



# Skalny Center

2008

FOR POLISH &amp; CENTRAL EUROPEAN STUDIES



Professor Randall Stone, Director



By Randall Stone

As I complete my first year as director of the Skalny Center, I find it remarkable how much has been accomplished. This would not have been possible without the support of the Skalny Foundation, a substantial infusion of support from the College, and the support of numerous other donors. Polish and Central European studies are thriving at the University of Rochester. I look forward to the year to come, with new visitors and new initiatives.

The Skalny Center has expanded and energized its programs over the last year in the cultural, educational and research dimensions. The Center currently sponsors a Polish film festival, a concert series of performances by Polish artists, instruction in Polish, grants for study in Poland, visits by Polish professors, an undergraduate Polish Club, and numerous

## MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

one-time events. We look forward to developing these initiatives further. In addition, we have expanded our academic programs with the introduction of postdoctoral and graduate fellowships, which position the Center to train the next generation of scholars of the region. These visitors, furthermore, help the Skalny Center to play a key role in the development of a new undergraduate major in International Relations, which is being introduced in fall 2008. The commitment to research at the highest level enriches the undergraduate curriculum because excellence in teaching grows out of serious engagement with research.

The Center has hosted several dynamic visiting scholars in 2007-08.

- This spring, we were pleased to host Dr. Radoslaw Rybkowski, associate professor and vice-director of the Institute of America Studies and Polish Diaspora at the Jagiellonian University. Dr. Radoslaw Rybkowski, a specialist in American and European higher education policies, is also an expert in Polish current affairs and, as such, was appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to attend the Heads of State Summit in 2006. Professor Rybkowski taught a course in Polish history.

- Our postdoctoral fellow, Dr. Alexandra Hennessy, is researching pension reforms in the European Union. Dr. Hennessy traveled to Poland last fall to do research on Poland's efforts to accommodate the European Commission directive on pension reform, and this spring taught a course on the European Union. Dr. Hennessy will start next fall as an assistant professor at Clarkson University. In the 2008-09 academic year, the Skalny postdoctoral fellow will be Daniel Epstein, who is finishing his Ph.D. at Harvard this year.

- The 2007-08 graduate fellowship was granted to Taryia Bagashka, who is completing dissertation research on voting and elections in post-Communist countries. Ms. Bagashka taught a course this spring on the political economy of post-Communism. She will defend her dissertation in June, and will begin a tenure-track position as an assistant professor at the University of Houston next fall.



Alexander Sytk, Violin

In November, our annual Polish Film Festival attracted large crowds of people to the Little Theatre. Among others, we screened *Solidarity*, *Solidarity*, a joint venture of 13 outstanding Polish directors to memorialize the events of August 1980, when Polish workers went on strike across the country and began a hard-fought campaign for workers' rights. Our luncheon talks and evening lectures covered a broad range of topics—the Cold War, Russian

Continued on page 2

## "Polish Review" New Course of Polish Language



By Krzysztof Polakowski

Beginning in the spring semester of 2009, the Skalny Center for Polish and Central European Studies will be offering a new course titled, "Polish Review." The main objective of this four-credit course is to refine the participants' language skills and to familiarize them with political and cultural issues of contemporary Poland. The course will require a working knowledge of the Polish language necessary to discuss the content of source materials (e.g. articles and essays in the Polish press, recent Polish films.) It will focus on group discussions based on source materials and papers prepared by its participants. This course will be particularly recommended for students who have attended summer courses in Polish language and culture at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow as well as for those who just want to brush up on their language skills.



From left to right: Taryia Bagashka, Radoslaw Rybkowski, Alexandra Hennessy



## MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

*Continued from page 1*

parliamentary policy, European Union single pension market, and Polish foreign policy after the 2007 elections. We also have continued our series of concerts by talented young Polish musicians. In December we hosted an exceptionally talented 15-year-old violinist, Alexander Styk, and in April we had a recital by a remarkable 21-year-old pianist from Tarnów, Poland, Igor Lipinski.

