

APANTY FAMILY

~~An Ethos~~ Theory of Party Positions on European Integration:

A Polish Case Study

Submitted by

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Contents

<u>LIST OF ABBREVIATURES</u>	<u>9</u>
---	-----------------

<u>CHAPTER I THE WIDER SETTING</u>	<u>11</u>
---	------------------

RESEARCH QUESTION	11
RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	13
CHAPTER OUTLINE.....	13
CONCEPTIONS OF PARTIES	15
THE POLICY-SEEKING TRADITION.....	16
THE OFFICE-SEEKING TRADITION	24
THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO THE DETERMINATION OF PARTIES' EUROPEAN ATTITUDES...	27
CONCLUSION	31

<u>CHAPTER II THEORY AND METHODOLOGY</u>	<u>33</u>
---	------------------

A SCALE OF PARTY RESPONSES TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	42
PARTY'S ETHOS AS DETERMINANTS OF POSITIONS ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	44
PARTY RESPONSES TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.	52
PARTIES' PREFERENCES CONCERNING EUROPEAN INTEGRATION.....	54
METHODOLOGY	56
THE EMPIRICAL MATERIAL	58
CLASSIFICATION CRITERIA.....	62
CASE SELECTION	63

CHAPTER III EXPLAINING RIGHT-WING EUROPEAN ATTITUDES 65

STAGES OF POLISH RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION 66

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY 75

LIBERALISM 76

CONSERVATISM 77

NATIONALISM..... 78

CLASSIFYING PARTIES 81

1991-1997: THE FAILED EXPERIMENTS OF RIGHT-WING UNIFICATION 81

THE UNIFICATION OF THE RIGHT BETWEEN 1997 AND 2001 94

2001 ELECTIONS 106

ANALYSIS 114

CHAPTER IV EXPLAINING LEFT-WING EUROPEAN ATTITUDES 119

CLASSIFYING PARTIES 123

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY 123

AGRARIANISM..... 125

ECOLOGISM..... 126

1989-1993: THE FIRST EXPERIMENTS 127

1993-1997: THE GOVERNMENTAL EXPERIENCE 139

1997-2001: THE LEFT IN OPPOSITION 148

ANALYSIS 157

<u>CHAPTER V TESTING GOVERNMENT-OPPOSITION DYNAMICS AS AN EXPLANATION FOR PARTIES' EUROPEAN ATTITUDES</u>	160
CENTRIPETAL PARTIES	163
POLARISING PARTIES	177
ANALYSIS	184
<u>CHAPTER VI TESTING THE NEW STRATEGIC HYPOTHESIS</u>	187
TESTING THE HYPOTHESES	188
THE CREATION OF A CENTRE-RIGHT PARTY: THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION	191
1991-1993 GOVERNMENTAL COALITIONS	193
1997-2001: THE AWS GOVERNMENT	199
2001: THE SEARCH FOR IDEOLOGICAL COHERENCE	206
SYNERGIES BETWEEN IDENTITIES AND STRATEGIC BEHAVIOUR	209
THE PSL AND THE SLD TRANSFORMATIONS	209
ANALYSIS	213
<u>CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION</u>	216
EUROPE SEEN FROM THE POLITICAL PRISM	221
EUROPE SEEN FROM THE ECONOMIC PRISM	225
THE GENERAL APPLICABILITY OF THE ETHOS THEORY	231
WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES	235
THE WIDER PICTURE	247

CONCLUSION 252

BIBLIOGRAPHY 255

Abstract

This thesis proposes a theory of party positions on European integration based on a two-dimensional description of party ethos. This new theorisation considers the independent impact of a party's conceptions of political and economic communities on the responses of parties to European integration. Parties' ethos limits the long-term impact of polarising and centripetal strategies on European positions. The concept of political and economic ethos distinguishes this theory from the static ideological theory of Marks, Hooghe and Wilson, represents a critique of the dynamic theory of Sitter, and contributes to the general study of political parties.

The validity of the general propositions developed in the thesis is then illustrated with reference to the development of Polish political parties, their ethos and competitive strategy, between the late 1980s and the early 2000s. The ideological importance of nationalism in Poland makes it a vivid example of the interaction between conflicts over the definition of political community, on the one hand, and parties' European integration attitudes, on the other. The framework proves sufficient to explain the unusually high number of Eurosceptic parties winning a seat in the last Polish parliamentary elections in 2001. The thesis also discusses in a more cursory way the application of the ethos theory on other European countries.

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A last word to Michael: the many cities we found ourselves in during these years are part of the story of this work. This thesis is therefore inseparable from the tale of us two.

List of Abbreviations

AWS	Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność	Electoral Action Solidarity
CAP		Common Agriculture Policy
EU		European Union
EEC		European Economic Communities
FIDESZ	Fiatal Demokraták Szövetsége	Alliance of Young Democrats
FKGP	Független Kisgazda-Földmunkás-és Polgári Párt	Independent Smallholders Party
FPÖ	Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs	Austrian Freedom Party
KDR	Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolita	Coalition for the Republic
KLD	Kongres Liberalno Demokratyczny	Liberal Democratic Congress
KPN	Konfederacja Polski Niepodleglej	Confederation of Independent Poland
LPR	Liga Polskie Rodzina	League of Polish Families
ODS	Občanské Demokratická Strana	Civic Democratic Forum
ÖVP	Östereichische Volks Partei	Austrian Christian Democratic Party
PC	Porozumienie Centrum	Centre Alliance
PHARE		Poland and Hungary Aid for Reconstruction in Europe
PiS	Prawo i Sprawiedliwość	Law and Justice
PO	Platforma Obywatelskie	Citizen's Platform
PP	Porozumienie Polskie	Polish Agreement
PSL	Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe	Polish Peasant Party
ROP	Ruch Odbudowy Polskie	Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland
RPR	Rassemblement Pour la République	Movement for the Republic

Samoobrona	Samoobrona		Self-Defence
SdRP	Socjaldemokracja Polskiej	Rzeczypospolitej	Social Democracy of the Polish Republic
SEA			Single European Act
SKL	Stronnictwo Konservativno-Ludowe		Popular Konservative Party
SLD	Soyusz Lewice Demokratycznie		Democratic Left Alliance
SZDSZ	Szabad Demokraták Szövetségé		Alliance of Free Democrats
UD	Unia Demokratycznie		Democratic Union
UDF	Union pour la Democratie Française		French Union for Democracy
UP	Unia Pracy		Labour Union
UKIE	Urząd Komitet Integracja Europejska		Cabinet of the Minister of European Integration
UW	Unia Wolności		Freedom Union
ZChN	Zjednoczenie Chrześcijańsko-Narodowe		Christian National Union

Chapter I The wider setting

Research question

Since 1989, five parliamentary elections have been the stage for the foundation and demise of successive political parties aspiring to govern the new democratic Polish state. When the AWS electoral coalition dissolved in 2001, the decade-long effort to unify the post-Solidarity bloc again failed. The centre became devoid of a right-wing pivotal formation and several small right-wing parties competed in the parliamentary elections taking place in that year. While Eurosceptic parties in average gain 8 percent of the vote, in the 2001 Polish parliamentary elections Eurosceptic parties gained around 20 percent. Although the failure to create a unified centre-right party¹ and the emergence of Eurosceptic nationalist parties are not unique events in the history of European democracies, the unusual propensity of parties for Euroscepticism makes Poland a paradigmatic case of the kind of ideological conflicts emerging in Europe. This thesis attempts to explain why Poland became the arena of such conflicts.

In the last decade, Europe has experienced the most significant reallocation of political authority that has ever taken place in peace time. While in Western Europe the ideological conflicts to emerge from this are only now becoming apparent, in the former Eastern Bloc these conflicts were apparent in a vivid way just some years after the democratic transition. Intuitively, the reasons for the emergence of sovereignty-related conflicts in newly emerging

¹ See Gunther, R. and Hopkin, J. (2002), "A Crisis of Institutionalization, The Collapse of the UCD in Spain" , *in* Gunther, R. et al, (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

democracies appear twofold. First, they derive from the practical and symbolic importance of Europe for political actors; second, for the relevance of nationalism to the project of identity-building of new political parties.

In the ideological vacuum of post-communism, which some have called "the end of history",² a whole new political discourse had to be created. Post-communism is about "reinventing politics".³ Besides creating the institutions of a new political regime, new political symbols and political mythology had to be conceived. Europe, as the only future-related symbol of post-communism, became ever present in the political programmes of parties.⁴ In a paradoxical way, "Europe" offered a valuable substitute for the communist ideology as it is constructed upon a comparable dynamic: the promise of moving towards a better future. Communist political mythology was built around the belief in the coming of a Golden Era,⁵ the perfect world of a classless society. The Golden Era is a significant component of any modern political mythology.⁶ And although "there is very little knowledge, even among the elites, of what the EU actually entails, (...) the prospect of membership is sufficient to sustain a future, a belief that there is an aspiration".⁷ The way support for integration was formulated in parties' founding declarations and electoral programmes revealed the mainly symbolic functions of Europe.

Alongside Europe, nationalism emerged as an equally strong political symbol substantiating the identities of emerging political elites. The structuration of right and left in Poland was defined by parties' relation to the concept of nation. The strength of nationalism,

² Fukuyama, F. (1992), The End of History and the Last Man, London: Penguin Books.

³ Tismaneanu, V. (1992), Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel, London: Macmillan.

⁴ Verdery, K. (1999), "Civil Society or Nation? 'Europe' in the Symbolism of Romania's Postsocialist Politics", in Kennedy, M. and Suny, R. Intellectuals and the Articulation of the Nation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; Bozóki, A. (1997), "The Ideology of Modernization and the Policy of Materialism: the Day After for the Socialists", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 13(3): 56-102.

⁵ Boia, L. (1993), Mythologie Scientifique du Communisme, Caen-Orleans: Paradigme.

⁶ Giraud, R. (1986), Mythes et Mythologies Politiques, Paris: Editions du Seuil.

⁷ Schopflin, G. (2000), Nations. Identity. Power, London: Hurst & Co, p. 69

and the particular alliance of nationalism and Catholicism that repeatedly based right-wing parties' identities made the Polish party system an arena of conflicts between opponents and supporters of European integration. Poland thus became a paradigmatic case of the ideological conflicts created by the reallocation of sovereignty to the European level within political elites.

Research objectives

This thesis aims to improve the theoretical understanding of political parties' responses to European integration by refuting the hypothesis of the primacy of short-term government-opposition strategies of competition as determinants of party attitudes towards Europe and proposing a new understanding of party ideologies and the way they determine the response of parties towards European integration. The thesis addresses the shortcomings of existing theories, in particular the inadequate conceptualisation of party ideology, by developing a two-dimensional typology of party ethos. While testing the relative importance of other factors in relation to party ethos, the ethos theory deals with the interaction between strategic and ideological factors.

Chapter outline

Chapter I describes the two main traditions of party analysis, the policy-seeking tradition and the office-seeking. Each is based on a fundamentally different understanding of party rationality. The policy-seeking tradition sees parties as based on their ideology, while the office-seeking analytical framework assumes that parties are primarily geared to gain power. Within the policy-seeking framework, a distinction is also made between different understandings of the origins of ideology. The understanding of ideology as the direct translation of social groups' interests is counterpoised to the conception of ideology as the result of an intellectual elaboration of the particular conditions of society. The chapter then presents and criticises the current ideological explanations of party positions on European

integration while linking them to the policy-seeking and office-seeking traditions of party analysis.

Chapter II defines party ethos, develops a typology of parties and the party ethos theory of parties' attitudes on European integration. It proposes that the fundamental elements of a party's identity are the conceptions of the political and economic communities. The chapter spells out the sufficiency and the necessity of their ethos and parties' strategies for parties' European attitudes, as well as the relative importance of these two sets of factors. Parties' history of mobilisation determines their conceptualisation of political and economic communities, and therefore the conditions upon which they support European integration.

Chapters III and IV test the ethos theory in the Polish left- and right-wing parties. The empirical material is organised in an analytical narrative that justifies the classification of parties according to the fundamental political and economic communities and their respective stances on European integration. The empirical material is composed of party documents, such as programmes, founding declarations and congress reports. I also conducted a considerable number of interviews with prominent party leaders and officials, and a survey of the Polish press.

Chapter V presents a critique of Sitter's government-opposition theory. I then modified the theoretical propositions by operationalising the centripetal and centrifugal strategies according to Capoccia's distinction between strategic and ideological extremism. The strategic hypotheses are thus rendered more consistent, operational and easier to test for its explanatory power. Results show that parties' strategic choices are in the long-run neither sufficient nor necessary to explain their European positions.

Chapter VI develops a strategic hypothesis that contextualises the influence of parties' ethos by examining its interaction with strategic behaviour. This hypothesis is then tested in cases where the inconsistency between a party's ethos and its strategies of competition is apparent. These cases made possible the analysis of the reciprocal relations between parties' European attitudes, their strategy of competition, and the intermediation of political values. The failure to adapt the ethos to a desired strategic location and European attitude is taken as evidence of the predominance of ethos over parties strategies of competition.

Chapter VII concludes with an assessment of each definition of the political and economic communities as a central or secondary element of a party's ethos as a basis for party positions on European integration. The validity of the ethos theory is then tested in a more cursory way on other European cases, East and West, by the assessment of the impact of party political and economic identities on how political parties position on European integration. The chapter assesses the novelty of the cultural understanding of party ideology and the derived typology of party ethos as a basis for a theory of party positions on European integration, as well as its applicability in Central and Eastern Europe.

Conceptions of parties

The party literature has conceived parties in two fundamentally different ways: either as organisations primarily searching to turn their ideological precepts into policies, or as organisations seeking above all to elect their members into office. These conceptions are the foundations of the academic literature explaining the stability and change of political parties within democratic systems. Both intend to expose the reasons for the persistence of political organisations established at the time of democratic mobilisation and their establishment in stable and structured formations with regulated interactions, i.e., party systems. According to these two schools of thought, the analysis of individual parties and party systems either portray parties' competitive behaviour as a result of their persistent ideological disagreements or as deriving from competition to attain office. Based on these two traditions, two sets of theoretical explanations for parties' European integration stances emerged.

The policy-seeking tradition

The policy-seeking tradition of political analysis views a party as essentially determined by its ideology. However, authors of the office-seeking tradition hold different conceptions of ideology and the way it determines parties' behaviour. One strand follows Weber's conception of ideology as part of cultural conflicts. The other more developed strand conceives ideology as the translation of social interests, a conception informing Rokkan and Lipset's macro-historical theory of party formation, the cleavage theory. The authors holding a cultural conception of ideology ultimately conceive parties as embodiments of political ideas; ideologies alone carry through the party and determine their policy positions. The Rokkanian school sees social groups as intermediaries between parties and ideology; parties are essentially linked to social groups and their interests.

The Rokkanian tradition

According to Lipset and Rokkan, the moment of encapsulation of social divisions into political identities fundamentally determines a party's ideology and the policy choices available to it.⁸ The process of party formation implies the re-shaping of fuzzy social identities into sharper and more defined political ones, strongly binding their authors and their organisations to the representation of the social group they first mobilised. The Rokkanian approach conceives ideology as deriving directly from interests of social groups. Therefore ideologies are conceived by these authors as a set of specific set of policy prescriptions aimed primarily at realising the interests of specific social groups. Political parties' behaviour, and the relative immobility of European party systems, is explained by the influence of these

⁸ Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S.M. (1967), "Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction" in Rokkan, S. and Lipset, S.M (eds.) Party Systems and Voter Alignments: A Cross National Perspective, New York: Collier Macmillan.

constraints, imposed on parties during political mobilisation. Ideologies are closely attuned to the socio-economic conditions present at the moment of mass enfranchising; the institutionalisation of these interests in parties' ideology means that they remain a long-lasting element in the structuration of political competition. Parties remain deeply bound by the representation of interests long after the enfranchising period is over.

The literature deriving from the Rokkanian concept of ideology and party formation has logically focused on the restraining effect of macro-historical circumstances to explain the endurance of a party identity throughout social and political upheavals. "It is only through the historical process of mobilisation, politicisation and democratization that any specific cleavage acquires its distinctive normative profile and organisational network".⁹ Bartolini and Mair maintain that socio-economic classes provide a closure of the electoral market; cultural values are consequently secondary in the creation of political identities. The sociological school maintains that social classes provide a boundary of mobilisation that is harder to cross, and political discourses are not crucial to the process of mobilisation.¹⁰ The focus of this literature is therefore on specifying the social macro-conditions and how they determine the mobilisation of parties.¹¹

This discussion is also linked to the debate concerning the chances of parties developing supra-class strategies. Following Rokkan's assumptions, Przeworski and Sprague describe the restrictions imposed by the representation of blue-collar interests on social democratic parties trying to extend their appeal beyond certain occupational classes. The authors conclude that a fundamental dilemma is imposed on social democratic leaders: either to maintain their core constituency or to enlarge their appeal. Przeworski and Sprague do not consider the reinterpretation of their class appeal as a possible strategy and conclude that

⁹ Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990), Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability: The Stabilization of European Electorates, 1885-1985, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁰ Bartolini, S. and Mair, P. (1990), op.cit.

¹¹ See for example Bartolini, S. (2000), The Political Mobilization of the European Left, 1860-1980: The Class Cleavage, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

social democracy is doomed to lose its role of "integration and identification"¹², i.e., to become a catch-all party or to lose its electoral pre-eminence.

Kirchheimer's description of the adaptation of mass parties to changing conditions of political competition, imposed by increased electoral volatility and the decline of social identification is equally based on a Rokkanian understanding of ideology. Kirchheimer's catch-all theory implies that parties have to choose between maintaining their ideology, translated in the defence of social groups' interests, and achieving or maintaining electoral success. Kirchheimer observes that European mass parties adapted to the decline of social identification by shedding their ideological commitments and transforming into catch-all parties with an appeal that transcends the social groups' interests.¹³ For Kirchheimer the widening of a party appeal necessarily implies severing the link with the particular social groups from which ideologies originate.

Party ethos and the cultural conception of ideology

Those authors subscribing to a cultural conception of ideology differ from the Rokkanian approach in that they see ideologies primarily as a product of intellectual processes and not as direct translations of group interests into the political sphere. For these authors ideology is related to, but not deriving directly from, social structures. The creation of an ideology, although inspired by social reality, implies an abstraction from the particular social circumstances from which it emerges. Thus, ideological creation is an intellectual process that is partially independent from sociological circumstances. Ideologies are typically created in such circumstances. However, ideology, as culture, is not a direct product of the conflict of interests emerging in circumstances of social change but is decidedly shaped by those

¹² Puhle, H. (2002), "Still the Age of Catch-allism? *Volksparteien* and *Parteienstaat* in Crisis and Re-Equilibration" in Gunther, R. et al. (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 78.

¹³ Kirchheimer, O. (1996), "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems" in LaPalombara, J. Political Parties and Political Development. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

choosing the central elements of reality to be represented. Political thinkers thus specify “the ways social conditions are themselves textualised, *structured by basic conceptual distinctions* and turned into figural elements.”¹⁴

The production of ideology consists in a simultaneous articulation of ideas corresponding to social and political circumstances and an abstractization of these same conditions through the use of representative elements. Although ideologies are linked to the historical circumstances on which they are formed, their abstract and representative nature allows them to transcend the more immediate circumstances in which they are produced.

In the production of these systems of ideas and their institutionalisation a core group of ideas remains available to be used in other contexts and times. The process of ideological institutionalisation requires the creation of “communities of discourse”, and political parties are one of the institutions that play a crucial role in this process.¹⁵ Therefore, at the core of political parties are key conceptions of the political and economic reality determining parties’ ideological and policy positions, the party ethos. Because the creation of parties has “high start-up costs and learning effects”¹⁶, their definition is expected to be largely stable. The basic values informing a political identity are therefore structural elements of political competition.¹⁷

Several authors implicitly or explicitly treated the subject of party formation through the prism of a cultural conception of ideology. In his book “*Political Parties in Western Democracies*”, Von Beyme subscribes to the vision that value conflicts, rather than the

¹⁴ Wuthnow, R. (1989), Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

¹⁵ Wuthnow, R. (1989), Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

¹⁶ Pierson, P. (2000), “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics”, American Political Science Review, 94(2): 251-268.

¹⁷ Shepsle, K. (1986), “Institutional Equilibrium and Equilibrium Institutions”, in Weisberg, H. (ed.), Political Science: the Science of Politics, New York: Agathon.

competing interests of social groups, are the basis of political ideology.¹⁸ When describing party families the author focuses primarily on the intellectual environment of political elites rather than on the sociological context of its voters. The literature on party formation subscribing to the cultural origins of ideology tends to describe the micro-conditions of party formation and focused primarily on the intellectual environment of political elites and the way it interacts with the social and political context. Primary examples of this literature are Laitin, Kalyvas, and Kitschelt's descriptions of the formation and transformation of parties and ideologies.¹⁹ These authors assume that actors are strongly determined by their basic assumptions about reality; these conceptions then become crucial for the politicization of certain identities, in a particular way, place and time.²⁰ Since these organisational processes are costly and electoral victory plays an important role in their consolidation, ideas become encapsulated as party identities and are central elements of political competition.

From the cultural conception of ideology arises the idea of a core of central concepts that remain available to drive political action in different times and circumstances. At the light of such conception, political parties are created to institutionalise these political ideas. The ethos thus informs parties' political role in representative and procedural terms. The ethos is distinguishable from party doctrines, which are applied propositions in the electoral sphere, and is therefore subject to immediate considerations of electoral success.²¹ A party's ethos is composed of abstract concepts assuring the long-term party survival.²²

¹⁸ Von Beyme, K. (1985), Political Parties in Western Democracies, Gower: Aldershot.

¹⁹ Laitin, D. (1986), Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change Among the Yoruba, Chicago: Chicago University Press; Kalyvas, S. (1996), The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe, Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press; Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.265.

²⁰ Kalyvas, S. (1996), op. cit., p.134.

²¹ Druker, H.M. (1979), Doctrine an Ethos in the Labor Party, London: Allen and Unwin.

²² Although Gallagher, Laver and Mair consider that classifying parties according to their identities is one of the accepted ways of classifying parties, the literature has largely ignored this classification and concentrated on policy

A party ethos limits the party's ability to adapt to changing conditions of competition. However, although parties cannot shed their ethos, the abstract nature of these conceptions allows parties a considerable leeway for developing supra-class strategies without losing their core ideas.²³ Consequently, the response of parties to the declining social identification that characterised European democracies in the second half of the twentieth century does not necessarily imply the shedding of their core identities. The assumption that ideology is derived from an intellectual process, rather than being a translation of social group interests, explains the different ways parties adapt to conditions of competition.

Thus, in the light of the cultural conception of ideology, Kirchheimer's argument that the European mass parties' transformation into catch-all parties has implied a total shedding of their ideological commitments does not appear correct. The transformation of European mass parties into catch-all parties did not imply giving up their core ideas.²⁴ The widening of parties' appeals was not indiscriminate but was guided by parties' value commitments. Parties are therefore not free to adopt any position that potentially increases their chances to win votes, as the small variation in policy positions of European parliamentary parties in the last fifty years testifies.²⁵ In fact, certain ideologies were always conducive to denominational and class parties, like the Italian Christian democrats or the German social democrats, showing a tendency towards catch-all strategies since the emergence of mass politics. The search for electoral success by the widening of a party's appeal is in no way an exclusive characteristic of European politics in the second part of the XX century. Catch-all appeals also derive from the vision of the political environment implied by the core values of a party's identity.

positions and international linkages. Gallagher, M. Laver, M. and Mair, P. (1992), Representative Government in Modern Europe, New York McGraw-Hill, p.181.

²³ This is the debate between, for example, Kitschelt and Przeworski and Sprague on the transformation of European social democracy.

²⁴ Kirchheimer, O. (1966), "The Transformation of the Western European Party Systems" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

²⁵ Budge, I. (2001), Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments, 1945-1998, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.274.

These conceptions underlie Kitschelt's analysis of European social democracy. While stressing that "the continuity of ideas over time is a critical factor influencing the ways parties stake out appeals"²⁶ Kitschelt affirms the possibility of a supra-class strategy. This is possible due to a reinterpretation of class; this allowed social democratic parties to succeed in maintaining their identity and adapt to the decline of working class identification. The author suggests that some social democratic parties were successful in widening their appeal by stressing the political dimensions of their ideology and effectively reinterpreting the meaning of class while maintaining a commitment to social justice.²⁷

The view that party change implies the reinterpretation of party ethos is shared by Panebianco. Panebianco's conception of integrated change is congruent with the view that in the long-term party change always implies a re-operationalisation of a party's ethos, organisation and policies. Panebianco and other proponents of integrated party change consider that all aspects of parties, be they organisational, ideological or strategic, are interdependent.²⁸ The author asserts that parties' different dimensions are related; change in one aspect implies adjustments in another. Therefore, party transformation can only be the result of "consistent organisational transformations".²⁹ Shifts in a party's strategy should also lead to a change in its organisational format.³⁰ Panebianco suggests that the reinterpretation

²⁶ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.265.

²⁷ Kitschelt, H. (1994), op. cit.

²⁸ Janda, K. et.al. (1995), " Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos" , Party Politics, 1(2): 171-196 and Panebianco, A. (1988), Political Parties: Organization and Power, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 16.

²⁹ Panebianco, A. (1988), op.cit.

³⁰ Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994), " An Integrated Theory of Party Goals and Party Change" , Journal of Theoretical Politics, 6(3): 259-288, p. 283

of a party's identity can lead to a change in competitive strategy.³¹ This process can not, however, take place in a sweeping manner, and party change is therefore a slow process.³²

Assuming that ideas are in the long-term predominant over strategies results in treating political competition in a fundamentally different way from economic competition.³³ The agreement on a set of fundamental values, as a condition for the maintenance of political solidarity, is a structural variable of political competition and an impediment to the free reign of competitive office-seeking logic.

The ethos view of parties rejects the vision that parties' rationality should be seen mainly as the attempt to attain office. Political values that are at the core of parties' identities provide actors with a fundamental framework for analysing reality; parties' rationality is primarily bound by this framework of reality. In the words of Przeworski: "Ideas are critical for explaining the direction in which parties diverge from rational strategies."³⁴ Therefore, in order to deal with the decline of voter-party linkages, parties' can reinterpret their ethos, but not abandon their basic conceptions. A party's core concept therefore works as an anchor, shaping rather than following the competitive environment.³⁵ As such response to electoral defeat is limited by the values informing parties' core identities.

³¹ Harmel, R. and Janda, K. (1994), op. cit

³² Wolinetz, S. (2002), "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies", in Gunther, R. et.al (eds.), Political Parties, Old Concepts and New Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 157-8.

³³ Bartolini, S. (2000), "Collusion, Competition and Democracy, Part II", Journal of Theoretical Politics, 12 (1): 33- 65.

³⁴ Przeworski, A. and Sprague, J. (1986), Paper Stones: a History of Electoral Socialism, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 224.

³⁵ Sartori, G. (1976), Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Schattschneider, E. (1964), Political Parties and Democracy, New York: Holt, p.64.

The office-seeking tradition

The pure rationality school

The conception of parties as unbound by value commitments and free to change their policy positions in order to be fit to compete was first formulated by Anthony Downs.³⁶ In his *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, Downs states that “parties formulate policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies”.³⁷ Downs applied the concepts and methods of analysis of economics to political competition, portraying office and its benefits as the equivalents of payments in economic theory. According to this vision, the primary goal of parties is winning elections: parties are not locked into policy positions. Instead, party elites can manipulate positions in order to maximise support. Parties are conceived as ad hoc and loosely bound groups of office-seeking individuals, whose ideological preferences are irrelevant for the strategic decisions of the party. Party cohesion is assured by the satisfaction of the aspirations to office of its members.

The Downsian view of voters as perfectly elastic consumers, ready to switch their vote should an attractive policy offer be made to them, implies that voters' preferences are seen as exogenous to the process of party competition.³⁸ Therefore voters participate and vote based on utilitarian considerations of the expected policy output of a party. Modifications to this analysis of voting motivations have been suggested by schools named as “subjective Downsianism” and “social Downsianism”. Subjective Downsianism maintains that rather than an objective and rational assessment of voting and policy utilities, it is the perceived utilities and perceived probabilities of influencing the policy outcomes of elections that motivates elites and voters. Social Downsianism considers that belonging to social groups reinforces individuals' appreciation of voting utility.

³⁶ Downs, A. (1957), *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, New York: Harper and Row.

³⁷ Although Downs treats ideology as instrumental and as a rational short-cut to policy position, he also considers that party ideology should contain a degree of internal and external coherence. However, this idea is never included in the model since it would undermine its own foundations. Downs, A. (1957), *op. cit.*, p.28.

³⁸ Laver, M. and Hunt, B. (1992), *Policy and Party Competition*, New York: Routledge, p. 3.

The view that office attainment is the fundamental motivation of politicians and the utility output of a certain policy the main consideration for voters, suggests that the form of party organisation is unimportant in the short- and the long-term; organisations can be adapted to office-seeking considerations in order to win office at all or almost all levels at which elections take place (local, regional or national). Parties are therefore weakly hierarchical organisations that function more as coalitional structures, broad enough to embrace different social groups and give the party a chance of winning a majority.

Downs' office-seeking party vision was developed through an immensity of literature, encompassing both theoretical models and empirical work on party positions and the dimensionality of the political space. Based on the premise that competition for office determines the content and stability of party policies, the literature on the formal modelling of party policy positions grew considerably.³⁹

The bounded office-seeking school

Although inspired by Downs' conceptions of parties as office-seeking organisations, most authors of this school now consider that political actors act in an environment that constrains their options. Constraints are formulated mainly in terms of how the institutional set-up influences parties' choices. Therefore, scholarship in this field is dedicated to formulating how a set of institutional constraints influences office-seeking strategies. Parties act within an institutional set-up, the political regime, which fundamentally determines their opportunity structure and therefore influences their strategies. The degree to which parties are vote maximizers and the manner in which they compete are therefore fundamentally determined

³⁹ Castles, F. and Mair, P. (1984), "Left-Right Scales: Some Expert Judgments", European Journal of Political Research, 12(1): 73-89, Budge, I. Robertson, D. and Heath, D. (eds.), (1987), Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in 19 Democracies, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press; Laver, M.J. and Hunt, W.B. (1992), Policy and Party Competition, London: Routledge and Huber, J. and Inglehart, R. (1995), "Expert Interpretation of Party Space and Party Locations in 42 Societies", Party Politics, 1(1): 73-111,

by the institutional environment, and parties' strategic decisions are deeply affected by the institutional constraints they act in.⁴⁰

The most studied constraints on parties' behaviour are electoral systems. Electoral systems provide different degrees of distortion on the translation of votes into parliamentary seats.⁴¹ Distortions are larger in single-member districts than in proportional representation. In systems of proportional representation party strategies are also dependent on district magnitude, electoral thresholds and the system of seat allocation.⁴² Electoral systems therefore oblige parties to act strategically in order to maximise the number of seats obtained. Electoral systems also determine to a large extent whether the system is a two-party, three-party or a multiparty system, and the number of parties determines the structure of incentives in the attainment of office.⁴³ According to this literature, the type of party appeals, whether stable or changing, narrow or broad, are to a large extent predetermined by the conditions of competition.⁴⁴ In multiparty systems the degree of complexity of coalition politics determines whether vote maximisation is the sole consideration of parties when staking out appeals; rather, coalition bargaining should also be considered.

The process of coalition formation is also determined by the format of the regime, i.e., whether parliamentary or presidential. Müller and Strøm argue that party strategies are constrained by the way legislative seats are transformed into bargaining power, i.e., the process of coalition formation. If legislative seats translate directly into coalition bargaining power, parties will try to maximise votes in a more single-minded way, for example by

Kitschelt, H. et.al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems, Competition, Representation, Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁰ Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (2000), Coalition Governance in Western Europe, Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁴¹ Cox, G. (1997), Making Votes Count, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁴² Taagepera, R. and Shugart, M. (1989), Seats and Votes: The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

⁴³ Taagepera, R. and Shugardt, M. (1993), "Predicting the Number of Parties: A Quantitative Model of Duverger's Mechanical Effect", American Political Science Review, 87(2): 455-464.

⁴⁴ Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (1999), Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

developing a catch-all strategy.⁴⁵ If, on the contrary, coalition bargaining is subject to other factors, these will constrain the way a party develops its electoral strategy.⁴⁶ Equally, the greater the differential between office benefits when in office and in opposition, the more strongly parties will pursue office. Majoritarian systems, by excluding a large number of parties from office, encourage a starker fight for votes than more inclusive systems where governmental participation is enlarged to a wider set of players.⁴⁷

Theoretical approaches to the determination of parties' European attitudes

The policy-seeking tradition

The study of parties as actors in European integration is a relatively recent strand of the study of European politics. Simon Hix and Christopher Lord were the first to research the field by analysing parties' European positions in the context of the European party families.⁴⁸ Stating that parties' European attitudes are relatively stable phenomena, their work suggests a linkage between support and opposition to European integration and the party families at European level. However, Hix and Lord do not propose a causal linkage between party families and parties' European positions; parties are organised in party families mainly to expose the differences in terms of European attitudes within party families.

The first attempt to determine parties' European attitudes through their ideological positions was carried out by Gary Marks and Carole Wilson. These authors started by testing

⁴⁵ op.cit.

⁴⁶ Strøm, K, Budge, I and Laver, M. (1994), "Constraints on Cabinet Formation in Parliamentary Democracies", *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(2): 303-335.

⁴⁷ Müller, W. and Strøm, K. (eds.), (1999), *Policy, Office, or Votes? How Political parties in Western Europe Make Hard Decisions*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

party divergences in the perception of economic integration deriving both from the position of the parties in the economic left-right scale and the national states degree of welfare support in relation to the European average. Marks and Wilson established that party strategies are weak explanatory variables and consider that “political parties (...) have an interest in blending the issue of European integration into existing patterns of party competition”.⁴⁹ Parties’ attitudes towards European integration would depend on their perception of the EU’s contribution to their preferred economic regime. A social democratic party in a relatively liberal national economy is expected to become more pro-European as the EU increases its regulatory competences. An economically liberal party is expected to become progressively less enthusiastic as economic integration goes beyond the single market template in regulating the market. This first analysis, based on economic criteria, largely ignored the role of political values in determining attitudes towards European integration.

In their 2002 article, Marks, Hooghe and Wilson revise their stance by empirically testing the relative weight of the political-cultural axis against the left-right economic axis in determining parties’ European positions. The authors conceptualise the New Politics axis as an agglomeration of policy positions, bearing on one side the Green, Alternative and Libertarian (GAL) positions, on the other the Traditional, Authoritarian and Nationalist (TAN) ones. Despite the multi-dimensionality of the axis, the authors conclude that it is the nationalist component of the axis that makes parties’ European positions so consistent with the GAL-TAN axis. Proximity to the TAN pole is the strongest factor determining parties’ attitudes towards European integration.⁵⁰ Although Marks, Hooghe and Wilson’s article stresses the importance of the political dimension, in the Introduction of the special issue of *Comparative Politics* Marks and Steenbergen eventually hedge their position by asserting that the predominance of the political dimension is inconsequential since the two dimensions

⁴⁸ Hix, S. and Lord, (1997), *Political Parties in the European Union*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, p. 240.

⁴⁹ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), “The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration”, *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(3): 433-460.

normally fuse and can be considered part of the same left-right economic dimension.⁵¹ The assertion that European positions are consistent with the left-right dimension undermines the previous assumption that party family is the crucial concept underlying parties' European attitudes.

The methodology used by the authors has contributed to the over-simplification of the analysis and their findings. Although asserting the importance of the political dimension of party ideology, Marks, Hooghe and Wilson's theory is based on a multi-variable statistical analysis pitching parties' ideologies and strategic positions against each other. This methodological approach results in a theory that is too simple to account for parties' responses to European integration. By classifying parties through a two-dimensional typology serving as the basis of an explanation of parties' European attitudes, the theory developed in this thesis attempts to result in a more precise prediction of party positions on European integration and a basis to understand parties' rationality.

The office-seeking tradition

Downs' spatial analysis predicts that a party's strategic behaviour is primarily determined by its office-seeking efforts. As a means to maximise votes parties tend to adopt a centripetal behaviour and a centrist position in the policy space. When excluded from government, parties devise centrifugal tactics that serve as a way of creating effective opposition to the government. Deriving from the premise that a party's primary objective is achieving office, two theories of party attitudes to European integration were devised.⁵² First

⁵⁰ Hooghe, L. Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 965-989.

⁵¹ Marks, G. and Steenbergen, M. (2002), "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 879-892.

⁵² Taggart, P. "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems", European Journal of Political Research, 33(3): 363-388; Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak (2001), "Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, 10-12 April, Manchester; Kopecky, P. and Mudde, C. (2002),

Paul Taggart and then Nick Sitter conceived Euroscepticism as part of the opposition tactics of competition, and Europhilism as linked to a strategy aimed at increasing the chances of attaining government. Parties permanently or temporarily excluded from governmental office take Euroscepticism as a way of marking their opposition to central government, both in systematic and in a sporadic way. If parties are essentially seen as vote-and office-seeking institutions, the fundamental motivation of a party when devising policy positions is the maximisation of its chances of achieving office. It is the logic of vote and office-seeking that determines parties' European positions. The fact that European integration is a process essentially driven by national governments makes it logical that parties of power maintain a Europhile attitude. In reverse, Euroscepticism has become a "touchstone of dissent"⁵³ from mainstream politics, a way of marking opposition to the government.

The difference between Taggart and Sitter's position hinges on Taggart's conception of opposition not only as a condition of strategic location in the party system, but also as a result of parties' ideological extremism. Sitter, on the other hand, formulates a theory of party positions on European integration based solely on the dichotomy between government and opposition. Also, while Taggart considers that only parties outside the central cartel express Eurosceptic positions, Sitter proposes that any party excluded from government at a particular point in time is bound to take Eurosceptic positions.⁵⁴ Both Sitter's and Taggart's theories are based on locational variables; Taggart, however, by stating that Euroscepticism is the "touchstone of dissent"⁵⁵ does not imply that centrifugal tactics are the origin of Euroscepticism. The author merely maintains that populism is at the origin of both Euroscepticism and centrifugal strategies. Populism results in both an ideological aversion to

"The Two Sides of Euroscepticism: Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe", European Union Politics, 3(3): 297-326, Sitter, N. (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?", West European Politics, 24(4): 22-39.

⁵³ Taggart, P. (1998), op. cit.

