differences and similarities between the activity of Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński. The range of analysis is determined by the wish to indicate the main aspects of PiS activity. Thus details concerning the brothers' activity prior to 2001 are not included here.

The paper consists of three parts. In line with the accepted standards, the introduction signals the main axis of narration. The next step is an analysis of the intraparty position and then public and electoral activities of the politicians. Finally, an attempt is made to formulate some conclusions.

The subject outlined in the title of the paper is undertaken here because so far there have been no scientific publications concerning the posited research aim. Naturally, there have been numerous newspaper articles concerning the Kaczyński brothers. Texts tackling similar topics to the one undertaken here have also been published, as populism in Poland was not born with PiS coming to power. The issues concerning populist parties in the Polish context have already been discussed in their theoretical and practical aspects (Jakubowska 2004; Nalewajko 2004; Dzwonczyk 1999, 2001, 2005; Marczevska-Rytko 1995). Literature on the subject of populism in Poland has shown a number of worthwhile aspects of the functioning of populist parties, especially their origin and evolution after 1989 (Jasiewicz 2008; Pankowski 2010; Przyłęcki 2010; van Kessel 2015; Stanley 2016; Bértoa, Guerra 2016; Kasprowicz, Hess 2017; Stanley 2019; Stanley, Cześniak 2019). Also a similar issue of leaders and their intraparty roles has been addressed (Hartliński 2011, 2013, 2015; Sobolewska-Myślik, Kosowska-Gąstoł, Borowiec 2010; Tomczak 2015). The problem of populism has been gaining momentum in recent years and this still allows scholars to develop particular research threads and present new cases (Kaltwasser, Taggart, Espejo, Ostiguy 2017). The problem is widely represented in America, Asia and Western Europe (Taggart 1995; Weyland 2001; Mizuno, Phongpaichit 2009; De Beus 2009). It is worth contributing to academic discourse by highlighting the Polish case.

Moreover, focusing on populist party leaders is a consequence of their importance and the up-to-date character of the research. First of all, they are one of the key elements defining populism, although a populist leader should not be equated with a charismatic leader (Van der Brug, Mughan 2007; Baar 2009; McDonnell 2015; Pappas 2016; Viviani 2017). In many cases it is emphasised that populist leaders are more important than the parties they lead (Taggart 1995, 2000; Weyland 2001; Mudde 2007; Albertazzi and McDonnell 2008;

Zaslove 2008; Pauwels 2011; McDonnell 2015). They are exponents of common citizens' interests, and are capable of mobilising them to introduce substantial changes (Mudde, Kaltwasser 2014). What is more, they play a significant role in national and foreign politics, as they increasingly often represent mainstream parties, not only minor and marginal political initiatives (de Beus 2009). Another argument which confirms the need to perform such an analysis is the view that it broadens knowledge not only about political leaders or parties, but that it also allows researchers to gain a greater insight into the functioning of modern democracy (Mair 2002; Pakulski, Koresenyi 2012).

However, it needs emphasising once again that the present publication focuses on new aspects which have not been discussed so far. The analysis of the collected data will facilitate broadening the knowledge on the subject and will become a source for comparative studies on other populist parties in the world. Additionally, it will become a point of reference for further studies concerning issues of the political activity of twin brothers.

Intra-party position in PiS

The political position of the Kaczyński brothers within PiS has never been the subject of any major discussion, either inside the party or among their political opponents. This might have been the case for a number of reasons. Having the aim of the current analysis in mind, it is significant to focus on their role in founding their party, the formal position of the party's chairman and his legitimisation in intraparty elections. Such an approach will make it possible to more comprehensively understand how the party functions.

First of all, the formal position of the leader is very strong in the party. Studies carried out so far indicate that in many aspects the PiS chairman enjoys a wide range of prerogatives as compared with his counterparts in other parties (Hartliński 2011, 2013, 2015; Sobolewska-Myślik, Kosowska-Gąstoł, Borowiec 2010; Tomczak 2015). He is a member of and leads the most important party bodies (Table 1). There are three such bodies in PiS and the chairman is a member of each. Moreover, he is their head or, as in the case of the party congress, decides about convening them. This provides him with an opportunity to decide and outline the main directions of the party's activity. Additionally, the range of his competences concerning nominating candidates for particular positions is even greater. Here, it is the PiS chairman who shapes the party's human resource policies.