Thanks to a generous gift from Joseph Skalny, we were able to provide scholarships once again to a summer program in Kraków led by Professors Ewa Hauser and Radosław Rybkowski. Ten students participated in the program in 2006, five in 2007, and we again have five students who will go to Kraków in July 2008. During the four-week program, offered through the Jagiellonian University School of Polish Language and Culture, students will take a Polish language course and a course on Polish history, Polish literature, or politics, and receive credits from the University of Rochester.

It is a privilege and an honor to direct the Skalny Center, and I want to thank all of you who have made the work of the Center possible and who continue to share in it by attending our events.



Igor Lipinski, Piano



# Skalny Center News



Study on Location in Kraków, July 2008. From left to right: Katherine Tucker, Daniel Zabek, Katherine Pamington, Dr. Radosław Rybkowski, Claudia Marosz, Zachary Mazur, Christine Kenison

## 1. Student grants recipients

- Fulbright Scholar Christine Kenison

Christine Kenison is graduating this spring with a bachelor of arts degree in German and French (both with highest honors) and with a Certificate in Polish and Central European Studies. Christine does not have any Polish heritage, and yet she took all of the Polish studies classes offered at the University, went twice to Kraków to attend the Jagiellonian University Summer School in Polish Language and Culture, and has received a prestigious Fulbright scholarship to spend a year at the Jagiellonian University. Her engagement in the Polish community at the University of Rochester, her commitment to study Polish language and culture, and her ability to speak fluent Polish after four years of learning are remarkable. (See her essay in this issue.)

- Joseph Skalny grant for Study on Location in Kraków

Five students have received scholarships for the summer study on location program in Kraków. They are:

Claudia Marosz, freshman, majoring in political science  
 Zachary Mazur, sophomore, majoring in linguistics  
 Katherine Pamington, sophomore, majoring in international relations  
 Katherine Adria Tucker, sophomore, majoring in political science, computer science, and English  
 Daniel Zabek, freshman, majoring in economics

- Louis & Nellie Skalny Scholarship for Polish Studies

The scholarship of \$1,000 is awarded annually to students pursuing Polish studies at universities in the United States who have completed at least two years of college work. This year, Zachary Mazur, a sophomore who already took two courses on the Polish language, a course on Polish history, and a course on the history of Germany under Hitler, is applying for the award.

## 2. Polish Student Club

The Polish Student Club is resuming its activity and gaining new members. The plans include, among others: screenings of Polish and Central European films, which will be open to the University community; cooking of Polish-type dinners; searching for traces of the history of Polish immigration in Rochester and beyond; and cooperation with the Polish Heritage Society of Rochester and Polish Language Saturday School. The Skalny Center is providing guidance, films, recipes, and financial help, if needed.

## 3. Upcoming events in fall 2008

- Skalny Lecture by Professor Ogruian Hishow, Skalny Center Visiting Professor in fall 2008.

Professor Hishow is a senior researcher at the German Institute for International Affairs (SWP), Berlin. During his stay in Rochester, he will teach a course on Political Economy of Europe.

- Skalny Lecture by Professor Ewa Hauser, on Ukrainian collective memory and the politics of history.

Professor Hauser is the adjunct associate professor in the Department of Political Science at Rochester, and currently a senior Fulbright Fellow at Petro Mohyla Mykolajiv State Humanities University and at Lviv Ivan Franko National Ukrainian University in Ukraine. She was the creator and the director of the Skalny Center from 1994 until 2007.

- Skalny Luncheon Seminar by Dr. Daniel Epstein, postdoctoral fellow
- Polish Film Festival, Nov. 8-12, 2008
- Concert of Polish music, Dec. 14, 2008

## Researching Polish Pension Reforms at the Skalny Center



By Alexandra Hennessy

According to the philosopher Ernst Bloch, “conscious thinking” requires the ability to “see beyond the end of one’s nose.” I like to think that the generous postdoctoral fellowship I received from the Skalny Center during the academic year 2007-08 has enabled me to do exactly that.

