

Presidents in Central and Eastern Europe,
Their Formal Competencies and Informal Power

Vít Hloušek et al.





MASARYK UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF SOCIAL STUDIES INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Monographs Series Vol. 56



PRESIDENTS ABOVE PARTIES?

Presidents in Central and Eastern Europe, Their Formal Competencies and Informal Power

VÍT HLOUŠEK ET AL.



MASARYK UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL STUDIES
INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

BRNO 2013



The publication of the book has been financially supported by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, Czech Republic office

Scientific Board of Masaryk University:

prof. PhDr. Ladislav Rabušic, CSc.

Mgr. Iva Zlatušková

prof. RNDr. Zuzana Došlá, DSc.

Ing. Radmila Droběnová, Ph.D.

Mgr. Michaela Hanousková

doc. PhDr. Jana Chamonikolasová, Ph.D.

doc. JUDr. Josef Kotásek, Ph.D.

Mgr. et Mgr. Oldřich Krpec, Ph.D.

prof. PhDr. Petr Macek, CSc.

PhDr. Alena Mizerová

doc. Ing. Petr Pirožek, Ph.D.

doc. RNDr. Lubomír Popelínský, Ph.D.

Mgr. David Povolný

Mgr. Kateřina Sedláčková, Ph.D.

prof. MUDr. Anna Vašků, CSc.

prof. PhDr. Marie Vítková, CSc.

doc. Mgr. Martin Zvonař, Ph.D.

Pre-publishing review: Tim Haughton

© 2013 Masarykova univerzita

© 2013 Vít Hloušek et al.

ISBN 978-80-210-6687-8 (brožovaná vazba) ISBN 978-80-210-7802-4 (online : pdf) Table of Contents 5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	List of Abbreviations
	List of Tables
	List of Figures11
	List of Contributors
	Acknowledgements17
1	Vít Hloušek Heads of State in Parliamentary Democracies: The Temptation to Accrue Personal Power
2	LUBOMÍR KOPEČEK AND JOSEF MLEJNEK Different Confessions, Same Sins? Václav Havel and Václav Klaus as Czech Presidents31
3	Gábor Dobos – Attila Gyulai – Attila Horváth Weak but Not Powerless: The Position of the President in the Hungarian Political System
4	PIOTR SULA – AGNIESZKA SZUMIGALSKA The Guardian of the Chandelier or a Powerful Statesman? The Historical, Cultural and Legislative Determinants of the Political Role of the President of Poland
5	Peter Spáč Slovakia: In Search of Limits
6	ALENKA KRAŠOVEC AND DAMJAN LAJH The Chameleonic Character of the Slovenian Presidents of the Republic

7	REIN TOOMLA The Presidency in the Republic of Estonia
8	Daunis Auers Seven Democrats and a Dictator: Formal and Informal Powers of Latvia's Presidents
9	ALGIS KRUPAVIČIUS Lithuania's President: A Formal and Informal Power
10	BLAGOVESTA CHOLOVA The Role of the President in Bulgarian Politics: The Veto as a Tool for Legitimation?
11	Sergiu Gherghina Formal and Informal Powers in a Semi-Presidential Regime: The Case of Romania
12	Vít Hloušek The Political Role of Presidents in the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Some Tentative Conclusions271
	Summary
	References
	Name Index

References 7

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBWR	Nonpartisan Bloc for Cooperation with the Government (Bezpartyjny Blok Współpracy z Rządem) (interwar Poland)
BBWR	Nonpartisan Bloc for Support of Reforms (Bezpartyjny Blok Wspierania Reform) (Wałęsa)
BSP	Bulgarian Socialist Party (Българска социалистическа партия)
CBOS	Public Opinion Research Center (Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej)
ČNB	Czech National Bank (Česká národní banka)
ČSSD	Czech Social Democratic Party (Česká strana sociálně demokratická)
DPS	Movement for Rights and Freedoms (Движение за права и свободи)
Fidesz	Alliance of Young Democrats – Hungarian Civic Union (Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége – Magyar Polgári Szövetség)
FSN	National Salvation Front (Frontul Salvării Naționale)
GERB	Citizens for a European Development of Bulgaria (Граждани за европейско развитие на България)
HSES	Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (<i>Hlinkova Slovenská ľudová strana</i>)
HZD	Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (<i>Hnutie za demokratické Slovensko</i>)
KDNP	Christian Democratic People's Party (<i>Kereszténydemokrata Néppárt</i>)
KDU-ČSL	Christian and Democratic Union – Czechoslovak People's Party (Křesťanská a demokratická unie – Československá strana lidová)

Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (Komunistická strana Československa)
Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia (<i>Komunistická</i> strana Čech a Moravy)
Lithuanian Centre Union (Lietuvos centro sajunga)
Liberal Democratic Party (Liberalų demokratų partija)
Lithuanian Democratic Labour Party (<i>Lietuvos demokratinė darbo partija</i>)
Liberal Democrats of Slovenia (<i>Liberalna demokracija Slovenije</i>)
Lithuanian Liberal Union (Lietuvos liberalų sajunga)
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party ($Lietuvos\ social demokratu$ $partija$)
Hungarian Democratic Forum (Magyar Demokrata Fórum)
Hungarian Socialist Party (Magyar Szocialista Párt)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization
National Movement Simeon the Second (Национално Движение Симеон Втори)
New Union / Social Liberals (Naujoji sajunga (socialliberalai))
Civic Democratic Alliance (Občanská demokratická aliance)
Civic Democratic Party (Občanská demokratická strana)
Civic Forum (Občanské fórum)
Presidential Council of the People's Republic (Hungary)
Liberal Democratic Party (Partidul Democrat Liberal)
Law and Justice (<i>Prawo i Sprawiedliwość</i>)
Civic Platform (Platforma Obywatelska)
People's Republic of Poland (Polska Rzeczpospolita Ludowa)
Polish Peasant Party (Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe)

References 9

PZPR	Polish United Workers' Party (<i>Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza</i>)
SaS	Freedom and Solidarity (Sloboda a solidarita)
SDK	Social Democratic Coalition (A. Brazausko socialdemokratinė koalicija)
SDĽ	Party of Democratic Left (Strana demokratickej lavice)
SDS	Union of Democratic Forces (Съюз на демократичните сили)
SLD	Democratic Left Alliance (Sojusz Lewicy Demokratycznej)
SLS+SKD	Slovenian People's Party + Slovene Christian Democrats (Slovenska ljudska stranka + Slovenski krščanski demokrati)
SNS	Slovak National Party (Slovenská národná strana)
SOP	Party of Civic Understanding (Strana občianskeho porozumenia)
SR	Slovak Republic (Slovenská republika)
SZDSZ	Alliance of Free Democrats (Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége)
TGM	Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk
TOP 09	Tradition, Responsibility, Prosperity 09 (<i>Tradice, odpovědnost, prosperita 09</i>)
TS(LK)	Homeland Union (Lithuanian Conservatives) (<i>Tėvynės</i> sajunga (<i>Lietuvos konservatoriai</i>))
US	Union of Freedom (<i>Unie svobody</i>)
VPN	Public Against Violence (Verejnosť proti násiliu)
VV	Public Affairs Party (<i>Věci veřejné</i>)

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Simplified summary of the forms of government and head of state in Hungary	78
Table 2:	Elections of presidents in Hungary 1990–2012	99
Table 3:	Constitutional and political vetoes in Hungary (according to the political affiliation of the presidents and the cabinets)	. 100
Table 4:	Legislative initiatives of the Presidents of Poland in the period 1989–2012	. 111
Table 5:	The use of the presidential right of legislative veto and referrals to the Constitutional Tribunal	. 113
Table 6:	Public opinion on the presidents of Poland (1989–2013)	. 118
Table 7:	What political construction should be applied in Poland?	. 118
Table 8:	President Gašparovič's use of suspensive veto	. 135
Table 9:	Rejections of the laws	. 175
Table 10:	Abridgment of the speeches	. 182
Table 11:	The mechanism of presidential elections	. 188
Table 12:	Latvia's Presidents	. 196
Table 13:	Constitutional powers of the president	. 214
Table 14:	Presidents of the Republic of Lithuania and their party affiliations	. 217
Table 15:	Confidence in institutions in 2005	. 251
Table 16:	Method of electing the president and his/her relationship to the government and parliament	. 274
Table 17:	Transformations of political regimes in Central and Eastern Europe, 1918–1945	. 283

LIST OF FIGURES 11

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Formal and informal activity of the presidents in Hungary	86
Figure 2:	Presidential speeches – domestic and abroad	181
Figure 3:	Attitudes towards and trust for the President in comparison with the attitudes towards and trust for the Parliament and Government in 1993–2007	183
Figure 4:	Trust for the President in comparison with the trust for the Parliament and Government in 2011	185
Figure 5:	Number of vetoes per legislature	244
Figure 6:	Types of amended bills	245
Figure 7:	Assessment of the work of G. Parvanov 2001–2008	252
Figure 8:	Assessment of the work of G. Parvanov 2008–2011	252
Figure 9:	Assessment of the government NDSV-DPS (2001–2005)	253
Figure 10:	Assessment of the government BSP-NDSV-DPS (2005–2008)	253
Figure 11:	Assessment of the government BSP-NDSV-DPS (2009–2011)	254
Figure 12:	Media attitude-President Parvanov March-November 2010	254
Figures 13	and 14: Media attitudes in the newspapers	255

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

DAUNIS AUERS – Associate Professor of Comparative Politics at the University of Latvia. He received his Master's from the London School of Economics; PhD from University College London, was a Fulbright Scholar at the University of California, Berkeley. He has published widely on the comparative politics of the Baltic States, with a particular focus on political parties, most recently the spread of radical right populist parties in the Baltic region. His book on the *Comparative Politics and Government of the Baltic States* will be published by Palgrave-Macmillan in 2014.