Table 1. The leader's positions in the party structure

	The leader's membership in other bodies of the party	The leader's competences in comparison with other bodies of the party
Congress	YES	Convoke
Political Council	YES	Lead
Political Committee	YES	Lead

When a wide range of competences in nominating for party positions (Table 2) is added to the picture, it can be seen that PiS remains under the absolute control of its leader. The PiS chairman enjoys full freedom in shaping human resource policies and selecting party members for significant party positions, including deputy chairmen, the spokesperson and the treasurer.

Table 2. The leader's competences as to making motions to appoint party members to various posts in the party

Vice-president	YES
Treasurer	YES
Secretary of Political Council	YES
Disciplinary Spokesman	YES
Chairman of the Executive Committee	YES
Chairman and members of the Ethic Committee	YES
Secretary of Political Committee	YES
Spokesman	YES

Another aspect confirming the undisputed position and legitimisation of the Kaczyński brothers is the election process of the PiS chairman. The party has been dominated by the Kaczyński brothers also when it comes to selecting its chairman. The first to be chosen for this position was Lech Kaczyński (2001–2003). In 2001 he was elected without any opposition. Two years later he resigned because he was elected President of Warsaw. As a consequence, in 2003 Jarosław Kaczyński became the new chairman. Elections in PiS show lack of a real alternative for the Kaczyński brothers. No opponents in intraparty elections and a really small number of votes against the twins show that the position of the chairman is unassailable. Considering the scale of support among delegates, no signs that this position is weakening can be noticed. In the worst case, Jarosław Kaczyński did not win 51 votes, compared with 999 he received. This confirms that there are no clues of any disfavour the current chairman might incur.

Table 3. Election results of the PiS chairman

Chairman	Date	In favour	Against	Abstain
Lech Kaczyński	2001	50	0	0
Jarosław Kaczyński	2003	316	1	1
	2006	1231	19	8
	2010	999	51	14
	2013	1131	17	12
	2016	1008	7	1

Considering the intraparty position of first Lech and then Jarosław Kaczyński, one can state that the party is absolutely dominated by both brothers. Intraparty hegemony grants the chairman full freedom in delineating the party's policies and human resource base. It can be said that the position and legitimisation of the chairman as based on formal prerogatives and support inside the party allows him to enjoy full autonomy.

The third aspect which has an impact on the position of the Kaczyński brothers consists in their roles as the founders of the party. Undeniably, the success of the establishment and further development of the party was dependent on them, although it needs to be noted that they did not succeed alone, as they were supported by a circle of associates. One of the main foundations of Prawo i Sprawiedliwość in 2001 was the popularity of Lech Kaczyński, who was then the Minister of Justice. On the other hand, it is Jarosław

Kaczyński who is believed to be the creator of the concept of establishing the party. Estimating the individual contributions of each brother is impossible, which further encourages one to look at them as a real “tandem,” dictating the directions of the party’s development. Naturally, the origination of the party was facilitated by the current political situation, since the governing right-wing coalition – Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność (Solidarity Electoral Action) – had lost a lot of its support. Thus an opportunity occurred to restructure the Polish party system, an opportunity which PiS benefited from. The same wind of change resulted in founding Platforma Obywatelska Rzeczypospolitej (Civic Platform of the Republic of Poland, PO).

Public and electoral activity

Both brothers were politically active and had a number of significant public positions – starting from opposition activity in the 1980s, to being MPs at the beginning of the Third Polish Republic, to the highest positions of President and Prime Minister of Poland. When it comes to positions they occupied, one can state that the Kaczyński brothers’ activity was especially intense at the beginning of the 1990s and in the years immediately preceding the establishment of PiS.

Comparing both brothers, one can say that Lech Kaczyński had a more extensive experience (Table 4). He occupied a number of significant state posts, which made him one of the most experienced politicians who went through a number of stages in their political career. His most important functions include: MP, Senator, President of the Supreme Audit Office, Minister of Justice, President of Warsaw, President of Poland. Two posts proved most useful politically. In the years 1992–1995 he was President of the Supreme Audit Office, while in 2000–2001 he was Minister of Justice. Each post gave him authority to talk about the rule of law in Poland, which was conducive to the initial rhetoric of PiS in public discourse. Additionally, Lech Kaczyński’s positions justified establishing a party called Law and Justice in a natural way. Winning elections and becoming President of Warsaw were also significant stages in his political career. It was the first important position to be taken by a representative of his party. Winning the 2005 presidential election and becoming President of Poland was the crowning achievement of his individual political career as well as a crucial step in building the position of PiS.