⁵⁴ Sitter, N. (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?", West European Politics, 24(4): 22-39.

⁵⁵ Taggart, P. (1998), op.cit.

centrist politics compromises and to the EU's supranational mode of decision-making.⁵⁶ The author does not specify the relations between strategies of competition, ideological factors and Euroscepticism. Sitter ascribes Euroscepticism only to a rational opposition tactic, and states that a party exclusion from governmental office, and its centrifugal strategies, is the primary cause of Euroscepticism.

Conclusion

The present chapter distinguishes the two main strands of party analysis, the policy-seeking and the office-seeking traditions. Each is based on a fundamentally different understanding of party rationality. The policy-seeking analysis sees party rationality as primarily directed at fulfilling ideological goals, while the office-seeking literature assumes parties as primarily seeking to elect its members to office. Furthermore, the chapter identifies in the literature two different understandings of the origins of ideology, one based on a view of ideology as the direct translation of social groups interests, the other based on a conception of ideology as the result of an intellectual elaboration, a process during which a core of ideas remain available for driving political change in other historical circumstances. To these core ideas we call the party ethos.

The chapter then presents a criticism of the current policy-seeking and office-seeking explanations of party positions on European integration. Taggart and Sitter's strategic theories are based on an office-seeking conception of political parties' rationality and Marks,

⁵⁶ Taggart defines populism as the defense of the heartland. The heartland is defined as an imaged community with homogenous people with an exclusive right of belonging, a concept which appears very close to the conceptualization of nation by Anderson. However, Taggart defends that "The heartland, in so far as it refers to the nation, is a very qualified nationalism, explicitly excluding a series of social groups. It is organized around the idea of an organic community that has some natural solidarity and is therefore more circumscribed than the sort of community contained within national boundaries". In my point of view both concepts rely on the continuity between territory and population. See Taggart, P. (2000), Populism, Buckingham: Open University Press, p.97.

Hooghe and Wilson's theoretical explanation derives from a conception of ideology as the translation of socio-cultural and economic conflicts on the political arena.⁵⁷

In the attempt to achieve a more fundamental explanation for the parties' positioning on the Euroscepticism-Europhilism continuum I develop a theory based on a typology of parties according to their core ideological precepts. The core concepts at the centre of parties' ideologies are considered the long-term determinants of parties' positions on European integration. This theory also attempts to overcome the pitching of ideology against strategy by conceiving of an interaction between the two factors and European integration.

The ethos theory of parties' responses to European integration is a contribution in theoretical understanding to party-based support and opposition to the process of the unification of the continent. Despite the decreased importance of their representative functions a party is still guided by the core value embodied in its identity. When responding to a fundamental issue affecting the basic political and economic conceptions of modern politics, parties are bounded by certain conceptual understandings of the political and economic realities and will try to act strategically within these boundaries. This is based on a vision of party's rationality as intrinsically linked to the fulfilment of its core goals, in particular those deriving from the cultural and intellectual environment of the party's elite. Constituting the party's core identity, these concepts provide long-term consistency to their doctrines and constrain the elites' policy options.

⁵⁷ Hix, S. (1999), "Dimensions and Alignments in European Union Politics: Cognitive Constraints and Partisan Responses", *European Journal of Political Research*, 35: 69-106; Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party response to European Integration", *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(3): 433-460.

Chapter II Theory and Methodology

This chapter proposes a new typology of party ideology and uses it to explain party positions on a newly-defined Europhile/Eurosceptic scale. Contrary to other ideological explanations of parties' European attitudes,⁵⁸ the ethos theory classifies parties according to their political and economic ethos rather than their policy positions. The newly-developed conceptualisation of party ideologies serves as a basis for a new theorization of party responses to European integration that considers the independent impact of a party's political and economic ethos on its European attitudes.

This chapter first defines party ethos, and states its novelty in relation to the conventional ways of describing parties' ideological profile. It then creates a typology of parties according to their political and economic ethos and proposes a new scale of party positions on European integration. Based on parties' political and economic ethos, the chapter then presents a group of theoretical propositions regarding the necessity and sufficiency of a party's political and economic ethos for their attitudes on European integration. The remainder of the chapter deals with the operationalisation of concepts and the methods of document selection and analysis, as well as with the methodological issues raised by the use of methods of Qualitative Comparative Analysis.

Defining Party Ethos

The party ethos, the permanent core of a party's ideology, is defined as the concepts through which parties define the political and economic community. Such concepts establish the parameters of the relationship between individuals and the political body. The party ethos

is thus composed of the concepts justifying the limitation of individuals' freedom and the transfer of authority to a political body. The **political ethos** is the conception of the political community, and regulates the relationship between the individual and the political community. The **economic ethos** is the conception of the economic community, the basic unit of economic relations defining the preferred national economic regime.

According to the typology of party ethos, party types differ among them not only because of the different content of their political and economic ethos, but also because of the relative importance of the economic and the political ethos. Some party types hold an economic concept, i.e., the definition of the economic community, as the central element of their identity. Other party types are based on a value conflict of a political nature, i.e., the definition of the political community. For example, the socialists' political identity derives from the economic conflicts between work and capital; therefore the socialists' ethos is based on an economic concept of class. The Christian democrats' identity is essentially formed by a conception of political community based on Catholic universalism. However, despite the centrality of one or the other concepts, the secondary ethos maintains a separate and independent impact on the party's ideological positioning.

The typology of party ethos and, in particular, the conception of political community proposed above, is a novel way of ideological classification. Its advantages in relation to Marks, Hooghe and Wilson's GAL-TAN axis or Kitschelt's dimensions of competition derive from their fundamental character. A concept of the political community incorporates not only the socio-cultural dimension, i.e., it defines the degree of desirable cultural openness within the community, but also incorporates the cosmopolitan/nationalist dimension, i.e., the degree of the political community's openness towards other political communities.

⁵⁸ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(3): 433-460; Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?" *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965-969.

The definition of a political community implies intrinsic notions of the community's internal and external features. Therefore, parties' positions on the socio-cultural dimension are a reflection of the internal dimension of the political ethos, i.e. the desirable composition of the political community, while the positions on the cosmopolitan/nationalist dimension are the external aspect of the political community, i.e., its relationship with other political communities. A nationalist party considering the idea of a primordial or constructed common cultural identity as the basis of the political community deems the preservation of socio-cultural traditions and past values as inherent to the national political project. Nationalist parties will thus take a conservative position in the socio-cultural traditional/libertarian continuum. The external implication of political nationalism is that the nation-state, as a self-sufficient entity, should limit cooperation with other national states to a minimum, and consider higher levels of supranational authority unacceptable. Liberals' conception of the political community as the association of free individuals results in the party seeing a variety of lifestyles as an acceptable and desirable feature of an open society. Because it considers individuals as the basis of the political community, liberals thus assume that political cooperation across states is natural and desirable. Socialists' definition of class as the political ethos implies that the socio-cultural status quo is seen by these parties as a reflection of the class system, and therefore consider its preservation as an impediment to their main goal: the bridging of class differences. Socialists thus encourage socio-cultural change and their positions on the socio-cultural policies follow a libertarian tendency. Socialists vision of international politics as the continuation of class politics at the national level positions them in the cosmopolitan end of the cosmopolitan/national dimension.

The concept of political community, and its incorporation of the socio-cultural and the cosmopolitan-nationalist dimensions, grounds a typology of parties which tries to overcome the lack of a fundamental system for classifying parties according to their ideology. In its *Post-Communist Party Systems*, Kitschelt and the other authors define the socio-cultural dimension as a continuum of socio-cultural ideological positions stretching from an authoritarian to a libertarian pole. However, the authors do not provide any theoretical

reasoning for the aggregation of policy positions on education, state-building, support to the Church and foreign policy in one single dimension. Kitschelt et al justify the aggregation of such issues from parties' *ad hoc* attempts to design an attractive package of voters.

Marks, Hooghe and Wilson definition of the vertical axis of competition as a continuum between a green, alternative and libertarian pole (GAL) and a traditional, authoritarian and nationalist pole (TAN), the GAL-TAN axis, also lacks a theoretical grounding. The GAL-TAN axis merely follows the aggregation of ideological positions found in several empirical cases. Marks, Hooghe and Wilson and Kitschelt attempt to characterise the ideological space follow Inglehart's logic when conceptualising the vertical axis of competition as the materialist/post-materialist axis.⁵⁹ Like Inglehart, the authors conceptualise the vertical axis as the capture by political parties of the cultural conflicts within Western societies in the post-War period, i.e., they see such a dimension as a mere addition to the fundamental economic conflicts basing political parties. Inglehart, like Kitschelt and Marks, Hooghe and Wilson conceive this axis as independent of parties' previous ideological commitments. on parties' fundamental conceptions of the political and economic communities.

A typology of party ethos

The table below describes the combinations of political and economic communities of the main party types in Europe. Each party type holds one of the dimensions as central to its identity; the other, although secondary, maintains a separate and independent impact on a party's policy positioning. Because it maintains separate the political and the economic ethos,

⁵⁹ Kitschelt, H. et. al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems, op.cit., p. 249; Inglehart, R. (1977), The Silent Revolution – Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton, NJ:Princeton University Press; Hooghe, L., Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 965- 989.

this typology differs from the conceptualisation of the left-right axis which assimilates the new politics dimension into the left-right economic axis.⁶⁰

By distinguishing and keeping separate the political and the economic dimensions of parties' ideologies and replacing a one-dimensional continuum by a two-dimensional classification, this typology differs from the widely accepted one-dimensional left-right view of political attitudes and ideologies.⁶¹ Inglehart first conceptualised the socio-cultural dimension as separate from the left-right economic dimension,⁶² but eventually considered that the two should be assimilated in one single axis.⁶³ This proposition has since been adopted by most authors, on the assumption that a synthesis of the political and economic dimensions worked on the functional level because it enabled political competition to be simplified into either a dichotomy of "left-libertarian" and "right-authoritarian" positions. However, this single dimension does not appear to explain the structuration of parties in the European policy space.

To define the content of the political and the economic ethos of European parties⁶⁴ I derive from the literature on European parties a narrative description of the definition of the basic communities at the core of each party type. The social democrats' identifying community is the economic class. Social democrats are therefore committed to the

⁶⁰ Kitschelt, H. (1995), "Formation of Party Cleavages in Post-Communist Democracies: Theoretical Propositions", Party Politics, 1(4): 447-472; Kitschelt, H. and Hellemans, S. (1989), "The Left-Right Semantics and the New Politics Cleavage", Comparative Political Studies, 21(4): 141-178.

⁶¹ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-460; Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 965-989; Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

⁶² Inglehart, R. (1977), The Silent Revolution – Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press and Inglehart, R. (1990), Cultural Shift in Advanced Industrial Society Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

⁶³ Inglehart, R. (1990), op. cit. pp.289-300; Inglehart, R. and Rabier, J. (1986), "Political Realignment in Advanced Industrial Society: From Class Based Politics to Quality of Life Politics", Government and Opposition, 21(4): 456-479; Knutsen, O. (1998), "Expert Judgment of the Left/Right Location of Political Parties: A Comparative Longitudinal Study", West European Politics, 21(2).

elimination of differences among classes by counteracting inequalities stemming from structural positions in the labour market and protecting low and minimum income groups.⁶⁵ Adapting to the globalisation's limiting impact on the opportunities for demand-side strategies⁶⁶, social democrats moved to policies "addressing the physical and social organization of production and the cultural conditions of consumption in advanced capitalist societies".⁶⁷ The social democrats' cosmopolitanism derives from their definition of economic classes as the fundamental community of economic and social activity.

Christian democracy encompasses those parties whose ideology translates the Christian message into a political programme.⁶⁸ Although the autonomy of confessional parties from the relevant churches has been achieved to a greater or lesser degree in different countries, the reference to a religious conception of the fundamental political community remains the essential element of those parties' identity.⁶⁹ Catholic social doctrine inspires the choice of the family as the basic economic community. Consequently, Christian

⁶⁴ Von Beyme, K. (1988), op.cit.

⁶⁵ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), op.cit.

⁶⁶ Garrett, G. (1996), "Capital Mobility. Trade and Domestic Politics" in Keohane, R. and Milner, H. (eds.), Internationalisation and Domestic Politics, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁷ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 7; Boix, C. (1998), Political Parties: Growth and Equality, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Stephens, J. Huber, E. and Ray, L. (1999), "The Welfare State in Hard Times", in Kitschelt, H. et al. (eds.) Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Kitschelt, H. Lange, P. and Stephens, J.D. (1999), "Convergence and Divergence in Advanced Capitalist Democracies", in Kitschelt, H. , et al. (eds.), Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁶⁸ Becker, W., (1997) "The Emergence and Development of Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe" in E. Lamberts, (ed.), Christian Democracy in the European Union, Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium 1995, Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp.109; Hanley, D., (1994), "Introduction: Christian Democracy as a Political Phenomenon" in Hanley, D. (ed.), Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective, London: Pinter; Houska, J., (1985) Influencing Mass Political Behaviour: Elites and Political Sub-Cultures in the Netherlands and Austria, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies; Kirchheimer, O., (1996), "The Catch All Party" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M., (1966), Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton: Princeton University Press; Wolinetz, S., (1979), "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited", West European Politics 2(1).

⁶⁹ Kalyvas, S., (1996), The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

democrats conceive the welfare state as “aiming at ameliorating the sufferings resulting from market inequalities but not at replacing or changing market conditions”.⁷⁰

The liberal parties’ basic unit is the individual human being. Liberals promote the individuals’ right of free economic and political association in the market and the civil society. While in their formative period liberal parties’ main goal was the achievement of political reform, as a consequence of long-term adaptation to the structure of electoral competition, the individual’s capacity to act in a sovereign manner in the market-place became their dominant identifying trait.⁷¹

Among European parties conservatives’ identity is the least consistent and the most adaptable to changing political and economic circumstances. Conservatives were created in the attempt to protect endangered institutions such as the church and the monarchy. However, although conservatives initially opposed liberals in both political and economic terms, several factors, among which the socialists’ electoral success, led conservatives to progressively adopt economic liberalism and opposing the development of the state’s redistributive role. Conservatism in contemporary Europe combines the definition of the nation as the political community and the individual as the economic unit.⁷²

Nationalists’ fundamental political community is the nation, and the nation-state’s sovereignty the party’s highest value. The national economy is conceived as a closed system that can be insulated from the international market by protectionist policies.⁷³ The corollary of these two propositions is that states’ external relations are dominated by the need to preserve

⁷⁰ Huber, E., Ragin, C. and Stephens, J.D. “Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State”, op. cit.

⁷¹ Smith, G., (1998), “Between Left and Right: The Ambivalence of European Liberalism” in Kirchner, E.J. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

⁷² Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), “The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration”, op. cit., p. 454

⁷³ Mudde, C., (2000), The Ideology of the Extreme Right, Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, p. 180. Although Mudde admits that all parties are nationalists, he considers that nationalism is not a sufficient category to describe the extreme right parties.

national sovereignty. Nationalists' focus on these aims creates a very contentious international environment where the capacity for cooperation is limited.⁷⁴

Agrarian parties hold the estate as their identifying concept. In the nineteenth-century the notion of estate implied that the monarchy granted landowners special rights and privileges.⁷⁵ In the context of democratic mobilization the agrarian movements used the concept of estate to imply that landowners were entitled to institutionalized support by the state. Contrary to the concept of class, estate does not imply the self-consciousness of a common social identity, therefore agrarian parties do not *a priori* conceive of a political ethos.

Ecologist parties owe their identity to the conception of the ecological system as the primordial economic community. Ecologists are therefore sceptical of the methods and objectives of economic liberalism: economic growth through the mastery of nature.⁷⁶ Ecologists' political ethos is cosmopolitan and derives not only from the view that the ecological crisis has a global dimension, but also draws from the concept of universal justice at the core of peace movements from which several European ecologist parties derive from.

⁷⁴ Skotnicka-Illasiewicz, E. and Wesolowski, W. (1995), "The Significance of Preconceptions: Europe of Civil Societies and Europe of Nationalities" in Perival, S., (ed.) Notions of Nationalism, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 218.

⁷⁵ The notion of "estate" was the term used to describe a social group in XIX century Europe until it was replaced by the notion of class proposed by Marx and Engels. Pakulsi, J., (2001), "Class Paradigm and Politics" in Nichols Clarks, T. and Lipset, S.M. (eds.), The Breakdown of Class Politics, A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Press, p. 205

⁷⁶ Hayward, T., (1994), Ecological Thought: An Introduction, Oxford: Polity Press, pp. 23

Table 1. Party types' political and economic ethos

The dominant ethos is marked in bold.

	Political Conception of Community	Economic Conception of Community
Social democrats	Class based cosmopolitanism	Class. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on a class basis
Christian democrats	Religious cosmopolitanism	Family. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on a family and residual basis
Liberals	Civil society cosmopolitanism	Individuals. Acceptance of market capitalism.
Conservatives	Nation	Individuals. Accept market capitalism
Nationalists	Nation	Nation. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on the basis of the nation
Agrarians	No <i>a priori</i> conception	Estate. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on the basis of estate
Ecologists	Ecological system cosmopolitanism	Ecologic System. Compensate for the failures of market capitalism on the basis of the ecological system

A scale of party responses to European integration

Taggart and Szczerbiak define Hard Euroscepticism as the fundamental disagreement with the “entire project of European political and economic integration”. A party’s hard opposition to European integration is therefore tightly defined. In opposition, Soft Euroscepticism is defined as the “contingent or qualified opposition to European integration”,⁷⁷ i.e., it encompasses any type of criticism of the EU while not distinguishing between a positive and negative appraisal of European integration. In 2000, while attempting to refine the meaning of Soft Euroscepticism, the authors distinguished between “policy Euroscepticism” and “national interest Euroscepticism”, and consider that the two categories not only are not mutually exclusive but are also compatible with support for the European project.⁷⁸

Attempts to improve Taggart and Szczerbiak’s scale with a more precise definition of Soft Euroscepticism added a second dimension to the principled opposition to the EU by distinguishing between principled and functional support or opposition to the EU. While Kopecky and Mudde’s typology define this second dimension as the assessment of “the general practice of European integration”,⁷⁹ Conti’s scale defines functional attitudes as the compatibility between the national goals and European integration while principled attitudes result from a fundamental and unmediated support/opposition to the values of European integration.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2001), “Parties, Positions and Europe: Euroscepticism in the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe”, Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the Political Studies Association, 10-12 April, p.5-6

⁷⁸ Szczerbiak, A. and Taggart, P. (2000), “Opposing Europe: Party Systems and Opposition to the Union, the Euro and Europeanisation”, OERN Working Paper, 1, p. 7.

⁷⁹ Kopecky, P. and Mudde, C., (2001), “The Two Sides of Euroscepticism, Party Positions on European Integration in East Central Europe”, European Union Politics, 3(3): 297-326

⁸⁰ Conti, N. (2003), “Party Attitudes to European Integration: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Italian Case”, EPERN Working Paper, 13.

My criticism of these scales is twofold. First, while Kopecky and Mudde's classification results in a typology that is unfit to be translated in a scale of a decided positive or negative evaluation of European integration, all the previous classifications follow the parties' attempts to hedge their fundamental opposition to integration by assimilating the party's distinction between values and practices of integration into a scale of European attitudes. Second, all these authors conceive the value of European integration as an unmediated good and assume the existence of a primordial European identity.

Considering this assumption unrealistic, I propose a scale of support and opposition that takes the nation-state as the primordial framework of identity of European elites and masses. Support for the EU is a function of the promotion of national goals.⁸¹ The two fundamental attitudes, Euroscepticism and Europhilism, are defined as a perceived *a priori* incompatibility or congruence between the national interest and European integration. Borrowing from Taggart and Szczerbiak's terminology, a distinction between Hard and Soft positions nuances the categories. Soft indicates the placing of conditions on the fundamental and *a priori* relationship between national interest and European integration, and Hard indicates an unconditional support or opposition to European integration. A Soft Eurosceptic party deems that despite the *a priori* assumption of opposition between national interest and European integration, under certain conditions these could eventually coincide. By contrast, Soft Europhilism considers that the *a priori* correspondence between European integration and the national interest might be overridden by the non-fulfilment of certain conditions by the EU.

⁸¹ This assumption is substantiated by Eurobarometer data showing that support for the EU is closely related to citizens' perceived benefits for furthering domestic interests. Bellamy, R. and Warleigh, A., (2001) Citizenship and Governance in the European Union, London: Continuum

Party's ethos as determinants of positions on European integration

While Taggart and Sitter's theories ascribe Euroscepticism to a rational opposition tactic,⁸² Marks, Hooghe and Wilson's article in 2002 proposes that parties' positioning in the socio-political dimension are the best explanation of parties' attitudes towards European integration.⁸³ These authors acknowledge the "strong, consistent and largely overlooked effect" of the socio-political dimension on a party's attitudes towards European integration, but in the introduction to the Special Issue of Comparative Political Studies the authors maintain that the two dimensions are highly correlated, so much so that they form a single (left-right) axis.⁸⁴

The ethos theory casts doubt on the accuracy of the left-libertarian/right-authoritarian dichotomy and keeps the two dimensions separate. The dominant ethos, be it political or economic determines the party's fundamental choice between Euroscepticism and Europhilism. The different nature of political and economic values results in an asymmetric impact of the political and economic evaluation of European integration for each party type.

A party based on the political ethos will evaluate the EU through the lenses of indivisible and nonnegotiable concepts such as the nation and the civil society. The political ethos' evaluation of political integration is therefore irreversible and unconditional. A party based on the economic ethos will adopt Eurosceptic or Europhile positions depending on the evaluation

⁸² Taggart, P. (1998), "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems", European Journal of Political Research, 33(3): 363-88; Sitter, N. (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?" West European Politics, 24(4): 22-39.

⁸³ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J., (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-459; Hooghe, L., Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8): 965- 989.

⁸⁴ Marks G. and Steenbergen, M. (2002), "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", Comparative Political Studies 35(8): 879-892.

of the EU's contribution to the attainment of its preferred national economic regime. Since economic concepts are divisible and quantifiable, the evaluation these parties make of the EU admits to the gradual approximation to the national desired policy regime, i.e., it is not absolute. If the political ethos contradicts the evaluation of the party's preferred economic regime, the party will adopt a conditional support or opposition to the EU. Thus, a negative evaluation of the EU's effects on the desired national economic regime can be made conditional by a cosmopolitan political ethos, since the party can conceive supporting the EU if certain economic conditions are fulfilled.

Table 2. The asymmetric impact of the political and economic ethos on party European positions

	Parties founded on the economic ethos	Parties founded on the political ethos
Political Ethos	Sufficient to determine whether party's attitude is conditional (Hard or Soft)	Sufficient to determine whether party's attitude is Eurosceptic or Europhile
Economic Ethos	Sufficient to determine whether party's attitude is Eurosceptic or Europhile	Not sufficient to determine either overall position or conditionality of the party's position

Based on the theoretical explanation presented above I put forward a series of related hypothesis, concerning the sufficiency and necessity of the different conceptions of communities for parties' attitudes towards European integration. These hypotheses are grouped according to the centrality of the political and economic ethos in determining the party identity.

1. Sufficiency and necessity of political and economic evaluations of European integration for parties based primarily on political communities

1.1 Nationalism is a sufficient and necessary condition for Hard Euroscepticism.

The perception that European integration is incompatible with a party's definition of the political community is a sufficient and necessary condition for an unconditional opposition to the EU. As scholars of European integration have long argued, one of the chief consequences of European integration is the weakening of the authority of nation-state.⁸⁵ The transfer of sovereignty to the European level is opposed by those parties whose ethos consecrates the nation as the fundamental political community. Nationalism is therefore a sufficient and necessary condition of Hard Euroscepticism for a party that holds it as a structuring value, and renders both centripetal strategies and the perceived mismatch between the economic objectives of the party and European integration irrelevant for its European attitudes.

1.2. Cosmopolitanism is a sufficient and necessary condition for Hard Europhilism.

A cosmopolitan political ethos is a sufficient and necessary condition for Hard Europhilism. The EU appears to these parties as the embodiment of their conception of the natural political order, i.e., one overcoming the national borders. Being the only central and cosmopolitan concept of European parties, religious cosmopolitanism has been a source of unconditional support for European integration.

⁸⁵ Borzel, T. and Risse, T., (2000), "Who Is Afraid of a European Federation? How to Constitutionalize a Multi-Level Governance System?" in Joerges, C., Meny, Y. and Weiler, J.H. (eds.) What Kind of Constitution for What Kind of Polity? Responses to Joschka Fisher, Florence: European University Institute, p.45-49; Caporaso, J. (2000), "Changes in the Westphalian order: Territory, Public Authority and Sovereignty", International Studies Review, 2: 1-28; Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (2001) "Multi-Level Governance and European Integration", Boulder, CO: Rowan and Littlefield; Risse-Kappen, T. (1996), "Exploring the Nature of the Beast: International Relations Theory and Comparative Policy Analysis Meet the European Union", Journal of Common Market Studies, 34: 53-80; Sitter, N. (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: Is Euroscepticism a Government-
Opposition Dynamic?" West European Politics 24(4):22-39.

1.3. The perception of the EU as detrimental to the party's desired economic regime is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for determining a party's response to European integration

Parties based on the political ethos will accept or reject the EU in an absolute way, depending on their stance on the cosmopolitan/nationalist divide. Since political notions are absolute and non-divisible, the economic ethos will not impact on these parties' European attitudes.

2. Sufficiency and necessity of political and economic evaluations of European integration for parties based on the economic ethos.

The set of conditions of parties based on the economic ethos are more complex. The economic left-right positions of the parties are not directly relevant for their European attitudes, but are mediated by perceptions of the limitations and potential of the European Union (EU) policy regimes.⁸⁶ Differences in the evaluation of the Single Market and the Economic and Monetary Union are both inter and intra-party types, as the impact of the EU policy regimes on the national economic regime varies from country to country. Since the question of whether the regulation of the Single Market should be based on a liberal or a social democratic model is open,⁸⁷ a party can also alter its appreciation of European economic integration over time, following the evolution of specific EU policy regimes.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Frieden, J. and Rogowski, R. (1996), "The Impact of International Economy on National Policies: An Analytical Overview" in Keohane, R. O. and Milner, H. (eds.), Internationalisation and Domestic Politics, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁸⁷ Majone, G., (1996), Regulating Europe, London, Routledge; Scharpf, F. (1996), "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States" in Marks, G., Scharpf, F., Schmitter, P.C. and Streeck, W. (eds.), Governance in the European Union, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁸⁸ This set of hypothesis is therefore identical to the cleavage theory spelled by Marks and Wilson in Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000) "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-459.

2.1. The perception of the EU as detrimental or beneficial to a party's desired economic regime is sufficient and necessary for the party's positioning on either side of the Euroscepticism-Europhile divide (Soft Euroscepticism or Soft Europhilism).

A party based on the economic ethos derives its European attitudes from the evaluation of the EU's impact on the national economic regime. If this evaluation is positive, the party will consider European integration *a priori* compatible with the national interest. However, the economic left/right position of a party is not directly relevant for its European attitudes but is mediated by the relative position of the country in relation to the EU's economic regime.⁸⁹ Parties considering the economic effects of integration as conducive to the attainment of the economic regime professed in their economic ethos will embrace Europhilism.

The conversion of communist parties to social democracy resulted in these parties progressively reassessing the European policy regimes. The Europhilism of Central and Eastern European left-wing parties' resulted from the fading of the belief in centrally-planned economies in favour of a supply-side approach to the correction of class inequalities. By the mid-nineties the transformed parties adopted the view that by integrating the EU they would be in a relatively better off position to maintain a redistributive regime than they would by integrating the global market. The transformation of their understanding of class was strengthened by a decidedly cosmopolitan view of the political order.

⁸⁹ Marks, G. and Wilson, C., "The Past in the Present", op. cit.

2.2 Although it does not determine the overall position of a party on the Eurosceptic/Europhile divide, nationalism is sufficient for the setting of conditions within a Europhile position (Soft Europhilism) and leads to unconditional Euroscepticism in case of a negative economic evaluation of European integration (Hard Euroscepticism).

Although being a secondary concept of a party's identity, the political ethos still exerts a residual influence on the party's European attitude. A nationalist political ethos will reinforce a negative evaluation of European economic integration and render Euroscepticism unconditional.

A nationalist ethos renders a positive evaluation of economic integration conditional on the maintenance of policy regimes relevant to the party's core values (i.e. Soft Europhilism). Considering the mismatch between the party political vision and the mode of governance of European integration, even in the case of a positive economic evaluation, the party can only adopt a Soft Europhile position.

2.3 Although it does not determine the overall position of a party on the Eurosceptic/Europhile divide, cosmopolitanism is sufficient for the setting of conditions within a Eurosceptic position (Soft Euroscepticism) and no conditions within a Europhile position (Hard Europhilism).

A cosmopolitan ethos exerts residual influence on a party's European attitude even if economic conceptions are the party's identifying element. As a mirror image of nationalism, political cosmopolitanism determines that a party holding a negative economic evaluation of European integration will adopt a conditional Eurosceptic position if certain economic conditions are met. Also a cosmopolitan political ethos will reinforce the Europhile positioning of parties based on the economic ethos that consider European integration as positive, rendering their attitudes unconditional.

3. Party strategy is not a necessary condition, and in the long-run is not a sufficient condition, for determining a party's European positions. In the short-run, however, party strategy can be sufficient to condition a party's European positions.

Following Downs' conception of parties as organisations whose primary goal is to achieve votes or office, this hypothesis refers to party strategies primarily geared to those goals.⁹⁰ Parties follow office-seeking strategies through a centrist behaviour. Conversely, vote-seeking strategies can lead parties to a polarising behaviour in the attempt to capture electoral niches.⁹¹ Competitive strategies are operationalised as behavioural concepts, i.e., independent of ideological considerations.⁹² Centrist party strategies are defined as the strategic behaviour of parties intending to gain office and maintain it by choosing a mode of moderate competition that implies a fight for the centre position in the axis, where the majority of the votes are cast, through the use of moderate propaganda tactics and consensual politics.

On the contrary, a polarising party, although not ideologically anti-systemic, is defined by its behavioural opposition to centrist politics. A polarising party "adopts isolationist strategies, tends to build a separate pole of the system, refuses to enter coalitions (at the national level) and resorts to outbidding propaganda tactics, systematically opposing and discrediting some founding values of the regime, on which all other parties agree."⁹³ The evaluation of a party's coalition and propaganda strategies, rather than its location in the ideological space, is used to classify a party.

⁹⁰ Although it operationalises the concepts in a different way, this hypothesis follows closely Taggart and Sitter's government-opposition theories. See: Taggart, P. (1998), "A Touchstone of Dissent: Euroscepticism in Contemporary Western European Party Systems", *European Journal of Political Research*, 33(3):363-88; Sitter, N., (2001), "The Politics of Opposition and European Integration in Scandinavia: is Euroscepticism a Government-Opposition Dynamic?", *West European Politics*, 24(4):22-39.

⁹¹ Downs, A., (1957), *An Economic Theory of Competition*, New York: Harper and Row; Daalder, H., (1984), "In Search of the Center of European Party Systems", *American Political Science Review*, 78(1).

⁹² Capoccia, G., (2002), "Anti-System Parties: A Conceptual Reassessment", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1).

⁹³ Capoccia G., (2002), op.cit.

3.1 A centripetal strategy is not a necessary condition, and in the long-run is not a sufficient condition, for Europhilism. However, in the short-run a centripetal strategy can be sufficient to drive a party to Europhilism.

Although never a necessary condition, a centripetal strategy can in the short-run be sufficient for Europhilism. Since the multilevel system of governance makes Eurosceptic parties an odd-fit in government, parties are able to temporarily suspend their ethos to signal their determination to integrate government. However, in the long-run, centrist parties will not be able to maintain a Europhile position that is in contradiction with the conception of the national interest dictated by the definition of the political or economic community. Parties can suspend their ethos-derived evaluation of European integration only temporarily, and their long-term Europhile stance depends on the compatibility between a party's European stance and its political and economic ethos.

3.2 A polarising strategy is not a necessary condition, and in the long-term is not a sufficient condition, for Euroscepticism. However, in the short-run it can be sufficient to drive a party to Euroscepticism.

Although a polarising strategy is not a necessary condition for Euroscepticism, in the short-run it is sufficient for determining parties' opposition to European integration. In the long-run, however, parties are determined by their ethos, and a polarising strategy is not a sufficient condition for the maintenance of a Eurosceptic position. In the long-term primacy of a party's political and economic ethos means that polarising strategies are neither sufficient nor necessary conditions of Euroscepticism. Since the limits to the transformation of the definition of the basic communities are extremely severe, a party's identity is a long-term determinant of its competitive behaviour.

Party responses to European integration.

The use of the ethos concept to understand a party response to European integration is spelled in this table.

Table 3. Party responses to European integration.

	Unfavourable European Policy Regimes	Favourable European Policy Regimes
Social Democrats	Soft Euroscepticism	Hard Europhilism
Christian democrats	Hard Europhilism	Hard Europhilism
Liberals	Soft Euroscepticism	Hard Europhilism
Conservatives	Hard Euroscepticism	Soft Europhilism
Agrarians	Euroscepticism	Europhilism
Nationalists	Hard Euroscepticism	Hard Euroscepticism
Ecologists	Soft Europhilism	Hard Europhilism

The placement of liberal parties on the scale of European attitudes is decided by the parties' evaluation of economic integration. If the Single Market is seen as promoting market liberalism, liberals are Europhiles. However, when conceiving the EU's regulatory role as impeding the good functioning of the free market, liberals will be Soft Eurosceptics. The liberals' cosmopolitanism is derived from the idea that individuals should be free to associate, and that civil society is the basis of political legitimacy. Liberals' cosmopolitanism, as a second order factor, determines that their Euroscepticism is Soft and their Europhilism unconditional.

As a mirror image of the liberals, the social democrats' placement on either side of the scale of support to the EU is determined by their conception of economic class as the fundamental element of identity. Social democrats are permanently engaged with the elimination of differences among classes by counteracting inequalities stemming from

positions in the labour market.⁹⁴ Whenever a social democratic party perceives the EU as a market opening enterprise which undermines the redistributive role of the state, social democrats are Eurosceptic. If the EU is seen as the promoter of regulated capitalism, social democrats become supporters of integration. The social democrats' class-based political cosmopolitanism, being a secondary element in the political identity of these parties can lead them to adopt a conditional scepticism or an unconditional Europhilism.

Agrarians and ecologists have also tended to favour European regulatory policies, but their definition of the EU's desirable policy regime is more limited than that of social democrats. Agrarian parties will be Europhile if they consider that European integration fosters the protection of farmers and Eurosceptic if European integration is considered as harming the protection of farmers. Therefore, by extending the CAP provisions to the new states of the EU has been the condition of the Central and East European Agrarian parties' support for European integration. Since Agrarians have no determined political identity, the definition of their political ethos will depend on the circumstances of their mobilisation. Ecologists are Hard Europhiles if EU-harmonised environmental standards are perceived as more restrictive than the national environmental standards.

Since conservative parties are not *a priori* determined by economic liberalism or political nationalism,⁹⁵ conservatives are the parties with the widest range of attitudes on the EU. The conservatives' attitudes towards European integration are not only dependent on which economic regime the EU is seen as promoting, but also on which faction predominates within the party. If nationalism is the party's structuring value, conservatives will be Hard Eurosceptics. If the party identity is dominated by economic liberalism it will define its position

⁹⁴ Huber, E., Ragin, C., and Stephens J., "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State".

⁹⁵ The two types of conservatism, the liberal conservatism and the national conservatism, result from the accent being put in one dimension of identity. Nonetheless, the accent can be changed over time, as a way to adapt to political transformations. Girvin, B. (1998), "The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism" in Girvin, B. (ed.), The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism, London: Sage, p.9; Smith, G., "Between Left and Right: The Ambiguity of European Liberalism", p.23.

based on an evaluation of the EU as a market liberalising agent, and normally adopt Soft Europhilism.

Christian democratic and nationalist parties are largely immune to evaluations of the European integration's impact on domestic economic regimes. Christian democracy unconditionally supports integration. The reluctance of the Catholic Church's social doctrine to accept the nation as the ultimate political community led Christian democrats to promote staunchly European integration in the post World War II period, and ever since Christian democrats have been the most consistent Hard Europhiles. The nationalists' belief in the nation as the basic political community determines the *priori* opposition between the parties' perception of national interest and European integration, unless the EU's governance reverts to an intergovernmental mode. Nationalists have therefore considered European integration as unconditionally incompatible with the national interest.

Parties' preferences concerning European integration

From the analytical framework presented above, I derive parties' preferences on the course of European integration. These preferences are drawn from the set of goals constituting each party's ethos. Therefore, a party is likely to support the EU if the Union develops features that help the party to attain its fundamental goals. The table below summarises each party preferences for the development of European integration.

The present theory also explains why parties whose identities rely primarily on political values are more entrenched in their European positions. The supranational character of European integration is its intrinsic feature, and more political integration will not substantially change the supranational character of the EU. The unquantifiable and immutable nature of a political concept makes its reinterpretation difficult. The immutability of both the nature of political integration and the party's political ethos makes the European positions of these parties both unconditional and irreversible.

Economic evaluations of European integration are also both sufficient and necessary conditions for parties whose identity is based on economic values. However, the hardening or

softening of these positions will be determined by the political ethos of the party. While parties might base their Europhilism or Euroscepticism on the compatibility of the EU economic regime with a party's economic values, this attitude will be conditional or unqualified depending on the party's political ethos. The column on economic conditions for European integration also shows that economic attitudes can more easily change since these depend on the development of the EU's policy regimes, and not on the EU's political nature.

Table 4. Parties' preferences concerning European integration

	Political Preferences	Economic Preferences
Christian Democrats	European supranational integration	Policy regimes favouring mild regulated capitalism
Liberals	European supranational Integration	Achieving the single market European neo-liberal capitalism
National conservatives	Inexistent	Inexistent
Economic conservatives	Low level of supranational integration	Achieving the single market European neo-liberal capitalism
Nationalists	Inexistent	Inexistent
Social democrats	Supranational integration in support for European market regulation	European Regulated Capitalism; Fiscal coordination
Ecologists	Supranational Integration	Policy regimes providing a high level of environmental protection

Methodology

Progress in finding the causes of parties' European attitudes has been mainly achieved through empirical enquiry.⁹⁶ The determination of the causes of parties' European attitudes has so far largely turned to one or a handful of individual case-studies or, alternatively, has followed variable-oriented statistical analysis. While the case-oriented analysis are weak on external validity, variable-oriented analysis fail to take into account multiple or conjunctural causation, i.e., cases when recurrent events may be caused by any of several circumstances or combinations of circumstances. Theoretical disagreement between proponents of strategic and ideological explanations has also been linked to the choice of methods. When variable-oriented methodological approaches have been chosen, the hypotheses were tested in a way as to be pitched against each other.

