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**Rozprawa doktorska: Rola instytucji Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w konflikcie politycznym we współczesnej Polsce na przykładzie prezydentury Bronisława Komorowskiego**

**Summary**

In the dissertation, the author attempts to examine the role of the institution of the President of the Republic of Poland in political conflict in modern Poland, and the main part of the study is devoted to the presidency of Bronislaw Komorowski, which took place between 2010 and 2015.

The subject of the study is the president's political position and the functioning of the system of Poland in terms of the phenomenon of political conflict. The analysis was made of the power competence, systemic and political power of the office. Political conflict, as a phenomenon accompanying the functioning of the presidential institution, has become the subject of research both in theoretical and pragmatic approaches. The legislation during the period of Bronislaw Komorowski's presidency in terms of the role of the institution of the President of the Republic in political conflict.

The primary purpose of the study is to examine the role of the institution of the President of Poland in political conflict in contemporary Poland. The head of state has a specific place in the Polish political system, but the practice of the institution's functioning can generate new conclusions for political science knowledge. Thus, it is a thorough analysis of the presidency of Bronislaw Komorowski, both in terms of fulfilling his constitutional duties, relations with other organs of the state, local government, NGOs, as well as ordinary citizens is the purpose of this dissertation.

Fulfilling particular functions and tasks in the state system does not mean that political conflicts can be bypassed. The research problem, therefore, is to analyze the role of the institution president in all the major political conflicts that took place in 2010-2015. The head of state is part of the dual executive branch, so he necessarily participates in the processes of governance, of which political conflict is an immanent part. Hence the following questions arise: what role does the president play then? He becomes an arbiter, a moderator of the political dispute? Does he level the political conflict, or does he circumvents it? Is the institution of the

president capable of controlling the political dispute in Poland, shape its development or bring about its extinction?

For the preparation of this dissertation, the analytical and abductive. With regard to the dissertation as a whole, of particular importance was the analysis of the content of documents. The dissertation consists of four chapters, an introduction and a conclusion.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Conceptualization of basic concepts**

The first chapter deals with the conceptualization of the most important concepts related to the subject of the study, namely the institution of the president, the state and political conflict.

First the etymology of the institution of the president is presented and then the basic definition according to which the office of the president is defined as the head of state in republican systems and the organ of executive power, the highest-ranking representative of the state in its relations with other states and entities. He watches over compliance with the constitution, upholds the sovereignty and security of the state and the inviolability and indivisibility of its territory. The president is also the guarantor of the continuity of state power, head of the armed forces, but is not accountable to the parliament, although there is usually a procedure leading to the removal of the holder of this office from office and is referred to as the institution of so-called impeachment.

The paper then presents the claim that the office of the president in republican systems republican systems is an autonomous institution, and the position of the president depends mainly on the political system of the country in which he is elected. Hence, there are models of weak and strong presidency determined according to the provisions of the country's constitution. The author states that additional factors affecting the position of the office of the president are those that result not only from a given political situation, but primarily from human characteristics human characteristics such as experience, political sense, personality, charisma, political intelligence political intelligence or feistiness.

Before defining the role and position of the office of the president in the Polish political system political system, he drew attention to the classic and best-known political system models originating in the USA, France and Germany. The political position of the Polish president was defined by the author mainly on the based on the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland

by analyzing its individual articles. Not However, there was no lack of reference to the historical role of the head of state in Polish political tradition and historical customs.

The author then conceptualized the concept of "state" starting with the etymology of the expression and presenting the history of the concept of "statehood" from antiquity to modern times. modern times. Next, various definitions of the state were presented, starting with that of Georg Jelinek to an analysis of the function and form of the modern state.

At the end of chapter one, the author conceptualized the term "political conflict political" starting with the etymology of the concept to presenting various definitions found in the scientific literature. Here the essence of the difficulties in political conflict research, including the interdisciplinarity of the field under study.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Genesis and development of the institution of the President RP in contemporary Poland**

Chapter two deals with the genesis and development of the institution of the President RP in contemporary Poland. It consists of two subchapters, where the first deals with issues related to the outbreak of World War II, which became the reason for the change of power and the introduction of the dual-track presidency in the political system of modern Poland.