My dissertation asked why the European Union (EU) member states were able to agree on European-wide pension market integration in 2003, but not in 1991. In my analysis, I focused on German and British preferences, for two reasons. First, Germany is the prototypical Bismarckian pension system (social security provided by the state for everyone), while Britain embodies the ideal type of a Beveridgean pension system (means tested state pensions supplemented by private investments). Secondly, the minutes recorded in the European Parliament demonstrated that the main conflicts over pension market integration revolved around minimum harmonization of investment and social regulations in these two pension regimes. I found that the EU member states are more likely to get their preferences implemented in EU pension directives when they can credibly signal that only a limited set of outcomes are considered legitimate in their home state.

Given that my dissertation research was limited to EU-mandated pension reforms in Western Europe, it was a natural next step for me to extend my research to an analysis of the Central and East European member states (CEEs) that formally joined the European Union in 2004. I expected that it would be highly difficult for all of the CEEs to comply with EU pension directives because they had not taken part in designing them. Secondly, all of the CEEs still struggled with the transition to democracy and market economy. Thirdly, I generally expected that the pooling of sovereignty would be more problematic for the Central and East European countries since patterns of party competition, interest representation, and public perceptions of the legitimacy of democracy had had considerably less time to develop.

My research in Poland, which was generously financed by the Skalny Center, forced me to revise all of these hypotheses. Instead of finding a “single” compliance type, I realized that the new European member states varied widely in their willingness and ability to comply with EU pension laws. Compliance was relatively easy for Poland, because the government had already introduced “open pension

funds” in 1998. This reform made funding of the so-called “second first tier” pensions mandatory, thus putting Poland’s overstretched pay-as-you-go system on a more solid footing. As a result, Poland had only minor problems complying with EU pension laws. On the other hand, the partial privatization of Polish social security pensions led to a large transition cost deficit. This problem arose because the funded component of social security was no longer available to finance the pay-as-you-go pensions of current beneficiaries. Because of the high transition cost deficit, Poland was in violation of the Stability and Growth Pact (SGP), which limits the size of EU member budget deficits.



Dr. Alexandra Hennessy, Skalny Postdoctoral Fellow

Non-compliance with EU laws usually triggers a punitive response by the European Commission, ranging from simple reprimands in the form of a letter to negotiated settlements, or referral to the European Court of Justice. In the Polish case, the European Commission explicitly permitted Poland to temporarily violate the Stability and Growth Pact, recognizing Poland’s pension reform as a policy investment, wherein short-term costs are necessary to realize a benefit—a more secure social security pension system—in the future. Hungary and the Czech Republic, by contrast, were referred to the European Court of Justice for violating the EU pension directive. The difference between EU rule violations in Poland on the one hand and in Hungary and the Czech Republic on the other is that the EU Commission distinguishes between *preference-driven* and *capacity-driven* constraints when deciding on how to cope with non-compliance. While

Poland’s violation of the Stability and Growth Pact was deemed capacity-driven—the ambitious 1998 pension reform made it impossible to meet the budget targets—the violation of EU pension directives by Hungary and the Czech Republic was seen as preference-driven because the latter had not implemented any form of pension privatization that aimed at alleviating the strain on social security pensions. Thus, it was interesting for me to learn that there is no one “Central European compliance type,” but a wide variation across the new member states.

My research greatly benefited from personal interviews with four officials at the Polish ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, as well as one of the co-authors of the Polish pension reform of 1998, Professor Marek Gora, of the Warsaw School of Economics. Each of these individuals was extremely generous with his time, patiently explained to me the Polish position on EU pension directives, and provided me with valuable primary and secondary documents. I also found a fantastic “office” in the reading room of Warsaw University library. Situated near the Wisła riverbank, the library is a beautiful building with grayish green glass walls and an indoor courtyard. It struck me as very modern and user friendly. Getting unlimited access to wireless Internet for several months took me about three minutes and cost less than two dollars!