Attempting to overcome this tendency, I adopt the logic of Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) to approach the testing of the theoretical propositions advanced above. This methodology was developed by Charles Ragin to deal with causal heterogeneity while using small numbers of cases.⁹⁷ This method allows surmounting the divisions between case-oriented and variable-oriented research by treating cases as configurations of theoretically relevant combinations of features. QCA is used both in the theory-building process and in theory-testing since it focuses not so much on discarding causes as weak explanations, but

⁹⁶ Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", Comparative Political Studies, 35(8); Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 433-460 ; Taggart, P. and Szczerbiak, A. (2001), "Crossing Europe: Patterns of Contemporary Party-Based Euroscepticism in EU Member States and the Candidate States of Central and Eastern Europe", Paper Prepared for the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

⁹⁷ Ragin, C. (1987), The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies, Berkeley:University of California Press.

on attempting to establish which combinations of causes and which single causes are sufficient or necessary to determine causality.

Basic to Qualitative Comparative Analysis are the logic of qualitative comparison systematized by Mill, termed the methods of agreement and of difference.⁹⁸ Mill's method of agreement is the search for a single common condition among cases having the same outcome. Such conditions can be relevant to a discussion of necessity. The method of difference is the search for a single distinguishing feature among cases disagreeing on the outcome – i.e., experimental design. While both may be important to the discovery of connections between phenomena, only the method of difference is reliable for substantiating causality.

The main new element provided by QCA is set-theoretic algebra, which provides the formalisation required to apply Mill's logic reliably. The original formulation of QCA uses crisp (or Boolean) sets, implying that cases are either inside or outside a given category. The QCA method makes possible a dialogue between the theory and the data, leading to conceptual clarification and adjustment by connecting the features of a single case with the patterns displayed across cases. QCA is therefore a method that serves well the purpose of theory-building, since it allows the adjustment of propositions of causality.

Ragin's 1987 book also launched the first serious debate about causal necessity and sufficiency, as well as making it possible to identify the so-called "chemical reaction", i.e., identify when variables lead to an outcome only when in each other's presence. The first step in the theory-building exercise is the proposition of theoretically-based propositions about necessary and dependent conditions. Factors which are either present or absent for all cases with a given outcome may, if corroborated by other knowledge, will be considered relevant to claims about necessary conditions for that outcome.⁹⁹ Propositions about sufficient conditions can be explored by identifying causal configurations which are present for at least one case

⁹⁸ Ragin, C. (1987), discussion in page 36-42.

⁹⁹ Ragin, C. (1987), p. 93.

with that outcome but in none of the cases with a different outcome.¹⁰⁰ A further step is to identify theoretically interesting dichotomies of variables and identify cases that can be analysed.

Operationalising political ethos and the empirical material

The party ethos is a qualitative and discreet category that can be judged from the analysis of party documents. However, the abstract nature of the concepts constituting the party ethos demanded the operationalisation of the political and economic communities into more workable concepts. This thesis thus operationalises the concepts defining the political and economic communities as the justification used by parties for limiting individuals' political and economic freedoms. Naturally, the analysis of party documents focused on identifying the principles used to legitimise the limitation of individual political and economic freedoms. The political ethos is operationalised as the principles of social aggregation, or the values and principles underlying the policies regulating the relationship between the individuals and the community. The economic ethos is operationalised as the principles of economic aggregation, i.e., the values justifying policies compensating for distortions of market capitalism.

Parties' political and economic ethos can be identified not only in parties' election manifestoes and founding declarations, but can also be deduced from the more applied policies devised by parties. For example, a socialist party's conception of class as the fundamental principle of economic aggregation is revealed not only in the party's general declarations but also through the principles governing the party's labour policies.

To identify the parties' definition of the political and economic communities in their documents I first analysed parties' programmatic preambles and looked for the general

¹⁰⁰ Probabilistic procedures can be introduced: a causal configuration can be 'almost always' or 'usually' necessary

statements of how the society, the state and the market is conceived by the party.¹⁰¹ Naturally, because parties tend to define themselves at the moment of their creation, parties' founding declarations are particularly useful to identify the core concepts of social and economic organisation. When parties do not produce a founding declaration, the party's first election manifesto normally extensively spells out the party's basic political beliefs. Such principles are often revealed in subsequent party election manifestoes' general statements.

The way parties' define their electorate often follows the party's fundamental beliefs of social organisation. For example, a nationalist party frequently addresses the electorate using nationalist concepts, while a Christian democratic party tends to address those called by the Christian message. Therefore the particular address a party uses to define their electorate is frequently an indicator of the party's identifying concept. Party programmes preambles also frequently indicate the historical political inheritances claimed by the party. When a new party is formed, and particularly in a country where the political history was interrupted, it is frequent that parties define their ideological profile by claiming the inheritance of past political movements and parties.

Secondly, I analysed parties' political and economic programmatic stances and identified the proposed legitimising fundamentals and principles of the economic and social policies. The policy positions taken by the parties when fundamental issues of the political system were being discussed, such as constitutional amendments, were equally considered as indicative of the definition of political community. The rhetorical justifications of parties' change of policies, or their permanence, are also often useful for the analysis of the permanent elements of parties' identities. When more than a principle was invoked as a legitimising tool in parties' documents, often in composed concepts such as Catholic

for a given outcome.

¹⁰¹ Here I use Gerald Pomper's analytical division between general statements, ideological stances and policy positions to analyse political parties. See Pomper, G., (1988), Voters, Elections and Parties: The Practice of Democratic Theory, Oxford: Transaction Books

nationalism, or national agrarianism, I tried to assess the predominant element in such relationship.

Thirdly, I searched party documents other than programmes for the rhetoric justifying parties' alliances with other political parties and civic associations. The choice of parties' social and economic partners generally indicates the conception of political and economic community underlying a party's action. Such associations often have the function of strengthening the party's identifying profile. Diverse party documents were also used to document the reassessment of a party's identity, for example, at the moment of change of leadership.

Fourthly, newspapers' reports of party activities, in particular of those media ideologically linked to particular parties, were also considered evidence of parties' strategic alliances, and of party's identity conflicts. Interviews with present or historical leaders, conducted by the author or published in the printed press, were also analysed. When analysing party leaders' interviews the focus was on the values shared by the party leadership at crucial moments of party identification, i.e., at identifying the formation of "communities of discourse" among party leaders. The discontinuity of party organisations that prevailed in Poland makes a large part of this analysis dealing with the ideological background of parties' dissolution and re-organisation, as well as with the problematic of ideological succession. Therefore, the analysis of newspapers and party leaders' interviews frequently deals with the challenges and choices faced by the leadership at key moments, and the capacity or incapacity to maintain the parties' identity coherence.

The thesis takes a liberal approach to the use of empirical material, thus ignoring the rules set out by the European Party Manifesto Project. The Manifesto Project defines as usable party manifestos and platforms those that are a "recognizable statement of policy which has the backing of the leadership as the authoritative definition of party policy for that

election”.¹⁰² This implies that only programs, platforms and other documents that are produced immediately preceding the election are legitimate empirical material.¹⁰³ Following Harmel and Janda’s criticism to the Manifesto Programme I use a wide range of party documents, press analysis and interviews to determine a party’s ethos, its strategies and positioning on the Europhile-Eurosceptic axis.¹⁰⁴ “The Manifesto data themselves are not very useful for establishing the party’s actual positions on any of the issues that together constitute its issue profile (...) or at least not precisely enough to be useful in studying changes in issues positions.”¹⁰⁵

To determine the concept defining the parties’ political and economic community (and not only the relative intensity of the party positions) a judgemental approach to the data was chosen. Party documents, interviews and press were then organised so as to justify the classification of parties’ ethos. Since parties exist in a historical context, the analytical narrative appeared to be the best way to present party material and depict the evolution of parties’ ethos and strategies while exposing its qualitative context.¹⁰⁶ To gather the contextual understanding of parties’ ideological definition I conducted interviews with members of the leadership of the main parties and carried out a survey of the main newspapers and news services. Being more flexible than discourse analysis or any quantitative methods, the analytical narrative integrates the evolutions of ethos and strategies with the evolution of parties’ creation, mergers, splits and demise, all being relevant to determining the causes of parties’ attitudes towards European integration.

¹⁰² Budge, I. et al. (1986), “Policy, Ideology and Party Distance: Analysis of Election Programs in 19 Democracies”, Legislative Studies Quarterly, 11(4): 607-617.

¹⁰³ Budge, I. et al. (1987), Ideology, Strategy and Party Change: Spatial Analysis of Post-War Election Programs in Nineteen Democracies, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.17.

¹⁰⁴ Janda, K. Harmel, R. Edens, C. and Goff, P. (1995), “Changes in Party Identity: Evidence from Party Manifestos”, Party Politics, 1(2): 171-196, p.176.

¹⁰⁵ *idem*, p.176.

Classification Criteria

There are three generally accepted party classification criteria: programmatic identities, “issue positions” and membership in international parties’ organisations.¹⁰⁷ The first criterion refers to a categorisation that presupposes that parties can have a similar “genetic code” emanating from the circumstances of their birth or from the intention of representing similar interests. Programmatic identities refer to the normative propositions of a programme; they are about general values. The method of issue positions or policy similarity categorises parties according to the similarity between the policies pursued by one party to those pursued by another party. The third method of classification, through cross-border organisational linkages, became more relevant in Europe after the creation of party groups in the European Parliament.

The present classification follows the method of programmatic identities; classifying parties according to their organisational linkages appears inappropriate as international linkages are created frequently for instrumental purposes rather than to reflect parties’ values and policy positions. The fact that the European party groups have tended to sacrifice their identity in order to increase their power in the European Parliament¹⁰⁸ shows that the membership in a party group can be misleading in indicating what individual parties stand for.

Since the theoretical framework relies on an abstract level of ideology, the party ethos, as an explanation for party’s European choices, Polish parties are classified through the criterion of programmatic identity. Despite the constant flux of the Polish party scene and the de-consolidated nature of parties’ organisations¹⁰⁹ ideological identities appear remarkably

¹⁰⁶ Bates, R. et al. (1998), Analytical Narratives, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

¹⁰⁷ Gallagher, M. Laver, M. and Mair, P. (1992), Representative Government in Modern Europe, New York McGraw-Hill, p.181.

¹⁰⁸ Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, London: MacMillan Press, p. 25-7.

¹⁰⁹ Kitschelt, H. et. al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems, Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 211.

constant. Following the demise of a party it is very common that another organisation appears to take its ideological space. This indicates a rather strongly consolidated ideological space. Therefore it appears pertinent to classify Polish parties according to their positioning in the ideological space, i.e., through their self-definition of the political and economic communities. In cases where the consolidation of an identity is not achieved or a previously agreed identity is under threat I point to the divergent factions' definitions of the political and economic identities.

Case Selection

In choosing to use all cases – parties – from a single party system, the Polish, advantages and disadvantages ensue. Advantages stem from the fact that by using a whole party spectrum, the strategic variables can be understood in the context of the party system, making it possible to take conclusions on the interaction between the variables and its impact on the European issue for the level of the party system. Within the Dmowskist interwar tradition, when nationalism was often justified in religious terms, Polish conservative and nationalist parties referred almost obligatorily to Catholic moral values as part of the definition of national identity.¹¹⁰ The Polish party system is therefore an example of the predominance of the political dimension in structuring party competition. This makes its analysis very rich in insights on the kind of conflicts caused by European integration in such party systems. The strength of nationalism as a political identity, and the way Polish ideological inheritance mixes nationalism and Catholicism, makes Poland an illustration of the high levels of the independent and dependent variables, i.e., an extreme case.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Walicki, A. (2000), "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski", East European Politics and Societies, 14(1): 12-46.

¹¹¹ For a classification of possible choices of cases see Flyvbjerg, B. Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Enquiry Fails and How it can Count Again, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.204.

It is important to note that the conclusions on the level of party system are limited to cases with resembling background conditions, i.e., the mobilisation of the political cleavage. In party systems where the socio-economic axis is predominant, nationalism is less prone to be a sufficient condition for Euroscepticism, not the least because chances are that it will not be mobilised as a party identity. In countries where nationalism is absent or very weak, other effects, like economic opposition to integration, can emerge as an important cause of Euroscepticism. There are, however, indications that this background condition is becoming more common, not only in Central and Eastern Europe, but also in Western Europe.

Chapter III Explaining right-wing European attitudes

This chapter tests on the Polish right-wing the claim that party ethos is the long-term sufficient and necessary condition of party attitudes to European integration. The combination of political and economic ethos explains party support and opposition to the European project. In order to carry out this task, the chapter starts by describing the formation of Polish right-wing parties from 1989 to 2001 and classify them according to their ethos.

The development of the Polish right-wing in the last decade demonstrates the importance and validity of the distinction between the political and the economic ethos in a typology of parties that takes into account the different dimensions of a party's identity. The Polish right-wing parties' attitudes towards Europe demonstrates clearly the specific impact of the political and the economic ethos on party European positions and is a vivid example of the sufficiency and necessity of a party's identifying ethos on its European positions.

The chapter deals with the persistence and increased importance of nationalism on the right of the political spectrum. Nationalism has contributed to the failure of Christian democracy, which in turn provides an effective explanation for the unusually high propensity of Polish right-wing parties to adopt Eurosceptic positions. Although nationalist parties proved to be unstable organisations, the nation showed more resistance as a political ethos than civil society or Christian cosmopolitanism.

The replacement of the idea of civil society as the core concept of liberal parties by economic neo-liberalism as the liberal's identifying ethos diluted the parties' distinctiveness vis-à-vis conservative parties. Consequently, the reorganisation of the right-wing party scene in 2001 not only confirmed the demise of Christian democracy but also of political liberalism as the right's identifying concept. The political spectrum now consists of two conservative parties, based respectively on political nationalism and economic liberalism, flanked by a nationalist party.

The empirical material of this chapter is primarily composed of party documents.

Party founding declarations are the main source used for understanding the core concepts of their ethos, as parties use these documents to position themselves in the ideological space and spell out the fundamental concepts that guide their political action. When parties do not adopt a founding declaration, their first election manifesto performs this function. Subsequent election manifestoes are also used to determine the evolution of a party's ethos.

Creating parties was an unusually popular activity in Poland. Around each election, a de-consolidation and subsequent consolidation of the core and the margins of the party system took place, and this provided the opportunity to observe the adaptation and evolution of party ethos. To take account of the strong intra-party ideological conflicts over the definition of party ethos I also analysed documents of party congresses and undertook a survey of the printed press. Since classifying party ethos and European positions requires the use of qualitative judgemental data, I present the empirical material through an analytic narrative that places the data in the context of party formation.

Stages of Polish relationship with the European Union

Polish integration in the EU was a long process going through different formal stages. As time went by and accession became increasingly more concrete, the accession became an exercise of legislative transposition and negotiation. The Commission became the monitoring body of the candidate states' progress in fulfilling the EU's conditions. One can therefore identify the formal stages of Polish relationship with the EU based on the degree of commitment and conditionality of the EU.

The first stage of Polish relations with the EU lasted from the first elections in August 1989 to the ratification of the Europe Agreements in early March 1992. During this phase the EU did not make any formal commitment to the eventual integration of Poland and the relation between the two parties was to a great extent still open. The second phase was initiated by the ratification of the Europe Agreements and the first clear statement of EU commitment to the integration of Poland, which took place in the 1993 Copenhagen Council. The third stage

started with the EU's decision to open negotiations with seven of the accession countries in September 1997. This third phase was characterised by strong conditionality and the EU becoming an important issue of domestic politics. The last phase started with the ratification of the accession treaty in May 2004 and full integration of Poland in the European institutions.

The changing institutional context of Polish relations with the EU saw the replacement of the symbolic clout of Europe by a more concrete assessment of its real-life implications. This had a strong impact on Polish public evaluation of accession. As the end of the millennium approached public support for European accession strongly declined.

First Phase: from 1989 to the Europe Agreements

The 1989 elections initiated the first phase of Polish relations with the EU. Taken by surprise by the fall of communism in the Soviet satellite states, Western leaders answered with a mixture of grand rhetoric and considerable caution regarding the future shape of the European order. For two years Poland and the other Central European states were eager to obtain security guarantees from the West, but the European institutions and Member States were not prepared to promise future membership of the Western institutions. Despite the rhetoric of the West European leaders, it took considerable effort for the EU to concede to further economic and trade relations with Poland and the other Central and Eastern European democracies.

On 19 September 1989 Poland signed the agreement for trade co-operation with the (then) European Community (EC). That agreement was not only the basis for further relations but also a starting point for future negotiations on the subject of association with the EC. Such an intention was expressed by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in his speech in the European Parliament in February 1990. On 19 May 1990 Poland officially applied to start negotiations for an association agreement which subsequently started in December of that year. In June 1991 Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski declared in the Polish Parliament that Poland was determined to become a member of the European Community. Financial assistance was then provided through the Poland and Hungary Aid for

Reconstruction in Europe (PHARE) programme, and help was targeted at helping Poland and Hungary make the transition to market economy.

In the early nineties “Europe” was the political myth driving the transformation of the country. Public support for integration was almost unanimous, and accession to the EU was synonymous with democracy and market economy.

Second Phase: from the ratification of the Europe Agreements (1992) to the opening of negotiations.

Signed in December 1991, the trade parts of the Europe Agreements were ratified in March 1992. They were a bilateral agreement between the member states and the EU, on one side, and Poland, on the other side.¹¹² Despite their political provisions (there is a title on political dialogue as well as one on cultural, economic and financial cooperation), the Europe Agreements were fundamentally a free trade agreement in which the trade barriers to imports from the Central and Eastern European countries (CEEC) were to be eliminated earlier than the imports from the EU to the CEEC. They foresaw a gradual opening over 10 years resulting in a free trade zone. The Agreements also foresaw anti-dumping measures and provisions on state aid and established the creation of Association Councils to regularly control the implementation of legislation.

However, to the dismay of the Polish political elite, the Agreements substantially limited free trade to industrial products, while trade in services and agriculture was subject to strong restrictions. The restrictions to trade in agriculture were particularly badly taken by Poland as the EU appeared oblivious to the economic crisis caused by shock therapy and did nothing to mitigate some of its effects by opening its market to Polish agriculture and steel products.¹¹³

¹¹² Europe Agreement establishing an association between the European Communities and their Member States, of the one part, and the Republic of Poland, Official Journal of the European Union, L 348 , 31/12/1993.

¹¹³ Sharman, J. (2003), “Agrarian Politics in Eastern Europe in the Shadow of EU Accession”, European Union Politics, 4(4): 447-471.

The first Polish experience of negotiations with the EU was therefore marked by a strong protectionist attitude by the EU member states, which seriously hampered the development of a cooperative spirit between the negotiating parties.¹¹⁴ The Europe Agreements were also modest in political terms, establishing only a limited form of political cooperation.

It was only at the Copenhagen European Council of 1993 that membership was acknowledged as the goal of the integration process.¹¹⁵ The Copenhagen Council also established the basic criteria for membership of the EU. The first set of criteria concerns the establishment of stable institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights and respect for and protection of minorities, the second a functioning market economy and third the preparedness of the EU for enlargement.¹¹⁶ The conditions were designed to minimize the risk of new entrants becoming politically unstable and economically burdensome to the EU, and to ensure that the countries joining were ready to meet all the EU rules, with only minimal and temporary exceptions.

After Poland officially became a candidate state in 1994, its relations with the EU changed significantly. The EU became referee as well as player in the accession process. Since all three Copenhagen criteria are very broad and open to considerable interpretation, they were translated into more detailed conditions during the negotiations, creating the perception that the criteria for accession were a moving target. During this phase the Commission became the central institutional interlocutor for Poland and the other candidate states. While the EU set the criteria, the Commission “put flesh on the bones” by determining their more precise content.¹¹⁷ For example, in 1995 the Commission issued a White Paper on the Single Market, which outlined primary and secondary tasks and provided a hierarchy of the large number of tasks implied by its conditions. As arbiter of the Copenhagen criteria, the

¹¹⁴ Mayhew, A. (1998), Recreating Europe: The European Union's Policy Towards Central and Eastern Europe, Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press.

¹¹⁵ Copenhagen European Council Presidency Conclusions, December 1993.

¹¹⁶ So-called “Copenhagen criteria”.

¹¹⁷ Grabbe, H. (2002), “European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire”, International Political Science Review, 23(3): 249-268.

Commission also gained further powers in its relationship with the candidate states. This meant that the Polish political elite had a subordinate relationship with a technical and bureaucratic body with the power to determine policy outcomes.¹¹⁸

During this phase public support for European integration remained substantially high, with 77 percent of the population supporting accession in June 1994 (the year that Poland formally submitted its application). Support peaked at 80 percent in May 1995.

Third phase: the accession negotiations

Another formal stage of Poland's relations with the EU started with the Luxembourg European Council in December 1997, at which the EU accepted the Commission's opinion to invite five states to start talks on their accession to the EU.¹¹⁹ The negotiation process started on 31 March 1998, when the first sitting of the International Accession Conference took place. After the meeting, screening sessions began to determine the extent to which Polish law was in accordance with community law, followed by the two parties developing position papers for each issue.

The negotiations for accession were characterised by tightened surveillance of the progress of candidate states by the Commission. The Accession Partnerships were created to monitor progress, and provided a direct lever on policy-making by setting out a list of policy priorities.¹²⁰ The Commission then reported on applicants' progress in meeting each priority every autumn, laying down short- and medium-term priorities in each issue area, thus providing a clear ranking to guide allocation of resources in applying the Copenhagen conditions.

¹¹⁸ Grabbe, H. (2002), "European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire", International Political Science Review, 23(3): 249-268.

¹¹⁹ Luxembourg European Council Presidency Conclusions, 11-12 December 1997, http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/032a0008.htm.

¹²⁰ Grabbe, H. (2002), "European Union Conditionality and the Acquis Communautaire", op. cit.

The opening of negotiations also implied reorientation of the PHARE programme to focus on pre-accession priorities.¹²¹ The whole relationship of Poland with the EU thus became focused on preparing for accession. PHARE was now a strategic and financial instrument for preparing for accession, its chief aim being to prepare candidate state administrations to absorb Structural Funds after accession.

The dynamics of EU accession were altered in 2000 after the Helsinki European Council (December 1999) endorsed a change in accession conditionality.¹²² Countries started moving at different speeds within the negotiation process, no longer opening the same negotiating chapters around the same time, but rather following their progress in implementing the *acquis*, as judged by the Commission. This principle of differentiation meant that the better-prepared countries could move faster through the chapters of the *acquis* than their slower neighbours. Countries that started negotiations later were even able to overtake candidates from the first group that fell behind.

The differentiation between candidates had an important impact on Polish-EU relations. In early 2000, after the Commission had issued an unfavourable report in the autumn of the previous year, the Polish press made failure of the government to implement legislation an important political issue. The immediate and visible results that unfavourable reports by the Commission had in closing negotiating chapters resulted in non-implementation of the *acquis* becoming a chief liability of the AWS government. Governments had to strike a balance between appearing to protect the national interest in the negotiations and efficiently managing the legislative transposition.

Obviously, certain negotiation chapters were subject to more public and political scrutiny than others. Of particular sensitivity were those dealing with agriculture and the free movement of labour. Informal negotiation linkages emerged between the transition period on

¹²¹ Bailey, D. and de Proppis, L. (2004), "A Bridge Too PHARE? EU Pre-Accession Aid and Capacity Building in the Candidate States", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 42(1): 77-98

¹²² Helsinki European Council Presidency Conclusions, 10-11 December 1999, *in* http://europa.eu.int/council/off/conclu/dec99/dec99_en.htm.

land acquisition by foreigners and the transition period on the freedom of labour, creating a conundrum only solved by the change of negotiation position brought by the new government after 2001. Due to its controversial character, the agricultural chapter was negotiated last. The drama intensified as the Commission announced in January 2002 that farmers in candidate states would not receive full agricultural subsidies for the first nine years of membership and would initially be paid only 25 percent of what farmers in members states received in direct payments in the first year, increasing incrementally in the following years. This not only violated the principles set by the government but also emerged as a touchstone issue during the last phase of the negotiations, only resolved during the Copenhagen Summit in late 2002. The settlement on agriculture resulted in a mixed subsidy system in which higher production-based grants would only be given to farmers whose products are subsidized within the EU.

During the period in which the negotiations progressed, the opinion polls observed a decline in public support for integration to 55 percent in March 2002. Simultaneously, a significant segment of anti-EU opinion began to emerge with the number of opponents increasing from only 6 percent in 1994 to 29 percent in 2002. Polish public opinion seems to have interpreted the conditionality inherent in the negotiations as a sign of an unequal relationship between Poland and the EU. For example, several surveys found that 60 percent of Poles (including 50 percent of those who supported Polish EU membership) believed that the country would be a second class member when it joined the EU, while only 30 percent thought that it would join with full membership rights.¹²³ Also, in the late nineties, as the government pressed the EU hard for an “accession date”, public support for an “as fast as possible” accession declined.¹²⁴

¹²³ CBOS, “Stosunek do Integracji Polski z Unią Europejską po Ogłoszeniu Nowego Stanowiska Negocjacyjnego” (The State of Polish integration with the European Union after the Announcement of the New Negotiation Positions), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, November 2002 and CBOS, “Opinie o Integracji z Unią Europejską”, (Opinion on the Integration in the European Union), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, February 2001

¹²⁴ CBOS, “Czy Warto Przystąpić do Unii Europejskiej – Plusy i Minusy Integracji” (Is it Worth to Accede to the European Union – Plus and Minus of Integration), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, October 1997

Taking opinion polls at face value, saliency of the European issue for Polish voters was, as for other European voters, relatively low. In July 2001 the survey conducted by the Pracownia Badań Społecznych (PBS) found that only 4 percent of respondents cited EU membership as one of the issues that would have the greatest impact in determining which party they would support, coming in seventh (last) place.¹²⁵ Similarly, a July 2001 Pentor survey found that, when asked which three election issues were important to them, only 7 percent chose EU membership.¹²⁶ However, despite the low salience attributed to the European issue by respondents in the opinion polls, some authors argue that the European issue was in the 2001 elections a proxy of other issues, and party European attitude has determined voters' sympathies towards right-wing parties.¹²⁷

Fourth phase: the end of the negotiations, the European Constitution and accession

Poland, together with the other candidate countries, completed accession negotiations at the Copenhagen Summit in December 2002 and the Accession Treaty was signed in Athens in April 2003. In May 2004, fifteen years after breaking free from communist rule, Poland became a full member of the EU. By this time, the EU was a different institution from the one to which it had applied a decade before. Poland had a taste of the decision-making process of the EU during 2002 and 2003, when it was asked to participate in the European Convention to prepare the Constitutional Treaty. In the midst of adverse popular opinion, the Polish government accepted a compromise that would unblock the deadlock in the signature of the European Constitution. This happened at the December 2003 EU Summit, when against the majority of the public opinion and all opposition parties, the Polish government

¹²⁵ "Liderzy nieważni", Rzeczpospolita. 20 July 2001.

¹²⁶ Mazur, B. "Partia niespodzianek." Wprost. 19 August 2001 and Zagrodzka, D. "Teraz albo wcale." Gazeta Wyborcza. 30 October 2001.

¹²⁷ Markowski, R. et. al. (2003), "The New Polish 'Right'", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Studies, 29(2): 1-23

accepted revision of the previously acquired voting rights at the Nice Intergovernmental Conference for a voting formula that took into account a double majority and appeared to leave Poland less in control over the legislative outcomes at the Council of Ministers. Nevertheless, the sense of loss of sovereignty seems to have been mitigated by the change of status of Poland after accession. Membership gave Poland a sense that it could exert influence, and not only obey the will of the European institutions. The membership of Poland in the EU altered fundamentally its status and eliminated the asymmetry between the two.

The accession to the EU, the discussions on the European Constitution, the referendum on accession and the elections for the European Parliament did not affect the level of public support for EU membership. Opinion polls showed this to remain stable at around 55-60 percent while the level of opposition was kept at around 25 percent.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ CBOS, "Opinie o Integracji w Przeddzień Rozszerzenia Unii Europejskiej", (Opinion on Integration in the Last Days Before the Enlargement of the European Union), CBOS Komunikat z Badań, May 2004

Christian democracy

Christian democratic parties are carriers of the idea that Christians, independently of their nationality, constitute the fundamental political community. The autonomy of confessional leaders from the church hierarchy was a necessary condition for Christian democratic parties' formation in the XIX century.¹²⁹ However, until World War II, Christian political action was mainly about defending the privileges of the church in response to attacks from socialists and liberals.¹³⁰

In the post war period, when Christian democracy replaced nationalist parties in several European countries, the process of autonomisation of Christian democrats from the respective churches took a further step when Christian democrats recognised that no specific political programme can be derived from the Christian faith. However, a tension remained between the parties' autonomy as political actors and the preservation of their confessional character.¹³¹ In order to solve this dilemma, Christian democrats redefined their confessional nature in a way that while embracing liberal democracy, they did not discard Catholicism but contested the Catholic Church's monopoly of religious interpretation. Therefore, Christian democrats' ethos is predominantly political: the definition of the political community based on the conception that a shared faith bounds political individuals across national borders. As a

¹²⁹ Kalyvas, S. (1996), op.cit.

¹³⁰ Becker, W. "The Emergence and Development of Christian Democratic Parties in Western Europe", in Lamberts, E. (ed), (1997), Christian Democracy in the European Union: Proceedings of the Leuven Colloquium 1995, Leuven: Leuven University Press, p.109; Hanley, D. (1994), "Introduction: Christian Democracy as a Political Phenomenon" in Hanley, D. (ed.), Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective, London: Pinter; Houska, J. (1985), Influencing Mass Political Behaviour: Elites and Political Subcultures in the Netherlands and Austria, Berkeley: Institute of International Studies; Kirchheimer, O. (1966), "The Catch-all Party" in LaPalombara, J. and Weiner, M. Political Parties and Political Development, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Wolinetz, S. (1979), "The Transformation of Western European Party Systems Revisited", West European Politics, 2(1): 4-28.

¹³¹ Kalyvas, S. (1996), op. cit., p.264.

consequence, Christian democracy is reluctant to treat the nation-state as the natural political unit.¹³²

Christian democrats' search for a middle way between liberalism and socialism is based on the conception that the family is the basic economic community. Christian democrats, although acknowledging the usefulness of the welfare state, do not conceive it as an instrument to alter the social order, on which families are based, but rather as a safety net for those excluded from it. Deriving from the tradition of Christian charity and Catholic social doctrine, Christian democrats propose creating transfers "aiming at ameliorating the sufferings resulting from market inequalities"¹³³ and not at replacing or changing the structural conditions of market competition. Therefore, the expansion of state transfers created by Christian democrats tends to reproduce the disparities stemming from positions in the labour market, rather than reducing them.

Liberalism

Liberal parties are a product of the Enlightenment, agents in the fight for democracy against the powers and privileges of the church and the monarchy, by reinforcing the rational elements of the state. Liberals' quintessential belief in the goodness of human nature elevates individuals to the fundamental political and economic community. Individuals should be free and capable of participating in political life and act freely in the market.¹³⁴ In its inception, liberal parties' goals were political. In its plight to reinforce the state against traditional institutions, liberal forces fought conservatives and other defenders of the status quo. Liberals were fundamentally based on its political ethos: the citizens associated in an autonomous,

¹³² Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, London: MacMillan Press, p. 25-7.

¹³³ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), "Social Democracy, Christian Democracy, Constitutional Structure and the Welfare State", American Journal of Sociology, 99(3): 73-111.

¹³⁴ Smith, G. (1988), op.cit.

self-organising civil society which counterbalances the powers of the state.¹³⁵ The fight for individual liberties overthrew monarchies and promoted the secularisation of the state. Since individuals are the basic unit of the state, there are no reasons to believe that individuals cannot or should not be associated across national borders, and the international environment is viewed by liberals as open to cooperation.¹³⁶ Liberals therefore conceive international relations as a continuation of national political life.

Once liberals' main political battles were won and civil liberties became increasingly taken for granted, liberals focused on the establishment of economic freedoms. Economic liberalism won the central place of liberal parties' ethos, more so since liberals were confronted with the rise of socialism. Socialism was not only an ideology that represented a threat to economic freedom, thus providing a platform against which to rally, but also represented the stiffening of electoral competition by imitating liberals' plea concerning the strengthening of state powers. As a consequence, liberal parties focused on defending the market as the main regulator of economic relations.

Conservatism

Conservatives' main goals have been the protection of traditional institutions against the winds of change. In the XIX century this implied the protection of respected institutions like the church, the monarchy and the elites that benefited from their power against the liberal drive to centralise and strengthen the state. Thinly organised, conservatives were allied in an ad-hoc fashion and held a pragmatic attitude to ideology and an aversion to mobilise through mass organisations. Among mainstream ideologies conservatism is the least consistent and

¹³⁵ Merkel, W. (2001), "Civil Society and Democratic Consolidation In East Central Europe", Ágh, A. and Pridham, G. Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.98.

the one that most strongly defies classification. Conservative parties remain exceptionally flexible in order to adapt to the changing circumstances of political competition resulting from rival parties defying their electoral space.

Although conservatives initially opposed liberal parties in both political and economic terms, in the early XX century changing conditions of political competition led conservatives to take over liberals' economic and political ethos. The end of the ideological antagonism between the two parties is a result of several factors. The attainment of conditions of economic freedom within European states, the secularisation of the state and the accomplishment of nation-building made conservatives' previous pleas anachronistic. Adapting to these new circumstances, conservatives ended up supporting the construction of democratic nation-states and the establishment of economic freedoms, a plea that went against the rising success of left-wing ideologies pleading for an increasingly interventionist role of the state in the economy and an internationalist view of the political order.¹³⁷ A broad definition of conservatism in contemporary Europe combines two principles: the nation as the basic political community and the individual as the fundamental economic unit.¹³⁸ The preferences of conservative constituencies, combining social conservatism and economic liberalism, insured the electoral success of such a formula.

Nationalism

The present typology redefines the category of right-wing extremism by classifying parties solely on the basis of a nationalist definition of the political community.¹³⁹ Von Beyme and Mudde consider that nationalism is not sufficient to determine a party's right-wing

¹³⁶ Skotnicka-Illaszewicz, E. and Wesolowski, W. (1995), "The Significance of Preconceptions: Europe of Civil Societies and Europe of Nationalities", in Periwal, S. (ed.) Notions of Nationalism, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 220.

¹³⁷ Smith, G. (1988), "Between Left and Right: the Ambiguity of Contemporary Liberalism", op. cit.

¹³⁸ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op.cit. p. 454.

¹³⁹ Beyme, K. (1985), Political Parties in Western Democracies, Aldershot: Gower.

extremism. Mudde asserts that although “the identified ideological core (of radical right parties) is clearly nationalist, not all nationalists can be considered right-wing extremists because they are not simultaneously xenophobic and stressing law and order.”¹⁴⁰ The present classification of nationalist parties considers that the nation, regarded as the basic political and economic community, is not only the ideological core of extreme right parties, but it is sufficient to describe these parties’ ethos. Nationalists’ central plank is the attainment and preservation of the nation’s political sovereignty.

The nationalist party family has been mobilised at two different times. During the XIX century nationalist movements fought against multi-national empires and the church to assert the right of nations to self-determination. Nationalists’ main plea is political; the establishment of the nation-state as a political entity and economic nationalism is of secondary relevance. The second period of nationalist parties’ mobilisation was well into the XX century. The second wave of nationalist parties used the nation as the central element of a critique of established elites. Contrary to the democratic nationalist movements of liberal origin, the second wave of nationalist parties rejected the system of decision-making developed during the process of democratisation. Nationalists use deeply felt convictions about the destiny of the nation as justification for the restoration of its unity and the quelling of civil liberties.

In countries where the process of nation-building has been traumatic and hazardous, like in Austria, Belgium or Poland, the legacies of conflicts over the nation-building process serve more easily as the basis for the creation of nationalist movements.¹⁴¹ Nationalists adopt the nation, normally interpreted in its ethnic version, as the natural unit of the state’s community and economy. The national economy is also conceived as a closed system that can be insulated from the international economy by protectionist policies. The corollary of

¹⁴⁰ Mudde, C. (2000), The Ideology of the Extreme Right, Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 180. Although Mudde admits that all parties are nationalists, he considers it not sufficient to describe the extreme right party family.

¹⁴¹ Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (1968), “Cleavage Structures, Party Systems, and Voter Alignments: An Introduction”, in Lipset, S. and Rokkan, S. (eds.), Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross National Perspectives, New York: Free Press, p. 25.

these two propositions is that states' external relations are dominated almost exclusively by the national interest. Nationalists' perceive the international sphere as an aggressive environment where the capacity for inter-state cooperation is very limited.¹⁴² National egoism gives rise to a hostile international environment where inter-state cooperation is impossible.

¹⁴² Skotnicka-Illasiewicz, E. and Wesolowski, W. (1995), "The Significance of Preconceptions: Europe of Civil Societies and Europe of Nationalities", in Periwal, S. (ed.), Notions of Nationalism, Budapest: Central European University Press, p. 218.