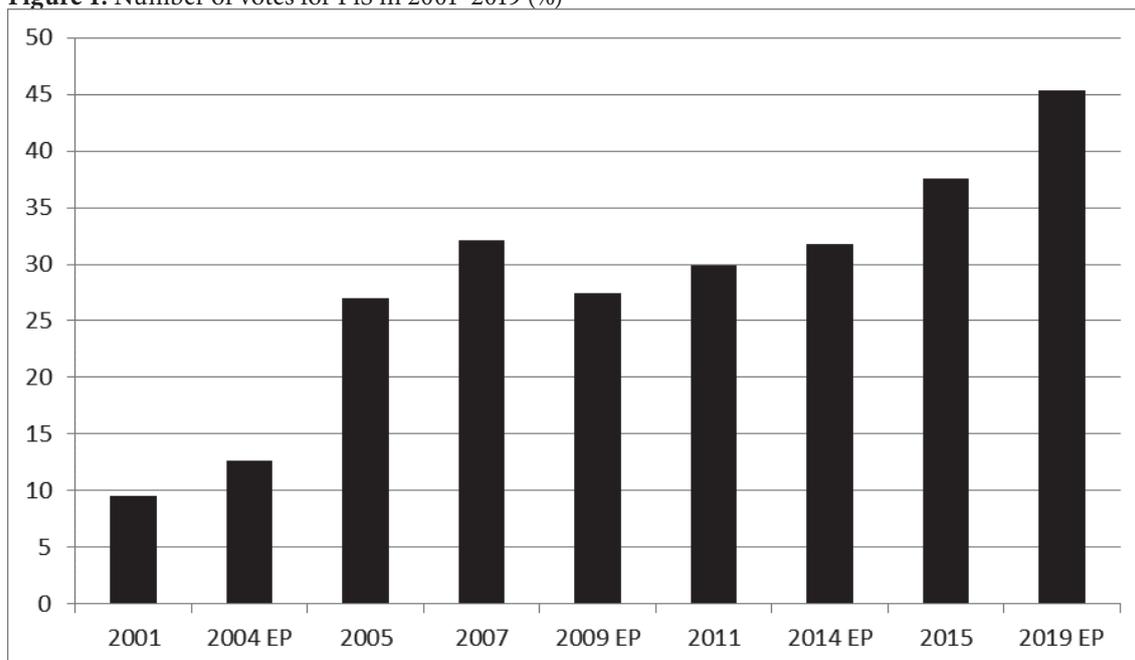
Jarosław Kaczyński focused mainly of leading the party and its parliamentary activity. Between 1989 and 2019, that is for almost 30 years, he has been an MP (except for a short break in 1993–1997). However, he has not governed any important state body. One needs to remember that he was Prime Minister only for a year.

Table 4. Public positions of the Kaczyński brothers

L. Kaczyński						
Senator (1989–1991)	MP (1991–1992)	President of the Supreme Audit Office (1992–1995)	Minister of Justice (2000–2001)	MP (2001– 2002)	President of Warsaw (2002–2005)	President of Poland (2005–2010)
J. Kaczyński						
Senator (1989–1991)	MP (1991–1993; 1997–still)	Prime Minister (2006–2007)	–	–	–	–

When it comes to electoral activity, first the position of PiS within the electoral arena should be outlined. From the beginning of its functioning, the party has systematically won voters' support in general elections. In the first run, PiS won 9.5%, in the latest parliamentary elections in 2015 as much as 37.58%, while in the 2019 election to the European Parliament it achieved a record score of 45.38%. Significantly, the party wins a lot of support irrespective of whether it participates in government or remains in opposition.

Figure 1. Number of votes for PiS in 2001–2019 (%)