In the subsection in question, the author points out that the dual-track presidency in the Poland's political system falls in the years 1944-1989. In these years, by the so-called "dual-power" is understood as a political situation where, on the one hand, there was a forcibly introduced on the territory of the country, the so-called people's power, while on the other hand outside of Poland continued the idea of the Second Republic, with the main center in London. The immediate cause of the emergence of the two-track presidency was the outbreak of World War II World War II and the brutal attack on Poland by Germany and the USSR in September 1939. When political changes were taking place in Poland was undergoing systemic changes and a brutal struggle against democratic circles was underway democratic circles, the authorities of the Second Republic residing in exile made constant efforts to preserve the continuity of power. Constant pressure on the authorities emigration authorities and a systematic challenge to their legitimacy resulted in a slow loss of their positions, including the head of state himself. Despite this, the institution of the president in exile emigration survived

until the fall of communism in Poland and the first free elections of the of the head of state. The last Polish president outside the country was Ryszard Kaczorowski, who on December 22, 1990 at the Royal Castle in Warsaw handed over the the insignia of presidential power to Lech Walesa, the first president elected by the Poles in free and direct elections.

The second subsection deals with the problem of reactivating the institution of the president in the political system of modern Poland. The author makes a detailed analysis of the events social and political as well as political transformations that took place in Poland from 1989 to 1997. The turning point in the history of Poland, which had a major impact on the reactivation of the office of the president was the "Round Table" deliberations, as a result of which there was a to the gradual seizure of power by the democratic opposition. One of the elements of the agreement between the regime and the opposition was the creation of the institution of the president anew, which was an initiative of the communist authorities. The author then describes the transformation of powers of the president during the period of the so-called constitutional proviso and the practice of the of the functioning of this office taking into account the political conflict. In the discussed subsection the author devoted a lot of space to analyzing the intentions and systemic conditions that guided the drafters of the new 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland, on the basis of which the office of president the office of the president currently functions.

### **Chapter 3**

#### **Models of presidency and political conflict**

Chapter three deals with the analysis of various models of the presidency in the context of political conflict political conflict and consists of six subchapters. In the first, the author analyzes the constitutional position of the president in the context of political conflict. In addition to the powers stemming directly from the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland, the author lists a number of other legal acts laws in which the competencies of the office of the president have been defined in detail, including the following laws on the flag and state seals, tribunals, organs of state control state, election and referendum laws, coordination of interaction with the Council of Ministers, external relations, defense matters, granting of degrees and information duties information, states of emergency, administration of justice, citizenship and the right of clemency, salaries, special powers and duties of government officials, powers of the Office of the President, orders and decorations, protection of information, banking and finance, public tributes, historical, scientific and social activities, as well as the regulations of

the Sejm and Senate. In this chapter, the author highlights the peculiarities of the Polish dualism of the of the executive branch and the question of conflict of interest that arises here, and thus competence disputes between the two subjects that are subject to the systemic dualism of the of executive power. The author refers both to the constitutional principle of division, balance and complementarity of powers based not only on the theoretical assumptions of the constitutionalists, but also to the practical aspects of the relationship between the office of the president and the Council of Ministers.

In the second subsection, which deals with the political nature of the office of the president, the author begins by analyzing the terms "power" and "political power." Starting from the premise, that power is the art of governing, the author attempts to describe power in terms of the classical and modern concepts of the exercise of power, also noting the transcendence of power relations beyond relations within political institutions, which, in the opinion of the author of the work, has a significant impact on the contemporary character of the institution of the president in Poland.

In the conclusion of the above subsection, the author states that in Poland the political nature of the of the office of the president stems primarily from the political-legal concept of separation of powers and the ordering of power structures and the assignment of specific functions to them is the goal of the systemic goal of any constitutional law. The directly elected head of state, who is a member of the dual executive branch and armed with a fairly wide range of powers, necessarily has a political character. The president may be favored by the uncertainty of procedures, powers seemingly hidden, the current political situation, but above all the high assured by the Constitution the rank of the office.