Classifying parties

1991-1997: The failed experiments of right-wing unification

The first Christian democratic attempts

The first Polish free parliamentary elections in 1991 were fought in the context of Solidarity's dissolution, caused by the "war at the top" waged by Lech Wałęsa and his associates. Marginalised from the first government, Wałęsa's group was determined to dismiss the governments' intellectual elite led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki and dissolve the Solidarity movement. They justified the drive for dissolving the Solidarity movement by the need to create a European-style party system where parties would be based on clear ideological profiles and not the amalgam of different orientations present in Solidarity. Wałęsa's sponsored group created a new party, the Centre Agreement (PC). Initially the PC drew its ethos from an amalgam of *Endek* and Polish romantic thinking, which attributed the source of political legitimacy to a spiritual and ethnic identity. *Endecja*, or *Renewal*, was the nationalist ideology spelled by Roman Dmowski in his major publication *Myśli Nowoczesnego Polaka* (Thoughts of a Modern Pole) and constituting the ideology of his political movement, the National Democracy. Dmowski opposed Polish romantic nationalism with a more combative ideology that equated Polishness and Catholicism. The PC's programmatic documents frequently referred to Roman Dmowski's assimilation between Catholicism and Polishness, on whose ideas it based a fierce anti-communism and the proclaimed moral superiority of the Polish nation.¹⁴³ However, the party's aspiration to "building in Poland a

strong centre as a factor of equality and political innovation”¹⁴⁴ lead the leadership to choose Christian democracy as the party’s central identity. Therefore, despite the extensive quoting of Dmowski’s ideology, Christian democracy remained the party’s dominant identity. The PC’s concept of political community was based on the Catholic faith: “the PC counts on the support of the part of the society that follows the Christian message and is ready to build the Republic accordingly”.¹⁴⁵ Although advocating a programme for social modernisation, the PC demanded this renewal to be conducted according to the Catholic precepts. “The Polish national interest requires a major work of national economic, organisational, and social modernisation. This modernisation should respect the moral values defended by Christianity constituting our identity. Without this change of system we will never bridge the civilisational gap between Europe and us. (...) The bases of every change in Poland must be the restoration of our moral system. (...) The role of the Catholic Church is of immense importance to the build up of our moral system, bitterly attacked by the left-wing post-communist environment.”¹⁴⁶

The contradictions between the Dmowski’s tradition and Christian democracy within the PC soon emerged. These took the form of a fight between the faction of Prime Minister Olszewski, which identified above all with the nation as the central conception of political community, and the Kaszynski brothers pledge for a Christian democratic centrist identity.¹⁴⁷ The PC’s Christian democratic identity also faced external problems in affirming its Christian democratic identity since the Catholic Church had given semi-official endorsement to the Christian National Union (ZChN). When the PC dissolved in the wake of the conflict provoked by the lustration law¹⁴⁸ proposed by the faction linked with Jan Olszewski, the PC’s vice-

¹⁴⁴ Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration Centre Agreement), Warsaw: May 1990.

¹⁴⁵ POC, Deklaracja Programowa, (POC Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1991.

¹⁴⁶ Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration of the Centre Agreement), Warsaw: May 1990.

¹⁴⁷ Walicki, A. (1994), Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism, Notre Dame; University of Notre Dame, p. 23.

¹⁴⁸ Lustration was the process of indentifying and barring from political life persons who had collaborated with the communist security services.

president noted that the party's failure was due not only to personal and ideological infighting but was also a consequence of the impossibility of pursuing its identity consistently.

The economic ethos of the PC

The PC saw the family as the basic economic community. Emulating the Catholic Church's social doctrine it declared that "our social policy is concentrated on the family as the central social unit."¹⁴⁹ The party promoted an economic policy aimed at supporting families and maintained that agricultural reform should be undertaken on the condition of keeping the family as the basic unit of agricultural exploitation. Similarly, the PC's social policy featured a pro-family approach. The main objective of the state's economic policies, following the party's Christian democratic aspirations, should be that of preventing the impoverishment of families in need.

The PC positioned itself on the economic left-right scale as a middle-of-the-road party proposing a friendly attitude to market liberalism and opting for a gradualist approach to reforms. Modernisation and external competitiveness were important considerations: "The current economic and social structure condemns Poland to backwardness and being unable to compete in Europe and the world. If we do not compete in Europe, we will have our sovereignty threatened, first economically, and then politically."¹⁵⁰

The PC programs excluded tax increases as a solution to the budget deficit and proposed favourable tax regimes for new enterprises and for fostering the competitiveness of Polish products in foreign markets. Economic development was served by a rational financial policy that excluded augmenting inflation and increasing the budget deficit. The programme

¹⁴⁹ Program Wyborczy Porozumienie Centrum-Zjednoczenie Polskie, (Electoral Program Polish Agreement – United Poland), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁵⁰ *idem.*

supported efforts for a faster privatisation.¹⁵¹ The PC was also a supporter of economic de-communisation and denounced the “nomenklatura” privatisation.

The liberal renaissance

The communist system was arguably the antithesis of liberal ideals, effectively suppressing both civil society and economic freedoms. The fight against communism provided the environment for liberalism to flourish. The Solidarity movement’s liberal faction, the dominant force within the first post-communist government, under attack from Wałęsa’s faction, formed a party of a pluralist character, the ROAD, later the Democratic Union (UD). The pluralism of the UD was justified as “a reflection of the history of Solidarity, a grouping of people with different beliefs and world views.”¹⁵² Liberal politicians promoted a neutral discourse on socio-cultural issues. “We value the common action of all social groups, all active citizens who promote tolerance, avoid violence and adhere to an ethos rooted in the Christian tradition. We hope that these values are shown clearly in our positions and actions.”¹⁵³ The party was composed of “people from different worldviews and religions”.¹⁵⁴ Therefore its leaders maintained that although “the state - its system of law – is part of a defined system of values, which in our culture is rooted in Christianity and human rights”,¹⁵⁵ it cannot be “taken over by any specific ideological group”.¹⁵⁶ This acceptance of people with

¹⁵¹ Deklaracja Porozumienia Centrum, (Declaration of PC), Warsaw: May 1990.

¹⁵² Author’s interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, first post-communist Prime Minister and Solidarity leader, July 2001.

¹⁵³ Deklaracja Założycielka ROAD, Biuletyn Informacyjny ROAD, (Founding Declaration ROAD, Stabilisation and Development), Warsaw: June 1990.

¹⁵⁴ idem

¹⁵⁵ Stabilizacja i Rozwój. Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej, Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁵⁶ Uchwała Programowa Unia Demokratyczna, (Programatic Resolution of the Union of Democracy), Warsaw: May 1991.

different political conceptions within the party as well as support for civil society organisations and local government was seen as liberalism in action.

The second element of the party's political ethos was concern for strengthening the state.¹⁵⁷ Mimicking early European liberals' efforts to strengthen the rational elements of the state against the power of traditional institutions, the UD's documents state that: "The essential reference of the UD is of a democratic state serving civil society. This fundamental idea synthesises the political thought of the UD and determines our political identity. The state, understood as a common haven for the citizens, should provide security and the feeling of being at home; however, we reject the understanding of the state as an absolute in the face of which everything else must be given up." This limited state "must protect the freedom of the citizens (...) without discriminating on grounds of gender, age, nationality or way of life".¹⁵⁸

The UD defined itself as a rational and anti-demagogic party. "We serve the voters that value balance and measure, the voters that understand that in public life reason should prevail over emotion."¹⁵⁹ This stance emerged in an environment they perceived as highly polarised by National Catholicism. Practicing Catholics, such as former Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, justified the creation of a liberal party (at the time the Democratic Union). "Some people accused me of not creating a Christian democratic party, but I believed in the foundation of a pluralist group reflecting the history of the opposition movement, a group with different beliefs and world views."¹⁶⁰

The UD's social and political liberalism was a novelty in Polish political history, since no liberal parties had existed either before or after the World War II, and no political group in exile had proclaimed liberalism as its ideology. The modern roots of Polish liberalism are found exclusively in the intellectual dissident groups that gave birth to Solidarity. Therefore,

¹⁵⁷ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

¹⁵⁸ Stabilizacja i Rozwój. Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej. Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993.

¹⁵⁹ Idem.

¹⁶⁰ Author's interview with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, first post-communist Prime Minister and Solidarity leader, July 2001.

although Polish liberalism emphasises individual rights, the Solidarity experience stressed the need for organising society against the state. The free association of individuals, i.e., civil society, became the key political concept of Solidarity activists. The “us against them”, “us” being society against “them” the communists, demanded a collective identity. An individualist ideology did not provide a sufficiently strong base to fight the communists. Solidarity between individuals, the key experience of dissidents under communism, strengthened the associative aspects of liberal ideology. Belief in the value of individuals was complemented by the collectivist spirit that dissident groups within Solidarity had to forge to fight communism. The idea of civil society was put in practice not only by creating a pluralist party that would reflect the heterogeneity of society, but also by supporting civil society organisations. Liberal parties from the early 1990s were therefore a repeat in post-communist Europe of the early liberal parties’ fight for the freedom of individuals against all oppressive institutions.

The economic ethos of the UD

The UD’s clear political ethos contrasts with its contradictory economic propositions. The UD was divided between strong liberal and socialist factions. The UD’s economic identity was initially closer to socialism than to liberalism. The small Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), created by Jan Krzyztof Bielecki, twice prime minister in the early post-Solidarity governments, occupied the niche of neo-liberalism. In its early years, conflicts between the UD’s social democratic, liberal and conservative wings made it difficult for the party to take concrete policy stands. The lack of clarity of the party’s economic identity was pointed out as the main reason for the party’s partial defeat in the 1991 elections, despite its lead in the opinion polls before the elections.

On the one hand the UD presented itself as a party of progress, liberal and reform-oriented. However, during the 1991 and the 1993 election campaigns it frequently referred to the need for a “new industrial policy” and more economic measures aimed at achieving a

higher social protection and proposed a series of micro-economic policies to alleviate the effects of shock therapy reforms.¹⁶¹ The party economic ethos attempted to combine social solidarity and liberalism. The party leaders consider that these two principles “kept together guarantee economic growth.”¹⁶² The UD’s leftist belief in the role of the state to provide equal life chances was openly displayed. “Thorough development of social security is a fundamental part of our programme. Health Services should be enlarged and remain state-owned.”¹⁶³

Nationalism: a widespread ideology

Two major nationalist parties competed in the right-wing camp, one representing the legacy of socialist nationalism of Josef Piłsudski – the KPN - and the other representing the Catholic nationalism of Roman Dmowski – the ZChN. In the 1993 elections, another party of nationalist character, the Movement for the Republic (RdR), emerged by secession from the PC. Although it only lasted for a number of years and remained outside parliament, it was important as the predecessor of the ROP, founded by Jan Olszewski in 1995.

The political ethos of the KPN

The Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) was the only party independent of communist rule established in 1979. Its leader, Leszek Moczulski, was a radical anti-communist and anti-Soviet that condemned the compromises that the Solidarity leadership had made with the communist regime at the Round Table. The KPN uncompromising attitude mimicked Piłsudski’s call for the Polish elite to actively pursue independence. For the KPN, the nation’s salvation is the affair of a few chosen individuals, with no need for religious

¹⁶¹ Uchwała Programowa Unia Demokratyczna, (Programmatic Decision of Democratic Union) Warsaw: May 1991.

¹⁶² Stabilizacja i Rozwój. Uchwała Programowa II Kongresu Krajowego Unii Demokratycznej. Broszura Wyborcza Unii Demokratycznej, (Stabilisation and Development, Programmatic Decision of the II National Congress of Democratic Union), Warsaw: 1993.

legitimisation. The KPN represented the most consistent of the radical independentist groups. Although the great majority of political groupings – led by Solidarity – recognised full independence as a goal, the KPN emphasised independence above all else. “Independence is the pre-condition for solving all major problems: only in an independent state can democracy be implemented and problems solved.”¹⁶⁴ The democratic transition was seen exclusively in terms of the chance to attain independence. “We are the generation of change in the long march of generations. The martyrdom of Poland in Yalta and under the Soviet Union is the basis for future action.” 1989 is seen as the historic moment “that cannot be wasted”.¹⁶⁵

The economic ethos of the KPN

The 1993 electoral programme of the KPN spelled out vague and populist economic proposals. The KPN demanded the abandon of privatisation, asked for higher levels of subsidies for agriculture, pensions and social security benefits and demanded that the right to work becomes statutory. The KPN also proposed an increase in salaries as a way to increase consumption and production, and consequently create employment as an anti-recession measure.¹⁶⁶ The KPN's uncompromising nationalism and messianic attitude made it the only right-wing party to remain outside the AWS. By withdrawing from the electoral coalition during the 1997 elections, the party faced total defeat and disappeared.

¹⁶³ Idem.

¹⁶⁴ Deklaracja Ideowa, Statut, Program Konfederacja Polskie Niepodległej, (Ideological Declaration, Program of the Confederation of Polish Independence), Warsaw: 1989.

¹⁶⁵ op.cit.

¹⁶⁶ Podstawowe Punkty Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego, Konfederacja Polskie Niepodległej, (Confederation of Independent Poland, Main Socio-Economic Programmatic Points), Warsaw: 1993.

The political ethos of the ZChN

The second party of the nationalist group, the Christian National Union (ZChN) combined national and religious elements. The ZChN was established by Wiesław Chrzanowski in October 1989 in an attempt to consolidate several Catholic and national groups in a broader right-wing party, attracting almost 20 religiously-inspired organisations. Although some activists were uneasy about this straightforward association, the party was directly influenced by Roman Dmowski's ideology and proudly stressed its links with the legacy of National Democracy.¹⁶⁷

The ZChN's ideology exemplified how the national tradition can overrule the religious universal values of Catholicism. In the tradition of Dmowski, the ZChN professed an integral nationalism so conceived, according to some analysts it "conflicts with individual liberalism and Christianity".¹⁶⁸ Dmowski, by declaring Catholicism as "embedded in the essence of Polishness", subordinated Christian universal ethics to nationalism. Polish Catholics' highest mission was the preservation and development of the nation. The Polish Catholic Church, at the time under the direction of Cardinal Glemp, supported semi-officially the ZChN.

The particular fusion of nationalism and Catholicism in ZChN ideology was based on the party's protection of the national version of Polish Catholicism. Modernising inputs, either in the secular sphere or in the Catholic Church, were rejected.¹⁶⁹ Condemnation of secularism was frequent in the ZChN's ideological declaration. The party rejected "the concept of an ideologically neutral state according to individualistic and liberal conceptions. Social structures should encourage society's observance of Catholic ethical principles."¹⁷⁰ Of the post-1989 mainstream parties, the ZChN was the most radical in the defence of a Christian

¹⁶⁷ In an interview with *Przegląd Wiadomości Agencyjnych* in December 1989 Antoni Macierewicz emphasized that the ZChN is not a continuation of National Democracy, but rather the inheritor of various non-leftist national and independence-oriented tendencies.

¹⁶⁸ Walicki, D. (2000), op.cit.

¹⁶⁹ Piłka, M. "Czy Kryzys Tożsamości?", (*Identity Crisis?*), *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland), 4 and 25 November 1989.

¹⁷⁰ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1989.

state. Publicists affiliated with the Union were wary of modern secular culture, rejecting both a capitalist and consumerist society as well as modernist trends in the Catholic Church. Marian Piłka, a well-known Catholic activist, observed that Catholicism was in danger of losing its universal character to leftist pseudo-universalism. According to such reasoning, the Catholic Church had granted excessive power to lay liberal groups to the disadvantage of the Church hierarchy's power. According to the publicist this had frequently prevented the Church from affirming its opinions in public fora. Instead, the Church should devote more care to Catholic doctrine, restoring its integral character and thus its ability to inspire culture.¹⁷¹

The ZChN's fundamental apology of a Christian state occupied almost entirely its ideological declaration. This reads that "the Catholic religion is the expression of truth which binds not only private matters but also public life".¹⁷² Its fusion of a conservative interpretation of the Catholic doctrine and nationalism lead the ZChN to draw a divide between true Poles and half-Poles through a definition of Polishness as moral purity. The ZChN's rhetoric also stressed the higher value of the Polish moral system: "The fundamentals of the new Poland should be the Christian values that have shaped the culture and identity of the Polish People for a thousand years."¹⁷³

The absence of any economic policy stances in the party's founding documents indicated the predominance of Catholic nationalism in the party's ethos. In the late nineties this lacuna would eventually be filled with the adoption of a liberal economic programme.

¹⁷¹ During a Conference entitled: "200 years of Barbarism: 1789-1989" organised by, among others, the ZChN activists, all of the presentations contained the notion that "The French revolution embodied the realisation of secular ideals foreign to the Christian civilisation. These ideals can lead from the philosophy of equality to the philosophy of totalitarianism." *Młoda Polska*, (Young Poland), 25 November 1989.

¹⁷² *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland), 11 December 1989.

¹⁷³ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: 1989.

The European attitudes of right-wing parties between 1991 and 1997

The early days of transition were characterised by widespread support for European integration. Europe was in practice a synonym to liberal market economy and democracy. Membership of the European Union promised the arrival of large sums of investment capital and the opening of Western markets to Polish products, together with political integration and incorporation into the Western security system. However, the gap between the expectations of the elite and the reality of the negotiations of the Europe Agreements in 1991 opened the way for a variety of party responses. The symbolic nature of Europe made an open critique of the European Community (EC) sound anti-democratic, so parties used caution in their critique of European integration.

In 1991 the Centre Alliance (PC) portrayed Polish integration into the EEC as a matter of *raison d'état*. The PC claimed to support European integration based on Christian democratic values. The PC elites accused "the diplomatic activity of the Citizens Club", i.e., the liberal wing of Solidarity for it was "dominated by left-wing leaders". The party's Christian democratic and centrist aspirations still reflected a positive appraisal of European integration. However, when the PC disintegrated, the faction linked to Premier Olszewski created a party, the KdR, that opposed integration more openly. The identity conflict in the PC prevented the party to find a consensus on the definition of the political community. Such failure was later repeated within the AWS, showing that the contradictions between nationalism and Christian democracy were a structural impediment of an Europhile stance.

The UD distinguished its Hard Europhilism from those of its opponents - Christian democrats and nationalists. In 1990 Adam Michnick enunciated two sorts of anti-communist forces - those who are "liberal, pluralistic, and European"; and the others (...) "who are xenophobic, authoritarian, turned towards the past and towards restoring the life of the past".¹⁷⁴ The Hard Europhilism of the UD was a key element of its liberalism. Since the days

¹⁷⁴ Michnik, A. (1990) "The Two Faces of Europe", New York Review of Books, 37(12).

of Solidarity the liberal elite took up the mission of integrating Poland in the EU. Solidarity's 1989 electoral programme stated: "This election should be a return. It should come the time when Poland becomes a country where everyone is at home. The time when Poland should return to Europe. The road to prosperity and independence is a slow and distant one, but the economy and justice will be protected in the Sejm and the Senate and then we will be able to say – we chose that road."¹⁷⁵

The "road back to Europe" constituted the first expression of political liberalism in Poland. Freedom for Poland and the post-Soviet states, translated into the immediate recognition of Lithuanian and Byelorussian independence in 1991, despite the fact that Red Army troops were still stationed in those countries. Contrary to the tradition of international politics during the Polish inter-war republic, respect for the 1945 borders was pledged. This position was far from certain from the government of a country that had just *de facto* attained sovereignty and where the mainstream thinking before the fall of communism was that, when communism would collapse, Poland should recover the territories in the East lost in Yalta, including Vilnius and Lwów. Although respecting the 1945 borders was made easier by the fact that all the neighbouring Polish states had disappeared - Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and the Democratic Republic of Germany – the decision to accept the 1945 borders remained a remarkable choice of the first liberal post-communist government.

The KLD's Hard Europhilism, anchored in economic ideas of liberalism, justified the pro-Western choice taken in the early nineties mainly in economic terms. "In 1989 we were in a horrible situation because of the heavy debts faced by the Polish economy. We had no choice but to leapfrog, since the Polish economy was on the verge of collapse. So we had to move very quickly. The commitment to liberal economic reforms was intrinsically linked to the symbolic "return to Europe". That was why in the beginning we tried to discuss immediate trade agreements with the EC (...) because the Polish market was especially open and exposed to external competition. This openness of the economy made politics and economics

¹⁷⁵ "Obywatele Rzeczypospolitej! Przyjaciele Solidarnosci!", Ulotka Wyborcza, ("Citizens of the Republic! Friends of

completely mixed. On a daily basis the symbolism of the return to Europe was connected with economic conditions. There was no possibility of running a protectionist policy from the outset.”¹⁷⁶

When the expectations held by the political elite regarding European integration were first disappointed by the protectionism of the Europe Agreements, the nationalist parties were the first to doubt that national interests were being served by integration. In these early days, the symbolic clout of Europe resulted in parties expressing Euroscepticism in conditional terms. The ZChN was the first and at the same time the only party to become critical of the terms of the Europe Agreements in 1992. “The EU is egoistic since it did not help Poland to overcome the economic crisis by opening trade in the most important areas for the Polish products.”¹⁷⁷ The ZChN also pointed out the Europe Agreements’ negative consequences for the Polish economy, especially in the agricultural sector. The ZChN Soft Euroscepticism reflects its economic and political nationalism. “In the foreign policy domain Polish politics must have an independent character. We must ensure that our international economic relations have a character of partnership. Poland must protect the interests of its producers and its market. We should correct the current disproportion in our balance of trade with the EEC.”¹⁷⁸ “The Polish position regarding the EU should restrict our loss of sovereignty. European integration should not mean replacing the Polish state with a unified and strongly bureaucratized state system of United Europe.”¹⁷⁹

In 1993 the leader of the recently formed KdR, Jan Olszewski, demanded the renegotiation of the Europe Agreements, assuming an uncompromising tone when calling for the protection of national economic interests from the EU, in particular concerning the internal

Solidarity!”, Electoral Manifesto), Warsaw: June 1989.

¹⁷⁶ Author’s interview with Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, leader of the KLD and former Polish Prime Minister, October 2000.

¹⁷⁷ Program Wyborczy Zjednoczenia Chrzescijansko-Narodowego, (Electoral Program of the Christian National Union), 1993, p.46.

agricultural market.¹⁸⁰ The KdR was equally critical of the dictates of international organizations, and called for a “Europe of the Nations”. The Euroscepticism of the ZChN, the KPN and the KdR shows that despite the symbolic clout of “Europe” in post-communist politics, already in the early nineties nationalism was a sufficient condition for a Hard Euroscepticism.

The unification of the right between 1997 and 2001

While the 1991 elections gave parliamentary representation to a high number of right-wing political groups, the 1993 elections were a disastrous defeat for the right. The 1993-97 parliament was highly unrepresentative with 34 percent of votes wasted and an extremely high deviation from proportionality creating an artificial situation of empty political space. This situation provoked a total re-alignment of parties’ between 1993 and 1997 resulting in the temporary unification of the right around three party types: Christian democrats, liberals and nationalists.¹⁸¹ Although party organisations often dissolved, their leaders reproduced their ethos in new ones by regrouping or fusing with other parties.

The AWS: Christian democracy’s last words

The winner of the 1997 elections, the Electoral Action Solidarity (AWS), was a fusion of more than 30 political groupings organised by the Solidarity Trade Union (NSZZ). The AWS attempted to rescue the Christian democratic identity by drawing on the Trade Union’s Christian democratic economic and political ideology. The AWS, and in particular the party to be born out of it, the AWS Social Movement, was the most ambitious attempt to establish

¹⁷⁹ idem.

¹⁸⁰ Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały Wyborcze, (Coalition for the Republic, Electoral Material), Warsaw: June 1993.

Christian democracy in Poland. Therefore, the AWS's failure to surpass the 5 percent threshold in the 2001 parliamentary elections and its subsequent dissolution was a heavy blow on the chances to establish Christian democracy in Europe.

Despite the attempts of its leadership after the successful elections of October 1997 the AWS never became a unified political party. In strategic terms the maintenance of a unified centre-right party appeared necessary for defeating the SLD. With the Trade Union as its most powerful constituent, the AWS managed to become a rallying point for the right-wing electorate although the coalition was short of an absolute majority. Agreeing on a common political identity proved a more difficult enterprise for the right-wing. The different parties constituting the AWS remained oblivious of constructing a common definition of a political identity for this implied giving up the constituent parties "ideological purity".¹⁸²

During the coalition talks in the autumn of 1997 the AWS leaders' choice of partners indicated the willingness to build a centrist formation, both in strategic and ideological terms. Although the liberal UW was reluctantly accepted as a coalition partner by the nationalist members of the AWS, its choice appeared a good omen for the formation of a centrist Christian democratic party. By choosing the UW rather than the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) as its coalition partner, the AWS leadership reinforced such profile.¹⁸³ In the first year of government, the AWS also attempted to consolidate this choice with a symbolic alliance with the pre-war Christian democratic party, the Labour Party (SP). The declaration of understanding between the two parties was, however, an illustration of the obstacles Christian democracy faced in its attempts to transcend the traditional vision linking Polish nationalism with Catholicism. "We, the representatives of Christian democracy – the Labour Party, the AWS and the PC, political groups professing and accomplishing the independence of Poland

¹⁸¹ For a description of the coalition negotiations between 1993 and 1996 see Kaminski, M. (2001), "Coalitional Stability of Multi-Party Systems: Evidence from Poland", *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(2): 294-449.

¹⁸² Millard, F. and Lewis, P. (2001), "The Development of Institutions in Post-Communist Poland", in Ágh, A. and Pridham, G. *Prospects for Democratic Consolidation in East-Central Europe*, Manchester University Press: Manchester.

¹⁸³ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

and the patriotic ideals of Christian democracy, inheritors or pursuers of the ideological and political inter-war Christian democratic movement – *recognise the fundamental heritage of Poland and the Nation.*¹⁸⁴

This declaration illustrates the difficulty of the Polish right-wing to overcome Roman Dmowski's conceptions of National Catholicism even when it spells Christian democracy as the party's political ethos. Polish Christian democracy was therefore overtaken by the nationalist heritage. The party's stances on social issues follow Catholic Church doctrine. The AWS's position on abortion revealed the belief in God-given Natural Law as the "right to life of each human being from conception to natural death".¹⁸⁵

In 1998 the ZChN showed its willingness to build a centrist consensus by expelling from the AWS parliamentary club extremist nationalist elements linked with Jan Łopuszanski. Łopuszanski then created its own parliamentary club, the Polish Agreement (PP). The restraint showed by the ZChN was, however, not followed by other nationalist parties, and their confrontational behaviour made the prime minister, Jerzy Buzek, a negotiator between, on the one hand, the different parties of the AWS and, on the other, the AWS coalition partner, the UW.

The economic ethos of the AWS

The 1997 electoral platform of the AWS was mainly based on the economic programme of the Solidarity Trade Union (NSZZ). The NSZZ maintained the family as the basic economic

¹⁸⁴ PC-AWS Chrześcijańska Demokracja-Stronnictwo Pracy "Umowa Polityczna w Sprawie Zjednoczenia Polskiej Chrześcijańskiej Demokracji" (Political Agreement on the Unity of Polish Christian Democracy), 24 May 1998. The Labor Party (SP) was the only party of Christian inspiration which truly professed to follow Catholic Social teaching as well as connections to the Christian Democratic International, while explicitly opposing Liberal economic policies and attributing to the state the role of guaranteeing a minimum safety net.

¹⁸⁵ Programowe Wystąpienie na Konwencji Wyborczej AWS Mariana Krzaklewskiego. Bezpieczna. Przyszłość. Rodzina na Swoim. (Program of Marian Krzaklewski, Security, Future, Your Family, Submitted to the AWS Electoral Convention), 2000.

community, which created conflicts with its European unionist counterparts stressing class as the fundamental economic concept.¹⁸⁶ “The family is the basis of the society, where each human being is educated and develops. We will foster the economy of the family with pro-family taxes and benefits.”¹⁸⁷

Because it was an amalgam of political parties and lacked an overarching identity, the AWS frequently found it difficult to maintain a coherent set of economic positions. It embraced a mixture of protectionist and liberal measures, reflecting the variety of interests and world views present in the electoral coalition.¹⁸⁸ The AWS defended the limitation of the state’s role as a redistributive entity by privatising pension funds, decreasing subsidies for industry and diminishing corporate taxes. However, as other Christian democratic parties in Western Europe, the AWS defended that the reform of the health system should guarantee a high level of protection and supported strong public financial backing for the agricultural sector.¹⁸⁹ Its positions regarding reform of the labour code followed unionist values in its fundamental defence of workers rights.

The creation of the ZChN’s economic ethos

After it joined the AWS, the ZChN added an economic liberal ethos to the ZChN’s a previously exclusively national Catholic. This transformation came about after the party lost parliamentary representation in 1993 and faced the unification of the right-wing in three blocks. The party’s economic programme urged the state to create a pro-entrepreneurial economic environment by increasing benefits to enterprises, ensuring low interest rates for

¹⁸⁶ Meardi, G. (2002), “The Trojan Horse for the Americanisation of Europe? Polish Industrial Relations Towards the EU”, *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 8(1): 77-100.

¹⁸⁷ *Program Akcji Wyborczej Solidarność*, (Program of AWS), Warsaw: May 1997.

¹⁸⁸ Graniszewski, L. “Akcja Wyborcza Solidarność - Sojusz Prawicy Demokratycznej”, (AWS-SLD) in Geberthener, S. (red.), *Wybory '97. Partie i Programy Wyborcze*, Elipsa: Warsaw, p.82.

¹⁸⁹ *AWS Program Wyborczy* (AWS 1997 Election Program), Warsaw: April 1997.

investors, low pensions and low taxes.¹⁹⁰ The addition of an economic ethos to the party's nationalist identity was an attempt to moderate the predominance of the nation as the party's identifying ethos with the principle of individual sovereignty in the economic sphere. Thus, by combining moderate political nationalism and economic liberalism the ZChN resembled more seriously a conservative party. However, the move from nationalism to a conservative identity remained a very problematic process, for strong factions within the party opposed it. Although at the end of the AWS term the ZChN's profile was far from the extreme clerical nationalism of the early nineties, the party's transformation was limited by its ethos, and the economic elements never replaced the nationalist ethos as the party's core identity.

The remake of the liberal project within the UW

In preparation for the 1997 elections the liberal camp underwent widespread ideological and organisational restructuring. While in the early nineties the predecessor of the Freedom Union, the UD, embodied the notion of civil society, when the restructuring of the party scene took place in the mid-nineties, economic liberalism became its fundamental identifying element. This ideological transformation was far from peaceful and the latent conflict that it provoked would eventually split the party in 2001.¹⁹¹ Created in 1995 from the unification of the UD and the KLD, the Freedom Union (UW) had its economic and liberal wing strongly reinforced; this put the liberal intellectuals in a relatively weaker position within the party.¹⁹²

The liberals' decision not to join the AWS was ideologically motivated as the UD leaders disagreed both with the economic protectionism and the social conservatism of the emerging AWS.¹⁹³ The party therefore attempted to define itself mainly through economic liberalism,

¹⁹⁰ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN 's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: May 2000.

¹⁹¹ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

¹⁹² Kopczynski, M. (2000), "The Formation of the Post-Solidarity Political Parties. The Case of the Freedom Union", in Kubiak, H. and Wiatr, J.J. Between Animosity and Utility. Political Parties and Their Matrix, Warsaw: Scholar, p. 128.

¹⁹³ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

and elaborated a programme focusing on furthering the marketisation of the Polish economy. By electing Leszek Balcerowicz, the politician that most clearly embodied economic liberalism, as party leader, the party signalled its new economic liberal profile. As a result that the political issues such as state-church relations, the interventionism of the state on social and cultural issues, which had been at the core of the UD's policies, became secondary.¹⁹⁴

In the period leading up to the 2001 parliamentary elections, the party was to suffer from a severe internal conflict between the followers of Balcerowicz and economic liberalism, and the UD's former elite composed of old time dissidents defending conceptions of political liberalism.¹⁹⁵ The first group was accused of transforming the UW into a pure party of power, while the political liberals were accused of a extreme and unpopular left-wing libertarianism. The conflict also concerned divergent political conceptions: the economic liberals tended to support authoritarian social attitudes and wished for a party with a conservative profile, while the former UD's intellectual political elite was strongly attached to the idea of a plural civil society. In June 2000, in the midst of this conflict, the party pulled out of government and failed to put forward a candidate for the October 2000 presidential elections.

Nationalism: a replacement

While during the 1993-1997 parliamentary session the nationalist space was occupied by the KPN, a party in the Piłsudkist tradition of anti-clerical nationalism, the failure of this party to integrate any of the coalitions emerging prior to the 1997 elections and its subsequent implosion before the 1997 election left empty such as space. The Mouvement for the Reconstruction of the Republic (ROP) appeared to be the party to fill that space. The ROP was created in the aftermath of the first round of the presidential election in 1995, after a relatively successful electoral performance of Jan Olszewski. The ROP succeeded the

¹⁹⁴ Deklaracja Założycielka Unia Wolności, (Founding Congress Documents), Warsaw: 1995.

¹⁹⁵ Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

Movement for the Republic (RdR), the party created by Jan Olszewski after it split from the PC in 1993. In the RdR's ideological declaration, Olszewski applied nationalist principles to the economic sphere and defended protectionist policies that argued for imposing limitations on foreign trade and foreign direct investment. In socio-economic terms the party took vague stances, generally attributing a strong role for the state in the economy to regulate the labour market. Although advocating a formal separation between church and state, the party argued for a strong role for the Catholic church in politics and society.

Serving as an alternative rallying point to the AWS, the ROP attracted to its ranks nationalist and religious personalities. The ROP's ideological declaration gave an absolutely central role to the nation in its identity.¹⁹⁶ To convey the image of a patriotic Catholic party, religious symbolism was repeatedly used, and rhetoric distinguished between the true patriots and the elites (mainly the UW and the SLD) who were portrayed as anti-independentist.¹⁹⁷ The ROP received around 10 percent of the votes in the 1997 parliamentary elections, which was considered a success.

During the campaign on the 1997 Constitutional referendum the ROP strongly campaigned against the amendments 90 and 91, arguing that they "threaten Polish sovereignty." The New Constitution was regarded as "anti-Christian, because it allows the creation of religious sects and limits citizens' rights. It is an act of anti-independentist, anti-Christian forces in the Polish parliament."¹⁹⁸ The ROP's nationalism resulted in a strong social authoritarian position. Jan Olszewski insisted in defining those lifestyles that were acceptable by the nation and rejected the existence of different minorities, not only of ethnic but also of religious and sexual orientation.

¹⁹⁶ Umowa z Polska, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: 1996.

¹⁹⁷ Karta Niepodległości, (Charter for Independence), Warsaw: November 1996.

¹⁹⁸ Jakucki, P. (1997), Kampania Kłamstwa, (Campaign of Lies), Nasza Polska, 1995.

The ROP's nationalist economic ethos

The main theme of the ROP's founding declaration, the *Agreement with Poland*, is a plea for state control over the national economy.¹⁹⁹ The ROP argued that unemployment should be tackled through the creation of public jobs and pension funds guaranteed by the state, supported housing for young couples and a pro-family tax system. Social policies were also justified in nationalist terms: "A nation where a third of the population lives under the poverty level will not be able to behave independently."²⁰⁰ The ROP called for the establishment of a new system of health insurance, a position that was close to that of the Solidarity Trade Union. The approach to agricultural reform was conservative in that it defended the primacy of the family farms.

The European attitude of right-wing parties between 1997-2001

The AWS's stance towards European integration reflected the pact forged by the leaders of the different parties composing the electoral coalition, a formulation that attempted to find a minimum common denominator between the different partners. The alliance of such diverse political orientations resulted in often contradictory programmatic propositions in the economic sphere. The AWS's Europhilism was initially based on strictly political appreciation of integration. The AWS's position on Europe reinforced the party's Christian cosmopolitan pledge while reflecting classic Polish nationalist conceptions. In a parallel metaphor of Mickiewicz's portrayal of Poland as the Christ of nations, the AWS reserved for Poland the role of missionary in a "Europe that is losing its roots".²⁰¹ Poland's integration in the EU had the objective of bringing Europe back to its Christian values. "We cherish our thousand-year

¹⁹⁹ Umowa z Polska, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

²⁰⁰ Umowa z Polska, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

²⁰¹ AWS Program Wyborczy 1997, April 1997.

history. These traditional values are what we need, first of all in the whole Europe, and then in the entire world."²⁰²

Despite the party's vocal Europhilism, the presence of nationalists in the coalition made the government's management of the accession process rather unsuccessful. As accession negotiations progressed, the government's commitment to European accession was to be tested on the transposition of European legislation to the Polish legal system. Not only was the government strongly criticised for its inefficiency but the AWS would disintegrate along the lines of support and opposition to European integration, showing that the European issue was by then the hallmark of ideological disagreement within the Polish right-wing.²⁰³ The AWS experiment showed both the impossibility of changing nationalists' opposition to European integration and its heightened divisiveness in the context of Europeanization.

During the early days of the AWS government, Christian democrats and moderate conservatives within the AWS tried to convince some of its most reluctant members of the goodness of European Integration. An example of such tactics was the appointment of one of the Eurosceptic politicians of the ZChN, Rychard Czarnecki, to head the European Integration Committee (KIE), the governmental body dealing with the issues of accession to the EU. At the time it was thought that the inclusion of an activist from the ZChN in the technical aspects of European integration would make the party's allegiance to the EU stronger.

Just after the ZChN leader Ryszard Czarnecki was appointed to the Committee for European integration (KIE) chair in late 1997, the UW's leaders started contesting his leadership on the grounds of his anti-European rhetoric. The KIE's leadership dysfunctional behaviour led the prime minister to preside over the Committee, despite Czarnecki being

²⁰² M. Krzaklewski, "21 Points into XXI Century", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 10 September 1997, pp.22.

²⁰³ Skotnicka-Illaszewicz data on parliamentarians' attitude towards European Integration that shows the different attitudes of parties within the AWS and how this coincides with the fissures that emerged: between the centre right SKL and the ZChN and the PPChD, E. Skotnicka-Illaszewicz, 'Integracja Europejska Jako Oś Podziału Sceny Politycznej' in W. Wesołowski and B. Post, *Polityka i Sejm: Formowanie Siej Elity Polityczne: Praca Zbiorowa* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe 1998).

formally the KIE's chair.²⁰⁴ The conflict between the liberals and Christian nationalists over the KIE's leadership did not end with Czarnecki's resignation in June 1998. For two years the appointment of a permanent chair to KIE was impeded by the UW's insistence on its right to propose a candidate for the KIE secretary and the Christian National Union's opposition to the idea.

In parliament an efficient transposition of legislation was also encumbered by nationalist members of the coalition who opposed the process. In order to make the process more efficient, the AWS expelled one of its most vocal nationalists, Jan Łopuszanski, from its parliamentary caucus. Although the party was eager to remain in power and influence the process of accession, the ZChN claimed that European integration was acceptable "under the condition that political integration does not go further and only economic integration is strengthened".²⁰⁵ To overcome the animosity between nationalism and European integration, ZChN's founder and ideologue Wiesław Chrzanowski attempted to reformulate the relationship between the national movement and the transfer of political power to a supranational authority. "The national movement (...) has a new look and sees an historical chance for Poland. This is first of all to unite Europe. Protest against unification is sterile. (...) The only question is: which Europe? The task of the national group is to look for partners with similar outlooks in different countries and fight for a Europe of the Fatherlands, not of the regions. (...) a Europe respectful of the peculiarities of the national cultures, not a supranational bureaucracy."²⁰⁶

The consensus attained within the AWS concerning integration in 1997 was both shallow and dependent on the maintenance of the equilibrium of forces existing at the time of the elections. When Marian Krzaklewski was no longer autonomous from extreme nationalist

²⁰⁴ Author's interview with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, July 2000.