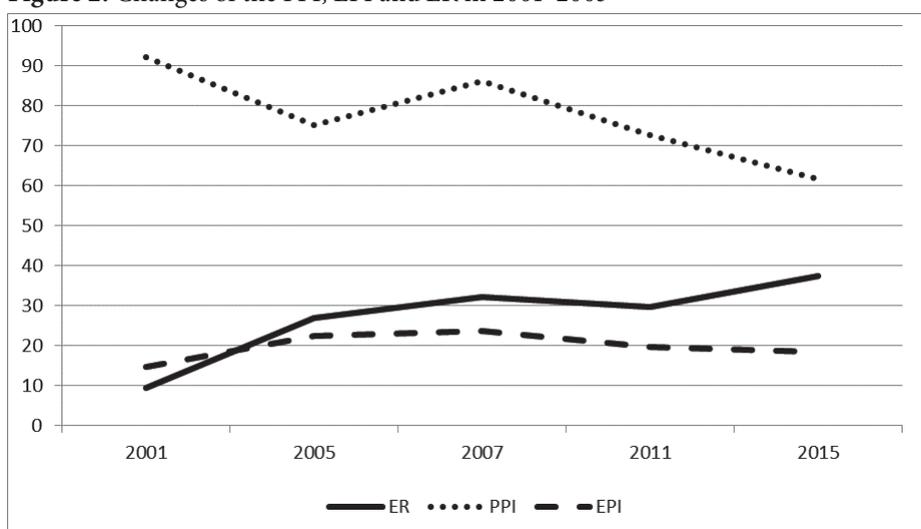


The individual electoral activities of the Kaczyński brothers in the context of parliamentary elections shows their significant impact on the party's results. Employing the Political Performance Index (PPI), it is possible to show that they have won an overwhelming majority on their ballots. Jarosław Kaczyński won the greatest number of votes in 2007 – 273,684, which was 86.3% of all the votes cast for his list. Lech Kaczyński accumulated 92.2% of votes cast for his list in the first parliamentary elections of PiS in 2001, although these were only 53,236 votes.

It can be noted that the individual importance of Jarosław Kaczyński, assessed by the number of votes, has been decreasing with every new election. Proportionally, he has won an increasingly lower percentage of votes on his ballots. This means that voters have more willingly supported other members of PiS. On the one hand, this can be interpreted as a positive sign that the remaining candidates are recognisable and worthy of voters' trust. On the other hand, however, this points to a decreasing support the PiS chairman has received over the years. The results Kaczyński had in 2011 and 2015 are almost identical (202,297 and 202,424, respectively).

Table 5. Number of votes for the PiS chairman in parliamentary elections

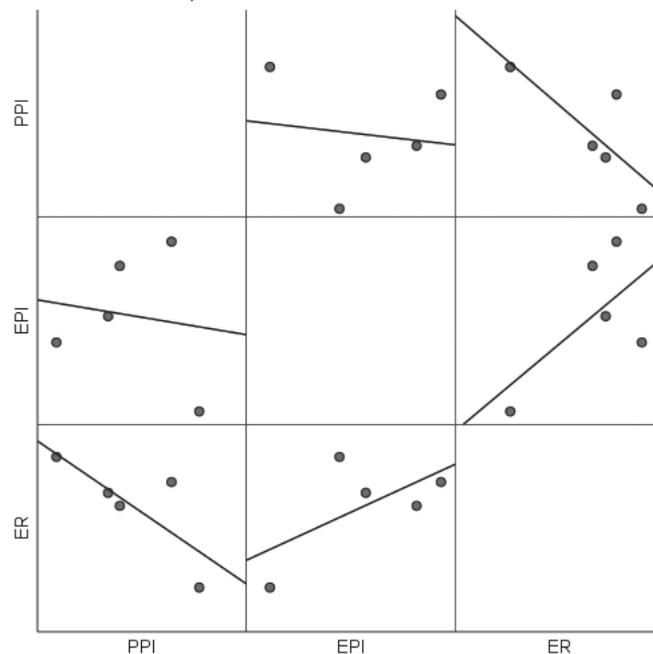
Year	Party leader	Candidate	List	PPI	Total number of votes in district	EPI	District
2001	L. Kaczyński	53,236	57,710	92.2%	361,747	14.,7%	Gdańsk
2005	J. Kaczyński	171,129	227,153	75.3%	759,000	22.5%	Warszawa
2007	J. Kaczyński	273,684	316,977	86.3%	1,145,983	23.8%	Warszawa
2011	J. Kaczyński	202,297	277,577	72.8%	1,017,564	19.8%	Warszawa
2015	J. Kaczyński	202,424	327,342	61.8%	1,095,215	18.4%	Warszawa

Figure 2. Changes of the PPI, EPI and ER in 2001–2005

Another interesting aspect in the electoral activity of the Kaczyński brothers is a correlation between an individual electoral result and the support the party receives nationwide. Figure 1 shows distribution of the data in time revealing a divergence between a decrease in individual importance (PPI) and an increase in the support for the party (ER). Statistical analysis, that is the Pearson correlation coefficient, shows a correlation between these two indexes. Thus it can be stated that the higher the support for PiS is nationwide, the lower the score of the Kaczyński brothers is proportionally.