The third subsection deals with the role of the president in political conflict. At the outset the author states that conflict is a natural part of conducting politics. Wherever difference of interests arises, disputes erupt, and politics is an obvious place for occurrence of this phenomenon. Conflict in the system of governance should not be unequivocally interpreted as an undesirable, harmful and destructive phenomenon. On the contrary on the contrary, conflict can be a creative method of solving many problems of the state. According to the author of this paper, everything depends on the nature of the dispute being conducted, its scope and methods of conduct. In this subsection, the author again returns to the constitutional conditions for the functioning of the office of the of the office of the president in Poland and points out that inevitably with the presidential function of guarantor of the continuity of state power is connected with the function of arbitrator and moderator of the system of power in Poland.

Poland. Therefore, he cites some presidential prerogatives, discusses their function constitutional but also integrates them into a specific political situation, such as the conflict of the times of President Lech Kaczynski's cohabitation with the PO-PSL government, and by publicists dubbed the "war for the chair." The author states that the subject of political conflict between the president and other bodies can be any element of state functioning, and cites specific examples concerning the right of veto, the convening of the Cabinet Council, the National Security Council or the the application of the right of clemency, which can also become a charge of political conflict. Summarizing the above subsection, the author concludes that the issues he mentioned prove that an active presidency is exposed to conflict situations. Not only initiative of the head of state can be a source of a contentious situation, but also situations arising from a representational or even ceremonial functions. The president has a great ability to level conflicts, but just as likely to be the instigator of them. In a tense situation, most depends on the the personality of the man holding the office, his political experience and the strategy of the of the presidency.

The fourth subsection deals with presidential arbitration, which, as the author notes of the work, has been described many times in the literature and means harmonization by the head of the cooperation of other organs of state, mainly the government and parliament.

In this section of the work presents various definitions of presidential arbitration and identifies some regularities, such as that the role of the president becomes more important in moments of crises, when threats arise and emotions begin to rule. Regardless, whether the state's problem is social unrest, political conflict or external threats external threats, the president can become an arbiter depending on whether he has the right authority, political sense or power of persuasion.

The fifth subsection of this part of the work deals with the model of a strong presidency. The author of the presidency is defined as the actual influence of the head of state on the formation of policy and the functioning of a country's political system. The power of the presidential institution can be analyzed in two scopes - actual power and potential power. The first of these is powers normalized by law, the second is the personal qualities of the head of state - from psychological to knowledge and experience - as well as political considerations during the holding office. Systems of government are not just theoretical and constitutional, but also real-political constructs, which, depending on the circumstances, place and time of events, can organize do-not-mistaken constructions differently political system. Then the author presented the factors that affect the power of the presidency and as an example of the analysis

he took the United States of America. Based on the studies described in the literature domestically and worldwide, the author concluded that a strong presidential model is inextricably linked to the The system of the United States of America. They are a model of the system that is used to called presidential. The author further mentioned that the system in question is fully implemented exclusively in the United States, only there has it stood the test of time, and everywhere else it is merely imitated with better or worse results.

The sixth and final subsection of this part of the work deals with the model of presidentialism neutral. The author began the analysis of the problem with the most important features of the model of presidentialism of a neutral presidency, which is derived from Benjamin Constant's idea of neutral power and concerns political arbitration. By referring to the wide debate in the literature on the subject of presidential neutrality, which is often contentious in nature, the author concluded that the neutral model of the presidency should be based on the example of the systemic solutions of a particular state. In his opinion, such an analysis is worth subjecting the Polish model of the functioning of the of the institution of the president in the constitutional assumptions and political practice of the state.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Bronislaw Komorowski's presidency in light of the political conflict**

The fourth chapter, the most extensive, provides a detailed analysis of the of Bronislaw Komorowski's presidency and contains five subchapters.

The first subsection is a political biography of Bronislaw Komorowski, which primarily covers the period of his public and political activity. The author of the work presents the political career path of the future President of the Republic of Poland, his parliamentary and ministerial experience parliamentary and ministerial experience and the circumstances of his election to the highest office in the state. The second subsection deals with the analysis of the most important areas of activity during the Bronislaw Komorowski's presidency and includes the following six sections:

1. Legislative initiative,
2. Laws vetoed,
3. Laws referred to the Constitutional Court,
4. Presidential Pardon Acts,

5. The National Security Council,
6. Cabinet Council.

In the first part of the subsection, the author listed and described all 27 legislative initiatives of Bronislaw Komorowski's legislative initiatives. Referring to the main topic of the dissertation, author paid special attention to those legislative initiatives of President Komorowski, that were related to a political conflict or social dispute. Among other things, the author of the dissertation analyzed from the perspective of political conflict the Law on Seeds of 9 November 2012, the Law of September 14, 2012 on amending the Law - Law on Assemblies, the law of August 5, 2015 on amending the law - Tax Ordinance and certain other laws Acts, and the Act of April 13, 2012 on amending the Act on the emblem, colors and anthem of the of the Republic of Poland and the national seals, and the Law on Sports.