²⁰⁵ Author's interview with Mariusz Daca, UKIE's official in charge of relations with the Polish Sejm for issues of the Law harmonization, July 2002.

²⁰⁶ Interview with Chrzanowski, W. "Przyszłość Lud do Narodu", *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 14 April 2001

parties, the Europhile stance of the party, and the party itself, was in danger. The fragility of Polish right-wing thus appears related to the impossibility of dissociating Catholicism and nationalism. The relationship of the Polish Catholic Church to nationalism, especially after the election of Karol Wojtila as Pope John Paul II in 1978, made the formulation of support for supranational integration for Catholic-inspired politicians in the short-run more improbable. Nevertheless, had the centripetal forces within the party prevailed, a Europhile Christian democratic party could have been a possible outcome.

Despite the attempt of parties like the ZChN to make nationalism compatible with European integration, the AWS's Hard Europhilism fell victim to the infighting between parties. The difference between Marian Krzaklewski's address in the Sejm in August 1999 and his inaugural speech of Presidential campaign in October 2000 is subtle but significant. In August 1999 Krzaklewski speaks in name of the AWS parliamentary club as a party unifier, in 2000 his speech is that of a polarising nationalist. In the Sejm Marian Krzaklewski pronounced that: "Poland wants to be a member of the EU not because Brussels wants it, not because of the desire of some lobby. We want to be part of the Union because that fits our national interest, because thanks to that we will protect effectively our national interest." Krzaklewski's Soft Europhilism assumes that European integration is *a priori* compatible with the Polish national interest. "The AWS shares a vision of the EU as an economic and political union of national peoples that shares its internal questions according to our tradition and identity."²⁰⁷ In this speech Krzaklewski stresses that the AWS's vision of integration is the result of a debate between the different orientations of the party. However, in August 2000, speaking as a presidential candidate, Krzaklewski is more sceptical of the compatibility of European integration with the national interest.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ Marian Krzaklewski's speech to the Sejm, Stenographia Wydawnictwa, 8 September 1999.

²⁰⁸ Marian Krzaklewski quoted in Gazeta Wyborcza, 11 July 2000.

The UW's shift to economic liberalism as its identifying value resulted in a conditional Europhilism. While in the early nineties the UD had Hard Europhilism speak for its internal and external commitment to civil society, after 1997 some factions showed a veiled scepticism regarding EU's regulatory framework. Sporadically the EU was negatively portrayed as imposing too much bureaucratic constraints on the Polish and European markets. Although the overall evaluation of integration was still positive, the economic liberals made clear that this support was conditional on the maintenance of an overall balance between the promotion of free market and market regulation. Therefore, taking market liberalism as the identifying value resulted in a conditional approach to integration.

The Eurosceptic faction in the 1997-2001 parliament was initially confined to ROP, but was later joined by the Hard Eurosceptic splinter of the ZChN lead by Jan Łopuszanski, the Polish Agreement. The Euroscepticism of Jan Olszewski included an ingrained opposition to the economic and political integration of Poland into Europe. The ROP invented the term Eurorealism, which although apparently aimed to objectively assess European integration, effectively meant opposition to the project. A "realist" assessment of integration by ROP judged European integration incompatible with the Polish national interest.²⁰⁹

In its founding declaration, "Agreement with Poland", the ROP demanded that integration takes place only if defined as a partnership project, and advocated tough conditions on the Polish accession, especially in agricultural terms.²¹⁰ This attitude appears as most significant as it was formulated in 1996 when 80 percent of the population supported Poland's accession to the EU.²¹¹ The ROP eventually rejected integration and assumed that the EU essentially threatened Polish sovereignty. The stressing of economic sovereignty in the ROP's discourse disguised a politically motivated antagonism to a project that goes against the conception of state control over its destiny.

²⁰⁹ Umowa z Polska, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

²¹⁰ Założenia Programowe Społeczno-Gospodarcze Odbudowy Kraju (Socio-Economic Program for the Reconstruction of the Country), Warsaw: April 1997.

²¹¹ RFE/RL Newswire, 6 August 1996.

Jan Łopuszanski's Agreement with Poland (PP) was the first parliamentary party to openly oppose European integration. Jan Łopuszanski ran his presidential campaign in the autumn of 2000 solely on the European issue, and he argued that his opposition to integration was meant to avoid "the future spill of blood".²¹²

2001 Elections

As factional infighting based on the lack of a unified identity made the AWS common future unsustainable, individual parties and factions started arrangements to compete in the 2001 parliamentary elections in new and ideologically more coherent formations. The leadership conflict within the UW resulted in the splitting of a neo-liberal faction. The amalgam of conservative, liberal, Christian democrat and nationalist-minded factions composing the UD, the PC, and the AWS were disentangled with the disintegration of the coalitions and the new parties strived for more ideological coherence.

Two brands of conservatism

The failure to create a centre-right party around a Christian democratic identity provided the space for the creation of two conservative parties. While the Citizens' Platform (PO) has concentrated its appeal on economic liberalism, the Law and Justice (PiS) emphasizes political nationalism and engages on the constitution of a traditionalist authoritarian platform based on the conception of the nation as the fundamental political unit.

²¹² Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Jana Łopuszanskiego. Wybieram Niepodległa Polskę, (Electoral Program of the Candidate to the Polish Presidency, Jan Lopuszanski, We Choose an Independent Poland), 23 July 2000, Warsaw: 2000.

The political ethos of the PO

The Citizens' Platform (PO), a joint initiative of conservative and liberal politicians of independent forces, the SKL ²¹³ and the UW is an attempt to create a right-wing movement that rejects the experience of the AWS and avoids "being too broad in the representation of interests, trying to focus on some promises rather than attempting to fulfil too many." However, of the two models of right-wing formations in Europe, "the example of unified formation in Germany and Britain is preferred to the Italian and the French."²¹⁴ These two apparently contradictory pledges, one for a narrow interest representation and the second for a broad and unified right-wing party are in fact a disguised attack on the inclusion of the Solidarity trade union in the AWS and a pledge for a classic neo-liberal conservative party.

The PO has a political programme modelled on the Scandinavian conservative parties. Based on a liberal economic ethos, the party made the de-bureaucratisation of economy, through the thinning down of the state, its central pledge. Although the PO initially attracted liberal politicians that were at odds with the party's socially conservative profile and its early manifestoes announced a commitment to civil society -translated in propositions of new mechanisms of direct control of politics by the citizens, the party's primary commitment was to economic liberalism. ²¹⁵ The choice of economic issues as the central party identity disappointed those among its ranks that hoped for a more traditional conservative party.

²¹³The Conservative Popular Party (SKL), created in 1997, as a grouping of minor conservative parties, like the Conservative Party and the Party of Popular Christians, and some splinters of the UW. The SKL, although a small party within the AWS, was ideologically and organisationally the most consistent conservative party formation and an important player in the formation of the right wing.

²¹⁴ Hall, A. Wasted Chance, Rzeczpospolita, 2 January 2001.

²¹⁵ Program, 2001 Rok, (Program, Year 2001), Warsaw: 2001.

The economic ethos of the PO

The PO is the inheritor of the KLD's fundamental belief in the market, and economic neo-liberalism is the identifying ethos of the party. The PO defended a flat income tax rate of 15 percent for which Leszek Balcerowicz had fought for in 1999 as Finance Minister. As a measure to create a favourable entrepreneurial environment, especially for the small and medium-sized enterprises, it supported the Labour Code's liberalisation. In terms of social policy it supported the annihilation of the recently formed Health Agencies and its replacement with a regulatory package of basic services guaranteed by the state. The PO's electoral platform views social aid as a way to create a safety net for the poor. In order to increase the control of public finances the party backs the independence of Central Bank to dictate monetary policy. The party's policy proposal for agricultural reform considers that agriculture should be governed through the same principles of other economic sectors. In the social-cultural sphere the party asserted a conservative position by opposing the liberalisation of abortion and drugs consumption and defending pro-family policies.²¹⁶

The political ethos of the PiS

The Law and Justice (PiS) started as a "taxi party" for the Kaszynski brothers, building on the reputation of Lech Kaszynski as Justice Minister in the AWS government. Kaszynski, who was never a member of the AWS, reacted to the disintegration of the electoral coalition by calling to those that were "clean" to join him and form a new party. This call was heard by several politicians of the ZChN and therefore the PiS has a wing of Catholic nationalists, such as Artur Zawisza and Marek Jurek. The party programme starts by declaring: "Poland is in a state of crisis. For many years several sectors suffer from lack of state control; the state is

²¹⁶ Program, 2001 Rok, (Program, Year 2001), Warsaw: 2001.

dysfunctional and corrupt and the economic system suffers from a dangerous pathology.”²¹⁷

The party contrasts the terrible situation of the state with the “unusual dynamism of the Polish nation”, which deserves to be supported and be made use of. “The tempo of our march was too slow, matching neither our needs, nor our possibilities.”²¹⁸

The PiS’s foundational declaration defines the nation as the basic political unit. However, the party’s nationalism appears more relative than that of the Catholic nationalists. Early party documents use the dichotomy between the nation and the state: the state is portrayed as betraying the potential of the nation, a discourse common to other conservatives that use nationalism to defend the rights of individuals against the state. Also, although the PiS still alludes to anti-communism, the rhetoric was much softer and used as a way to praise the Polish nation for their role during the communist period.

The PiS’s nationalism is tempered by the commitment to individual citizens; the party appears as the defender of the “small man” not only from organised crime but also from a corrupt and abusive elite that controls the state and the economy. Therefore, although the party programme refers extensively to the nation, it also attributes a central role to the individual, as the one to be protected from the state. The leaders portray the party as an arbiter and a judge of governments’ capacities to serve the nation.

The economic ethos of the PiS

The PiS’s economic ethos remained undefined for a long period of time. Although the party’s focus on its political ethos justifies the economic lack of definition, this deficiency also derives from the conflict between the neo-liberal and the interventionist wings of the party. The propositions of the ultra liberal factions of Wiesław Walendziak formerly linked with the

²¹⁷ Program Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, (Program of Law and Justice), August 2001, Warsaw: 2001.

²¹⁸ *Idem*.

ZChN were opposed by the remaining leadership.²¹⁹ Indeed the party's top leaders, Lech and Jarosław Kaszynski, throughout their long adventures in Polish politics, have been supporters of strong state intervention in the economy.

Dmowski's remake: the political ethos of the LPR

On the aftermath of the AWS dissolution, a new version of Catholic nationalism emerged in the form of the League of Polish Families (LPR). The party joined some members of the ROP and Jan Łopuszanski's Polish Agreement in a new Catholic nationalist party. Its leader, Roman Giertych, is the descendent of a family of nationalist ideologues. The LPR's main political concept of community is the nation. The LPR's mission is therefore the protection of the Polish version of Catholicism.

The party is a federation of small political and religious organisations close to the nationalist wing of the Polish Catholic Church, and combines the same extreme clericalism and nationalism particular to part of the Polish Catholic hierarchy, and was at the time of its formation closely connected with father Rzyzyk, the director of the Catholic fundamentalist Radio Marjia. Radio Marija has an extremely problematic relationship with the Polish Church hierarchy. Father Rzyzyk had a direct role in the creation of a political party and was for some years considered the *eminence grise* of the party. The LPR is associated with extreme-right movements with fascist overtones like Młoda Wchechpolska (All-Polish Youth). The party thus indirectly supports the extremist rhetoric founded in integral religious nationalism present in Polish political thinking since the XIX century.

The main political idea of the party is clear: defending the nation and its particular devotion to Catholicism from its enemies. Such objectives occupy almost entirely its

²¹⁹ Wroński, P. "PiS Pracuje Nad Programem Gospodarczym. Co Zamiast Hausnera?", (PiS Works on its Economic Program: What Instead of Hausner?), Gazeta Wyborcza, 3 February 2004.

programme.²²⁰ This mission is to be accomplished, first of all, by the abolition of articles 90 and 91 of the Constitution, which lead to “the annihilation of Polish sovereignty”. The national principle urges the party “not to accept the subordination of Polish politics to foreign purposes. (...) The LPR pursues Polish interests instead of the doctrine of international adjustment that predominates nowadays.”²²¹ In every declaration the party’s nationalism is justified in terms of its Catholicism. The Polish special brand of Catholicism is the prime object to be protected from foreign influence. The religious extremist character of the party makes it a defender of a strong interference by the Church in state affairs, and of the strict implementation of the Catholic Social Doctrine.²²²

The economic ethos of the LPR

Despite its support for a national economic system, the party has not produced a populist economic programme; on the contrary, it defends neo-liberal economic ideals. Proposals for tax cuts for small family businesses are directed towards the middle-class and the petty bourgeoisie.

The European positions of right-wing parties in 2001

The victory of Catholic nationalism in the 2001 elections resulted in the emergence of a Eurosceptic lobby in parliament. The presence of such parties in parliament had important consequences for the last phase of European accession negotiations, on the debate on

²²⁰ Polsce - Niepodległość, Polakom – Praca, Chleb, Mieszkania, (Polish Independence, Poles Work, Bread and Housing), Warsaw: 2001.

²²¹ Liga Polski Rodzina, Tezy Programowe, (Programatic Thesis), 2001.

²²² Idem.

membership preceding the accession referendum and the debate on the European Constitution.

The attempts to consolidate a Christian cosmopolitan identity were replaced by conservative identities conceiving the nation as the political community. The PiS's undefined identity resulted in an equally unclear attitude towards European integration. The PiS's election manifesto for the 2001 parliamentary election did not mention European integration and the party maintained an ambiguous attitude until the March 2003 party congress, when a vote on the issue took place. Since then the PiS has portrayed EU accession as a lesser evil. The PiS leaders adopted the position that integration is in the Polish national interest due to security considerations. "It is impossible to maintain a position of neutrality due to Poland's geographical position."²²³ However, the question of transfer of sovereignty to a supranational body is still a very controversial issue within the party, and one that has not been settled. The faction linked with the Kaszynski brothers and other leaders attempted to de-link the issue of European accession from issues of morality, like the support for abortion laws, as a way to convince nationalists like Artur Zawisza or Marek Jurek to support European integration before the accession referendum.²²⁴

The party ended by supporting the accession referendum campaign in June 2003. However, during the debates regarding the position to adopt at the Intergovernmental Conference regarding the European Constitution, the PiS adopted a very hard stance against the revision of the voting formula gained at Nice, during which Poland had obtained what was considered a good deal, with 27 votes in the Council. The PiS ended by rejecting the Constitutional Treaty, and this position was also endorsed by the LPR and the Samoobrona. The importance that the maintenance of the voting formula obtained in Nice owes to its association with the sovereignty protection that nationalist parties cherish. Another expression

²²³ Program Prawo i Sprawiedliwość, (Program of Law and Justice), Warsaw: August 2001.

²²⁴ Author's interview with Pawel Wronski, journalist of *Gazeta Wyborcza*, July 2003. PiS's Second Congress was held in March 2003. PiS also demanded that an appendice be added to the Accession Treaty rendering explicit that matters of moral choice, like the law on abortion are matters of exclusive national jurisdiction.

of PiS's nationalism during the debate on the Constitution is that of the inclusion of a reference to Christian values, a position that was supported by practically all the parties, but especially emphasized by the PiS and the Christian national parties.²²⁵ The PiS equally joined the LPR, the PSL and the Samoobrona in the demand for a referendum on the ratification of the European Constitution.

The PO's Soft Europhile position was expressed both in the declarations of its leaders and in the actions taken during the electoral campaign. During the referendum campaign the party's leaders supported only conditionally the SLD's efforts to secure public support for integration and criticised the governments' negotiating tactics as being too soft.²²⁶ Moreover, the party's critique of excessive state bureaucracy and red tape, a theme at the core of the party's identity, was extended to the EU level. As a disguised attack on the EU's economic regulatory role, the critique of the EU bureaucracy is mainly undertaken by the economic neo-liberal faction within the party. Hard economic neo-liberals, like Janusz Lewandowski, the Minister for Privatization in the first democratic government, articulated this critique more openly by considering the projects of social Europe as incoherent with market liberalisation, the party's objectives for EU integration.²²⁷ During the debates of the Constitutional Treaty on the change of the voting formula, the PO took a stance coined by one of the PO's leaders, Jan Maria Rokita, as "Nice or Death". The penchant for viewing the nation as the basic political community became clearer as the party affirmed its conservative identity.

Of the right-wing parties, the LPR is the most openly Eurosceptic, and uses every parliamentary means to disrupt the process of integration, such as trying to impede the

²²⁵ Pawlicki, J. "Polska Wobec Konstytucji UE – Debata w Sejmie", (Poland Facing the EU Constitution – Debate in the Parliament), Gazeta Wyborcza, 24 September 2003.

²²⁶ Szczerbiak, A. (2001), "After the Election, Nearing the Endgame: The Polish Euro-Debate in the Run-Up to the 2003 Accession Referendum", RIIA/OERN Research Paper, 7, p.15.

²²⁷ Janusz Lewandowski, speech in the Conference on Transatlantic Relations, Poland, Europe, America, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, June 2001.

workings of the European Law Parliamentary Commission which main goal was to speed up the process of law harmonization.²²⁸ The LPR ran the 2001 parliamentary campaign on an anti-European ticket, based on the premise that this position is contrary to the sacred sovereignty of the Polish state. This leads the LPR to point as one of the highest points of its anti-European agenda the question of supremacy of European legislations over the Polish law and Constitution.

However, unlike other Hard Eurosceptic parties and political groupings, the LPR entered in dialogue with pro-European political milieus and accepted to participate in the parliamentary elections. Immediately after the referendum on European accession took place in June 2003, Roman Giertych declared that although not changing its opinion on the goodness of European integration, he accepted the overwhelming endorsement of accession by the Polish population and considered the referendum results as an expression of popular sovereignty.²²⁹ In this way Giertych distanced himself from other far-right nationalists who claimed the results of the referendum to be flawed.

Analysis

The evolution of Polish right-wing parties illustrates the usefulness of separating political and economic ethos when classifying parties. The increased importance of nationalism, both as a central identifying element or as a secondary political concept in parties' identities, has meant the weakening of both political liberalism and religious cosmopolitanism, i.e., the basis for political support for European integration. The UW's liberalism and the AWS's Christian democracy were replaced by parties whose primary identifying value is either nationalism or economic liberalism.

²²⁸ Author's interview with Mariusz Daca, UKIE's official in charge of relations with the Polish Sejm for issues of the law harmonization, July 2002.

The empirical material presented in this chapter confirms the sufficiency and necessity of the identifying element of party's ethos for determining parties' European positions. Nationalists, national conservatives and Christian democrats are based on political conceptions. The indivisible nature of political concepts as identifying ethos makes right-wing parties to be either unconditionally Europhile or Eurosceptic. The weakening in Poland of parties based on political concepts compatible with European integration, like religious cosmopolitanism and political liberalism, has increased right-wing parties' propensity for Euroscepticism.

The success of different parties in occupying the right-wing space explains the strength of the parliamentary lobby against European integration. The increased importance of nationalism made the Europe becoming a highly divisive issue in Europe. Nationalism has not only been a sufficient cause of Euroscepticism, but has also impeded the unification of the right around a Christian democratic identity in the European state where Christianity most inspired politics.

Nationalism and Christian democracy

Although the failure of unifying a right-wing party is related to factional fighting within parties, the failure of Christian democracy to thrive as a unifying political identity has also deep historical roots in Polish political history. The divergence of political ideas within the post-Solidarity leaders and the Catholic Church explains the demise of the PC and the AWS and is crucial to understand the replacement of Catholicism with nationalism as the predominant political identity.

Catholic nationalism is the most important political ideology bred in Poland, and the justification for national fight for independence in the late XIX and XX century. The partitions were the background for the development of different types of ideologies to solve the "national

question". Whereas Western European traditionalist movements were concerned with the relations between religion and politics, the Polish political class discussed the correct way to be nationalist. The romantic nationalists defined the Polish nation as "morally superior". Being wary of practical politics, romantic nationalists defined the nucleus of the nation as a spiritual way of feeling. Opposing this ideology, Roman Dmowski conceived national independence as autonomous to concepts of morality. Dmowski considered the romantic's national conceptions as an escape from the concrete situation of subjugation by "idealising the past and opiating self-contentment based on a comfortable and gratifying sense of an alleged moral superiority".²³⁰ This sense of moral superiority towards its orthodox and protestant neighbours was considered by Dmowski as a compensation for the military and political defeats inflicted by them. Any attempt to approach the state's conduct from the point of view of abstract justice was portrayed as a betrayal, and relations between nations were conceived as a fight for survival.²³¹

Dmowski distanced himself from the romantic nationalist tradition by creating an alternative conception of the Polish nation. The nation was justified in religious terms, conceptualised as a symbiosis between the Polish national identity and Catholicism. This justified the re-emergence of political activism, non-violent but confrontational, mobilising resistance against the occupying powers.

When in 1989 the communist system fell, the Catholic Church tried to keep its role as the warrantor of the nation's survival. During the communist period, from 1945 to 1989, the Catholic Church, as the only independent institution in a communist state, became the place and inspiration of dissent and opposition to the system. However, in 1989, the Church, as the political elite, became divided between those supporting its cosmopolitan character, and those advocating a Church closed to the outside world and concerned with protecting the

²³⁰ Walicki, A., (1994), Philosophy and Romantic Nationalism: the Case of Poland, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, p.415.

²³¹ Walicki, A., (2000), "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski", East European Politics and Societies, 14(1): 12-46.

special brand of Polish Catholicism. Therefore, when democracy was instituted, the Church was far from being a unified actor, which made it difficult for it to support one or another political party and to play a constructive role as a political mediator. The split between the liberal and the nationalist clergy added to the divisions within the post-Solidarity political elite, and resulted in the demise of those political formations attempting to institutionalise Christian democracy. As a result, the liberal wing of the Polish Catholic church has no political party that represents its ideals of social and economic development. Instead, the Catholic nationalists gained increasing political prominence in the League of Polish Families, the party supported by Radio Marjia and other conservative Catholic media under the leadership of Father Rydzyk.

A preliminary explanation for the extraordinary number of Eurosceptic parties on the right-wing of the Polish party spectrum is the proliferation of parties that base their political legitimacy on the concept of nation. The sufficiency of the nationalist conceptions to determine parties' European positions is illustrated by the positioning of several nationalist parties during Poland's hazardous political history. Both Catholic and laic nationalist parties present in each of the parliaments during the nineties took an *a priori* dislike of European integration. The empirical material in this chapter shows that parties adopting the nation as the fundamental political community choose to be *a priori* sceptic of the goodness of European integration for the national interest. In the early nineties such propositions are illustrated by the ZChN and the KPN and between 1993 and 1997 by the RdR's and the ROP, and on the wake of the 2001 elections by the LPR. The LPR's success in the 2001 elections illustrates the persistence of nationalism for the Polish party system.

The propensity of Polish right-wing parties for Euroscepticism results from the persistence and increased importance of nationalism. Such persistence results from the fact that in each new election the national ethos was transferred from defunct nationalist parties to new formations and from the difficulty to transform nationalist identities already established in the political scene. The national ethos was successively passed from a defunct party

formation to new ones. In 1993 the nationalist wing of the PC was replaced by the KdR, in turn replaced in 1996 by the ROP and, finally, in 2001 by the LPR. In contrast ZChN's persistent nationalism, despite the addition of a neo-liberal dimension and the attempt to reinterpret the legacy of "national democracy" in a way compatible with European integration, illustrates the difficulty in abandoning a fundamental and indivisible conception of the political reality: the nation as the fundamental political community.

Liberalism and conservative parties' identities

When the economic ethos is the party's identifying element, the assessment of the EU's economic impact is the determinant condition of parties' attitudes towards the EU and the political ethos is in a secondary plan, merely determining whether parties have a conditional or unconditional support or opposition to European integration. The combined effect of political and economic ethos is relevant for parties' attitude towards the EU. The configuration of parties' ethos and the replacement of the political liberalism with the conservative's adoption of economic liberalism as the identifying concept resulted in a more Eurosceptical and divided right-wing.

The Freedom Union's factional conflict pitched economic and political liberals and resulted in the split of the party before the 2001 elections. Its successor, the liberal conservative PO, dominated by economic liberal faction of the UW, stakes more conditional support for integration. This position reflected a critical evaluation of the effects of European regulation on the Polish economic system and the replacement of civil society as the conception of political community by the nation. The party's leaders, although generally supportive of European integration, often criticise the bureaucratic nature of national and European bureaucracies. The demise of political cosmopolitanism in the liberal camp in the 2001 elections meant that not only nationalist parties became increasingly important in the Polish party system, but also that nationalism replaced civil society as the secondary identity of liberal parties.

Chapter IV Explaining left-wing European attitudes

This chapter tests in the Polish left-wing the hypothesis that the fundamental community on which parties base their identities determines their attitudes towards European integration.²³² According to the ethos theory parties whose identities are established on communities of an economic nature will decide their European attitudes based on their evaluation of the effects of European integration on the attainment of the economic regime preferred by the party. Party stances on European integration depend primarily on whether the party judges the EU as supporting or hindering the attainment of the preferred national economic regime.

However, a party's definition of the basic economic community is *per se* not sufficient to determine a party's evaluation of European integration; attitudes of parties based on their economic ethos also depend on the relative position of EU and national policy regimes.²³³ Social democrats' identifying concept is the economic class. Social democrats' evaluation of the *a priori* coincidence between the national interest and European integration depends on whether the party considers the EU economic regime as beneficial to the attainment of a European regulated market. If this evaluation is positive, social democrats will be Europhiles. However, if the EU is considered as diminishing the chances to regulate markets and quell the differences deriving from structural positions in the labour market, social democrats will be Soft Eurosceptics.

²³² This classification is based on the voter and elite survey conducted by Kitschelt, H., et al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems, Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.285.

²³³ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Positions on European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30: 443-59

Social democrats' class-based cosmopolitanism is an important element of these parties' attitude on European integration. Since their inception both the socialist and communist movements shared the practice of defending workers' interests at the international level. Combined with a positive appraisal of the European Union's policy regime, the socialists' cosmopolitanism leads to a Hard Europhile position. However, socialist cosmopolitanism is only a secondary element of parties' identities and is often overshadowed by the perception that the EU is mainly a market opening enterprise. Therefore, several social democrats maintained a Soft Eurosceptic position. Lately, the EU's role of market regulator has made social democrats staunch supporters of integration.

In Western Europe the transformation of social democrats' attitudes to European integration coincided with the inclusion of a social democratic agenda by Jacques Delors in the sequence of the Single Market accomplishment in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty.²³⁴ After Maastricht the EU developed policies relevant to left-wing agendas, such as social cohesion and environmental policies. The Central and Eastern European ex-communist parties owe the change of European positions not only to the transformation of European policy regimes, but also to their own transformation to social democracy.

Agrarian parties are strongly determined by their definition of estate as the identifying community. The concept of estate determines the right of state support to be granted to land owners. Agrarian parties do not have an *a priori* definition of the basic political community from the particular circumstances of its formation. This means that agrarians' European positions will be determined by their evaluation of the impact of European integration on the granting of state support to farmers. Since their definition of the political ethos is not *a priori* determined, the conditionality to their European position is specific to each party. The

²³⁴ Daniels, P. (1998), "From Hostility to 'Constructive Engagement': the Europeanisation of the Labour Party", West European Politics, 21(1); Christensen, D. (1996), "The Left-Wing Opposition in Denmark, Norway and Sweden: Cases of Europhobia", West European Politics, 19(2).

Common Agricultural Policy transfers have made the EU a popular enterprise for farmers since the early sixties.²³⁵

Ecological parties will equally derive their stance on European integration from the evaluation of the contribution of the EU to the national policy regime of environmental protection. Their cosmopolitanism determines a conditional Euroscepticism in case the EU is seen as degrading the national standards of environmental protection. If the EU is seen as improving them, Ecologists are Hard Europhiles.

The transformation of the Polish social democrats, anchored in a strong political cosmopolitanism inherited from the communist concept of class internationalism led to an interpretation of social justice that resembles the one adopted by several West European social democratic parties in the 1980s and the 1990s. Throughout the last two decades most European social democratic parties abandoned policies leading to full employment and generous welfare state programs and adopted policies aiming at countering class inequalities by shaping the supply-side, i.e., by shaping the conditions of production.²³⁶ The ethos theory predicts that the transformation of communist parties to social democracy should lead them to see the EU as a beneficial regulator of the conditions of production and consumption in the European market. Indeed, Polish social democrats progressively became Hard Europhiles and the strongest pillar of the country's pro-EU coalition.

The PSL provides another strong case for testing the strength of core party values in the determination of a party's European attitude. The agrarian parties will be Europhile if they consider that European integration fosters the protection of farmers, and Eurosceptic if European integration is considered as harming the chances of defending farmers against

²³⁵ Gabel, M. (1998), Interests and Integration: Market Liberalisation, Public Opinion and European Union, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

²³⁶ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.7.

market distortions. Therefore, the Central and Eastern European agrarian parties have held the preservation of the Common Agricultural Policy, and the extension of their provisions to the new member states of the enlarged European Union, as the condition for supporting European integration. Since the agrarian parties have no determined political identity, the definition of their political ethos will depend on the circumstances of their mobilisation. The ecologists are Hard Europhiles if EU harmonised environmental standards are more restrictive than the national environmental regime.

The PSL is an especially interesting case to test the ethos theory since the definition of the party's basic economic community is strongly linked to its political ethos and both dimensions are relevant for the determination of the party's European attitude. The PSL's evolution therefore provides a good case for the study of the interaction between the political ethos, the economic ethos and the party's European attitude. The PSL's nationalism renders the party's support conditional and opposition unconditional. The party evaluated European integration on the merits of the CAP's application to Polish farmers. However, the evolution of the relationship between Poland and the European Union allowed for a changed evaluation of the extension of the CAP to Polish farmers. The change of leadership of the party in 1997 and the start of the negotiations gave way to a re-appraisal of the adoption of the CAP. Pawlak's leadership had opposed integration mainly because the European Commission recommended the increase of the size of agricultural exploitations and the negotiations of the Europe Agreements had showed the EU as determined to protect the interests of the present farmers. As negotiations progressed Kalinowski's more global appreciation of the effects of the CAP extension led the party to declare that the PSL would support EU accession if a level playing field would be created between farmers of the East and the West.

This chapter also shows that Sitter's expectation that agrarian parties that fashion a liking for the central state are Europhiles proves wrong in the Polish context.²³⁷ Sitter attributes agrarian parties' Euroscepticism to their opposition to central authority, be it the

²³⁷ Sitter, N. (2001), op.cit.

national state or the EU. Since the Polish Peasant Party is not anti-state, one would expect that the party is *a priori* favourable to integration. However, until 1997 the party was Eurosceptic and its change of attitude on Europe is independent of its change of strategy.

The enquiry carried out in this chapter on the adequacy of the ethos theory to explain left-wing parties European attitudes is more complex than the one of the right since it implies testing the interaction between the political and economic ethos and parties' European attitudes. This test shows how European integration is ultimately linked to the parties' core identity and, in particular, on whether European integration helps the state to fulfil its commitments towards the chosen economic community, be it of economic or political nature.

Classifying parties

Social democracy

The social democrats' main identifying trait is the commitment to the elimination of differences among classes by counteracting inequalities stemming from positions in the labour market and protecting low and minimum income groups.²³⁸ These goals were traditionally pursued by the extension of the right to free or subsidized goods and services, and by policies destined to shape the labour market to full employment. However, in recent years, globalization has been setting a number of conditions that exclude the possibility of state interventionism to shape the conditions of consumption.²³⁹ Several authors explain the mechanisms of adaptation of European social democratic parties to these changing

²³⁸ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), *op.cit.*

²³⁹ Garrett, G. (1996), "Capital Mobility, Trade and Domestic Politics", *in* Keohane, R. and Milner, H. (eds.), Internationalisation and Domestic Politics, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

conditions. Boix describes it as a shift from “the arena of resource distribution to address the physical and social organization of production and the cultural conditions of consumption in advanced capitalist societies”.²⁴⁰ Social democrats are in the “pursuit of a new growth path to compete in global markets by maintaining certain instruments for influencing the supply-side of the economy. (...) These include the increase of workers’ skills, favouring the production of high value-added and high quality goods.” These policies are also seen as “favouring the workers and the poor”.²⁴¹

Social democrats are traditionally internationalist, a trait that derives from their definition of economic class as the fundamental community upon which the state should compensate for market failures. However, the commitment to left libertarian attitudes of which internationalism is an element, has varied across Europe. Although the legacy of social democracy has a strong commitment to individualism, individuals’ social and economic positions are determined by their integration in socio-economic classes. For social democrats, the class is the fundamental determinant of economic and social activity, and the inequalities for individuals ensuing from this fact should be addressed by the state. This has led some of these parties to remain more attached to the concept of nation-state, considering that the protection of workers’ interest can more easily be achieved in that context.

The present social democratic parties in Central and Eastern Europe had to adapt their economic ethos to an extent that is unprecedented in Europe. Their transformation from communism into social democracy implied the reinterpretation of class as the economic ethos. Not only was the party to abandon the commitment to central planning but it would also renounce Keynesian policies as a means to correct the market distortions inflicted by class. As described in this chapter, some of the ex-communist parties quickly reformed their economic views and came to conceive the correction of class distortions as a question of supply-side economics.

²⁴⁰ Kitschelt, H. (1994), The Transformation of European Social Democracy, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.7.

²⁴¹ Boix, C. (1998), Political Parties. Growth and Equality, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Agrarianism

Before 1989 classifying separately European parties in an agrarian party type was controversial since most of European agrarian parties transformed into Christian democracy. However, the democratic transition in Central Eastern Europe has given rise to a number of parties that can only be properly classified in a separate category. Agrarian parties emerged out of the rural-urban cleavage to protect the interests of the rural population. The fundamental identifying community of agrarian parties is the estate.²⁴² This concept was current in XIX century Europe, where social divisions and conflicts were understood in terms of estate, when the rights and privileges granted by the monarchs to some social groups stemmed from land ownership. Therefore the notion of estate linked land ownership with established rights and privileges. The agrarian movements re-utilized the concept of estate to the enlarged group of landowners in the context of democratic mobilization. Agrarians' reinterpretation of estate meant that land-owning farmers were entitled to institutionalized support by the state.

Contrary to the concept class, the concept of estate does not imply the self-consciousness of a common social identity. Therefore, the political ethos of the agrarian party family is not *a priori* given, a circumstance that has led these parties to be easily absorbed into conservative or liberal movements in Western democracies; the agrarians' conception of political community derives from liberal, Christian or nationalist traditions.²⁴³ The agrarian parties define their political ethos according to the political circumstances of their foundation.

²⁴² Pakulski, J. (2001), "Class Paradigm and Politics", in Nichols Clarks, T. and Lipset, S. (eds.), The Breakdown of Class Politics: A Debate on Post-Industrial Stratification, Woodrow Wilson Press: Washington, p. 205.

²⁴³ Kane, A. and Mann, M. (1992), "A Theory of Early Twentieth-Century Agrarian Politics", Social Science History, 16(3), p.421.

Ecologism

The ecologist parties' core identity derives from a critique of the Enlightenment's reliance on the individual as a rational being and his domination over the remainder of the ecological system. Ecologism is based on the conception of the ecological system as the primordial community. The ecological system is conceived as a holistic entity that encompasses all beings, alive or inanimate. Ecologism therefore defies liberals' assumptions that human rational capacities elevate individuals to the primordial elements of politics and economics. Ecologists are therefore sceptical of the method and objectives of economic liberalism: economic growth through the mastery of nature. Ecologists defend the concept of sustained development.²⁴⁴

The ecologists' political ethos derives not only from the view that the ecological crisis is global and results from the imbalance in man relationship with nature but, in some cases, also draws from the cosmopolitanism of the peace movements from which some ecological parties originate. The different origins of ecological parties are reflected in a tension between the interpretations of the cosmopolitan nature of their political ethos. While some parties, or factions within parties, are primarily concerned with the application of universalistic principles of justice, other parties or factions aim for a revolutionary transformation of the substantive relations between humans and nature, away from the anthropocentric conceptions founding political liberalism.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴ Hayward, T. (1994), Ecological Thought: an Introduction, Oxford:Oxford Polity Press, p. 23.

²⁴⁵ Burchell, J. (2002), The Evolution of Green Politics: Development and Change Within European Green Parties, London: Earthscan.

1989-1993: The first experiments

The political ethos of the SLD

The transformation of the United Polish Workers Party (PZPR) into a mainstream social democratic party was one of the most successful transformations of communist parties in the region.²⁴⁶ From the Round Table negotiations in 1988 until 2001 the PZPR gradually changed its traditional ideological discourse. The dominant faction of the PZPR's pragmatic centre succeeded in maintaining the party unity by retaining some of the socialist elements, namely the left libertarian discourse and the commitment to the class, but re-interpreted these commitments according to the new circumstances.²⁴⁷ This strategy was one of a middle way between, on the one hand, the factions that advocated the complete dismissal of the leftist character of the party and proposed an alliance with the liberal faction within Solidarity (the globalists) and, on the other, the Marxist conservatism of the orthodox hard-liners.²⁴⁸ The redefinition of the party's ideological discourse was determined by the moderate faction that took over the party centre.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 205.

²⁴⁷ At the last Plenary of the PZPR in January 1990 Leszek Miller laid out its program in a speech entitled "What is Socialism Today? Obsolete and Valid Elements" in which he reinterpreted the ideological elements of the old belief into the new electoral context. Tezy Deklaracji Programowej, XVI Plenum Komitetu Centralnego PZPR, (Thesis of the Programmatic Declaration, XVI Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR), Warsaw: November 1989.

²⁴⁸ Jadwiga Staniszkis describes the two groups competing for power within the PZPR according to their views on the interpretation of communist elements. Staniszkis, J. (1991), The Dynamics of Breakthrough, Berkeley: University of California Press

²⁴⁹ Harper, J. (1999), Continuity within Chaos: The Transformation of PZPR 1988-1991, Unpublished PhD thesis, LSE.