BLAGOVESTA CHOLOVA – PhD candidate /teaching assistant at the Centre d'études de la vie politique (CEVIPOL) at Université libre de Bruxelles (Free university of Brussels), Belgium. Her research focuses on Populism and political parties in Central and Eastern Europe and especially in Bulgaria. Her Phd thesis is on the Right-wing populist parties in Bulgaria and she has published several articles and chapters on populism and political parties in Bulgaria and Eastern Europe, in Southeastern Europe journal, Revue Internationale de Politique Comparée, the Slovak Journal of Political Science, Europeana review among others.

GÁBOR DOBOS – junior research fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Institute for Political Science, Centre for Social Sciences) and lecturer of the Corvinus University of Budapest. He is primarily interested in the local politics and local leadership in Hungary. At the Institute he is a member of the 'Election Pledges and Public Policy in Hungary' research team.

SERGIU GHERGHINA – post-doctoral research fellow and lecturer at the Institute of Political Science, Goethe University Frankfurt. He holds a PhD in Political Science from Leiden University. His research interests lie in political parties, the politics of representation, legislative and voting behavior, and democratization and democratic innovations (in particular, direct democracy). His authored or co-authored works have been published in *American Journal of Political Science, Comparative European Politics, Con-*

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS 13

temporary Politics, East European Politics, East European Politics and Societies, European Political Science, European Political Science Review, European Union Politics, International Political Science Review, Journal of Legislative Studies, Party Politics, Perspectives on European Politics and Societies, Problems of Post-Communism.

ATTILA GYULAI – research fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Institute for Political Science, Centre for Social Sciences). His fields of research are the intersections of language, rhetoric and political theory and the political theory of Carl Schmitt. At the Institute he is a member of the 'Election Pledges and Public Policy in Hungary' research team.

Vít Hloušek – head of the International Institute of Political Science, associate professor at the Department of International Relations and European Studies of the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic. Vít devotes his attention to the problems of comparative politics and contemporary history of Central European countries. He is an author of numerous books and papers devoted to these issues, among others *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties. East-Central and Western Europe Compared* (with Lubomír Kopeček, Ashgate 2010) and *Party Systems in East Central Europe* (with Ladislav Cabada and Petr Jurek, Lexington Books 2014).

ATTILA HORVÁTH – lawyer and political scientist, research fellow at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Institute for Political Science, Centre for Social Sciences); assistant professor at the Faculty of Public Administration, National University of Public Service, Budapest. He is primarily interested in the party systems of the Visegrad countries. At the Institute he is a member of the 'Election Pledges and Public Policy in Hungary' research team.

Lubomír Kopeček – deputy head of the International Institute of Political Science, and associate professor at the Department of Political Science of the Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Brno, the Czech Republic. His current main research interests are political parties and Czech politics. He is author or co-author several books including *The Age of Innocence. Czech Politics 1989–1997*, 2010, in Czech), *Origin, Ideology and Transformation of Political Parties. East-Central and Western Europe*

Compared (with Vít Hloušek, 2010, in English), *The Phenomenon of Václav Klaus. Political biography* (2012, in Czech), and many journal articles.

ALENKA KRAŠOVEC – associate professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, and researcher in the Centre for Political Science Research. Her research interests encompass political parties, political participation, electoral studies, democratic transition and politics in post-Yugoslav region. She is an author or co-author of numerous articles, books and chapters in edited books devoted to these issues.

ALGIS KRUPAVIČIUS - professor and director of Policy and Public Administration Institute, Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania. Main areas of research interests: comparative politics, public policy, political parties and elections, research methods. Among his main publications are Lithuania's Seimas Election 1996. Analyses, Documents and Data (2001), Lietuvos politinė sistema [Lithuanian political system] (2004), Valstybės tarnyba Lietuvoje [Civil service in Lithuania] (2007), Semi-presidentialism in Lithuania: Origins, Development and Challenges, in Elgie R. and Moestrup S. (eds., 2008) Semi-presidentialism in Central and Eastern Europe, Manchester University Press, La Lituanie, in De Waele and Magnette (eds., 2010) Les democraties europeennes: Approche comparee des systemes politiques nationaux, Armand Colin, Citizens' Initiatives in Lithuania: Initiative Institutions and Their Political Impact in New Democracy, in Setala M., Schiller T. (eds., 2012) Citizens' Initiatives in Europe: Procedures and Consequences of Agenda-Setting by Citizens, Palgrave Macmillan, Fluide Parteiensysteme in den baltishen Staaten. In Knodt M., Urdze S. (eds., 2012) Die politischen System der baltishen Staaten, Springer VS. Also he is leading European election study, European social survey, International social survey program in Lithuania.