I furthermore had the opportunity to participate in a four-day conference on the future of a European constitution in Kraków, organized by the Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski University. The conference was held only a few days after the EU member states had adopted the 2007 Reform Treaty, thus sparking fruitful conversations among political

scientists, lawyers, and economists from all European member states. The Polish academic Danuta Hübner, who is currently serving as European Commissioner for Regional Policy, addressed the conference participants via teleconferencing. As a political scientist, I gained a valuable perspective on EU constitutional issues given that the majority of conference participants were law students. I appreciated the opportunity to extend my professional network and make new friends. Having the conference in the leading center of Polish scholarly, cultural, and artistic life was both a treat and appropriate; in 2000, the European Union named Kraków the European capital of culture.

The Skalny Center also gave me the opportunity to teach a class on the European Union in 2008. In light of current developments, it was an exciting time to teach European Union poli-

*Continued on page 4*



Jagiellonian University, Collegium Novum

## Why Do You Want to Study in Poland?

*UR undergraduates looking ahead to study in Kraków*

"Strangely enough, I feel a strong connection to this country that I have never been to," writes Zach Mazar. "Starting at a fairly young age, the idea of ethnic and cultural identity became important to me. In elementary school we were asked one day to provide the class with our cultural origins. Each child had their turn to tell us the many nationalities that make up this country, and when it was my turn I proudly announced that I was Polish; not that I had any idea what that really meant. My mere association by birth with Poland brought me to search further, and what I discovered was a language and culture that I want to immerse myself in, and ultimately contribute to."

"The study of Poland has always been a personal interest and high priority in my life," writes Claudia Marosz. "All of my relatives reside in Poland and I constantly feel intrigued by their way of life—past, present, and future. More importantly, I truly desire to relate to the people of Poland in a deeper sense that I can achieve by living among them, while at the

same time studying the Polish language, literature, and history. Though I have been blessed by parents who have always tried to instill in me a basic understanding of these areas of study, I believe that there is always room for the chance to improve one's abilities and, therefore, to expand one's horizons. I cannot imagine a better way to spend my summer—learning about the various facets of my heritage and developing an even greater appreciation for a nation, its language, culture, and society, that has had such a strong impact on the world at a prestigious institution that offers a warm and enlightening environment to each individual."

"From an early age," Katherine Farmington writes, "Polish culture has fascinated me. I spent my young years reading books in Polish and enjoying the *kapusta* that Lucy, my nanny, and I made together. I have an interest in re-learning Polish so that I can speak with Lucy and enjoy the culture I once knew, but that's not the only reason I want to go to Krakow. I have only recently discovered that what I really want to study is international relations and political science. This new desire has really gotten me curious about other cultures in the world, and especially in Europe. I want to study international relations and truly understand other people and their histories."



Krakow

## Researching Polish Pension Reforms at the Skalny Center



By Alexandra Hennessy

*Continued from page 3*

tics: in October 2007, the EU decided to adopt the previously contested constitution in the form of the revised Reform Treaty, which will streamline and fundamentally transform EU decision making; in February 2008, Kosovo's declaration of independence revived old controversies about immigration and a common foreign policy; in April 2008, the NATO summit in Romania breathed new life into the debate on the future of a European Security and Defense Policy, and the election of Nicolas Sarkozy as the president of France profoundly

influenced ongoing accession negotiations with Turkey and the idea of a Mediterranean Union within the EU. It was very rewarding to discuss these and many other current events in light of historical developments and scholarly theories about conflicts and cooperation in the European Union. I can only hope that the talented students I worked with will remember our discussions as vividly as I do.

The best things about the Skalny Center were the people I met there. Special thanks go to the director of the Skalny Center, Randall Stone, for extremely helpful advice, detailed comments on my work, and for always being generous with his time. I am grateful to Krzysztof Polakowski for teaching me enough Polish to survive my three-week stay in Poland. I am furthermore indebted to Radek Rybkowski for giving two guest lectures in my class on very short notice when I attended conferences. I thank my officemate Tanya

Egashka for useful discussions and friendship during my stay. Last but not least, I am grateful to Eozena Sobolewska for outstanding administrative assistance, both in Rochester and in Poland, and for creating a delightful work atmosphere throughout.