The PZPR's transformation from communism to social democracy was based on two elements: first, a centrist strategy, second, the successful reinterpretation of the core concepts of the party's identity. Both were devised by the group of young, middle-rank reformist group within the PZPR. This group was elected to the leadership of the re-founded party in January 1990 on a platform of radical and rapid change. Their election to the party leadership was facilitated by the discredit of the regional party structures during the 1989 election and by the old party leaders' abandon of party control. The new party leadership shared a reformist interpretation of class politics that made it compatible with market economy and democratic principles, therefore abandoning the commitment to a centrally-planned economy.²⁵⁰

The sequencing of events proved crucial to determine the reform outcomes. Once reformists were elected to the party leadership in January 1990, agreement with the new reform program by the rest of the party was a foregone conclusion. Not only had the delegates to the new party been compelled to agree on the new statutes before they could join it, but also, at that stage, they were unwilling to disagree with the leaders whom they had just elected. The writing of the party program was undertaken by a close number of members of the Executive Council and swiftly approved by the delegates.²⁵¹

The interpretation of left-wing ideals developed by the SdRP was equally useful for the staking of a broad electoral appeal demanded by an office-seeking strategy. The party specifically claimed to represent all Poles, and renounced to appeal primarily to the losers of transition or the traditional working class. Aleksander Kwaśniewski explained: "In order to achieve programmatic goals, the party must rule, and it can only do so through elections – we are for parliamentary democracy. Therefore the party must be an effective tool for winning elections, with a program that reaches out to potential voters."²⁵² As this statement makes

²⁵⁰ op.cit.

²⁵¹ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.161.

²⁵² Interview with Aleksander Kwaśniewski, Rzeczpospolita, 29 January 1990.

clear, for the young elite that came to dominate the party, office- and policy-seeking strategies were closely connected and complementary. The interpretation of class as the basic economic and political unit not only served to rebuild the party and adapt it to the new democratic circumstances, but also defined it as the main centre-left formation for the next decade. The party leaders' agreement over the interpretation of its ethos made it possible for them to stake programs geared to generate broad support and assure electoral success. The sequencing of events proved crucial.²⁵³ The success of reformist leaders to take over the party apparatus meant a successful programmatic transformation and this proved crucial to assure the party's competitiveness and further conversion of its programmatic commitments.²⁵⁴

The resolution of the last Congress of the United Polish Workers Party and the documents of the Founding Congress of the SdRP would read: "The long-term ideological aim is that of framing a new formula of democratic socialism away from the axiological system of communism. We are for the ideals of a rational society and against nationalism, chauvinism and the neutral state."²⁵⁵ As early as 1991 the SdRP's secularism was one of its most noted characteristics.²⁵⁶ Although the staunch secularism and internationalism of the party was noted as making the party's appeal narrower, the party leadership never changed its definition of the political community. Arguably, by anchoring the party's identity in a left libertarian discourse, the party leaders could more easily reinterpret the party's commitment to social justice.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Pierson, P. (2000), "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence and the Study of Politics", American Political Science Review, 94(2).

²⁵⁴ Markowski, R. (2002), "The Polish SLD", in Bozóki, A. and Ishiyama, J. The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe.

²⁵⁵ Resolution of the XVII (and last) Congress of the PZPR, January 1990.

²⁵⁶ Jasiewicz, K. (1993), "Polish Politics on the Eve of the 1993 Elections", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(4).

²⁵⁷ Janusz Bugaj, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 31 March 1993.

By abandoning orthodox Marxism and denouncing Stalinism, the ex-communists performed an ideological jump that attempted to reverse the ideological bifurcation resulting from the rupture of communists and social democrats' international movements in the 1920s and laid the foundations of a new party identity in the tradition of European socialism. The reference to the socialist origins and values was accompanied by the incorporation of the historical socialist party of Piłsudski, the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). The Polish ideologues returned to the core values of the European rationalist ideals of Enlightenment.²⁵⁸ "The left must also change, anchored in the values of humanism and rationalism, the equality of chances and expectations of the majority of the society. (...)". The accent put on left libertarian values helped the party to successfully reinvent itself by creating an alternative rhetoric to the conservative authoritarianism of the post-Solidarity block.²⁵⁹ The internal ideological transformation put the accent in left libertarian values and allowed the party to smoothly change its economic commitments. This outcome allowed the party to overcome socio-economic differences thus widening the party's appeal, serving equally well the new party leaders' office-seeking strategies.²⁶⁰

In the aftermath of the Presidential election of 1990 the SdRP's centrist strategy led it to organize a broad leftist coalition of forces. By mid-1991 a coalition, the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD), came into being, the SdRP being its dominant actor.

²⁵⁸ Day, S. (2000), "From Social Democracy of the Polish Republic to Polish Left Alliance", in Kubiak, H. and Wiatr, J. Between Animosity and Utility. Political Parties and their Matrix, Warsaw: Scholar.

²⁵⁹ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 205.

The economic ethos of the SLD

The SLD's economic ethos reflected also the evolution of Western European social democracy. Arguably this conversion was facilitated by the disbelief of a great number of party leaders in the effectiveness of communist centrally-planned economy.²⁶¹ By the mid-eighties an important faction of the party's leaders had abandoned their faith in state ownership. During the negotiations that resulted in the Round Table Accord and the peaceful power transfer performed in 1989 the reformism of the communist leaders showed the potential for the transformation of the party.

Between 1991 and 1993 the party reacted to the radical marketisation measures of the right-wing governments by showing a strong commitment to the state's redistributive role. The Balcerowicz plan had severe economic consequences for the majority of the population and resulted in a sudden surge of social inequalities. During the SdRP's First Congress the party opposed shock therapy and declared its commitment to third road solutions. Although approving the overall direction of the reforms, the party objected to the government's methods and objectives, such as the absolute necessity for curbing inflation.²⁶² By 1991 the party supported the marketisation measures but advocated state intervention to protect the workers' interests. During the period between 1991 and 1993 the party hardened the tone of its criticisms regarding the economic policy followed by the post-Solidarity governments, and in particular, the effects these had in deepening income disparities among classes. The leaders explained that "voting for the SdRP you will support people who want radical reforms...but would rather implement them with minimal social costs."²⁶³ The SLD was for

²⁶⁰ This would be plausible since the party was united on socio-political issues while economic stance were sources of divisions, see Markowski, R. (2002), "The Polish SLD in the 1990s", in Ishiyama, J.T. and Bozóki, A. (eds.), The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe, p. 59.

²⁶¹ Staniszkis, J. (1991), The Dynamics of Breakthrough, California: University of Berkeley Press. p. 56.

²⁶² SdRP. Dokumenty Programowe 1990-91, (Programmatic Documents 1990-1991), Warsaw: 1991, p.37.

²⁶³ SdRP Dokumenty Programowe 1990-91, idem.

higher consumer taxes and more benefits for small- and medium-sized enterprises. “Taxes should be paid by those that consume more, not those that invest more.”²⁶⁴ The advocacy of a slow decrease of profit tax illustrated the gradualist preference of the SLD. Fiscal policies were intended to ensure that state revenues “cover the budget for the most important social needs.”²⁶⁵ This tax regime was also intended to fund the creation of new jobs and the transformation of education policy. The reform of education should serve the needs of developing skills useful in the new economy.

In the early nineties, the SdRP was still strongly committed to a traditional operationalisation of social justice: “We are for a type of social policy guided by the principles of social justice in guaranteeing equality in access to education, culture, medical care, leisure and social security.” The SLD’s social policies differed from Christian-inspired social policies by declaring its belief in “an active policy of employment creation.” In terms of agricultural policy the SLD was against the total liquidation of state-controlled agricultural economy.

In the 1993 election campaign the party was one of the fiercest critics of shock therapy, pointing to the plan’s dire results – high unemployment, widespread pauperization, decrease of real incomes (of white-collar workers), bankruptcy of the agricultural sector due to a lack of agricultural and industrial policies. The SLD’s manifesto opted for more state intervention, internal market protectionism and higher taxes for the wealthy. Both the SLD’s manifesto and campaigns favoured general privatization policies, but with explicit substantial amendments aimed at more employee-friendly solutions. Their electoral slogan: “Things do not need be like this” indicated both general support for marketisation but also the party’s strong opposition to shock therapy.

²⁶⁴ Idem.

²⁶⁵ Idem.

The economic ethos of the UP

The Union of Labour (UP) was created in 1992, when the SLD was not yet considered a viable centre-left party. Worried at the rising of class inequalities, ex-Solidarity activists attempted to fill a perceived gap on the left-wing spectrum by creating a social democratic party that would maintain “the Solidarity tradition of workers and intellectuals’ cooperation while leading this forum to new realities and forms”.²⁶⁶

The UP’s economic ethos was well illustrated by the theme of the V Congress of the party, “Poland of Equal Chances”. The programme opposed “the neo-liberal utopia” which disregards Polish reality, neglects social justice and the reform of the health and education systems. “Poland can only be successful when market economy, a just social system and parliamentary democracy are linked harmoniously.”²⁶⁷ The party’s ethos was based on the understanding of class as the fundamental economic community. This commitment was shown by the party’s generous welfare state policies, as well as its strong links with both the Solidarity and the ex-communist trade unions. The party pressed for a strong role for the state in creating structural industrial and employment policies financed by the state budget,²⁶⁸ and straightforwardly attacked the neo-liberal assumptions that privatization is always beneficial and that market rules should overrule considerations of social justice.

The political ethos of the UP

Being based on the concept of class solidarity, the UP believed that social justice was the basis for a state’s international action. Moreover, UP’s roots in the Solidarity Trade Union reflected in the party’s political ethos and its commitment to the development of an

²⁶⁶ Przywrócimy Nadzieje. Dokumenty Programowy Unii Pracy (We Restore Hope, Programmatic Document Union of Labor), Warsaw: 1993.

²⁶⁷ Polska Równa Szansa, (Poland of Equal Chances), Warsaw: 1995.

²⁶⁸ Idem.

international civil society. In its programmatic declaration the party declares its willingness to strike a balance between a communitarian view of society deriving from the concept of class and individual autonomy and to combine ideological consistency with pragmatism, market economy with democracy, economic dynamism with respect for the principles of justice and the environment. The party's humanist view of economic development was reflected in its priorities: the promotion of human, cultural and social capital, both with civic and economic goals.

The UP saw the development of civil society as a task for the state, through programs of citizens' education. The UP also defended the rights of minorities and was committed to the decentralization of the state. The anti-clerical tone in the party programmes derived from the elite's belief in the freedom of religion. However, UP's origins in progressive social movements led the party to claim more universalistic principles of justice, going beyond the narrower claim of international solidarity based on the concept of class.

The economic ethos of the PSL

The transformation of the United Peasant's Party (ZSL), a communist satellite party, into the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) was founded on the XIX and XX century peasant ideology: biological agrarianism.²⁶⁹ Biological agrarianism is based on a metaphor of the nation as a living organism where family farms have a vital role.²⁷⁰ The particular history of the Polish agrarian movement determined that the PSL's concept of estate was initially specified as family farms.

The party's ethos prescribes farmers as the economic community to be primarily supported in face of inequalities generated by the market. In post-communist Poland, the

²⁶⁹ Dziewanowski, M. (1996), "Polish Populism", Held, J. (ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism, Nationalism and Society, Boulder: London, pp 167.

²⁷⁰ Idem.

PSL's neo-agrarianism meant a strong interventionist role for the state to support family-based agricultural units and resist a drive for commercially more profitable exploitations. The PSL's statist attitude is also inherited from inter-war agrarianism, where the intervention of the state to assure an equitable distribution of land was essential.

The PSL's warrants the state as the guarantor of the farmers' welfare. The party shared the SLD's aversion to shock therapy, and this stance became the programmatic ground for the party coalition. "Shock therapy has no program for the development of agriculture while gradualism has a clear one: the family-based agricultural exploitation."²⁷¹ The defence of family farms was the principle guiding the privatization of state farms. "The privatization of state agricultural farms should serve primarily the re-construction of the family economy."²⁷² The defence of small peasant properties has determined its anti-reprivatisation position, which could open claims to the peasant properties by institutions like the Church. The strong preference for shaping farmers' opportunities reflects on the promotion of regional development as a way of fighting regional structural unemployment.

The political ethos of the PSL

Due to the coincidence of peasant mobilization and nation-building in the late XIX and early XX century in Poland, the PSL's definition of estate was intertwined with nationalism. Biological agrarianism, the ideology of the peasant movement of Stanislaw Witos, justified the fight for peasant emancipation and land redistribution in the early XX century by conceiving the Polish nation as a living organism. In this organic view of the nation, and according to its rather elevated conception of the farmers' estate, family farming is considered as the nation's

²⁷¹ Stanowisko Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego Wobec Polityki Gospodarczej Rządu, Punkt IV (PSL's Position regarding the Economic Policy of the Government), Warsaw: 1991.

²⁷² Idem.

most important moral and material resource.²⁷³ In the XIX and XX century this led the peasant movement in a campaign for land reform, both in radical and moderate forms.

The party's neo-agrarian ideology conceived the nation as the fundamental political community where peasants have an outstanding mission. This sort of nationalism resulted in the attempt to preserve rural values, in the Polish case strongly attached with Catholicism. "Natural Law and principles of Christian ethics as well as the historical experience of the Polish nation are the fundamentals of the PSL program."²⁷⁴

The European attitudes of left-wing parties between 1991-93

The SLD's European attitudes: Until the 1993 elections the SLD kept its proximity to Moscow by objecting to NATO's expansion, supporting instead Gorbachev's concept of a "Common European Home."²⁷⁵ A declaration of the Supreme Council of the party read: "The change of policy of the German states illustrates that interests run higher than illusory hopes. After several months of unsuccessful attempts of rapprochement with the Federal Republic of Germany (...) it becomes clear that Europe remains divided in military blocks, and therefore that NATO expansion to the Polish border is not acceptable, as it is not acceptable to quit the security guarantees of the Warsaw Pact."²⁷⁶ The uncertainty regarding the future of the Soviet Union has determined the conservative attitude of the party regarding the geopolitical choices that Poland faced.

The SdRP remained extremely cautious in its attitude on European integration. This reflected a conditional scepticism towards the *a priori* compatibility between European integration as a political, economic and security project and the national interest. However,

²⁷³ Dziwianowski, M. (1996), "Polish Populism", in Held, J. (ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe: Racism, Nationalism and Society, London: Boulder, pp 167.

²⁷⁴ Deklaracja Ideowa PSL (Ideological Declaration of the PSL), in O Kształtowanie Szans Rozwoju dla Polski, Dokumenty Programowe, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development, Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: 1997.

²⁷⁵ Nasz Program Dla Polski, Projekt (Project, Our Program for Poland), Warsaw: 1993.

²⁷⁶ Stanowisko Platformy Ludzi Pracy SdRP, (Position of the Platform of Workers), 19 March 1990.

Euroscepticism was expressed more clearly in the refusal to support NATO extension and the reunification of Germany.²⁷⁷ It was only during the Second Congress of the SdRP's in March 1993 that Aleksander Kwaśniewski, then party leader, advanced a clearly positive attitude towards NATO expansion.²⁷⁸ The geopolitical context of the demise of the Soviet Block should be taken into consideration in explaining the SLD's Soft Euroscepticism and its opposition to Polish integration in the trans-Atlantic defence system. However, the SdRP opposition to European integration in this period also reflects the stage of the party's transformation into a social democratic party. Until attaining governmental office in 1993 the party contested the right-wing's government radical marketisation measures by maintaining that the state should remain strongly involved in regulating the market through redistributive policies. The SdRP's scepticism regarding European integration reflected an opposition to a supranational policy regime that appeared to impose a further downsizing of the state and the deepening of marketisation measures.

The PSL's European Attitude: Already in the early nineties, underneath the general consensual statements on EU accession, the PSL clearly doubted the goodness of opening agricultural markets. "Being favourable to the integration of Poland in the EEC, we underline the need to question whether this road leads us to a false objective. We should know whether integration is separate from liberal fundamentalism".²⁷⁹ The PSL also considered that "market openness is not always a good thing" and that the formula of "Europe of the Nations"²⁸⁰ suits the party best. This attitude was a reaction to the protectionist attitude of the EU during the negotiations of the Association Agreements regarding Polish agriculture and steel products.

²⁷⁷ Idem.

²⁷⁸ Documents of the II Congress of the SdRP on the 20-21 March 1993 and National Convention SdRP on 23 April 1993.

²⁷⁹ Żywa, Bronia, Gospodaruja, Dokumenty Programowe (Living, Defending, Farming, Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: 1993.

²⁸⁰ O Kształtowaniu Szans Rozwoju dla Polski. Dokumenty Programowe, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1993.

When the effects of the 1991 Association Agreements became clear, the PSL became particularly critical of the protectionist attitude regarding Polish products and demanded its renegotiation. After the Europe Agreements the party's position on the EU was of an unconditional Euroscepticism. The discrimination felt by Polish farmers had long lasting effects and set the party's attitude towards accession negotiations. In 1997 this theme was still present in party declarations: "one can not tolerate the asymmetry advantaging the EU in opening the Polish market to agricultural products."²⁸¹ However since the full implications of accession, both in terms of access to the European markets and the CAP direct income contributions were not known, the PSL's stance remained conditional on concessions of the EU towards Polish agriculture, and could be classified as Soft Eurosceptic.

²⁸¹ Przesłanki i Generalne Cechy Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego PSL (Premises and General Features of PSL Socio-Economic Program), Warsaw: 1997.

1993-1997: The governmental experience

The political ethos of the SLD

The September 1993 elections constituted a monumental change in the fortunes of left-wing parties in Poland. Although the victory of the ex-communists in the parliamentary elections was aided by the fragmentation of the right-wing parties, this success would have been impossible without the gradual and consistent transformation of the party's identity.²⁸² The domination of the party's oligarchy established in the transition period was crucial for the continuing reinterpretation of the party's ethos. "Closed oligarchic procedures, accompanied by a controlled members' mobilization, decide over the leadership recruitment outcomes. The choice of the leader is based on the consensus among the party elite, which contributes to his strong position within the party as well as outside it."²⁸³ The time sequence proved equally important for the outcome: the elite group that promoted the PZPR's transformation into social democracy in the late eighties kept control over the party identity evolution.²⁸⁴

During the 1993 election campaign the modernizing leadership of the SdRP dwelt with the political legacy of left-wing modernisation and carved out a left-libertarian profile, first of all by presenting an absolute commitment to secularism. The party was unequivocal in its support for the liberalisation of the restrictive abortion law, and its secular stances took nearly 11 percent of the program.²⁸⁵ At the time the Catholic Church became notorious for its attempts to influence public policy through its instructions to voters during Church services

²⁸² Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), op.cit.

²⁸³ Nalewajko, E. (1997), *Protopartie i Protosystem? Szkic do Obrazu Polskiej Wielopartyjności*, (Proto-Parties and Proto-System? A Sketch of the Polish Multi-Party System), Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN.

²⁸⁴ The group of SdRP leaders was composed of Leszek Miller, Josef Oleksy, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, Izabella Sierakowska, Marek Borowski, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, and Krzysztof Janik.

²⁸⁵ Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), op.cit.

and by pressuring post-Solidarity political parties to heed Church teachings. The party's libertarian stance was therefore appealing to all those that opposed this influence.²⁸⁶ The SLD's secularism and criticism of the Church became an appealing feature of the party, and a sufficiently relevant one in the context of the heated debates on socio-cultural issues taking place in Poland.

For the SLD the left libertarian stance ensued easily from the progressive tradition of communism and the profile of its leaders. Carving a new identity based on this tradition proved a successful strategy for the oligarchy controlling the SLD. Equally natural and intertwined with its left libertarian tradition was the adoption of an internationalist identity, deriving from the PZPR communist traditions. In practice, such tradition was reinforced by the search for external legitimacy of the reformed ex-communists, and in this context the efforts the party put on gaining membership of the Socialist International are easily explainable.

The international isolation to which the ex-communists were condemned in the early 90s was progressively brought to an end by the party's electoral results and the efforts of the party leadership. Tadeusz Iwinski, the party's International Secretary recalls the long efforts made by the party to achieve international recognition.²⁸⁷ The search for international legitimacy still appeared to be the driving force for the definition of SLD's international identity: "The membership of the Socialist International is the most important and meaningful event for us. It is a word of acknowledgement for the transformation achieved in our country and the depth of change of the Polish left. Membership is also seen as a weapon against discrimination: "Those who would want to call us 'communists' and 'post-communists' will

²⁸⁶ As a consequence of the Church and right-wing governments, the Parliament curtailed access to abortion rights and passed new laws instituting religious education in schools. This led to a drastic decline in the Church approval as a majority of the population considered these acts to be inappropriate interference in public affairs, and the Church approval rate declined from 88percent in 1989 to around 30percent within two years. CBOS, "Spoleczne Ocena Działalność Instytucji Polityczny", Komunikat z Badań, Warsaw, October 1990. By May 1993 38 percent approved and 54 percent disapproved of the Church role. CBOS, "Instytucje Publiczne w Opinii Społecznej", Komunikat z Badań, November 1994.

²⁸⁷ Author's interview with the International Secretary of SLD, Tadeusz Iwinski, August 2000.

expose themselves to the ridicule.”²⁸⁸ Internationalism and the party’ commitment to a libertarian position seem to go hand in hand: “We hope to deserve the current membership of the International Socialist, whose principles of social justice are combined with the principles of freedom, individualism and autonomy of the citizens.”²⁸⁹ By anchoring its identity on the tradition of European socialism, the Polish left became susceptible to influence by the transformation under way in the West European left.

The victory of the SLD in the 1993 elections meant that the UP had to make a choice between integrating the SLD and remaining oblivious to the SLD’s success. The UP refused SLD’s invitation for participating in government, hoping for a reassertion of a separate identity and the opportunity to become a more genuine social democratic alternative to the SLD.

The economic ethos of the SLD

After taking office in 1993 the SLD changed several of its economic stances. The main question was whether the party would continue Balcerowicz economic policies or abandon them for deficit-funded demand-side policies. By choosing finance ministers eager to continue Balcerowicz’s reforms and assure sound fiscal policies, the party made clear that the revolutionary rhetoric of the campaign had been replaced by economic “real politics” aimed at controlling the budget deficit, combating inflation, cutting down expenditures and opening the economy to foreign investment. This implied, with time, a strong change in the party’s economic ethos and the abandon of the early nineties slogan of “marketisation with state interventionism” policy. In 1997 the party’s economic program had dropped all elements of economic policy which could have made their discourse seem backward in the context of the European left transformation. The emphasis on a traditional understanding of social justice

²⁸⁸ Iwiński, T. “Na XX Kongresie w Nowym Jorku, SdRP Pełnym Członkiem Międzynarodówki Socjalistycznej”, (On the XX Congress in New York, SdRP a Full Member of the Socialist International), *Biuletyn Informacyjny*, 10, Warsaw: 1996.

²⁸⁹ Program Material for Discussion prepared by the National Council of the SLD, October 1999.

remained in the party's programme until 1997, being supported by a faction committed to traditional leftist redistributive values.

In the 1997 campaign the party's strategy was to prove that it would implement market reforms better. The SLD's program was marked by an evolution in economic values, in particular regarding the redistributive role of the state. Classical social democratic policies, like employment or social welfare, lost their centrality in the party's programs. In part, this evolution seems to reflect the party's governmental experience when it had to implement economic reforms imposed by the World Bank and the IMF.²⁹⁰

The economic ethos of the UP

In contrast to the SdRP, the UP maintained its commitment to a large-sized state budget ready to provide for welfare programs and to intervene in the economy to compensate for market failure. The party also prescribed that the process of privatization should be stopped, since the structure of ownership in terms of public and private ownership of the Polish economy in 1996 was then ideal.²⁹¹ For that reason in its V Programmatic Document, prepared for the 1997 parliamentary elections, the UP reasserts its traditional leftist identity and demanded that the state should further control privatization of state economic assets through a "map of privatization", rather than letting market forces prevail.²⁹² This policy intended to protect the market from further foreign acquisitions. In line with this, tax revenues were deemed to be used strategically to protect the Polish economic potential from the competition of international business and the market instability of its eastern neighbourhood.

²⁹⁰ Author's interview with Krzysztof Szamalek, advisor of President Kwaśniewski, October 2000.

²⁹¹ V Dokumenty Programowe Unia Pracy, (V Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: June 1997.

²⁹² *idem.*

The economic ethos of the PSL

Between 1993 and 1997 the PSL's nationalist faction, led by Waldemar Pawlak, was reinforced by the authority derived from the latter's premiership. This meant that Pawlak's conservative interpretation of the concept of estate prevailed.²⁹³ His predominance was contested by more liberal-minded members that considered that a non-nationalist interpretation of estate would result on de-emphasizing the focus on family farming and accept an agricultural reform based on efficiency principles. The party's conservative outlook was also motivated by the virtual exclusion of right-wing parties from the SdRP-dominated parliament, inciting the party to take up such a role. However, the PSL's adoption of a nationalist identity was not taken to its logical conclusion through the integration of a right-wing formation.

The PSL's conflicts between 1995 and 1997 were documented in the proceedings and documents of a series of party conferences. Party documents of this epoch testify to the conflicts among factions. In the PSL's V Congress in June 1997 one of the main party objectives was defined as "to profit from the historical shape given by the peasant movement to the system of values."²⁹⁴ Another document, the party's ideological declaration, commits the party to neo-agrarianism, and states that the PSL's ideology draws upon the "centuries' long endeavour of the peasantry to live in freedom and participate equally in the life of the state."²⁹⁵ The party document emphasized the role of "agriculture as one of the main areas of production and the basis for national survival" with "family farms constituting the foundation for the harmonious development of villages and the countryside" and the basis of the agricultural system. Another document of the epoch made references to the willingness to appeal more broadly to "that portion of the Polish society which lives in the countryside and

²⁹³ Waldemar Pawlak was Prime Minister from October 1993 to February 1995.

²⁹⁴ V Dokumenty Programowe Unia Pracy, (V Programmatic Documents), Warsaw: June 1997.

²⁹⁵ Deklaracja Ideowa Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego (Ideological Declaration of the PSL) *in* O Kształtowanie Szans Rowwoju dla Polski, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1997.

the small towns, far-removed from the urban centre"²⁹⁶ but the dominant faction focused on assuring the support of the party's traditional core constituency.²⁹⁷

The conflict over the definition of the party's economic unit of mobilization and identity was expressed in the conflict between Roman Jagielinski, deputy Prime Minister and Agricultural Minister between 1995 and 1997, and the party hierarchy. Roman Jagielinski was seen as the supporter of "big farmers", and generally proposing a broader interpretation of the concept of estate, which conflicted with the official line of the party. Jagielinski's conceptions translated in its defence of a type of agricultural reform that favoured the transformation of parties and made him a *persona non grata* within the party, obliging him to resign from its Ministerial post.

It took a landslide defeat and a change of leadership for the party to abandon its previous conceptions of agricultural reform. Pawłak's preponderance was gradually brought to an end by his poor results in the presidential elections of 1995 (4.31 percent) and the party's defeat in the 1997 elections (7.31 percent against 15.6 percent in the 1993 elections). Eventually the dominant faction's authoritarianism and nationalism²⁹⁸ was replaced by a modernising approach professed by the former deputy prime minister and Agriculture Minister Jarosław Kalinowski, who replaced Waldemar Pawłak as party leader in October 1997.

Elected in October 1997 the new leader recognized that the party had defined too narrowly its constituency. "We allowed ourselves, mainly through our own fault, to be characterized as a 'class party'... because we also took upon ourselves the role of a trade union... As a party we should express our views on the most important issues, such as the

²⁹⁶ Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe Wobec Wyzwan Stojących Przed Polską, (The PSL and the Challenges Facing Poland) in O Kształtowaniu Szans Rozwoju dla Polski, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1996, p.59.

²⁹⁷ Szczerbiak, A. (2002), "The Polish Peasant Party: A Mass Party in PostCommunist Eastern Europe?", East European Politics and Societies, 15(3).

²⁹⁸ See, for example, Janicki, M. "Pawłak i jego Drużyna", (Pawłak and its Friends), Polityka, 12 November 1994.

stabilization of production and the growth of incomes, and not concern ourselves solely with the price of specific agricultural products.”²⁹⁹

The European attitudes of parties between 1993 and 1997

The SLD’s European attitude: The conversion of SLD’s attitudes towards European integration from Soft Euroscepticism to Hard Europhilism came during the 1993 election campaign.³⁰⁰ The support for NATO expansion, which the SLD had previously refused, was the visible face of this transformation. The party progressively made an unconditional support for accession to the European Union part of its prominent policy stances. Around 1994 the party started portraying integration as a one-time chance to avoid a peripheral status and access the centre of European economic power.³⁰¹ The emphasis put by the party on its unconditional Europhilism paralleled the transformation to social democracy of a Western kind. Indeed, although the changing geopolitical circumstances of Poland in relation to the USSR account for an explanation of the party’s attitudes to European integration³⁰² the transformation of the party and its experience in government resulted in a long-term change of the party’s appreciation of the EU’s policy regimes.

Indeed, governmental experience changed the party’s perception of the EU policy regimes. Although having been elected on a platform of opposition to shock therapy, once in government, the SLD quickly realised the constraining effect of international commitments on its economic policies. During the period in office the party progressively considered the relatively protective character of the European Union’s policy regimes in relation to the

²⁹⁹ Quoted in interview with Ewa Czaczkowska, “Są Granice Różnorodności”, (There are Limits to Diversity), *Rzeczpospolita*, 2002.

³⁰⁰ Program SLD, Przyjęty na III Kongresie SdRP (Third Congress of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, Programmatic Documents, 6-7 December 1997, Warsaw: 1997.

³⁰¹ Socjaldemokratyczna Alternatywa: Polska Demokratyczna, Sprawiedliwa, Bezpieczna (The Social Democratic Alternative: a Democratic, Just, Safe Poland) *Biuletyn Wewnątrzpartyjny*, Warsaw: June 1993.

³⁰² Author’s interview with Krzysztof Szamalek, Advisor of President Kwaśniewski, October 2000.

international standards imposed by the IMF and the World Bank. The party joined other European social democratic parties in its call for initiatives to bolster EU-level social policies. The change of stance of the party towards the European Union was consolidated, and during the campaign for the 1997 parliamentary elections the party portrayed itself as the most able force to lead Poland into membership of the European Union.³⁰³ The European issue appeared prominently on its electoral campaign.

The UP's European attitudes: The UP's attitude towards European integration was at this time one of conditional Euroscepticism. The party's commitment to the maintenance of high levels of social protection by the state lead it to consider that it could only support European integration if the EU could guarantee high levels of social protection in the European space. The perception that European integration would just increase the pressures for the lowering of social standards, i.e., that the EU was mainly an agent of market liberalisation and contributed to the degradation of welfare state standards determined the party's conditional Euroscepticism. The party proposes as conditions for support that the European Union set itself the task of labour market regulation.³⁰⁴

When mentioning the concerns on the social effects of European integration on disfavoured classes, the UP links it with the argument that Poland should quickly ratify the European Charter of Social Rights.³⁰⁵ The UP's Soft Euroscepticism also stressed that Poland should fully adopt European Social regulation. The party's cosmopolitan political ethos determined a conditional opposition to European integration. If the European Union further

³⁰³ Kucharczyk, J. (1998), Positions of European Parties in the Polish 1997 Parliamentary Elections, Warsaw: Instytut Spraw Publicznych.

³⁰⁴ Conference of PES Working Group on Enlargement of the European Union, Warsaw 3-4 November, 2000.

³⁰⁵ Przywróćmy Nadzieje. Dokumenty Programowy Unii Pracy (We Restore Hope, Programmatic Document Union of Labor), Warsaw: 1993.

develops its regulatory role as a guardian of high standards of social protection and fight against unemployment, the party would give it its full support.³⁰⁶

The PSL's European Position: From 1993 to 1997 the PSL *a priori* rejected the coincidence between the national interest and European integration. The party's Hard Euroscepticism was justified not only by fears of an asymmetric application of the CAP benefits to Poland but also by the party's nationalist political ethos. The fear that market openness would lead not only to the flooding of the Polish market by European subsidized agricultural products, but would also give access of foreign investors to agricultural and food production, was the condition for PSL's Euroscepticism. These fears were justified by the effects of the 1992 Association Agreements, which proved devastating for Polish small-holding farmers. The Association Agreements were portrayed as revealing the protectionist attitude of the European Union, an organisation where poor and rich countries have asymmetric power in defending their interests.³⁰⁷ The party illustrated this stance with examples of the selective rewards of the CAP price mechanisms.³⁰⁸ The European issue also interfered with the conflicts between Jagielinski and Pawlak's factions on the desirable type of agricultural reform. The Commission's demands for an increase of the size of agricultural holdings dove-tailed with Jagielinski's positions and threatened Pawlak's stance that family-based agricultural exploitations be sustained with the help of an interventionist policy at the EU level.

³⁰⁶ This observation was taken while the author attended a meeting of the Working Group on European Enlargement of the Party of European Socialists, Warsaw 3 and 4 November, 2000.

³⁰⁷ Chronicie Rolnictwo w Procesie Integracji z Unia Europejska. Dazmy do Zapewnienia Perspektywy Rozwoju Wsi i Rolnictwa, (Protecting Farmers in the Process of Integration to the European Union, We Restore Assurance of Perspective of Development of Villages and Agriculture), Warsaw: 1993.

³⁰⁸ V Kongres Programowe, (V Congress of the PSL), Warsaw. 1997.

1997-2001: The left in opposition

The economic ethos of the SLD

By 2000 it was already clear that the SLD would probably dominate the next government. At this time the SLD was established as a party of power, capable of implementing reforms and run efficiently the state machinery, and being essentially a pro-market force. However, as other left-wing parties elsewhere in Europe, the party leadership searched for a formula encompassing the transformation of its economic ethos, achieved through a new interpretation of the principle of social justice. This new interpretation implied the renouncing of budget-financed demand-side policies. This has, however, not been specifically pursued in governmental policies, when the SLD has shown a weak commitment to deficit restraint in face of economic crisis.

In an internal party speech, the SLD's general secretary Leszek Miller enunciated the Polish Third Way, not in the fashion of Tito but of Tony Blair.³⁰⁹ In continuity with its previous programmatic evolution, the SLD attempted to further the image of a modern centre-left party not only through its left libertarian profile but also by striking a technocratic profile that implicitly meant the acceptance of the principles of budgetary discipline and giving up demand-side instruments of intervention for correcting market inequalities. Despite the differences of interpretation it sustained with the UP, still faithful to a traditional interpretation of the policies aimed at reducing market inequalities, the SLD proposed to the UP a coalition and the two parties ran on the same list in the 2001 elections. The appearance of a workers' party was also maintained by the presence within its ranks of trade unionists from the OPZZ, but the UP's alliance strongly reinforced the coalition's role as a left-wing party. The eight-

³⁰⁹ Internal Speech by Leszek Miller to the SLD, October 2000 *in* <http://kpsld.ceti.pl/sld>.

year resistance of the UP to a coalition with the SLD was then overcome after the party's poor results in the 1997 elections and the change of leadership to Marek Pol.

The economic ethos of the PSL

Jarosław Kalinowski, party leader elected in 1997, was successful in quelling the debate within the party and re-defining the PSL's political and economic identity. Certainly, the parliamentary caucus after the 2001 elections was presided by a more hard-line representative, Janusz Dobrosz, and regional leaders, such as Zdzisław Podkański from Lublin, kept a strong position within the party. But Kalinowski's leadership imposed an overall strategy of openness to a wider electorate. In an interview to *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Kalinowski asserted that more radical measures (like the ones undertaken by the PSL leaders in Lublin³¹⁰) would drive away new supporters outside the traditional electorate and concluded: "If we remain in the trenches we only can lose."³¹¹

Kalinowski's leadership made the party a possible coalition partner for both centre-right and centre-left governments.³¹² The PSL eventually joined the SLD in a governmental coalition in 2001 and Kalinowski became Deputy Prime Minister, Agriculture Minister and negotiator of the controversial agricultural chapter with the European Commission. The negotiations leading to government formation showed once again the dividing lines within the PSL and the fact that Kalinowski's efforts to carve a more open definition of the PSL's political and economic identity met with high resistance within the party. The party portrayed itself as the representative of the whole rural population and proposed measures of agricultural reform that took into account the interests of the whole peasant class rather than aiming solely at

³¹⁰ In early 2003 PSL's Lublin leaders decided to adopt radical measures of protest like road blockages to complement its already extremist language and Euroscepticism.

³¹¹ Interview with Kalinowski, "Kalinowski: Jednoczmy Sie Pod Ścianą", (Kalinowski: We Unite Against the Wall), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28 October 2003.

assuring the survival of small-holding peasants. This change meant that although the party's concept of estate still referred to the neo-agrarian roots, family farmers possessed a fundamental and almost sacred role in the Polish nation,³¹³ Jarosław Kalinowski took a centrist and pragmatic strategy to enlarge the appeal of the party beyond the traditional farmers.

The changing political ethos of Samoobrona

Despite having been formed in 1992 as a rural trade union, when Samoobrona attained parliamentary representation in 2001 it still resembled more a movement rather than a party. This was partly due to the fact that despite the party's origins as a rural trade union, the Samoobrona's ethos was based on an extreme interpretation of class. However, the adaptability of Samoobrona's programmatic stances is one of the most notorious characteristics of the party. This flexibility results from the party not being positioned on either side of the communist/anti-communist political divide.³¹⁴ The party was therefore successful in creating a series of coalitions with the most disparate groups, like the army, ultra-nationalists and utopic socialists. The Samoobrona's secondary political ethos is nationalist, resulting from an aversion to a liberal international order.

The Samoobrona's 1992 ideological declaration states that the movement "does not only represent farmers, but a wider spectrum of interests, such as those of workers, the unemployed, the pensioners and the milieu of culture and education."³¹⁵ The attempt to appeal to all those that suffer from transition was reflected not only in populist rhetoric, but also in a loose organization that engaged in a non-conventional, protest profile. "The

³¹² Idem.

³¹³ In the role of Agriculture Minister in 15 August 2002 Jarosław Kalinowski declared that "Farmers and the villages are the main biological and moral wealth reserved of the Nation". Quoted in RFE/RL Newslines, August 2002.

³¹⁴ Interview with Modzelewski, K. "The Populist Right in the Polish Elections", *Przegląd Tygodnik*, 15 October 2001.

³¹⁵ Może, a Więc Muszi Być Lepiej. Samoobronei Programy Narodowej (It Can, and it Must Get Better, National Program of the Samoobrona), Warsaw: 1992.

