European Tech Champions Act Simulation: Role Handout

The Pirate Academy was made possible by the Greens/EFA group in the European Parliament.

Council: Poland

Confidential: for the assigned participant only. Do not share with other participants, including members of your own institution. Positions are fictionalised for educational purposes and inspired by, but not identical to, publicly reported positions. Roles are institutional functions, never named living individuals.

The Council in this scenario

Five or six member states sit in the Council: Germany, France, Italy, Spain and Poland, plus the Netherlands if cast (the facilitator will say who is present). Each state has one vote. A text is adopted if **no more than one member state present votes against**. If the budget sheet contains any **EU borrowing for grants** or a **new own resource**, the Council has to decide **unanimously**, and abstention then counts as against. If the Commission opposes the final text, unanimity applies as well. On day 1 you build a Council mandate with the other member states; on day 2 you defend and trade it in the trilogue against the Parliament. Only member states present can declare loans, pledge voluntary national contributions or redirect their cohesion and Recovery money. The rules in full are in the general factsheet.

Your position in October 2025

Poland is the success story of the 2004 enlargement and does not intend to be treated as a junior partner. Its economy has grown faster than almost any other in the Union, its technology sector is large and young, and it spends more on defence, relative to its economy, than any other NATO member. In July 2025 it also lost a symbol: Intel cancelled its planned chip plant near Wrocław, at the same time as Germany's Magdeburg.

Your fear about European technology programmes is simple: the money ends up in Paris, Munich and Eindhoven. Competitive calls favour the regions that already have the best labs. You want a guaranteed share for the member states that joined since 2004, a real role for national

institutions such as your development bank, and a programme that protects Europe against Chinese and Russian technology without picking a fight with the United States, Poland's security guarantor.

Poland is under the EU's excessive deficit procedure because of its defence spending. You will not pay large national contributions, but cheap EU loans for technology and defence would be welcome. You oppose any new EU tax.

Your needs, wants and pain points

Needs (+3 each if fully met)

1. **A fair share for the newer member states (block C, Article 6).** Fully met: the text states that at least 20% of the programme's funding goes to entities in the member states that joined in 2004 or later, as a guaranteed share or a target. Partly met: a stated share of 10 to 19.5% (+2); a widening bonus without a stated share (+1).
2. **No high-risk vendors (Article 7).** Fully met: suppliers from high-risk third countries are excluded from critical components and infrastructure funded by the programme. Partly met (+1): a risk assessment or Commission guidelines specifically on high-risk suppliers.
3. **National role in implementation (Article 5, block C).** Fully met: the Board approves the work programmes, or national envelopes of at least 15% are managed by national authorities or promotional banks. Partly met (+1): the Board gives an opinion the Commission must take into account.

Wants (+2 each if fully met)

1. **A defence window (block D).** The defence and dual-use earmark is at least 10%. Partly met (+1): 5 to 9.5%.
2. **Regulatory sandboxes (new article).** The act creates regulatory sandboxes in which beneficiaries can test new technologies under supervision. Partly met (+1): a call on member states to create them.
3. **Access to EU loans (block B).** The loan line is at least EUR 2 billion. Partly met (+1): 0.5 to 1.5.

Pain points (-5 each if they happen)

1. **A new EU tax (block B).** Any amount in the line "new own resource". No partial.
2. **Anything Washington reads as hostile (Articles 4, 6 and 7).** US-controlled companies established in the Union are excluded, or a "Buy European" rule excludes US suppliers from programme procurement. Partly (-2): a preference for European suppliers that does not exclude US ones.

Confidential (for you alone)

Your government would accept EU borrowing for grants, even with the unanimity it triggers, if the guaranteed share for the newer member states is at least 25%. Nobody expects this from Poland. Used at the right moment, it can turn the Council. Use it only if the share is written into the text.

Who you need and who is in your way

- **Share for newer member states:** Italy and Spain want cohesion too, but their interest is southern regions, not yours; agree a common formula with them. The ECR and the Patriots (if cast) support national envelopes. Renew, Germany, the Netherlands (if cast) and the Commission are in your way.
- **High-risk vendors:** Germany, the Netherlands (if cast), the EPP and Renew are allies.
- **National role:** ECR and the Patriots (if cast) want national control; the Commission, Renew and the Greens resist it.
- **The United States:** Renew, the Netherlands (if cast) and the EPP are with you; France is against you, and news from Washington may sharpen the conflict.
- **No new tax:** Germany, the EPP and ECR are allies. S&D and the Greens want a digital levy.

What you can give away

Quantum and biotech earmarks; climate conditions up to a tag of 30%; Parliament oversight and reporting; a co-investment target of any size; social conditions with high thresholds.

If there is no deal

Your no-deal score is **0**. No deal costs you nothing directly. But Poland has often been the Council's swing vote, and on this file it may be again: whoever wins you over probably wins the Council.

Scorecard: Poland

For the peer scorer. Score the final text, or record the no-deal score if no act is adopted. Each item scores once, at the highest level reached.

Item	Fully met if	Partly met if	Points	Score
Need 1: share for newer states (block C, Art. 6)	text states at least 20% for states that have joined since 2004	stated share 10 to 19.5% (+2); widening bonus without a share (+1)	+3	
Need 2: no high-risk vendors (Art. 7)	high-risk suppliers excluded	risk assessment or guidelines specifically on high-risk suppliers (+1)	+3	
Need 3: national role (Art. 5, block C)	Board approves work programmes, or nationally managed envelopes at least 15%	Board opinion the Commission must take into account (+1)	+3	
Want 1: defence window (block D)	defence and dual-use at least 10%	5 to 9.5% (+1)	+2	
Want 2: sandboxes (new article)	regulatory sandboxes created	call on member states to create them (+1)	+2	
Want 3: loans (block B)	loan line at least 2	0.5 to 1.5 (+1)	+2	
Pain 1: new EU tax (block B)	any new own resource	no partial	-5	
Pain 2: hostile to the US (Art. 4, 6, 7)	US-controlled companies or US suppliers excluded	European preference that does not exclude US suppliers (-2)	-5	
Total				
No-deal score			0	