In sum, I am thankful that the Skalny fellowship enabled me to extend my research to Central and Eastern Europe, thus allowing me to "see beyond the end of my own nose" in many ways. I am grateful that I had the opportunity to study Europeanization in Poland, because adjustment processes in new member states are likely to remain among the most controversial issues for years to come. After all, the prospect for future successful enlargement rounds will depend a great deal on the way in which the Central and East European member states are able to find their place in the European Union.



## Return to Kraków



By Christine Kenison

I have always been interested in learning about the world beyond my own backyard. As a child, I used to trace maps for fun, and I would constantly ask my Dad, who had taken German in high school, to teach me new words. In high school, I was able to channel this enthusiasm in an academic direction and took as many foreign language classes as I could (including three years of German) and engaging in independent study to fit in the equivalent of five years of French in three years.

The seeds for my future fascination with Poland were also sown during high school, when I took pre-calculus with Mrs. Koch, a Polish immigrant and one of the most dedicated teachers I have ever had. She taught me my first Polish words and sparked my interest in her homeland. However, I was not able to start learning Polish formally until college. As a freshman, I received a Skalny scholarship to study at the Jagiellonian University Summer School. I spent July 2005 in Kraków learning Polish and attending lectures on Polish history. My first visit to Poland was something of a cultural keelhauling. I knew exactly seven words, and the language barrier was overwhelming at first. I was afraid to explore the city alone for the simple reason that I could not pronounce the name of my tram stop (Akademia

Pedagogiczna). However, four weeks and many flashcards later, I could pronounce Akademia Pedagogiczna and had come to love Poland. I was granted the Skalny scholarship to attend the Jagiellonian University Summer School again in 2006. When I went to Kraków for the second time that July, I felt much more at home there.

At the University of Rochester, I have completed coursework in Polish language, literature, history, and politics, which have provided me with a solid foundation in Polish studies. I have been preparing for my Fulbright project during the current academic year by taking an advanced Polish language independent study and a course on European history after 1945.

I have just learned that I have been accepted by the Fulbright commission and will spend the 2008-09 academic year in Kraków as a Fulbright scholar. It will be an incredible experience to be able to study Polish national and cultural identity at the Jagiellonian University, one of the foremost centers of Polish literary and cultural studies. I intend to affiliate with the Department of International Polish Studies (IPS) at the Jagiellonian University. Professor Michał Paweł Markowski, the department chair, has graciously agreed to supervise my work.

I plan to study the confrontation in Polish literature between Socialist Realism and its literary critique in the form of satirical and grotesque literature. I will examine works by such authors as Leszek Kolakowski and Sławomir Mrożek, whose use of the modern fairy tale as a means of literary satire interests me. I plan to prepare for this project by reading traditional



Independent Studies in Polish Literature | Christine Kenison and Dr. Krzysztof Polakowski

Polish fairy tales to understand what this ancient literary genre could offer Kolakowski and Mrożek as modern writers.

Unlike many students of Polish studies, I cannot lay claim to any Polish ancestry. It is unfortunate that Poland and Polish culture, which have played such a dynamic role in European and world history, are so little understood in the United States among those who have no ethnic connection to Poland. This is one of the reasons why I plan to pursue graduate work in cultural and literary studies with a comparative emphasis on German and Polish literature. Upon my return from my year as a Fulbright scholar, I hope to encourage the study of Polish language and culture in the United States.