All of the above legislative initiatives by President Bronislaw Komorowski not only had the hallmarks of a political conflict, but also took the position of the head of the of the state in a dispute between the state and the citizen, such as the law on the tax ordinance taxation.

In the second part of the subsection, the dissertation author analyzed the laws vetoed by by President Bronislaw Komorowski in terms of political conflict. The law of constructive refusal to sign a law against laws passed by the Sejm (Art. 122, paragraph 5 of the Constitution) Bronislaw Komorowski applied four times to the following laws:

- The parliamentary bill on the establishment of an aviation academy in Deblin ,
- Government draft law on seeds,
- Civic draft law on judicial districts of common courts and amendments to the Law on the system of common courts,
- Parliamentary draft law on amendments to the law on the protection of agricultural and forest land.

Then the author of the dissertation analyzed the various motions to refuse to sign the laws laws presenting the arguments of the office of the President and outlining the political and social background related to the political conflict.

In the third part of the subsection, the dissertation author analyzed the laws referred to the Constitutional Court by President Bronislaw Komorowski. The President of the Republic of Poland has the right to refer a law to the Constitutional Court in two modes, so-called

preventive control or follow-up control. In accordance with Article 88 paragraph 1 in conjunction with Article 122 paragraph 2 Constitution of the Republic of Poland, the condition for the entry into force of any law is its signing by the President and then promulgation in the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland. After completion of the legislative proceedings in the Sejm and the Senate, the Speaker of the Sejm presents the passed law for signature to the president, who signs the law within 21 days from the date of presentation and orders its publication in the Journal of Laws of the Republic of Poland. If the president has doubts about the validity or advisability of the solutions adopted in a given law or its compliance with the Constitution, he may apply to the Constitutional Tribunal with a request to examine the law's compliance with the Constitution, under the mode of preventive control before signing it, based on Article 122(3) of the Constitution. The entry into force of the law then depends on the content of the CT judgment.

Of the more than a thousand laws that have reached President Komorowski's desk, thirteen of them have been referred to the Constitutional Court. Seven were referred in the mode of preventive control, while six in the mode of follow-up control, i.e. after the laws had been signed. All thirteen laws were analyzed by the author of the dissertation in terms of the content, the arguments of the parties, the social and economic background but above all the political conflict.

In the fourth section of the subsection, the dissertation author analyzed acts of grace. The right of clemency is a special power of the President of the Republic of Poland, the essence of which is the full or partial release of a convicted person from the criminal consequences of a final court judgment. During his term of office, the President Bronislaw Komorowski applied the right of clemency to 357 people, while he refused to apply this right to 1,543 people. The author of the dissertation presented statistics of the use of the office of the president of this power by each year of the presidency, the nature of the cases, and compared them with the statistics of predecessors holding the office of the President of the Republic of Poland. Also presented were the controversies and the media and political background of pardons compared to such actions by other presidents.

In the fifth section of the subsection, the dissertation author presented an analysis on the functioning of the National Security Council. In accordance with Article 135 of the Constitution Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997, the National Security Council is an advisory body to the President of the Republic in the field of internal and external security of the state. This body has not been equipped with any powers of a sovereign nature, and its role is focused on advising

the president on matters related to state security. The Constitution does not specify who can be a member of the Council, leaving decisions on the composition of the RCN solely to the discretion of the head of state, while the actual role of the National Security Council is determined by the activity of the of the president, who convenes the meetings of this body, as well as determines the topics of the meetings.

The author of the dissertation made a brief comparative analysis of the functioning of the RCN under previous presidents of the Republic of Poland since the 1997 Constitution of the Republic of Poland was in force and then presented the most important information related to the operation during the presidency of Bronislaw Komorowski. Among the various types of analysis were also those that are related to political conflict, including those concerning the political atmosphere after the "Smolensk disaster Smolensk disaster," the attempt to stabilize relations on national security issues with Law and Justice leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski.