Table 6. Pearson correlation coefficient for PiS

		ER	PPI	EPI
ER	Pearson correlation	1	-0.773	0.625
	Significance (2-tailed)		0.125	0.260
	N	5	5	5
PPI	Pearson correlation	-0.773	1	-0.139
	Significance (2-tailed)	0.125		0.,823
	N	5	5	5
EPI	Pearson correlation	0.625	-0.139	1
	Significance (2-tailed)	0.260	0.823	
	N	5	5	5

Figure 3. Correlations between the PPI, EPI and ER

Contrary to appearances, the dominant position of the twins in the party does not equate to their leading role in the electoral arena. The practice of selecting candidates embraced so far indicates that they have not attempted to obtain all of the most important state positions. Yet two aspects can be distinguished here.

When it comes to competing for the post of President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Kaczyński was the party's candidate and won the elections of 2005. He was to attempt to win another term in office in 2010. Yet as because of his death, it was Jarosław who ran for president, and who lost to Bronisław Komorowski. In 2015, the party decided to be represented by Andrzej Duda, a politician who was rather little known nationwide then.

Table 7. Candidates in presidential elections and for Prime Minister

	2005	2006	2010	2015	2017
President	L. Kaczyński	–	J. Kaczyński	Duda	–
Prime Minister	Marcinkiewicz	J. Kaczyński	–	Szydło	Morawiecki

When it comes to PiS designating people for the post of prime minister, it can be concluded that the chairman's unwillingness to take it is clearly visible. When the first opportunity to become prime minister occurred, Jarosław Kaczyński decided not to take it and the party nominated Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, a politician who was not recognised nationally then and whose candidature was surprising. A similar situation occurred in 2015 and 2017, when Beata Szydło and Mateusz Morawiecki, respectively, took the post. They were among a number of people who were speculated about as candidates for the position, as it was known that Kaczyński was not willing to take it. He decided to lead the government only once, in 2006. This resulted from the current political situation and the need

to save the government from collapsing rather than from his individual plans and will to take part in executive power. It is also clearly visible that since 2010 Jarosław Kaczyński has not chosen to be a candidate for any major public post. He remains “an average MP” and the chairman of PiS. This does not change the fact that everybody knows that it is he who takes the decisions concerning the policies of the party.

Conclusions

The positions of Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński inside the party is undisputed. It is primarily manifested in their status as those who originated the concept of the party and co-founded it. Other sources of the position include formal prerogatives and strong legitimisation. The rights the chairman of PiS, guaranteed in the party statute, give him the widest range of competences on the Polish political scene, which allows him to shape the human resource policies of the party and to select associates. Moreover, as there is no opposition inside the party and Kaczyński achieves spectacular electoral results, his legitimisation as an autonomous leader of the party is strengthened even further.

The public activity of the Kaczyński brothers was in its initial stage significantly distinguished by a separation of duties. Lech Kaczyński, a politician more experienced when it comes to heading public bodies, was the first to become a presidential candidate in Warsaw elections or national elections. In turn, Jarosław Kaczyński was more focused on organising work inside the party. It is also worth emphasising that the undisputed position Jarosław Kaczyński holds in PiS has not encouraged him in the recent years to run for the highest state positions. Becoming prime minister in 2006 and standing in 2010 presidential elections were enforced by the situation rather than his individual motivation.

In the electoral context, PiS has systematically won more and more votes in general elections. However, the individual results of Jarosław Kaczyński contribute increasingly less to the overall success of the party. It is possible to note a tendency showing that the better the result of the party, the proportionally lower Jarosław Kaczyński's result is.

The research hypothesis that was proposed for the purpose of the study was only partly verified. The analysis confirmed a fundamental intraparty role of the twins. On the one hand, in the initial years of PiS activity (2001–2010) the Kaczyński brothers fulfilled important public roles. Yet after 2010 PiS has started to promote other candidates for public posts.

It can be stated that the current political activity of PiS is manifested in an undisputed intraparty position of Jarosław Kaczyński, while in the public space – in his decisions that allow other candidates take the highest state posts. This means that PiS as a populist party has chosen a model which is based on the strong leadership of Jarosław Kaczyński in the party and promoting other politicians in the public and state spheres.

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