## Struggling with Europe: Polish Foreign Policy After the 2007 Election



By Radosław Rybkowski

The Polish transformation after 1989 resulted in substantial changes in the Polish political system. One of the results of the Round Table agreement was the restoration of the office of the President of Poland. Under the communist regime, the formal head of state was the Head of the Council of State of the Republic of Poland, but it was the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party that enjoyed real political power. The Round Table agreement stated that the President should be elected by the National Assembly (both chambers of Polish Parliament: *Sejm* and *Senat*), not by the popular vote. Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected the first President after the transformation. He was simultaneously First Secretary of the Party and Prime Minister and was the one who imposed martial law to cope with the Solidarity movement. In fact, the office of the President was reestablished without clear legislation concerning its power and authority: he was to designate the Prime Minister and to be the commander-in-chief of the Polish military forces, but his actual executive power was not defined.

During the transition period, 1989-1990, the weak President was not a bad option for Poland especially considering that the President was Jaruzelski and that the *Sejm* (lower chamber of Parliament and part of the National Assembly) had not been elected in a fully democratic way (65% of the seats were restricted to the Party). The situation changed after the 1990 presidential election. Lech Wałęsa was elected by popular vote, so his authority as President was legitimized. Wałęsa tried to secure executive power for himself, especially in the field of foreign and defense policy. His advisor, Lech Falandysz, a professor of constitutional law, helped him to struggle with the Parliament and the Government. The term "presidential ministries" (of foreign policy, of defense, and of internal affairs) was coined mostly due to Falandysz's work; using cases in Polish law, he could argue that these ministers had to be co-nominated by the President. The Small Constitution of 1992, which amended the previous communist constitution of Poland, more clearly defined the division of powers between the President and Prime Minister and Parliament.

The Small Constitution was valid until a completely new Constitution was adopted in a public referendum on May 25, 1997. The Constitution of Poland is the key document that regulates the division of powers between the



Dr. Radosław Rybkowski, Skalny Visiting Professor

President and the Government, which consists of the Prime Minister and the cabinet. In the field of foreign policy, the Constitution remained unclear. Article 133 states that the President is "the representative of the State in foreign affairs" and that he or she "shall cooperate with the Prime Minister and the appropriate minister in respect of foreign policy," but the procedures for this cooperation are not defined. Article 146, referring to the Government, holds that "The Council of Ministers shall conduct the internal affairs and foreign policy of the Republic of Poland" and therefore shall "exercise general

*Continued on page 7*



## Greetings from Mykolaiv, Lviv and Mykolaiv



By Ewa Hauser

This will be the longest time I have been away from the United States since I emigrated from Poland in the early 1970s. I am now finishing my third semester in Ukraine, a country that has always interested me, partially because of the fact that my father was born and grew up in Byela Cerkva, south of Kyiv, before coming to Poland in 1920. I have always had a secret desire to see what is the "steppe" he (as well as Adam Mickiewicz) described. These were the "kresy" of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth written about by many Polish writers. So I am very glad that I could experience it after any animosity between the Polish and Ukrainian people subsided, and at a time when both nations look with excitement and anticipation at the common and friendly prospect of hosting the major sporting event, Euro 2012.

After I finished my first spring semester in Mykolaiv in 2007 as part of my extended Fulbright grant, I was invited to present a lecture about the Polish history and culture program at UR's Skalny Center at the First Congress of Foreign Scholars of Polish History at the Jagiellonian University. The conference, sponsored by the Polish Ministry of Higher Education, brought together teaching faculty in Polish programs from places like Moscow, Lviv, Minsk, Vilnius, Berlin, Tel Aviv, Melbourne, Paris, New York, Chicago, Rochester, and many others. It opened with a speech



Dr. Ewa Hauser at the First Congress of Foreign Scholars of Polish History, Jagiellonian University

by Władysław Bartoszewski, the former Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the main organizer of the conference was our good friend and former Skalny Visiting Professor, Krzysztof Zamorski. Adam Walaszek and Jan Lenczmarowicz were also present and read papers on the Polish diaspora. The conference is scheduled to be repeated every five years.