In the fifth subsection, the dissertation author presented an analysis on the functioning of the Cabinet Council. According to Article 141 of the Constitution, in matters of special importance, the President of the Republic may convene the Cabinet Council, which is formed by the Council of Ministers sitting under the chairmanship of the President. At the same time, the Constitution expressly stipulates that the Cabinet Council is not vested with the powers of the Council of Ministers. The functioning of the Cabinet Council is based on the general disposition of Article 141 of the Constitution, and therefore the nature of this institution has been defined very generally, without addressing the organizational and procedural aspects related to the convening and holding of its meetings. In the following section, the dissertation author briefly describes the practice of the Cabinet Council during the during the tenure of previous presidents and then focuses on Bronislaw Komorowski, who convened the Cabinet Council only three times during his presidency Cabinet Council. All three meetings of the Cabinet Council along with the political conditions that accompanied them. Summarizing this part of the work, the author concluded that such a small number of meetings of the Cabinet Council of the Cabinet Council can be a starting point for evaluating the use of this presidential prerogative. He cited the opinion of Bronislaw Komorowski himself in this regard, as well as a scholarly assessment by Lukasz Wielgosz on the importance of the Cabinet Council during the period of political unity of the of the two subjects of the executive branch. Analyzing the individual meetings of the Cabinet Council and summarizing this part of the work, the dissertation author assessed this presidential prerogative as offensive and saying a lot about the

style of the presidency, including the form of expressing his opinion and conducting dialogue with the government.

The third subsection deals with the role of President Bronislaw Komorowski in selected political conflicts and consists of five sections:

1. The dispute over pension age reform,
2. The dispute over the abolition of "small courts" by Jaroslaw Gowin,
3. The dispute over the in vitro law,
4. The dispute over the "wiretapping affair",
5. Other conflicts versus the office of President Komorowski.

In the first part of the subsection, the dissertation author analyzed the conflict political conflict over the reform of the retirement age, the announcement of which in Poland appeared in the Donald Tusk's exposé, which he delivered in the Polish Sejm on November 18, 2011. The announced changes were reflected in two government bills that went to the Sejm on April 20, 2012. Before the aforementioned drafts went to parliamentary work, the conflict over changing the retirement age was gaining increasing importance, both politically political and social terms.

The issue of raising the retirement age has accompanied Bronislaw Komorowski since the the beginning of his bid for the office of President of the Republic. Representatives of the NSZZ "Solidarity" throughout the public debate on the retirement age consistently quoted the words of presidential candidate Bronislaw Komorowski from the debate on June 28 June 2010, where he stated there was no need to raise the retirement age.

President Komorowski has constantly monitored the development of the conflict over the issue of raising the retirement age and joined in controlling it, including by inviting political forces and non-governmental organizations to consult on the issue.

However, he pointed out clearly its role as an entity that will seek compromise solutions in the the developing dispute. Komorowski put himself in the role of arbiter. Recognizing the burden of the emerging conflict over the retirement age, he decided to use his function as a stabilizing role vis-à-vis the system of government in Poland. By taking the initiative to start an official political discussion, he made it clear that he was watching over the harmonious governance of the country and wants to help resolve any potential political crisis political. It should also be noted at this point that during the many debates on raising the retirement age and changes to

the pension system Bronislaw Komorowski proposed his own concept of flexible exit from the labor market to the government labor market. In the end, Bronislaw Komorowski signed into law the aforementioned laws and the topic of the retirement age accompanied President Komorowski until the end of his term in office. W 2015, just before the second round of the presidential election, Bronislaw Komorowski announced the submission of a bill giving the opportunity to retire before reaching retirement age by those with at least 40 years of contributory service.

In the second part of the subsection, the dissertation author analyzed the political dispute over the abolition of "small courts" by Jaroslaw Gowin. The functioning of the judiciary of justice in Poland has often been subject to critical evaluation by many social circles and has been the subject of political disputes. The same was true at the time when the minister of Justice was Jaroslaw Gowin, who decided to implement his own vision of to improve the Polish justice system. He then carried out a reform of the of the judiciary, which not only caused many conflicts, but also shook his political career political career. The changes to the court system introduced in 2013 caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among judges, lawyers, as well as local government officials and residents of smaller towns, who were threatened with the closure of local courts. For the latter were interceded by PSL politicians, then members of the ruling coalition, which led to an even greater escalation of the political conflict.