DAMJAN LAJH – associate professor at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, Head of Policy Analysis and Public Administration Chair, Jean Monnet Chair, and researcher in the Centre for Political Science Research. His research interests encompass public policies and policymaking processes in the national and EU context, new forms of governance in the EU, and democratic transition in post-Yugoslav region. He is an author or co-author of six books and numerous articles devoted to these issues.

List of Contributors 15

Josef Mlejnek – assistant professor at the Institute for Political Studies, Faculty of Social Science, Charles University in Prague. He specializes in democratic transition, and constitutional and electoral systems in the regions of Central and Eastern Europe. He is co-author and editor of the book *The Head of State in the Post-Communist Countries: From the Fall of Communism in 1989 to 2010* (in Czech, Prague, Charles University, 2011). As a commentator on Czech and foreign affairs he works with a number of print and electronic media outlets.

PETER SPÁČ – assistant professor at the Department of Political Science, Masaryk University, Brno, the Czech Republic and a research fellow of the International Institute of Political Science. His research fields include elections, electoral systems and their reforms, candidate selection processes and Slovak politics. He is author of several books, chapters and articles. To his latest contributions belongs a chapter about Slovakia in *Populist Political Parties in East-Central Europe* (Masaryk University, 2012).

PIOTR SULA – lecturer and deputy director of the Institute of Political Science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Wroclaw, Poland. His research specialties focus on political parties and industrial relations. He is author of numerous articles devoted to these issues.

AGNIESZKA SZUMIGALSKA – holder of European Doctorate in Political Science (collaboration between Wroclaw University and VU University Amsterdam). Her academic interests centre on political systems, government and politics in Poland, relations between religion and politics and European standards of religious freedom.

REIN TOOMLA – MA, lecturer of Institute Government and Politics, University of Tartu. Author of two monographs – *Political Parties of Estonia*, 1999 and *Political Parties of Estonia 2000–2010*, 2011, both in Estonian. Editor of several collections of articles about parliamentary and presidential elections in Estonia and international relations, all in Estonian. Selected articles in English: Political parties in Estonia, in: A. Kulik and S. Pshizova, (eds), *Political parties on Post-Soviet space*, Praeger, 2005; Citizen electoral alliances in Estonia: citizen democracy versus cartel parties (with Vello Pettai and Elvis Joakit), in: M. Reisner, E. Holtmann (eds), *Farewell to the Party Model? Independent Local Lists in East and West European*

Countries, VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2008; Parliamentarism in Estonia (1918–1940) (with Andres Kasekamp), in: S. Radu&H-C. Maner (eds), Parliamentarism and Political Structures in East-Central and Southeastern Europe in the Interwar Period, Volume IX/2012 Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 17

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea of exploring the political activities of Central and Eastern European heads of state arose in 2012, when it was already certain that the upcoming January election of the new Czech president, Václav Havel and Václav Klaus's successor, would be direct. Although at that time it was still unclear who would stand for office, there were good reasons to believe that, like Havel and Klaus, the next Czech president would occasionally attempt to 'shift' the limits placed on his/her power by the constitutional definition of the presidential office. Discussions with colleagues soon pointed to a number of examples from other countries of the so-called EU Eastern enlargement where heads of state have played (or sought to play) important political roles. Gradually the idea emerged of elaborating this theme into a book, mapping the individual case studies and summarising the findings. We believe that such a book is a welcome addition to existing studies concerning a president's systemic role in various types of political settings and the measurement of presidential power.

This book could not have appeared without the efforts of many people, and I would like to express my gratitude to them here. At the time the above-mentioned discussion unfolded my main partners in the dialogue were Lubomír Kopeček and Vratislav Havlík. When the broad discussion transformed into a book topic I benefited from the valuable experiences of Vlastimil Havlík and Aneta Pinková, who, the previous year, had taken on the role of editing a volume by an international team of scholars. A big thank you also goes to Lucie Mořkovská for her invaluable services in preparing the manuscript for publication. I am very glad to be able to thank Timothy J. Haughton, who took on the thankless task of reviewing the book and executed it in an excellent way. I also thank Štěpán Kaňa and Marni Kristin for editing the English. The book could not have been published without the aid provided by the Prague office of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. For this help, but also for their long-term cooperation, I would like to thank its director Werner Böhler and Alena Falathová. But the greatest thank you goes to all the authors who contributed to this book by writing the individual case studies. Without their erudition and selfless interest in the topic, this book would never have appeared.