

mgr Damian Wicherek
Instytut Nauk o Polityce
Kolegium Nauk Społecznych
Uniwersytet Rzeszowski

**Abstract in English of the doctoral dissertation
entitled The legislative veto of the President of the Republic of Poland
in political practice**

The cognitive purpose of the work is to show the genesis of the formation of this entitlement and a comprehensive presentation of the activity of the Presidents of the Republic in this regard. In addition, in the dissertation I tried to show the position of various governments, parties and parliamentary groups to the vetoes submitted by the presidents in office. The aim was also to present the importance of the presidential veto as an important political instrument by indicating the frequency of vetoing laws depending on the political option in power.

The chronological framework of the work covers the years 1997-2022. The starting caesura was the date of enactment of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland in 1997, while the closing stage was the last veto of President Andrzej Duda in December 2022. This allowed a detailed discussion of the vetoes of Polish Presidents Aleksander Kwasniewski, Lech Kaczyński, Bronisław Komorowski and A. Duda. However, in order to comprehensively characterize the substantive area of the dissertation, the chronological scope also included the period prior to the enactment of the Polish Constitution in 1997 related to the so-called constitutional provisional, falling in the years 1989-1997. This made it possible to include in the genesis associated with the legislative veto the political practice of refusing to sign the law by the Presidents of the Republic of Poland: Wojciech Jaruzelski and Lech Walesa.

The doctoral dissertation consists of five substantive chapters, an introduction, a conclusion, appendices presenting the results of voting on individual bills, and lists: abbreviations, sources and studies, and tables. It should be emphasized, however, that the chapters in this doctoral dissertation are clearly asymmetrical. This is a direct result of the activity associated with the use of the legislative veto by the Presidents of the Republic of Poland, from President A. Kwasniewski to President A. Duda. Presidents A. Kwasniewski refused to sign a law 35

 1

times, L. Kaczynski 18 times, B. Komorowski 4 times, A. Duda used the right of legislative veto 13 times. In order to comprehensively present the subject under study, I decided to analyze all the vetoes of the aforementioned presidents, and this translated into the asymmetrical nature of the individual chapters of the dissertation.

In the first chapter, I presented the origins and concept of the legislative veto, as well as the constitutional position and scope of the powers of the President of the Republic under the provisions of the current Constitution. The process of formation of the President's prerogative concerning the right to refuse to sign a law in the context of the preparation and enactment of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997 was characterized, and based on the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland and the Regulations of the Sejm, the procedure in the lower house of parliament related to the President's veto was discussed. In the chapter, I synthesized the President's auxiliary body, the Office of the President of the Republic of Poland, presenting the genesis of the Office of Law and Order, including its importance in the organizational structure of the CPRP and the scope of its tasks with regard to the presidential veto.


In chapters two through five, I have chronologically analyzed the use of the right to refuse to sign a law by the Presidents of Poland. In order to show in an orderly and clear way the activity of the Presidents in this regard, the conclusions of the post-independent politicians, were divided by the person of the Prime Minister who headed the work of the government. This approach was intended to show the political relations that prevailed between the presidents and the Council of Ministers or the parliamentary majority in the context studied.

In the second chapter, I discussed in detail the practice of using the legislative veto by President A. Kwasniewski. It detailed the periods of the governments of Prime Ministers Jerzy Buzek, Leszek Miller and Marek Belka. In the third chapter, I presented the practice of using the legislative veto by President of the Republic of Poland L. Kaczynski. This power was used by the President during the governments headed by Prime Ministers Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Donald Tusk. The fourth chapter was devoted to the use of the legislative veto by President of the Republic of Poland B. Komorowski, whose activity in this regard covered only the government of Prime Minister D. Tusk.

In the final fifth chapter, I presented the use of the legislative veto by President A. Duda until December 31, 2022. The practice of the President's refusal to sign a law was shown with a breakdown of the periods of the governments of the Prime Ministers: Ewa Kopacz, Beata Szydło and Mateusz Morawiecki. The dissertation also includes four appendices detailing the results of the votes of each political grouping in the Sejm on bills that had already been

presented to the Presidents as laws: A. Kwasniewski, L. Kaczynski, B. Komorowski, and A. Duda for signature, and the aforementioned politicians decided to exercise their right of legislative veto over them.

In the conclusion of my doctoral dissertation, I summarized the analyses conducted related to the practice of exercising the legislative veto right, which made it possible not only to present an overall conclusion, but also to verify the research hypotheses set forth in the introduction and answer the research questions posed.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Dawid G. Kowalski". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Dawid" written in a larger, more prominent script than the last name "Kowalski".