Samoobrona is a cry to the Polish society to mobilize and fight to protect our national identity and sovereignty, the fight for the future of the country, the fight against politicians who lie and against the demoralization and the cynicism spread by the politicians that betray the people.³¹⁶ The Samoobrona also asserted that the role of the state in the domain of cultural policy should be that of promoting national culture by stressing the traditions of Polish culture. "This road leads to an 'organic system' in which the great diversity of human behaviour is integrated through a system of cooperation in the interest of all the society, the nation and the state."³¹⁷ The Samoobrona's nationalism is not linked to Catholicism or even to an authoritarian position in socio-cultural issues, and in fact Lepper often claimed to support freedom of religion and conscience. Such appeal for religious freedom evolved in recent years into an anti-clerical stance.

The Samoobrona's vague ideological principles involved a commitment to a "healthy development, the care for disfavoured people and the national interest". Lepper articulated its protest in a conspiratorial tone against the liberal national and international elite. "The present domination in the system of global relations of an international coalition of liberal elites and political corporate finance, indifferent to ordinary people and whole nations, using methods of economic totalitarianism, financial terror, controlled information and a façade of corrupt democracy, must give way to a humanitarian order, the enlightened representation of free peoples with universal principles, humanistic values and cooperative principles on the global international system."³¹⁸

On the wake of the registration of the Samoobrona as a political party in November 1999, Andrzej Lepper adopted a more defined radical-left identity following a series of strikes that succeeded in paralyzing the country in January and February 1999. While in its Congress in April 1999 the Samoobrona still counted with a wing of supporters belonging to the extreme

³¹⁶ Idem.

³¹⁷ Trzecia Droga, Polityka Bezpieczeństwa. Jesteśmy w Europie, Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Andrzeja Leppera. (Third Way, Security Policy, We Are in Europe, Presidential Program of Candidate Andrzej Lepper), Warsaw:2000.

right-wing milieu, such as the notoriously anti-semitic General Wilecki,³¹⁹ in the 1 May 1999 demonstrations in Warsaw, Lepper called for the creation of a “worker-peasant alliance”, dismissed the extreme nationalist wing, and emphasized his friendly relations with Jerzy Urban, the left-wing radical editor of the anticlerical weekly *Nie*.

The economic ethos of the Samoobrona

The protection of the disfavoured classes from the alleged attacks of liberal international conspiracies is the basic tenet of the party’s economic doctrine. The farmers’ radical protest methods are shown as an example to the rest of the society: “Poland is being killed slowly, plant by plant, sector after sector. The protests of Polish farmers have shown the whole society the way these crimes are performed and the methods to prevent them.”³²⁰ Liberalism is portrayed as a crime, as a mechanism of thought which distorts reality and manipulates the Polish nation. “We denounce the untruthful thesis that there is no other alternative to the present reforms, which were imposed through blackmail by the foreign centres of political power.”³²¹

To oppose such international liberal order Lepper advocated a strong state in the defence of the weaker social elements, guaranteeing “the right to work and fair pay, a roof over one’s head and a good health care system.” “The state should work to decrease unemployment, through a programme of massive job creation. The sponsoring of housing construction should also become one of the tasks of the state; the policy should have as its

³¹⁸ *Idem*.

³¹⁹ “Atrakcyjny Lepper”, *Rzeczpospolita*, 6 April 1999, it is reported that the ultra nationalist General Wilecki called Andrzej Lepper “the jewel in the crown of the Polish Peasant Movement”.

³²⁰ Może, a Więc Muszi Być Lepiej. Samoobrony Programy Narodowej (It Can, and it Must Get Better, National Program of the Samoobrona), Warsaw: 1992.

³²¹ *Idem*.

main purpose the creation of employment and bringing down house prices to “an affordable level.”³²²

To this strategy Lepper called the Third Way. “We have enough of the road to the ‘left’ and to the ‘right’. We will try to go straight to you, acting according to the natural law.”³²³

Despite its claim to represent a centrist option during the 2000 presidential campaign, Lepper described himself as the most left-wing candidate, aspiring to raise low social benefits and pensions.³²⁴ This state-centred approach became more explicit with the statement that as a result of these pro-social policies “the Polish people should remain a society that respects its state, a power that represents its people rather than foreign interests.”³²⁵

The European attitudes of left-wing parties between 1997 and 2001

The SLD’s European positions: The results of the 2001 elections made attitudes towards European integration one of the most divisive factors in parliament and within the SLD-PSL government. The SLD government’s readiness to compromise with the EU on contentious issues in Poland’s EU membership negotiations, including the purchase of land by foreigners and the free movement of labour, was taken by its right-wing opponents as the proof of the government’s unconditional Europhilism.³²⁶ This attitude was explained by Józef Oleksy, widely held as the leading conceptual thinker on European integration, as a stance that is opposed to “the conservative way of understanding history, the state and the nation”. Oleksy argues that behind the right-wing discourse on European integration there is “an historical, sentimental patriotism and the common phobias and stereotypes that exist in Polish

³²² Trzecia Droga. Polityka Bezpieczeństwa. Jesteśmy w Europie. Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Andrzeja Leppera. (Third Way, Security Policy, We Are in Europe, Presidential Program of Candidate Andrzej Lepper), Warsaw: 2000.

³²³ Idem.

³²⁴ Lugowska, U. (2001), “Parliamentary Elections in Poland 2001, What Next for Self Defence?”, Labour Focus on Eastern Europe, 69, p.7.

³²⁵ Trecja Droga, op.cit.

society.”³²⁷ Oleksy criticizes the right-wing portrayal of accession as a “return to the West”³²⁸ and considers that this discourse derives from nationalist conceptions that hinder the acceptance of integration as an intrinsically good project pursuing the freedom and the citizens’ economic well-being. On another occasion, Oleksy pledges for a change in the character of Polish patriotism from a concept based on fear and protectionism to an open and cooperative concept.³²⁹

The SLD’s Hard Europhilism derives from the coincidence of the economic objectives of the European Union and the party’s re-operationalised economic ethos. The change of the SLD’s position occurred after the change of EU policy regimes and was solely a result of the internal party change. As it adopted a new economic ethos and started to participate in meetings of European social democratic leaders, the SLD declared its support for Social Europe and gave its Europhilism a leftist tone.³³⁰

The PSL’s European positions: Between 1997 and 2001 the PSL’s positioning on the scale of attitudes towards Europe changed from a Hard Eurosceptic position to Soft Europhilism. The PSL’s *a priori* recognition that the EU interests are different from the Polish national interests has effectively evolved into conditional Europhilism. This change is mainly noticeable in the stances and conditions issued by the party during the accession negotiations.³³¹ In 1997 the PSL demanded that Polish farmers be “included in the Common Agricultural Policy from the moment when Poland joins the EU (with Poland) entitled to the

³²⁶ “Handelsblatt” on 30 August, quoted by RFE/RL 31 August 2001.

³²⁷ Interview with Józef Oleksy, “Unia Cierpi na Atrofię Strategii” (The Union Suffers from a Strategic Atrophy), in *Unia & Polska*, 4(32), 6 March 2000.

³²⁸ Idem.

³²⁹ “A Transcript of a Debate on the Future of Europe”, Warsaw: *Centre for International Relations*, 2003.

³³⁰ During the preceding years the SLD participated regularly and consistently in the meetings of the International Socialist, 1996 New York, the Budapest European Summit of Socialist Leaders in October 1996 and the following one in London in April 1998. Author’s interview with Tadeusz Iwinski, August 1999.

³³¹ The party concentrated on the particular provision on the prohibition of sale of land to foreigners, a highly symbolic negotiation stance.

same payments and structural funds on the basis of principles that have operated in the Union up until now".³³² However, when reacting to the CAP reform in the mid-term review in 2002, which intended to sever the link between farm subsidies and farm output and in time equalizing subsidies throughout the enlarged EU, the party's conditions changed. The equality of conditions for all European farmers, rather than absolute levels of support, became the most crucial condition for support.³³³ Although the party still considered it necessary to claim an anti-discriminatory pledge,³³⁴ it accepted the EU's supranational character of decision-making. The Peasant Party's essential condition for supporting the EU was that a level playing field between Polish and EU farmers be established.

Europe was, however, a seriously dividing issue within the party, its most conservative faction defending the strict interpretation of neo-agrarianism and remaining sceptic of the effects of integration. The progressive faction of the party revised its position on the European Union and the CAP's impact in the welfare of Polish farmers. This resulted from a learning process which took place as Polish relations with the EU evolved. Indeed, the accession negotiations, as a give and take process, resulted in the party abandoning its perception of the CAP as a system of domination of the poor by the rich and Kalinowski's leadership stroke a more rational appreciation of the CAP's effects on the Polish peasants.³³⁵

Indeed, despite its Eurosceptic faction, the PSL campaigned for a Yes in the accession in the referendum campaign. The party linked its support for EU accession to the issuing of a land turnover law that was approved just before Easter 2003 and campaigned on the slogan "Don't fear the Union. We are with you!" Kalinowski stated that the accession to the EU was an opportunity of unifying those forces that accept integration but see it as a challenge. "We can equate the Polish EU accession to the mobilization (of the peasant electorate) in the

³³² Idem, p. 35-37.

³³³ RFE/RL Newslines, vol.6, 128, Part II, 11 July 2002.

³³⁴ *Chronić Rolnictwo w Procesie Integracji*, (Protecting the Farmers in the Process of Integration), Warsaw: 1999

³³⁵ Interview with Jarosław Kalinowski, "Kalinowski: Jednoczmy Sie Pod Sciana", (Kalinowski: We Unite against the Wall), *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 28 October 2003.

nineteen twenties, which permitted to ignore many differences dividing politicians and unify the country. I repeat, the EU does not take away our independence but it is a big, epoch-making challenge."³³⁶

The Samoobrona's European position: The left-wing parties have seen the presence of a Eurosceptic party for the first time after the Samoobrona's electoral feat on the 2001 elections. Until the 2001 parliamentary elections the Samoobrona's position has been one of outright Hard Euroscepticism. The Samoobrona rejected integration on the grounds that it threatens "the state and the national economic sovereignty". Lepper's defence of the economically disfavoured classes led him to focus primarily on the question of Polish economic sovereignty, which was threatened by the "transnational corporations that want to eliminate the Polish economy and provoke the demise of several branches of industry and agriculture."³³⁷ Poland is only needed for these corporations as a "reserve of cheap labour and an outlet of their products". This lethal process can only be stopped through the "cooperation of all true patriots".³³⁸ Instead of European integration, Lepper and his party offered Poland an ambiguous concept of political and economic autarchy to which is sometimes added a pan-Slavic ideology.³³⁹

During the 2001 election campaign Samoobrona's attitude towards European integration changed. Andrzej Lepper was less vocal in its opposition to integration; "We do not share the arguments of certain opponents to European integration, for whom accession to the Union and the submission of our laws to the European institutions is equivalent to a loss or a restriction of Polish independence." Lepper's self-declared Euro-realism meant the party's

³³⁶ Interview with Jarosław Kalinowski, "Kalinowski: Jednoczmy Sie Pod Sciana", (Kalinowski: We Unite against the Wall), Gazeta Wyborcza, 28 October 2003.

³³⁷ Paradowska, J. (2000), "Blok z Blokad", (A Blok in the Blok), Polityka, 5, p.31.

³³⁸ Może, a Wiec Muszi Być Lepiej. Samoobronnej Programy Narodowej, (It Can, and it MustGet Better, the Samoobrona's National Program), Warsaw: 1992.

³³⁹ Stanowisko w Sprawie Przystapienia Polski do Unii Europejski, (Position on the Issue of Accession to the European Union) Warsaw: August 2001.

rational judgement of the pros and contras of integration,³⁴⁰ but his declarations were often contradictory. While in January 2002 he would declare in the Sejm: "Today we say a square 'No' to the European Union, because we cannot see that we will ever attain any real partnership. We see nowadays that we are at Europe's feet, submissive to its wishes. The Union offers us increasingly worse conditions and the government agrees to that – in the name of which interests, I dare to ask?"³⁴¹ However, in April 2002 Lepper would contradict these declarations and proclaim: "Contrarily to the accusations spread, the Samoobrona is not an anti-European party. If Poland is able to negotiate equal conditions of accession to the EU, (...) becoming a member of the Union in the shortest time possible is, from any point of view, a good idea".³⁴² Despite the ambiguity of its positions, Lepper seems to have matched the abandon of nationalist rhetoric with a conditional Euroscepticism.

Analysis

This chapter tests the hypothesis that the economic ethos determines social democrats, agrarian and far-left parties' attitudes towards European integration. The evolution of the Polish left-wing presents us with three cases in which this proposition is confirmed. The transformation of two regime parties, the PZPR and the ZPL into social democracy and agrarianism implied a redefinition of their ethos. Class and estate became not only the identifying concepts of the parties but also the evaluation criteria for the *a priori* compatibility between the national interest and European integration.

The SLD's progressive evolution in the Eurosceptic-Europhile axis ensues both from its transformation to social democracy and from a changed perception of the EU policy regimes.

³⁴⁰ Programy Samoobrony Wybory Parlymentary 2001, (The Samoobrona's Parliamentary Election Program 2001), Warsaw: 2001.

³⁴¹ Lepper's declarations in the Sejm, Stenographia Wydawnictwa, January 2002.

³⁴² Lepper's declarations in the Sejm, Stenographia Wydawnictwa, April 2002.

In the 1997 election campaign the party's conversion to European integration took a very prominent position. The Hard Europhilism of the party resulted also from the class cosmopolitanism on which the political ethos is based upon. The party's programmatic transformation, based on the Enlightenment's pledge of individualism and secularism facilitated and reinforced the party's acknowledgment that the European Single Market allowed for a higher level of social protection than Poland would enjoy if joining alone the international market. The SLD's recognised that new international economic conditions demanded a different strategy to maintain redistribution and social justice away from demand-side policies designed to promote full employment. The party's Europhilism resulted in a progressive convergence with social democratic thinking in Europe, which proposes a redefinition of the redistributive role of the state.

The EU's responsibility in the creation of a regime of regulated capitalism made the SLD and other social democratic parties in Europe recognise the *a priori* coincidence between national interests and European integration. Support for Social Europe became an electoral and internal slogan of the party, so much so that it appeared part of the party's identity and a synonym to the party's own transformation. The SLD's Hard Europhilism ensues from seeing the EU as an ally in pursuing its new interpretation of social justice.

The UP's conditional Euroscepticism derives from the commitment of the party to a traditional interpretation of social democracy, which not only proposes that the state should remain committed to policies leading to full employment but also, due to its close relations with the OPZZ trade union, proposes more specific "club goods" for workers. It was the party's traditional interpretation of the redistributive role of the state that determined the UP's Soft Euroscepticism until it joined the SLD in a governing coalition. The conditionality of UP's Euroscepticism derives from the UP's commitment to a cosmopolitan and secular political order.

The PSL transformation is equally interesting in the context of the ethos theory. Although the European position derives primarily from the party's conception of estate, the nationalist definition of the political community led the party to an unconditional objection to

European accession. The nationalism of the party's dominant faction between 1992 and 1997 also contributed to the party interpreting the protectionism of the Europe Agreements in relation to Polish agricultural products as the sign of a structural bias of the EU's CAP against poor countries.

When taking over the party leadership in 1997 Jarosław Kalinowski substantially revised the party's appreciation of the impact of the CAP on the Polish peasantry. The revision was certainly facilitated by the progress in the relationship between Poland and the EU when negotiations started and a discussion on CAP reform flared up again in Brussels in 2002. Since the early nineties the PSL's official line had been that support for European accession depended on the conditions offered to Polish farmers. However, after 1997 the party changed its stances regarding support for accession. In the early nineties the PSL made the defence of family farming a condition for support for European integration; in 1997, it considered that an extension of CAP in its existing form was a sufficient condition for support for European integration; on the eve of accession, and in the context of the debate taking place in the 2002 CAP mid-term review, the PSL defended the position that a de-coupling of production and subsidies, as long as this condition ensured the equal application of conditions of farmers across the enlarged Europe. This stance meant that the PSL accepted that the CAP reforms might imply a lowering of benefits of all farmers across Europe.

The different alliances that Andrzej Lepper established with disparate ideological groups make it difficult to pin down the basic political and economic values of the Samoobrona. However, an analysis of the evolution of the last years makes it apparent that the party identity is mainly based on a radical conception of economic class and is constituted by those heavily disadvantaged by the transition. The Samoobrona can therefore be classified as an extreme-left party. The abandoning of its early nationalism in 1999 was translated later into a more conditional Euroscepticism. This appears to confirm the hypothesis that the downgrading of the party's nationalist political ethos meant a less principled opposition towards European integration. However, the fickle character of the Samoobrona's ideology makes it rather difficult to attribute the party's European positions to a change of ideology.

Chapter V Testing government-opposition dynamics as an explanation for parties' European attitudes

This chapter tests the hypothesis that Euroscepticism is a function of parties' government and opposition dynamics. The most recent contribution to the literature portraying parties' positions on European integration as deriving from strategic considerations is Sitter's portrayal of Euroscepticism as a function of parties' opposition strategies.³⁴³ Sitter's theory draws on metaphors of the mechanisms of party competition, in particular on the centripetal and centrifugal modes of competition as a way to explain variation in the rise of party-based Euroscepticism. Parties' opposition strategies to the government, conceived either as a cartelised group of parties or simply the party in government, determine parties' European stances. Parties or factions within parties pursuing a polarising strategy (centrifugal tactics) are prone to adopt Euroscepticism. On the contrary, parties carrying out centrist or centripetal strategies are prone to be Europhiles. Sitter also maintains that the timing of structuration of the different segments of the party system influences the undertaking of Euroscepticism.

Considering that interest-based parties obey a different logic in their attitudes towards European integration, Sitter provides a third category of opposition as a source of Euroscepticism, the opposition of interest-based parties to the state. Sitter considers that opposition to the state derives from Dahl's theory of opposition, therefore belonging to the same broad category of party strategies of competition.³⁴⁴ However, excluding interest-based parties from the working of the main theoretical logic of centripetal/centrifugal competitive positions is not theoretically justified. Sitter's theory derives essentially from Downs spatial

³⁴³ Sitter, N. (2001), *op.cit.*

analysis of office-seeking party competition. Even if we transform Sitter's interest-based category on an orthogonal dimension, alternative to the main axis of competition,³⁴⁵ this criterion still deviates from the main theoretical proposition.

The exclusion of interest-based parties from the governmental-opposition dynamics on the basis of their support or opposition to the state provides an exception based in a criterion that is unrelated to the theory's fundamental assumptions. Parties that are based on well-defined and circumscribed economic interests, such as agrarian or regional parties, are not expected for any fundamental reason to be significantly different from parties based on an economic segmentation of the electorate that is wider by definition, like the socialists or the liberals. Both types of parties will eventually derive their fundamental European position either from their evaluation of the impact of European integration on their capacity to deliver economic welfare to their constituencies, or from their governmental or opposition status. The only difference between these two types of parties is that agrarian parties do not have an *a priori* political ethos. Since these parties are generally not catch-all types, their political conceptions are strongly subordinated to the protection of defined economic interests. The criterion of opposition to the state is closer to the ideological-based explanation and cannot therefore be integrated in a strategic theory of party positions.

The success of a party in becoming a centre party depends on its accomplishments as a pivot for political groups. Opposition to the core parties originates from those opposing the centripetal mode of competition (polarising parties). Core parties are therefore those that compete in a centripetal way by acting as magnets in the main space of competition. Polarising parties tend to extend the axis of competition, without changing its content, by choosing a centrifugal mode of competition and diverging from the main party coalitions.

³⁴⁴ Sitter, N. (2001), *op.cit.*

³⁴⁵ This tactic is dubbed "heresthetics". Parties consider this effort worthwhile because these orthogonal axes of competition benefit their creators' *ex-ante*. A party could set up the very standards on which other parties competed – the same standards which it can best fulfill, by exploiting an existent cleavage in society that the other parties avoid. See Rikker, W. (1986), *The Art of Political Manipulation*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rather than attempting to create a different dimension of competition, these parties occupy the extremes of the existing axis.

The development of the Polish party system since the start of the democratic transition is a good study case for testing centripetal and centrifugal dynamics. The Polish party system has frequently changed throughout the last ten years. Creating parties was an extremely popular activity in Poland, especially before elections, partly due to the incentives created by the electoral system. Three critical elections can be identified in the formation of the centre and peripheral segments of the party system. In each election, 1993, 1997, 2001, a de-consolidation and reconstruction of the core and the periphery of the party system took place.³⁴⁶ The classification of parties in this chapter is structured around these three elections. For each section there were two separate sections accounting for parties acting in a centripetal or in centrifugal manner. The Polish case also presents a good test of the attitudes of interest-based parties to European integration. The Polish Peasant Party is a typical interest-based party and its strategic behaviour, identity formation and positions regarding European integration serve as a good test case for Sitter's category.

³⁴⁶ For an account of coalition efforts between 1993 and 1997 see Kaminski, M. (2001), "Coalitional Stability of Multi-Party Systems: Evidence from Poland", *American Journal of Political Science*, 45(2): 294-449, p. 299

Centripetal parties

Operationalising Concepts

Party centripetalism is an office-seeking strategic behaviour with the objective of gaining office and retaining it throughout several elections. Centripetal parties choose a mode of moderate competition that implies a fight for the centre position in the axis, where the majority of the votes are cast through the use of moderate propaganda tactics and consensual politics.³⁴⁷ Following Capoccia's classification of anti-system parties, I classify centripetalism as a behavioural concept, by separating ideology from behavioural strategic considerations.³⁴⁸ Centripetal parties are those that compete through the themes of the main axis of competition, adopt a pivotal role for coalition making, accept that role by another party or promote the values in which the political regime is founded. Centripetal parties are regime-builders and relational centrism is operationalised through a general evaluation of a party's coalition and propaganda strategy, rather than its location in the ideological space. In the event that this axis is not yet stable, centripetal parties are those shaping it. In cases where the party system is overcrowded with parties, and due to the exclusivity of office, a centripetal strategy implies that parties assume a pivotal role in the creation of large coalitions.

Other ways of classifying competitive party strategies stem from the proposition that ideologies can be the source of competition within a multi-party system. In these classifications parties are grouped through the content of their ideology and policy positions, and the degree of their ideological extremism is analyzed. Traditionally, anti-democratic

³⁴⁷ Downs, A. (1956), op. cit.; Daalder, H. (1984), "In Search of the Center of European Party Systems", *American Political Science Review*, 78(1): 92-109, p. 99.

³⁴⁸ Capoccia, G. (2002), "Anti-System Parties: A Conceptual Reassessment", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1): 9-36

ideologies were the touchstone of anti-systemic party stances.³⁴⁹ However, the decline of explicitly anti-democratic ideologies like fascism and communism, and the difficulty in finding an uncontested definition of democracy, has meant that ideological anti-democracy is no longer a conceptual equivalent to an anti-system stance.³⁵⁰

Classifying centripetal parties

The 1991 elections were the first fully competitive elections in Poland. They produced a highly polarised and unstructured party system and legislature (twenty-nine parties gained seats in the parliament). The governments that followed the 1991 elections were as divided as they were unstable. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki first served as Prime Minister, presiding over a centrist liberal coalition consisting of post-Solidarity forces. This coalition was increasingly unstable and fell two months after the September 1991 elections. In December 1991, the government of Jan Olszewski initially formed a minority coalition dominated by the PC and the ZChN. This government stalled on several policy questions, including the privatisation programme announced in June 1991 by the previous government. After a disastrous attempt to oust communist collaborators from public life, initiated by the ZChN's leader Antoni Macierewicz, the Olszewski government fell in July 1992.

Olszewski's successor, Hanna Suchocka, formed a coalition that included the PC, the UD and the KLD. The UD and the KLD had constituted what was called the "small coalition" which had opposed the previous government's interventionist bent in the economy. The PC and the liberals immediately clashed over the role of the Church in public life and over economic liberalisation. Due to the fragmentation of the right-wing, a coalition of many parties was necessary to attain office, which kept alive party hopes of participating in government.

³⁴⁹ Sani, G. and Sartori, G. (1983), "Polarization, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies" in Daalder, H. and Mair, P. (eds.), Western European Party Systems, Competition and Change, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, p.307-40.

³⁵⁰ Capoccia, G. (2002), op.cit.

This resulted in delayed differentiation of core and polarising parties.³⁵¹ The confusion was aggravated by a multitude of very small parties which “defined themselves as the moral guardians of political philosophies”.³⁵²

The only party that until 1993 was clearly rejected by all the other parties was the post-communist SdRP (later the SLD). Although coming second in the elections, the party was still marginalized from the core of acceptable coalition partners. “For all significant parties it was unacceptable at that time, and continued to remain unacceptable, to enter into any open coalition with, or even to officially cooperate with the SdRP as the heir to the defunct communist party (PZPR).”³⁵³ In the 1991 elections the SdRP did not seek a place in government but hoped for a strong parliamentary presence.³⁵⁴

The 1993 elections, however, changed this state of affairs and drew the limits of the emerging core. Not only were the ex-communists to form a government in coalition with the PSL but also most right-wing parties failed to pass the newly introduced threshold. Although the right-wing parties had attempted to unify in view of the elections, the negotiations collapsed, and the right went into the elections fragmented. Of the parties comprising Suchocka’s coalition government, only the UD survived in a six-party Sejm. The UD and the BBWR, both parties retaining a firm commitment to centre-right economic policies, performed the core opposition to the SLD-PSL government.

The transformation of the SLD into a legitimate catch-all party started before 1989 and involved the consistent change of the party’s image to one of moderation, professionalism and parliamentary cohesion.³⁵⁵ This strategy was explained by one of the party reformers,

³⁵¹ Jasiewicz, K. (1993), “Polish Politics on the Eve of the 1993 Elections”, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(4), p. 387.

³⁵² Bielecki, J. (1992), “The Dilemma of Political Interests in the Post Communist Transition” in Connor, W. and Ploszajski, (eds.), Escape from Socialism: the Polish Route, Warsaw: IFIS, p.206.

³⁵³ Zubek, V. (1993), “The Fragmentation of the Polish Political Party System”, Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 26(1): 47-71.

³⁵⁴ Millard, F. (1992), “The Polish Parliamentary Elections of October 1991”, Soviet Studies, 44(5): 837-855, p. 843.

³⁵⁵ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), Redeeming the Communist Past: The Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Josef Oleksy. "We became a pragmatic party. A criticism of this today may be justified, but it does not mean that we could have done it otherwise in 1989. We could not, and so after the dissolution of the PZPR we consciously became a non-ideological, pragmatic, electoral party."³⁵⁶ To gain its place in the centre of the party system the SdRP coalesced with a large number of small parties, trade unions and social organisations under the head of the SLD. The SLD's transformation into a centripetal party is due to the election of a small and young elite group for the party leadership in January 1990. Through the acceptance of the market and the staking of a laic and liberal social attitude this elite controlled not only the party's strategic behaviour but also the transformation of its interpretation of class, creating in this way an alternative to the right's political discourse.³⁵⁷

The PSL as a centripetal party

The 1993 parliamentary elections also marked the PSL's entrance into the political centre. Parties representing a specific constituency have a strong tradition in Poland, inherited from the communist past and its opposition, the Solidarity trade union. The trade union revived its political role as the main force behind the AWS. However, not only has this role been transitory, but it also seems to have deflected Solidarity from its role of representing the interests of workers.³⁵⁸ The only surviving political force of interest representation from communist regime was therefore the Polish Peasant Party.

Historically the representation of farmers in a predominantly rural country has been a contested role among Polish parties. In the early days, the once satellite of the PZPR, the PSL, competed for this role with the successors of Rural Solidarity, the Peasant's Agreement (PL). The United Peasant Party (ZPL) obtained four out of seven cabinet posts in the

³⁵⁶ Quoted in Trybuna, 13 May 1996; Andrzej Potocki, quoted in *Wprost*, 9 June 1996.

³⁵⁷ Grzymala-Busse, A. (2002), *Redeeming the Communist Past, the Regeneration of Communist Parties in East Central Europe*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

³⁵⁸ Staniszkis, J. (2000), *The Emerging Enigma: Post-Communism Compared*, Warsaw: ISPPAN.

Mazowiecki transition government in 1990. Although the PSL was a satellite of the ZPL it gained acceptance and legitimacy much quicker than the SLD, partly by leaving the PZPR block and allowing Solidarity to gain a majority in the post-1989 parliament. The PSL's effectiveness in maintaining an extensive local network, maintained through auxiliary organisations such as the volunteer fire-fighting brigades, helped to maintain the loyalty of farmers inherited from communist times.³⁵⁹ The party also inherited from the ZPL considerable financial resources, which provided another advantage for the party. In 1991 the PSL's leader Waldemar Pawlak was the first choice of Lech Wałęsa for prime minister, but failed in forming a cabinet. During the 1991-1993 parliament the PSL was already an acceptable coalition partner and was integrated into the category of core parties much earlier than the SLD.

By 1993 the PSL, already recovered from its communist past, became the only possible coalition partner for the SLD. The PSL's quick recovery of a centrist status in the party system resulted both from the fact that the regime divide impeded any post-Solidarity parties to form a coalition with the SLD³⁶⁰ and results also from the fragmentation of the party scene in the early nineties. This fragmentation "presents a standing temptation to one or other of the smaller opposition parties to move over, as indeed the agrarians did repeatedly in Scandinavia."³⁶¹ The determination to restore an image of moderation also led the PSL to re-establish good relations with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.³⁶² The 1993 elections confirmed the PSL as the farmers' political representative when the party got 15 percent of the vote.

³⁵⁹ Grzymała-Busse, A. (2002), op.cit., p. 125.

³⁶⁰ The SdRP had tried to reach out several times to co-opt UD as its ally, but the party repeatedly refused, fearful of electoral backlash, Trybuna Ludu, 27-8 September 1993.

³⁶¹ Daalder, H. (1984), "In Search for the Center of the European Party Systems", American Political Science Review, 78(1): 92-109.

³⁶² Dziewanowski, M. (1996), Polish Populism in Held, J. (ed.), Populism in Eastern Europe, New York: Boulder.

Although the SdRP tried to avoid the inevitable coalition with the PSL after the victory in the 1993 elections,³⁶³ the ostracism to which the SLD was devoted at the time impeded another outcome. The relationship between the two parties was rather strained, with the PSL acting as a brake on reforms and “thinking only about how much it can grab for the peasants”.³⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the party reinforced its governmental status through Pawlak’s brief tenure as Prime Minister in 1993-1994. In the long-term, however, this might have tainted the party image, since its ability to answer to the grievances of the rural population was rather limited. Rural populations were one of the most negatively affected by the transition process, and the PSL failed to mitigate the population’s problems while in government. The belief of voters in their capacity to do so also diminished, as the decrease of support from 15 percent in 1993 to 7 percent of the vote in 1997 indicates.

The party’s decline in electoral support, the exclusion from government in 1997 and the rise of the Samoobrona meant that the party faced an increasingly difficult environment. The party nevertheless promoted the image of a centre party and attempted to create international links with parties with similar genealogies, such as the Scandinavian Centre Parties.³⁶⁵ After the 2001 elections the PSL returned to government, again as a junior partner of the SLD, but with much less leverage, only to lose that status in 2002.

The 1993 election results fostered the split of the coalition of the right-wing parties in three main formations. The right faced the next election united into two large coalitions, the Election Action Solidarity (AWS) and the Freedom Union (UW). A smaller party, the ROP, had a nationalist outlook. After the 1997 election, the AWS and the UW formed a majority government. The core of the Polish party system seemed to be structured around a Christian, a liberal and a Socialist identity, and could be characterised as moderately pluralist. The AWS

³⁶³ Nasz Program dla Polski: Trzy Lata Pracy Parlamentarnej, (Our Program for Poland: Three Years of Parliamentary Activity SLD Parliamentary Club), Warsaw: 1996, p.8.

³⁶⁴ Marek Borowski, resignation speech as Finance Minister, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, 7 February 1994.

campaign was based on a moderate platform and made inroads into the political centre ground by avoiding religious fundamentalist rhetoric.³⁶⁶ In its early days the AWS tactics proved successful in promoting the moderation of political forces such as the ZChN, by attracting it into the political centre ground.³⁶⁷ The AWS electoral platform was characterized by a moderate support for the Church's intervention in public life and a conservative view of the social order.

Later in the term, however, the conflicts within the governmental coalition increased, and eventually led to its dissolution in June 2000. The AWS's internal disputes were so strong that the party coalition started to disintegrate, triggered by the poor electoral results of its leader, Marian Krzaklewski, in the 2000 presidential elections and his refusal to withdraw as party leader. In the run up to the 2001 elections the centrifugal forces within the right-wing were dominant, and were aided by the change of the electoral law to favour smaller parties. The dissolution of the AWS and the UW gave rise to three new parties on the right. The right-wing core opposition remained in this way fragmented and organised around two new parties, the PO and the PiS. Both parties assumed the core opposition status.

The centripetal parties' European positions

Sitter's argument is essentially that the difficulties caused to government by opposition to Europe results in Europhilism being an endogenous characteristic of centripetal strategies. Parties belonging to the core are deemed to adopt Euroscepticism only temporarily and when in opposition. Although Sitter suggests that the existence of a Eurosceptic interest-based party can prevent the appearance of both core and polarising parties, the theory also deems a

³⁶⁵ Komunikat z Międzynarodowej Konferencji Partii Politycznych, (Communiqué in an International Conference of Pesant Parties), Warsaw 21-22 June 1999.

³⁶⁶ Szczerbiak, A. (1998), "Electoral Politics in Poland: The Parliamentary Elections of 1997", Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics, 14(3): 58-83, p. 63.

³⁶⁷ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN's Programmatic Declaration), Warsaw: May 2000.

core party in opposition as prone to adopt Euroscepticism. This theory therefore predicts that parties aspiring to office will drop their opposition to Europe.

Although Polish core parties do not develop a more critical tone towards Europe when in opposition, a party's centripetal strategy is associated with taking pro-European stances. The centripetal strategies of parties are not, however, both sufficient and necessary conditions for the adoption of Europhilism, but appear to be a facilitating factor in the creation of a centrist unified identity. The development of the centre-left SLD and the centre-right AWS coalitions in the wake of the 1993 and the 1997 elections illustrates that centripetal party strategies have better chances of succeeding when Europhile. The change of SLD's position on European integration came at a time when the rhetoric of a "Common European Home" was becoming obsolete and the opposition to NATO expansion a reminder of the ex-communists past. Therefore, when during the 1993 election campaign the party decided to support accession to NATO and deemed integration as a one-time chance to access the centre of European economic power; this seemed to follow both its ideological transformation and its centripetal strategies. This decision, taken at the II Party Congress, was portrayed by an adviser to President Aleksander Kwaśniewski as a "rational decision to complete the party's transformation and increase the party's chances of attaining office."³⁶⁸ Kwaśniewski's advisor for European Affairs, asked about the party stance in 2000, when the support for accession steeply declined among the party supporters,³⁶⁹ declared the party's Hard Europhilism to be unchangeable. "The party is firmly committed to European integration and will remain so, independently of its voters' opinions. There is absolutely no debate about this stance."³⁷⁰

The AWS's political debut in the 1997 elections resulted in a unified statement of the right-wing forces on the EU, hailing European integration as a Christian enterprise.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ Author's interview with Krzysztof Szamalek, advisor of President Kwaśniewski. October 2000.

³⁶⁹ CBOS, Support for European Accession, 2000.

³⁷⁰ Author's interview with Paweł Świoboda, advisor to President Kwaśniewski on European Affairs, July 2000

³⁷¹ Program Akcji Wyborczej Solidarność, (Electoral Program of the AWS), Warsaw: May 1997.

However, the unity displayed during the elections did not last. Once the AWS entered office the party became increasingly divided on European integration. When the accession negotiations started, the AWS and the UW government took charge of establishing the Polish positions for negotiating accession with the Commission. This gave rise to a sometimes conflictual bargaining process within the government regarding the negotiation stances; the government adopted a harsh negotiating style and raised hard negotiation stances towards the Commission, conveying the image of a tough negotiator. The most exacerbated of such conflicts was related to the demand of an 18-year transition period for authorizing land ownership by foreigners. This position was the result of negotiations between the ZChN and other nationalist groups, that wanted a permanent exception for foreign ownership of Polish land, the rest of the AWS coalition and the UW, that favoured more flexible stances regarding the purchase of land by foreigners.³⁷² Given the nationalist rhetoric of the ZChN and other members of the coalition, foreign ownership of land became a highly symbolic issue, fuelled by fears of German *revanchism* over the lost territories in Western Poland.

A similar position had been taken in 1991 by the Centre Alliance (PC), a predecessor of the AWS; the PC was cautiously supportive of integration and despite its language of defence of the Polish national interest and poising for hard negotiation stances, it adopted an *a priori* acceptance of the coincidence between the Polish national interest and European integration. The PC depicted its support for integration as a matter of *raison d'État*. The disintegration of the PC in the sequence of centrifugal strategies by nationalist politicians resulted in the party's disintegration and the undermining of a basis for right-wing consensus on European integration.

Throughout its existence the UD was fully supportive of European integration, not only in government but also in opposition. Its opposition status did not change its Hard Europhilism; on the contrary, it seemed to reinforce it. Frequently during the 1993-97

³⁷² Author's interview with Leszek Jesień, member of the Polish negotiating team, June 2000.

parliament the UD politicians made pro-integration declarations in the Sejm. The successor of the UD, the UW, in government after the 1997 elections, entered into open conflict with the most clerical and nationalist sectors of the AWS, a fight most visible in the conflicts over the leadership of the Committee of European Integration (UKIE). After the 1997 elections the ZChN's leader Rychard Czarnecki had become the Under-Secretary of state of UKIE, a post given to him in the attempt to convert the party to Europhilism.³⁷³ Czarnecki's fundamental opposition to the process resulted in an open conflict between the ZChN and the UW.³⁷⁴ The personal conflict between Czarnecki and under-secretary of state Piotr Nowina-Konopka led to the eventual dismissal of the former in 1998, after the Commission withheld the attribution of PHARE funds to Polish projects. Different preferences of negotiation strategy were also one of the causes of contention within the AWS-UW coalition, and such divergences were one of the causes behind the break of the government coalition in June 2000.³⁷⁵ Also it was while in opposition, between 1997 and 2001, that the SLD became progressively more assertive in its Europhilism. The party criticised the government's demands for an 18-year transition period and favoured softer and more flexible negotiation stances.