The president's position at the time can be read as an endorsement of the government, while, if we analyze the statements of his closest associates, one can then perceive a greater understanding of the arguments of the opponents of the reform. The author of the dissertation notes that the low rank of legislative power was the reason that the conflict initially did not concern the office of the President at all. Only over time, as the conflict grew more and more often President Komorowski had to speak out on the subject, and more entities asked him to take a position. The role of the president has succumbed changed when, at the end of May 2012, a civic bill appeared in the Sejm on the judicial districts of common courts and on amendments to the Law on the System of Common Courts common courts, which, having the support of the entire opposition and the PSL from the very beginning, planned to undo the reorganization of the courts, carried out by Justice Minister Jaroslaw Gowin.

The president did not support the solutions contained in the citizens' bill on the judicial districts. At the same time, he was increasingly critical of the way the reform was prepared Jaroslaw Gowin's reform. Ultimately, the law on court districts of common courts, after the veto of the of the President at a session of the Sejm on July 12, 2013, was not passed again. Instead, the

presidential bill, which proposed a compromise solution to the disputed issues, was passed with amendments by the Sejm and Senate on March 14, 2014. Bronislaw Komorowski on March 31, 2014 in Slupca solemnly signed the passed law on amendments to the law - Law on the system of common courts (Journal of Laws item 481), thereby closing the long conflict over the liquidation of small district courts.

In the third part of the subsection, the dissertation author analyzed the dispute over the "in vitro." Issues concerning infertility treatment and the operation of assisted reproduction centers assisted reproduction are regulated by the law of June 25, 2015, which came into force on November 1, 2015. November 2015. At the time of its enactment, Poland was the only country in the European Union European Union that did not have regulations on donation, collection, processing, testing, storage and distribution of reproductive cells and embryos intended for use in medically assisted procreation. However, this did not mean that medical clinics in Poland did not perform this type of procedure procedures. The author of the dissertation, presenting the background of the conflict over the "in vitro law," noted that in vitro fertilization until the law was passed in 2015 was actually regulated only by the rules of medical art and the Code of Medical Ethics of January 2, 2004. In addition, it is worth taking into account the fact that the European Commission, since 2010, has required Poland to to include in the law issues related to the collection, coding and storage of oocytes ova, semen, as well as embryonic tissue and fetal cells. The topic of in vitro accompanied Bronislaw Komorowski throughout his presidency, including the pre-campaign in 2010, the presidential campaign proper in 2010 and in 2015 year, as he was always asked about his position on the issue. The topic of in vitro heated up political discussions throughout President Komorowski's term, but it became particularly hot became when specific projects were submitted.

The discussion on reimbursement of treatments was just such a topic, which delineated the axis of the dispute between the opposition and the government. The contentious topic took on a new dynamic in 2013, when the PO-PSL government prepared a three-year health program providing for reimbursement of IVF treatment.

Although public debate was very broad at the time, it did not directly concern President Komorowski and played out mainly in the area of conflict between representatives of the major political parties. The president's opinion was widely known and he did not become a particular party to the dispute until work began in the Sejm on a bill that was to finally regulate the issue of in vitro. At that point, it became clear that if the law was passed by the parliament, the president would stand in the role of the office that could decide the be or not of the controversial

legislation. At this point, the dissertation author devoted much space to describe the conflict between President Komorowski and the Catholic Church of Catholic Church in Poland over the adoption or rejection of the provisions of the law regulating in vitro fertilization. The dispute, presented in detail, was of an unusual nature at the time nature and, according to the author of the dissertation, had a political character showing the special role of the institution of the president.

In the fourth part of the subsection, the dissertation author made a somewhat shorter analysis of other political disputes and conflicts during Bronislaw Komorowski's presidency, which in the author's opinion his opinion, were relevant from the scientific point of view and thus complemented the overall image of the presidency in question.