I spent fall 2007 teaching at the Department of Cultural Studies of the Lviv National Ivan Franko University. I worked with very good graduate students who have become my friends, and we have exchanged correspondence frequently since. Although Lviv was a predominantly Polish city until World War II, it has been the cradle of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, perhaps because of the

long association with Poland. Thanks to my students, I discovered new restaurants in Lviv that are modeled on the Ukrainian Partisan Army "Kryvka" (hideout). To enter you have to know where the restaurant is and know the password! I have more stories to share in the fall presentation I am planning at the Skalny Center.

Right now, after another semester of teaching in Mykolaiv, which I love, I am finishing a paper on the Ukrainian National Narrative. I will present it at another international conference on nationalism at the University of Warsaw. I also will chair a panel at this conference discussing Polish versions of nationalism. The American Studies Center will host the conference and because of our past close collaboration from 2003 to 2006, I will visit old friends and colleagues.

My love of film is something I have not neglected while in Ukraine. A day after President Yushchenko, in a nationally televised ceremony, conferred the highest order of Yaroslav Mudryi on the Polish director Andrzej Wajda, I was asked to appear on local television. Professor Pronkevych, who is a dean of the university and has a regular program on Mykolaiv TV, was the host while I answered questions during a half-hour program about the Wajda film, *Katyn*. At that time, I invited the audience to attend a screening of *Katyn* at the Petro Mohyla University in Mykolaiv.

I am looking forward to meeting University of Rochester students, who will be arriving in Krakow soon for the four-week summer study abroad program. After that, I will return home to Rochester.

## The Rise and Fall of Democracy in Russia



By Tanya Bagashka

Institutional choices in young democracies have lasting consequences. Decisions on issues such as the distribution of power between the executive and the legislature, or electoral rules, can lock in the advantages of the political actors that created them and allow them to consolidate power. Despite their enduring consequences, institutional choices in young democracies were often made under great uncertainty due to the absence of established parties, electoral record, and rapidly changing conditions. Russia and the introduction of a presidential system with a mixed electoral system is a case in point.

In my dissertation, I investigate the effects of institutional incentives, namely, the electoral rules and the distribution of power between the president and the legislature on the development of the party system in the Russian Duma. I identify empirically the structure of legislative voting coalitions in the 1996-1999 Duma, without assuming that they follow party lines. I find that nominal party affiliation—the parties that legislators said they belonged to—provides a very inad-



Tanya Bagashka, Skalny Graduate Fellow

equately descriptive of the pattern of voting, and that the electoral laws and legislative rules encouraged legislators to form opportunistic groups, or factions, that had dissimilar policy preferences.

In the second chapter of the dissertation, I investigate whether the legislators elected in single-member districts were responsive to the ideological preferences of their local constituencies. I measure district preferences over economic reform by using survey responses. In addition, I take advantage of the fact that party-list elections were going on at the same time as district elec-

tions to use the support for each party competing in the party list for the parliamentary election to measure district preferences. I find that legislators were responsive to district preferences, but only on important votes, which the voters were most likely to be able to monitor.

In the third chapter, I extend the analysis of legislative voting coalitions to the 1999-2003 Duma. I find that the extent to which legislative coalitions were party-based depended on the presidential approach toward majority building. Yeltsin relied on building cross-party coalitions by obtaining the support of individual deputies through patronage, and this split legislative parties that lacked strong labels and cohesive platforms. In contrast, Putin's unambiguous commitment to a strong presidential party and a stable party-based presidential coalition unified the legislative parties in the presidential coalition.

In addition, I found that pressures originating in local constituencies could divide legislative parties, but only when the presidential strategy did not rely on party-based coalitions. There is strong evidence that constituency pressures affected key votes on economic reform and the budget. My results show that electoral incentives can encourage the legislators to respond to voters' concerns even in a presidential system with a young party system. However, this responsiveness disappears when presidential coalition-building efforts come to dominate legislative voting and the level of electoral competition drops.



