

SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL THESIS

Thesis title: The foundation, activity and transformation of political environment of Centre Agreement in 1990-2017

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The major objective of this thesis is the analysis of the phenomenon of the foundation, performance and transformation of political environment of Centre Agreement (centered focused on one of the most important politician after the year 1989 – Jarosław Kaczyński) in the years of 1990 – 2017. The existence of this environment was tangibly expressed by the strong attention of two political parties – Centre Agreement (1990-2001) and Law and Justice (since 2001).

Basing on such defined case study, the theoretical problem of the political environment was conceptualized, in the existing literature of the subject functioning in a very limited aspect, as one of the categories of political science (however, of a lower order than the basic categories, such as the state, nation and society), one of the types of political decision makers and one of the type of political entities.

The aims and the hypotheses of the hearing are subordinated to the work arrangement. The reflections presented in the work are covered in six chapters.

The study - basing on the defined hypotheses set in the dissertation - of the definition of the political environment was presented in the first chapter. To reach the goal of this part of the thesis the comparative analysis of the political environment with such categories of political entities as political parties, political factions and social organizations was conducted. The history and formation of the political environment, being described in the work, was the subject of interest of the second chapter of the dissertation. This process took place in 1989–1990. The CA declaration was announced on May 12, 1990, however the beginning of the formation of this environment was the taking up of the position of the editor-in-chief of Tygodnik Solidarność by Jarosław Kaczyński in 1989. This is described as a very unique model of shaping the political environment in the Third Polish Republic. CA, unlike most other political environments, did not have its direct roots in one particular ideological or personal environment during the period of The Polish People's Republic.

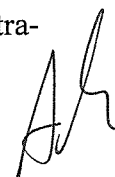
Both chapters number three and five discuss the years of activities and dynamic transformations of the CA political environment in the years 1990–2001, broken down into periods marked by the subsequent parliamentary and presidential elections, changing the nature of the CA's participation in the Polish political system (co-governing grouping, parliamentary opposition



grouping, opposition grouping extra-parliamentary). On the background of the activities of the most important parties and political circles competing with the CA (Democratic Union / secular left, Liberal Democratic Congress / liberals, Movement for Reconstruction of Poland / independence right wing), among others activity of the parliamentary representations of the CA in individual parliamentary terms, the participation of the CA environment in parliamentary and presidential elections and in solidarity governments in the 1990s were clearly discussed.

The area of chapter six was devoted for the description of the formation and the performance of Law and Justice party, with the special attention on the so-called CA order, consisting of the former politicians of the CA fraction. The investigation and the analysis of circumstances and causes, of which the leaders of the political environment of the CA decided on the continuation of activities in the framework of a new political party in 2001 was also conducted. It was proved that the Law and Justice party is the classic "continuing party" (in particular, human and programmatic) of the CA party and another emanation of the party political environment CA. In particular, the activities of former members of the CA in the parliamentary representation of Law and Justice party in the Polish Parliament, and in the governments of Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz, Jarosław Kaczyński, Beata Szydło and Mateusz Morawiecki, as well as President associated with political environment of CA Lech Kaczyński. On the basis of comparative analysis of calculated ideological program and methods of political action of CA and Law and Justice it was established that a group of former activists of the CA was the most influential fraction within the Law and Justice and the political activity of the CA itself in the 90s was an essential element of the recruitment process of Law and Justice party elites. Emanations party of political environment of CA were a subject to numerous and turbulent transformations. The first batch was formed as a loose federation of Christian-democratic circles, and quickly evolved into a mass party (the catch-all party) that as a result of processes of disintegration and political conflicts within the Polish party system as an integrated end and hermetic party cadre. In contrast, the Law and Justice party formed as a party cadre, and in time develop into a mass party of the Christian Democrats and the conservative nature.

CA political environment in the years 1990-2017 remained one of the most important in the history of Polish political. Not only as one of the few preserved political subjectivity but also consistently sought to implement the program of construction of the New Kingdom, including by settlement of the crimes of the communist period, to carry out de-communization and lustration, takeover by the state of responsibility for the most important areas of social life and the introduction of the principles of social solidarity. It was the most important and comprehensive programme of political alternative to the dominant, since the year 1989 post-communist-liberal model of political and economic transformation of Poland. Put this CA in the role of the anti-system opposition (intra-



system). Of the exceptional role of the environment political CA in the Polish party system is also reflected in its high level political relevance.

As the main research methods used in the analysis: systemic, institutional and comparative legal and methods: history and power in decision-making, and partly statistical, and behavioral. In the framework of the analysis of historical sources, including unused or used to a small extent received in the Archives Act and the archives of the New Political Parties of the Institute of Political Studies of Sciences. Political parties Law and Justice and the CA were mainly structurally analysed and to a smaller extent, functional analysis was conducted.

As far as the theoretical approach of the research problem is concerned the hypothesis research was positively verified, defining the political environment as a relatively small group of people engaged in political activities related informal or formal (in the framework of a political party) community of values, beliefs, ideological, experiences and interests, which has subjectivity political, centered around having the authority of the leader or group of leaders, and characterized by a high degree of mutual loyalty of its members. The case of the CA as the practical research and object of analysis has proved that the introduction and implementation of the category of the political environment to the set of analytical tools of political science expands quantitative and qualitative research capabilities of political processes.

22-04-2020v.

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