The conflict surrounding the so-called ACTA case, i.e. the government's intention to sign the by the government of a trade agreement to combat the circulation of counterfeit goods. W Poland, the ACTA issue emerged in 2011 with the news of the government's planned signing of the ACTA by the government, causing an uproar among Inter-net users, and thereby thus stirring up huge controversy and disputes. Opponents of ACTA reported that the the agreement is a controversial document, as some of its provisions could threaten the citizens' fundamental rights and freedom of expression. Moreover, ACTA has aroused many conspiracy theories due to the fact that its provisions were created in completely secret negotiations. Faced with a conflict situation, the president in February 2012 became involved in the ACTA issue by asking, among others, Ombudsman Prof. Irena Lipowicz to take a position on whether the ratification of the ACTA trade agreement will not have the effect of limiting the civil rights, and holding consultations on the issue with the ministers of Justice, Administration and Digitization, and Culture.

The same section also analyzed the conflict related to the so-called mothers of the of the first quarter, a group of people in Poland who fought for the right to exercise the new entitlements that resulted from amendments to the Labor Code extending leave for parents. Draft law, the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy proposed 20 weeks of leave maternity leave, 6 weeks of additional maternity leave and 26 weeks of parental leave parental leave. Until now, maternity leave was 20 weeks and additional leave was 4 weeks. The "first quarter mothers" community began to organize in 2012 during discussions on various online forums, but especially on the website of the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy, where the possibility of expressing opinions on the planned changes to the laws on maternity and parental leave and the so-called "becikowe. Ultimately, the issue of "mothers of the first quarter," mainly due to their

determination and became very loud and thus politically important. At the moment, when members of the movement turned to the President of Poland for help, Bronislaw Komorowski delegated to the talks the First Lady and the relevant family affairs minister, thereby supporting the demands of the "mothers of the first quarter."

The same section also analyzed the conflict over the topic of civil unions. Here the dissertation author described the course of the political discussion on the postulate of legal normalization of civil unions in Poland through a law from 2003 until the end of Bronislaw Komorowski's presidency. The author drew attention to 2011, when, as a result of legislative work, a conflict arose within the ruling party ruling party - Civic Platform, the cause of which was the evaluation of draft laws regarding civil unions. In view of this, in January 2013, President Bronislaw Komorowski joined the public debate on civil unions. This was not an easy task for Komorowski, who did not always clearly and unambiguously define his position towards the posed problem of civil unions. The author of the dissertation cited many examples of President Komorowski's statements and media discussion media on the above topic.

At the end of this subsection, the dissertation author cites very briefly several other situations that had the hallmarks of political conflict, including those concerning the "wiretapping affair wiretapping" or the issue of single-mandate electoral districts.

In the fourth subsection, the dissertation author presented an analysis of the presidency of Bronislaw Komorowski in public opinion polls on the example of the work of the Center for Public Opinion Research (CBOS). The subject of the research analysis was a series of studies CBOS from August 2010 to April 2015. Summarizing all the research, the dissertation author of the dissertation stressed that positive public evaluations accompanied Bronislaw Komorowski even before the 2010 elections and the period of his presidency strengthened his image, as a politician enjoying both high trust and social acceptance public.

This is evidenced, for example, by surveys from October and November 2014, when Bronislaw Komorowski's ratings reached the highest level in the entire period of his holding office, i.e. 80% public confidence . In addition, in a number of surveys analysts found support for the view that Komorowski held office across so-called "political political divisions. The dissertation author additionally pointed out that due to the president's very good public ratings of the president in virtually every poll, many commentators on public life of public life in Poland were convinced that his re-election was very likely and the The belief that Bronislaw Komorowski was, at the beginning of the year, the favorite for the upcoming upcoming presidential election

led some publicists and people from the president's support base president to rash statements, comments and behavior.

Chapter four concludes with a subsection that is a transcript of a conversation of the dissertation's author with Bronislaw Komorowski about his role in the political conflict during his tenure as President of Poland. During the conversation, Bronislaw Komorowski answered 13 questions from the dissertation author, which included key conflicts political conflicts during his presidency, relations with local government and trade unions trade unions, cooperation and conflicts with the Prime Minister, the specifics of the debate with the Catholic Church as well as proposals for systemic changes regarding the position of the President of the Republic of Poland.

Each of the chapters ends with a brief summary in which there are reflections on the objectives that guided the creation of the respective part of the work. The author also points to the conclusions and answers to the research questions that were posed in the introduction of the work.