# Struggling with Europe: Polish Foreign Policy After the 2007 Election



By Radosław Rybkowski

*Continued from page 5*

control in the field of relations with other States and international organizations" and "conclude international agreements requiring ratification as well as accept and renounce other international agreements." The division of authority between the President, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, according to the Constitution, is unclear, and therefore conflicts between the President and the Government are quite possible and predictable.

the Prime Minister by Lech Kaczyński. This very first moment proved that the cooperation between the President and the Prime Minister would be rather difficult. The official "ceremony" in the presidential palace lasted less than one minute.

Just after the designation, the President stated that he would not accept Radosław Sikorski, the obvious and longtime declared candidate of the Civic Platform, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Lech Kaczyński publicly announced that, according to documents in his possession, Sikorski was absolutely unacceptable. A subsequent meeting with Donald Tusk did not change the position of the Civic Plat-



President of the Russian Federation, Vladimir Putin, and Lech Kaczyński at the UE - Russia Summit, Helsinki, November 2006



Kaczyński just after the designation of Jarosław as Prime Minister, July 2005 (Lech on his right)

The situation was stable after the 2005 elections, when the President and the Government represented the same party, Law and Justice (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*) and the Kaczyński twin brothers, Lech and Jarosław, held the offices of the President and the Prime Minister,



Lech Kaczyński and Radosław Sikorski at the NATO summit in Bucharest, April 2009



Lech Kaczyński designates Donald Tusk as Prime Minister, November 9, 2007

respectively. It changed substantially after the parliamentary elections of 2007. Lech Kaczyński remained the President (the presidential term in Poland is five years) but Law and Justice lost to Civic Platform (*Platforma Obywatelska*). Civic Platform won 41.50% of the popular support and accounted for 209 seats in the Sejm (out of 460), while Law and Justice's support was 32.10% and 166 seats. Donald Tusk, the leader of the Civic Platform party, created a coalition with the Peasants Party (51 seats in the Parliament) and was designated



Polish Sejm (government benches - mid 2007); Jarosław Kaczyński and Roman Giertych

form. The President stated that Radosław Sikorski, while a Minister of Defense during the Law and Justice government, had behaved in a "very, very unprofessional" way during the negotiations over the American anti-missile defense system in Poland. The President

never explained the nature of this "unprofessional" behavior, but eventually accepted Sikorski's candidacy. President Lech Kaczyński's personal biases make Polish foreign policy an arena of struggle, especially with

*Continued on page 8*



## Struggling with Europe: Polish Foreign Policy After the 2007 Election



By Radosław Rybkowski

*Continued from page 7*

respect to Russia and Germany. His comments about Russian policy do not facilitate the work of the government. For example, during the NATO summit in Bucharest (April 2-4, 2008), Kaczyński stated that Poland would veto EU-Russian economic negotiations if Russia acted against Ukrainian and Georgian NATO membership.

The most important issue since the end of 2007 in the field of EU-Polish relations is the Treaty of Lisbon—the document preparing substantial reforms of EU institutions, to transform the EU into a more effective and efficient organization. The treaty was negotiated during the Law and Justice government and then declared to be an important Polish victory; but after several months had passed, Lech Kaczyński threatened to veto the treaty that he himself had negotiated. The President's declaration astonished not only Civic Platform politicians but many Polish



Signing the Treaty of Lisbon, December 13, 2007. From left to right: Luís Filipe Nogueira Amado, Portugal's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Radosław Sikorski, Donald Tusk, Lech Kaczyński, Jorge Sampaio, Prime Minister of Portugal.

media commentators. The President recently declared that he would not sign the act of the Parliament (accepting the treaty) unless a new regulation concerning the authority of the President and the Prime Minister in the field of EU-Polish relations were passed.

The lack of clear rules regarding the division of power is not only a problem for Polish internal policy, but also for international relations. *Le Figaro*, the French newspaper, wrote this April

that President Nicolas Sarkozy had postponed his visit to Poland because he was not sure who he should have talked with: the President or the Prime Minister. Therefore, Poland needs a clear division of authority, to prevent similar situations from arising in the future.

If the regulation concerning this problem is passed, it will probably be the only positive outcome of the struggles and quarrels between the President and the Prime Minister.

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