The Law and Justice kept an obscure attitude on European integration, partially out of internal disagreements on the ideological profile, part of strategic indecision. The issue was the subject of several internal discussions within the party, the most important of which occurred during a Congress in March 2003. These discussions involved two factions: the one formerly belonging to the nationalist ZChN and the faction once part of the Christian democratic PC. The nationalist Eurosceptic faction disagreed with the Christian democratic leaders' advocacy of conditional Europhilism. The party remained ambiguously opposed: its

³⁷³ Author's interview with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, UW MP and Under-Secretary of State of UKIE, November 2000.

³⁷⁴ Zjednoczenie Chrzescijanski Narodowe, Memorandum do Przewodniczacego Akcji Wyborczej "Solidarnosc" Pana Mariana Krzaklewskiego, (ZChN's Memorandum to the President of AWS, Marian Krzaklewski), Warsaw: November 1998.

³⁷⁵ Author's interview with Alan Mayhew, advisor to the Polish Government on issues of European integration, June 2000.

support is conditional on the limitation of political integration. According to PiS the EU should be an intergovernmental organisation with strong redistributive policies. During the negotiations on the European Constitutional treaty the party strongly criticised the government's agreement on giving up the voting formula gained at Nice. The party also opposed a Constitutional Treaty for not mentioning Christianity as the main source of European identity. Law and Justice's Soft Euroscepticism is often accompanied by a rhetoric suggesting the protection of Polish national identity, interests and moral values within the European Union, but its tone appears as rather sceptical of the coincidence between Polish national interests and European integration. Also illustrative of the PiS's attitudes on European integration is the protocol the party prepared to be attached to the Accession Treaty stipulating that issues like abortion and morality are out of reach of European law.

The PSL's European stances deserve a special attention for they disprove both Sitter's theoretical propositions: first, that interest parties' support of the state, rather than the representation of a certain cleavage, determines their Europhilism and secondly, that participation in government leads to Europhile positions. The evolution of the PSL's European stance does not support these two propositions by Sitter. Not only was the PSL's pro-state attitude not translated into Europhilism, but the PSL's moving from Soft Europhilism to Soft Euroscepticism did not coincide with its participation in government or opposition. The party, having integrated the core of the party system in 1993, was not restrained by this move and issued several anti-European declarations.

In the early nineties, underneath the general consensual statements on EU accession, the PSL adopted a position of conditional support regarding the benefits of opening agricultural markets. "Being favourable to integration of Poland in the EEC, we underline the need to investigate if this road does not lead us to false hopes. We should know whether European integration is not simply guided by principles of liberal fundamentalism."³⁷⁶ The PSL

³⁷⁶ Żywa, Bronia, Gospodarują, Dokumenty Programowe, (Living, Defending, Farming), Warsaw: 1993.

also considered that “market openness is not always good” and that the party prefers the formula of “Europe of the Nations”³⁷⁷.

The PSL’s Eurosceptic position during the 1993-97 government seems to have been triggered by the Europe Agreements and the shock therapy. When integrating the government in 1993 the PSL became particularly critical of the EU’s protectionist attitude, which disadvantaged Polish products, and demanded its renegotiation. The discrimination felt by Polish farmers had long lasting effects and set the party’s attitude towards accession negotiations. The party’s documents expressed an attitude of *a priori* disapproval of European integration. In 1997 this theme was still present in party declarations: “one can not tolerate the asymmetry privileging the EU in opening the Polish market to agricultural products.”³⁷⁸

From 1996 onwards the PSL formulated more precise stances, developed throughout the party’s prolific literature on the issue. On the one hand, as the Commission became more specific on the requirements for accession preparations (White Book on Accession), it became clearer that the PSL’s neo-agrarianism clashed with the concept of agrarian reform pursued by the Commission. “While the Commission demands the increase of the size of the agricultural holdings, the PSL favours the maintenance of the family-based agricultural exploitations”.³⁷⁹ This interventionist policy, which should help to tackle unemployment, would be sustained with the help of funds from the EU.³⁸⁰

However, despite the objections created by neo-agrarianism, the PSL shifted slowly into a position of cautious Europhilism when the accession negotiations started. The party rhetoric

³⁷⁷ O Kształtowaniu Szans Rozwoju dla Polski. Dokumenty Programowe, (Shaping the Chances of Polish Development), Warsaw: 1993.

³⁷⁸ Przesłanki i Generalne Cechy Programu Społeczno-Gospodarczego PSL, (Premises and General Features of PSL Social-Economic Program), Warsaw: 1997.

³⁷⁹ VII Kongres PSL. Dokumenty Programowe. Punkt IV: Przygotowanie Rolnictwa do Integracji Polski z Unią Europejską, (VII Congress of the PSL, Programmatic Documents, Preparing the Farmers for the Integration with the European Union), Warsaw: 1998.

³⁸⁰ V Kongres PSL. Dokumenty Programowe, (V Congress of PSL, Programmatic Documents) Warsaw: June 1997

determined that its positions towards accession should not be based on vague considerations but on the objective assessment of the costs and benefits of accession, in particular to farmers.³⁸¹ This position implied that if European accession would bring economic benefits to Polish farmers, the party would be favourable. This implied abandoning the nationalist definition of its constituency as the class of small, family-sized farms to mean all the rural population. This same reasoning led the party to advocate a referendum on accession.³⁸² The tough protection of Polish economic interests became the dominant discourse of the party. "In industries where liberalisation is dangerous for us the Union contests our attempts to protect our market. In sectors where we are not prepared and frontal competition would mean their liquidation we should be prepared to negotiate with realism and hard positions."³⁸³ When the PSL defined that the interests of farmers were to maintain agricultural protectionism and increased interventionism, the fundamental condition for supporting integration was the extension of the CAP to Polish farmers³⁸⁴ "from the moment of accession, such as market surfaces, the structural funds and direct benefits to farmers. This means that the Polish farmers should acquire the same rights as most of the farmers of present member states."³⁸⁵ With such declarations the PSL articulates its Soft, conditional Europhilism.

In the early months of coalition government with the SLD in 2001 the PSL's internal controversy over European integration and party identity unfolded again. Hardliners within the

³⁸¹ PSL Wobec Najważniejszych Problemów Społeczno-Gospodarczych Kraju, (The PSL Facing the Most Important Political and Economic Problems of the Country), Warsaw: November 1996.

³⁸² Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe, Letter of Jarosław Kalinowski to all Leaders of Political Parties, 11 August 1998, Warsaw: 1998, Stanowisku VI Kongresu PSL o Sprawie Integracji Polska z Unia Europejska, 21 November 1998 Warsaw: 1998.

³⁸³ PSL Wobec Najważniejszych Problemów Społeczno-Gospodarczych Kraju, (The PSL Facing the Most Important Political and Economic Problems of the Country), Warsaw: November 1996.

³⁸⁴ V Kongres PSL, Dokumenty Programowe, (V PSL Congress), Warsaw: June 1997; VI Kongresu PSL, (VI PSL Congress), 21 November 1998, pk. 8; VII Kongres Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego Dokumenty Programowy, (VII Congress PSL, Programatic Documents), Warsaw: March 2000.

³⁸⁵ VII Kongres Polskiego Stronnictwa Ludowego, Dokumenty Programowy, (VII Congress of PSL, Programatic Documents), Warsaw: March 2000.

party were weary on trying to conciliate their position as coalition partners with the SLD's pro-Europeanism and soft negotiation stances on land issues. The moderate stance prevailed again over the nationalist wing of the party. The PSL's leadership reinforced the attitude that they were "not expecting a preferential treatment, just conditions that make possible the development of Poland in all sectors"³⁸⁶. Jarosław Kalinowski, party leader and Minister of Agriculture, developed a more flexible position by declaring that what is essential for the party is a "level playing field" between Polish and EU farmers, not necessarily direct subsidies from the EU. This position seems more flexible and conciliatory in view of the expected CAP reform, which intends to sever the link between farm subsidies and farm output, in time equalising subsidies throughout the enlarged EU.³⁸⁷

The PSL's shift between Europhilism and Euroscepticism does not seem to derive from cycles of government and opposition, nor from support and opposition to the state. From its inception, the PSL has been the most *étatist* of the Polish parties, in particular as regards the strengthening of the duties of the state as a redistributive agent towards farmers. The party's shift from Soft Europhilism to Hard Europhilism, and back, does not match the governmental cycles of the PSL; on the contrary it goes against them and seems to be rather a result of a learning process on the meaning of the CAP.

³⁸⁶ Stanowisku VI Kongresu PSL, (Positions of the VI Congress PSL), 21 November 1998, Warsaw: 1998.

³⁸⁷ RFE/RL NEWSLINE Vol. 6, 128, Part II, 11 July 2002.

Polarising parties

Capoccia defines polarising parties through the disentanglement of Sartori's definition of anti-system parties, by downplaying the ideological aspects of the concept. Capoccia's more refined typology of party behaviour combines ideological and relational aspects of the concept and offers a new variant of anti-system party, the polarising party. Although not ideologically anti-systemic, the polarising party is defined by its opposition to the party system centre. The assessment of relational anti-systemness is based on a general evaluation of a party's coalition and propaganda strategies, rather than its location in the ideological space.

A polarising party "adopts isolationist strategies, tends to build a separate pole of the system, refuses to enter coalitions (at the national level) and resorts to outbidding propaganda tactics, systematically opposing and discrediting some founding values of the regime, on which all other parties agree."³⁸⁸ Contrary to the typical anti-system party, which combines location and ideological anti-systemness, i.e. an incompatibility with the democratic ideological referents, the polarising party does not present a clear cut opposition to democratic values.

One chief consequence of the unstructured nature of the Polish party system is that many parties could aspire to be part of the government. This incentive resulted in polarising parties tempering their criticism of the government, their propaganda tactics and their alliances so as to remain acceptable as coalition parties. Until 1997 it was difficult to distinguish between polarising and centre parties in the Polish party system. The classification of parties therefore follows the assessment of the parties' medium-term strategies rather than their punctual actions or declarations.

³⁸⁸ Capoccia, G. (2002), "Anti-System Parties, a Conceptual Reassessment", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1):9-

Classifying polarising parties

The KPN status as a polarising party is undisputed. Known for its penchant for direct action, in 1991 the KPN's Chairman Leszek Moczulski was excluded from the government coalition because of the concessions he demanded for entering the Bielecki government. Although participating in the Olszewski government in 1992, Moczulski quickly decided to leave it, hoping to benefit from his absence from government to mobilise social discontent in subsequent elections.³⁸⁹ The success of such strategy led to a rise in popularity in 1992, at which moment the party attempted to take a more centrist outlook and retreat from alliances with the ultra-nationalist right.³⁹⁰ While the KPN avoided the involvement with more radical nationalist parties, during the 1993 election campaign the party's extreme propaganda tactics involved defaming other parties, especially the governmental ones.

The ZChN's polarising statute is more difficult to assess. The party was very radical in its opposition to the separation of the church and the state and its support to the "Christianisation of political life", placing itself in the extremes of the main axis of competition. However, it participated in almost all right-wing governments until 1993 and this had a moderating effect on its rhetoric and behaviour. Once in government, the party's behaviour was more mixed. The responsibility of the ZChN's leader, Antoni Macierewicz, in provoking the fall of the Olszewski government, where he served as Justice Minister, gives the party an image of an unreliable force.³⁹¹ However, during the Suchocka's government the ZChN, although routinely torpedoing proposals they saw as "antifamily", anti-Church or too liberal, attempted to establish itself as a core party, by remaining loyal in votes that did not imply sacrificing the party's Christian Values. When the vote of confidence in the government was

³⁸⁹ Millard, F. (1994), "The Polish Parliamentary Election of September 1993", Communist and Post-Communist Studies, 27(3): 295-314.

³⁹⁰ Prazmowska, A. (1995), "The New Right in Poland", in Cheles, L. Ferguson, R. et. al. The Far Right in Western and Eastern Europe, London, Longman.

lost by one vote, the ZChN Member of Parliament that voted against the government was immediately dismissed³⁹². The drive for office seems to have guided the party to more moderate political stances. "Whatever our ideology, the ZChN politicians have always been flexible enough to make cooperation with the centre-right a priority. This implied leaving behind extremists like Antoni Macierewicz or Jan Łopuszanski".³⁹³

The defeat of the right in the 1993 elections was partly due to the personal antagonisms. The unwillingness of the KPN, the ZChN and Jan Olszewski's Movement for the Republic (RdR) to cooperate resulted in the exclusion of these parties from parliament. Although altogether the right-wing did not lack popular support, the fragmentation of the right-wing scene led to the fact that only the KPN passed the threshold for representation in the Sejm. After the 1993 elections the KPN adopted a more pro-church rhetoric, in its attempt to occupy the space of the Catholic nationalist right. Only after Kwaśniewski's victory over Wałęsa in the presidential elections of 1995, did the right successfully started to mobilise to defeat the ex-communist SLD with a unified party.

The rebirth of the nationalist right resumed with the foundation of ROP as an anchor of this sector in 1996. Jan Olszewski's success in the presidential elections was a building block for the constitution of the party. The ROP's entry in the political scene mobilized the remaining players on the right, who formed a broad coalition around the Solidarity trade union, the AWS. Small parties faced the choice of joining one or the other group. The ZChN, despite its earlier clericalism and nationalism, opted for joining the AWS, committing itself to a more consensual behaviour, and thus joined the group of core parties. As a result of this move, the party eventually expelled the most extremist and uncompromising elements, like Jan Łopuszanski, who created of a new parliamentary group, the Polish Agreement (PP), on an ultra-Catholic

³⁹¹ Millard, F. (1994), op. cit.

³⁹² Author's interview with Andrzej Potocki, UD and UW's MP and Spokesperson, July 2003.

³⁹³ Author's interview with Mariusz Kaminski, ZChN's MP, July 2000.

and nationalist ticket.³⁹⁴ The PP set itself clearly against the core of politics. “In the last elections, Poles voted but did not choose. Whether they support the left, the centre or the right –they supported the same security, foreign and economic policies. Elections do not bring change. The PP wants to give the Poles the possibility of authentic choice.”³⁹⁵

Attempts of cooperation between the AWS and the ROP, be it in the form of pre-electoral or post-electoral coalitions, failed on tactical and ideological grounds.³⁹⁶ Contrary to the AWS, the ROP showed signs of extremist propaganda tactics during the Constitutional debate in 1997.³⁹⁷ In the run up to the 2001 elections the ROP initially joined the AWSP, only to leave it shortly before the elections. After refusing advances from Lech Kaszynski’s PiS, Jan Olszewski and some followers joined the extremist LPR.³⁹⁸

The 2001 elections gave rise to a polarised pluralist system³⁹⁹ by giving parliamentary representation to two polarising parties of a left and right character. The ultra-clerical and nationalist ideology of the LPR is not a new phenomenon in Poland. Although it is primarily the project of a newcomer, the 31-year old Roman Giertych, it counts Jan Olszewski, Antoni Macierewicz and Jan Łopuszanski within its ranks. The novelty in this parliament was that the ideological space was extended by the success of the Samoobrona and its transformation into a radical left-wing party. Since 1992 Lepper has organised mass protest meetings of different kinds, rallies, stay-in demonstrations in public buildings, blockades of public roads demanding the clearing of peasants’ debts, cheap credits, and a ban on import of foreign

³⁹⁴ RFE/RL Newline, 27 July 1998.

³⁹⁵ Komunikat Porozumienie Polskie, (Communiqué of the Polish Agreement), Warsaw: November 1999.

³⁹⁶ In April 1998, one of the largest parliamentary parties performed a secret survey to measure potential benefits from coalitions with various partners. Kaminski, M. (2001), “Coalitional Stability of Multi-Party Systems: Evidence from Poland”, American Journal of Political Science, 45(2): 294-449.

³⁹⁷ RFE/RL Newline, 12 May 1997.

³⁹⁸ RFE/RL Newline, 10 May 1999.

³⁹⁹ Sani, G. and Sartori, G. (1983), “Polarization, Fragmentation and Competition in Western Democracies” in Daalder, H. and Mair, P. (eds.), Western European Party Systems, Competition and Change, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, p.307-40.

foodstuffs. The Samoobrona's behaviour in parliament, which included slandering several of the SLD's and the PO's politicians, left no doubt of the polarising status of the Samoobrona. The party's propaganda tactics are in total opposition to the "status quo".

The European positions of polarising parties

The most established use of Euroscepticism relates to the logic of polarisation, since Euroscepticism is seen as a way to mark opposition to the main parties' cartel, the so-called "touchstone of dissent"⁴⁰⁰. Sitter predicts that polarising parties will more easily adopt Eurosceptic rhetoric if the core parties and the territorial, value or interest-based opposition follow a consensual policy on European affairs at the moment of the polarising parties' formation. This consensus creates an incentive for new political forces to exploit the issue.

Although the consensus on European policy in the early years of democratisation appeared strong, a careful analysis of parties' attitudes on European integration shows a different picture. There were two proximate causes for the raising of critical voices and discussions on European integration. First, the negotiation of the Europe Agreements in 1990 and 1991, when the level of market openness in crucial areas such as steel and agriculture was set, resulted on an unfavourable outcome for some of the most important areas of the Polish economy.⁴⁰¹ Second, the proposal of the Commission to integrate Polish regions into an European cross-border region was portrayed as an attempt to erode Polish territorial integrity.

The KPN's manifestoes do not mention the issue of European integration, and the difficulty to discuss European integration using a political language owing to the party's

⁴⁰⁰ Taggart, P. (1998), "A Touchstone of Dissent", op.cit.

⁴⁰¹ Mayhew, A. (1998), Recreating Europe, the European Union's Policy Towards Central and Eastern Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 21-3.

Piłsudskist ideology seems to be at the origin of such lacuna. The party thus did not seem to make sense of its position towards integration, which made it difficult for the leaders to produce any statements on European integration.

The ZChN was the first party to become critical of the terms of the Europe Agreements in 1991, despite its participation in governmental coalitions. "The EU is egoistic since it did not help Poland to overcome the crisis by opening trade in the most important areas for the Polish products".⁴⁰² The party also revolted against the Euro-Regions project, portraying it as an attempt to divide Poland and to threaten its sovereignty. "One should not force the integration of Poland as quickly as possible in the EU."

A change in the party stance was visible in the run-up to the 1997 elections. Facing the choice of integrating two right-wing blocks, the ROP and AWS, the ZChN chose the later. This decision resulted in the change of the party leader, with Marian Piłka replacing Rychard Czarnecki.⁴⁰³ The ZChN's integration in the AWS coalition led the party to take several steps aimed at making the party an acceptable coalition partner. The party expelled its most extremist Eurosceptic members, such as Jan Łopuszanski who created the PP. Campaigning for the Presidency in 2000 Łopuszanski rejected integration to preserve Polish sovereignty.⁴⁰⁴ The party also ended up marginalising Rychard Czarnecki, after he was dismissed as Secretary of State of UKIE due to its Eurosceptic practices. Even though the prevailing faction in the party was a moderate one, the abandon of a fundamentally Eurosceptic position derived from the nationalist ethos of the party. After the pro-European interpellation of John Paul II in the Sejm the party issued a programmatic declaration in which he stated: "with filial love and respect we heard the words of our Saint Father John Paul II in the Polish parliament. We decided to support the construction of the European Community under certain

⁴⁰² Program Wyborczy Zjednoczenia Chrzescijansko-Narodowego, (ZChN's Electoral Program), 1993.

⁴⁰³ Fedorowicz, H. "Marian Piłka Zastąpił Ryszarda Czarneckiego", (Marian Piłka replaces Ryszard Czarnecki), Rzeczpospolita, 26 February 1996

⁴⁰⁴ Program Wyborczy Kandydata na Prezydenta RP Jana Łopuszanskiego, Wybieram Niepodległą Polskę, (Electoral Program of the Candidate to the Polish Presidency, Jan Łopuszanski, We Choose an Independent Poland), Warsaw: 2000.

conditions.”⁴⁰⁵ These conditions were the “maintenance of the concept of Europe of the Nations as the guiding principle” and the observance of “Christian rules”. For these objectives the party would be ready to support European integration.

In 1993 Olszewski’s RdR demanded the renegotiation of the Europe Agreements, assuming an uncompromising tone when calling for the protection of national economic interests in relation with the EU, in particular the protection of internal agricultural market.⁴⁰⁶ The RdR was equally critical of the “dictates of international organizations”, and supported the concept of “Europe of the Nations”. Olszewski’s attitude became more explicit in 1996 with the creation of ROP, which he defined as a Eurorealist party.⁴⁰⁷ In its founding declarations “Agreement with Poland” the ROP demanded that integration takes place only as a partnership project. The ROP started to advocate tough conditions for Polish accession.⁴⁰⁸ This attitude was especially directed at protecting agriculture and was formulated at the time when 80 percent of the population supported Poland’s accession bid.⁴⁰⁹ The ROP’s European attitude opened the way for the clear rejection of integration on the basis of sovereignty.

It was however, the 2001 elections that established the consolidation of parliamentary party-based Euroscepticism. Both the LPR and the Samoobrona opposed integration, but on different grounds. While the Samoobrona’s position is essentially based on the assumption that the EU is the instrument of a liberal conspiracy of rich countries, the LPR campaigns on sovereignty issues, for example claiming that EU law overrules Polish legislation.⁴¹⁰ The LPR

⁴⁰⁵ Deklaracja Programowa ZChN, (ZChN’s Programatic Declaration), Warsaw: May 2000.

⁴⁰⁶ Koalicja dla Rzeczypospolitej. Materiały Wyborcze, (Electoral Material, KLR), Warsaw: June 1993

⁴⁰⁷ Umowa z Polska, (Agreement with Poland), Warsaw: May 1996.

⁴⁰⁸ Założenia Programowe Społeczno-Gospodarcze Odbudowy Kraju, (Socio-Economic Program for the Reconstruction of the Country), Warsaw: November 1996.

⁴⁰⁹ RFE/RL Newslines, 6 August 1996.

⁴¹⁰ Author’s interview with Mariusz Dąca, UKiE’s official in charge of relations with the Polish Sejm on issues of law harmonization, July 2002.

ran a campaign against integration denouncing the supremacy of European Law over the Polish Constitution.

Analysis

This chapter tests a modified version of Sitter's governmental-opposition dynamics as the primary determinant of a party's choice between Euroscepticism and Europhilism. Testing the Polish case leads us to think that government-opposition dynamics are not primary determinants of parties' European positions.

The intention to integrate the core of the party system and occupy office seems to have encouraged the SLD's change of attitude towards the EU before 1993. The AWS positioning as a pro-European force in 1997 can also be related to the coalition's office-seeking strategy. The moderation of the ZChN's nationalism, through the addition of a neo-liberal economic ethos when joining the AWS, fits the party's transformation associated with a centrist profile. Centripetal strategies lead parties to move from Euroscepticism to Europhilism, effectively suspending their ethos. However, the suspension of a party's ethos does not last long. While in office some nationalists were confronted with the dilemma between its principled opposition to integration and the expected role demanded by their office position. A case in point is that despite its Euroscepticism, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski signed the Europe Agreements in 1992. However, the different attitudes within his party, the PC, ultimately led to the secession of its nationalist factions and the creation of the Eurosceptic RdR in 1993.

The empirical material on the Polish case shows that parties in government do adopt anti-European stances, even if they experience severe tensions as a result of these stances. The ZChN and the PSL's stances exemplify this stance; the disintegration of the AWS partially testifies to the tensions arising from Eurosceptic positions. This confirms the ethos theory of parties' European positions and relegates office-seeking strategies to the place of a mediating factor, neither sufficient nor necessary for a certain party European position. The Polish case also does not support the inference that core parties in opposition adopt a more

accentuated Eurosceptic attitude. No core parties in opposition adopt or reinforce their Euroscepticism, although it is difficult to test this proposition extensively since Polish parties tend to disintegrate after an electoral defeat. In cases where they did not disintegrate, core parties in opposition have intensified their support for Europe, as in case of the PSL and the SLD after 1997 and the liberals between 1993 and 1997.

Euroscepticism and the consolidation of the party system centre

Sitter's propositions on the timing of the segmentation of the party system and its impact on parties' Euroscepticism are partially confirmed, but again these results seem to be mediated by the political identities of the new political parties. Sitter's theory predicts that polarising parties adopt Euroscepticism only if, at the time of their formation, the core and interest based parties display a low level of Euroscepticism. The absence of a consolidated centre-right leaves the space for polarising Eurosceptic parties. However, although the absence of a centre party accounts for one less constraint on the moderation of radical party identities, the creation of polarising Eurosceptic parties has been based on available political identities incompatible with European integration. Although their names and organizations have varied throughout the last ten years, most of the polarising parties kept elements of their ideology and their membership from earlier parties.

The European positions of interest-based parties

The PSL's position in the party system seems to confirm Sitter's suggestion that interest-based parties have the potential to influence the European positions of other parties. According to this assumption, the PSL's Euroscepticism between 1993 and 1997 would impede other centre parties from adopting an anti-European stance. However, the ROP, a Eurosceptic party was formed at that time. Moreover, Sitter's suggestions regarding the origins of Euroscepticism in interest-based parties do not hold true in the Polish case. The PSL's anti-Europeanism can be attributed neither to an anti-state stance nor to a centrifugal

strategy. Opposition to the state or to government is not responsible for the PSL's Euroscepticism. The PSL's European stance seems to result from the party's ethos, i.e., on the evaluation of the impact of integration on its constituency. In fact the PSL moved into a position of cautious Europhilism, dependent on the terms of accession for Polish agriculture, with special emphasis on the achievement of a "level-playing field" among European farmers.

While the first category of opposition to government, i.e. the anti-government strategy of a party that is fundamentally centrist but is temporarily out of government, appears to be definitely unfit to account for parties' choices of European attitudes, the second category of opposition, i.e., the polarising behaviour of parties permanently excluded from governmental coalitions appears associated with Eurosceptic positions.

However, the test of Sitter's theory shows that the relationship between these strategies and European integration is rather complex. The fact that all polarising parties are Eurosceptic, but not all Eurosceptic parties display a centripetal behaviour leads us to think that competitive behaviour is endogenously related to parties' European attitudes. The relationship between the three variables, competitive behaviour, party ethos and parties' European attitudes is reciprocal.

The testing of Sitter's theory led us to issue a hypothesis of the relationship between parties' positions and European integration, presented in the theoretical chapter and tested in the following chapter. Although the party family theory overrides the government-opposition dynamic, the creation of core and polarising segments depends on the parties' ethos and on the compatibility between these and European integration. The reciprocity between the three variables of European integration is therefore the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter VI Testing the new strategic hypothesis

This chapter tests the hypotheses that party strategy is not a necessary condition, and in the long-run is not a sufficient condition, for determining a party's European positions. In the short-run, however, party strategy can be sufficient to condition a party's European positions. This is because in the short-run parties can signal both their readiness to integrate government with a Europhile position, and their opposition to the government with a Eurosceptic position. In the long-run, however, this position will be reversed if parties do not reassess their appreciation of the compatibility between their goals and European integration.

Despite the problems that Euroscepticism creates for governmental parties, a centrist strategy is in the long-run neither sufficient nor necessary for a party to sustain a Europhile position. In the long-run the parties' basic conceptions bind their European positions, therefore the compatibility between parties' conceptions of the political and economic ethos and parties' European positions are necessary and sufficient conditions for determining the choice between parties European attitudes.

The European multilevel system of governance makes Eurosceptic parties an odd-fit in government. However, since parties can only sustain support for European integration if they consider it congruent with their conception of the political and the economic community, a strategic-driven attempt to resolve the tensions between Euroscepticism and centripetal strategies will only be successful if it prompts a revision of the assessment of European policy regimes. The resilience of the definition of political and economic communities engraved in parties' ethos constrains this re-evaluation.

The ability to remain at the centre of the party system through an alteration of their European positions depends on parties' ability to re-evaluate the relation between their political and economic conditions and European integration. Since political concepts derive from a moral conception of human nature, responses to European integration of parties based on political ethos are, due to the non-quantifiable nature of the political conceptions, both

unconditional and unchangeable. This makes European supranational authority a problematic issue for parties based on the nation. Economic concepts translate in more prosaic issues amenable to quantification; therefore, parties based on an economic ethos can reassess the relationship between their goals and the European policy regimes.

In party systems where the constituent parts argue as to whether and, if so, how market inequalities should be compensated, conflicts over European integration will tend to be less permanent and intense because of the conditional nature of their European attitudes and the changing European policy regimes. In party systems where the predominant competition is over the definition of the political community, conflicts on European integration are to be more entrenched and intense. The impossibility of changing the interpretation of a political concept makes Eurosceptic and Europhile positions unconditional and unchangeable. In the context of European integration nationalism appears an even more divisive force and restrains the possibilities of alliances of these parties.

Testing the hypotheses

In this chapter I demonstrate the different dynamics between European positions, ethos and strategies of parties based on a political ethos or on an economic ethos. These differences are exemplified by showing the interaction between the European issue and the creation of centre-left and centre-right parties. While on the right the persistence and increased importance of nationalism, a sufficient and necessary condition of Hard Euroscepticism, meant that parties' European positions and competitive strategies were incongruent, on the left the interaction between centripetal considerations, party ethos and the development of European economic regimes facilitated the creation of a centre-left party. The process of accession to the EU made nationalism more divisive. Thus, nationalist parties' objections to European integration made their presence in governing coalitions also more troublesome. These parties' Euroscepticism became the touchstone of their dissent towards liberal and Christian democratic coalition partners. On the left, the transformation to European

social democracy was made smoother by European accession.

This chapter spells out the effects of the interaction between the three sets of variables, thus proposing that Europeanization implies heavy constraints on the ideological formation of centre parties, and consequently, on the structuration of the party system. The success and failure of parties' long-term change of European attitudes has implications for their ability to create a stable centre party and be a constitutive element of governing coalitions. The predominance of parties' ethos as permanent elements of competition means that strong limits are imposed on the Europeanization of party systems.⁴¹¹

A further illation of the ethos theory is that constraints posed by an economic and political ethos vary with the different flexibility of economic and political concepts. While class benefits are divisible and quantifiable and the European policy regimes evolve, the nation is by nature non-divisible and unquantifiable and the nature of supranational political integration set. Therefore, while left-wing parties, based on economic concepts, can change their appreciation of evolving European policy regimes, right-wing parties' European attitudes based on political concepts are immovable in their appreciation of European integration.

The first section of this chapter explains the failure to create a centre-right party by pointing to the divisive effects of a nationalist definition of the political community in the context of Europeanization. Nationalism was a structural impediment to the creation of a broad-based party, more so because it resulted in Euroscepticism, which made governing difficult. The attempts of the Polish right-wing illustrates that the creation of sizeable centre parties implies not only coalition choices but also that coalescent parties find an ideological common denominator compatible with the values informing the process of integration.

The study of nationalist parties shows that the threat posed by the EU to national sovereignty is the underlying determinant of a party's choice of European position. Nationalists therefore face the dilemma of changing their identifying core values or remaining a hazardous force in government. The definition of a political community establishes the

party's Euroscepticism and the party's exclusion from governmental coalitions.⁴¹² The exclusion from the centre gives parties little choice but to resort to polarising behaviour.

The failure to create a Polish broad-based right-wing party illustrates how the nature of nationalist concepts determines parties' European attitudes and in the long-run limits their choice of strategy. Regardless of the centrist strategies of some of the Polish right-wing parties, the resilience of parties' nationalism determines the party's sceptical attitude towards European integration. The resilience of nationalism and Euroscepticism is significant because it hinders these parties' aspirations to office. It appears that, in the long run, ideology is stronger than office and electoral considerations in determining the party's attitude towards European integration even if this seriously hinders a party's competitive changes. Eurosceptic parties in government have maintained an *a priori* incompatibility between European integration and the national interest.

The second section of this chapter analyses the interaction between left-wing parties' European stances, economic ethos and competitive strategies. The quantifiable nature of economic concepts and the changing nature of European economic policy regimes results in a change of left-wing parties' European attitudes. The accession to the EU provided for a synergetic relationship between the office-seeking strategies of some parties, the choice of economic ethos and the party's European attitudes. A particularly successful case was that of ex-communist parties' transformation to social democracy.

⁴¹¹ Ragin, C. (1987), The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies, Berkeley: University of California Press, p.99.

⁴¹² This has been made clear by many authors, especially neo-realists, that see integration as an exclusive enterprise of governments. Moravsik, A. (1993), "Preferences and Power in the European Community – a Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach", Journal of Common Market Studies, 31(4); Sitter, N. (2001), op.cit.

The creation of a centre-right party: the dichotomy between nationalism and European integration

The effectiveness of a nationalist identity in forming a party's opposition to the European project is clearly illustrated by those Polish nationalist parties that, following both centripetal and centrifugal competitive strategies (see chapters III and V), maintained a coherent opposition to further European integration. The Polish nationalists show that a competitive strategy is in the long-run neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for parties' European positions. Despite their continuous attempts to participate in governing coalitions, nationalist parties were not able to maintain their declared support for European integration, and, in the context of accession to the European Union, became particularly divisive elements within the governmental coalitions. Despite the strategic-driven attempt to make national conceptions of the political community compatible with European integration, nationalist parties remained Eurosceptic.

The limits imposed by basic identities on the Europeanization of party systems is clearly illustrated by the interaction between the three variables in the attempt to unify the right-wing in a viable party, first around the PC and, in the 1997-2001 period, the AWS. The appearance of a polarising nationalist party, the LPR, reflects the eventual marginalisation of nationalism in the Polish party system, this not being matched, however, by the creation of a stable centre-right party. This section depicts the failed attempts of right-wing leaders in overcoming ideological differences, and in particular in muting the Euroscepticism of nationalists.

Literature on this issue has called attention to the fact that parties are subject to a learning process that allows them to compete in a centrist way, independently of ideology or party system format.⁴¹³ The exclusivity of public office implies that parties competing in a

⁴¹³ Daalder, H. (1984), "In Search of the Center of European Party Systems", *American Political Science Review*, 78(1): 92-109.

centripetal manner are prepared to change their ideologies by diluting or totally muting issues that prevent cooperation with other parties. This process demands that centrist parties “find compromises, reach agreements and eventually collude in order to find the party profile that best serves the overall common interests of governmental competitiveness”.⁴¹⁴ A virtuous spiral would see the party system unify and stabilise around a number of ideological options and party organisations by agreeing to silence political competition on a number of issues.

My analysis of the Polish right-wing coalition formation between 1991 and 1993, and of the AWS experiment between 1997 and 2001, considers how the failure to create a unified centre-right party impacts on the smaller parties' European positions. Although a Christian democratic party appeared a good basis for a unified centre-right party⁴¹⁵ every attempt to base a centre party on a Catholic identity eventually failed and resulted in an unusually high number of Eurosceptic nationalist formations. Many Polish right-wing unifiers saw Christian democracy as the profile that best expressed the common identity of centre-right parties and one that could earn the trust of voters. Christian democracy combines the appeals of Catholicism and social protection of the family, both respected institutions in Poland.⁴¹⁶ Religious affiliation remained the most important determinant of voting behaviour and a CBOS poll in the late eighties revealed that 44 percent of the Poles accepted Christian democracy as a desirable centre-right ideology while only 24 percent of the respondents rejected it.

The failure of Christian democracy fuelled the historical persistence of nationalist parties and eventually resulted in a high number of Eurosceptic parties. The result was insurmountable ideological divergences, the use of nationalism by central figures in electoral or governmental coalitions and the demise of parties attempting to unify the centre-right. The persistent power of nationalism in Poland is not surprising. Nationalism is the strongest

⁴¹⁴ Bartolini, S. (2000), “Collusion, Competition and Democracy, Part II”, *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 12(1):33-65

⁴¹⁵ Wuthnow, R. (1989), *Communities of Discourse: Ideology and Social Structure in the Reformation, the Enlightenment, and European Socialism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁴¹⁶ Kitschelt, H. (1999), “Post-Communist Party Systems”, op. cit.

endogenous political ideology in Poland. The legacies of romantic and Catholic nationalism took root in the XIX and early XX century Polish history. During communism, Dmowski's and Piłsudski's ideologies were the main source of right-wing opposition to the repressive Moscow-led communist party. From the early days of the democratisation process, several parties competed for the role of guardians of nationalist values. The messianic nationalist legacy of Dmowski assigns Poland with a special role in the European order: Poland should become the missionary in charge of the Christianisation of the continent.⁴¹⁷ By their own account, the Piłsudskist independentist legacy was no less radical in claiming that the highest priority of any Pole should be the defence of their fatherland's independence. Therefore, the priority of a Piłsudskist is to fight any threat to Polish independence, whatever form it may take. Such a mission is hardly easily transformed into pragmatic objectives, be they of economic or social order, and therefore these legacies have been the basis for uncompromising behaviour.⁴¹⁸

1991-1993 Governmental coalitions

The highly fragmented parliament resulting from the 1991 elections provided the context for the first attempts at right-wing coalition formation in Polish democracy. The high number of coalescing parties partly explains the difficulty in finding a compromise among parties, while ideological differences also explains the incapacity of governmental coalitions to unify.

⁴¹⁷ Dmowski, R. (1953), Myśli Nowoczesnego Polaka (Thoughts of a Modern Pole), London: Koło Młodych Stronnictwa Narodowego.

⁴¹⁸ Walicki, A. (2000), "The Troubling Legacy of Roman Dmowski", East European Politics and Societies, 14(1): 12-46.

The Olszewski government

The Solidarity split between liberals and nationalists orchestrated by Lech Wałęsa before the 1991 elections did not impede their governmental coalition. Immediately after the 1991 elections a short-lived government coalition led by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki attempted to join nationalists and liberals. However, the experiment quickly collapsed when the parties involved failed to agree on several economic and political policy stances issues.

When Jan Olszewski reconvened negotiations to establish a grand coalition in the Sejm, ideological coherence again won over office-seeking strategic considerations and the two post-Solidarity liberal parties, the UD and the KLD were excluded. These parties had formed a “small coalition” and spelt out their principles for coalition with the remaining seven parties.⁴¹⁹ Despite the willingness to bridge the differences in economic policy between the two groups, the negotiations fell through on 22 April 1992 when Olszewski refused to make any changes in the cabinet.⁴²⁰ Olszewski declared that his decision had been based on the attempt to prevent his government from “decomposing”.⁴²¹ In fact this meant that Olszewski was determined to keep the identity of its government by excluding the liberal UD or the KLD. The Olszewski government was to be a minority government of the PC, the ZChN and PL.

The government acquired a divisive and combative style and concentrated on symbolic issues such as lustration, i.e., the process of excluding communist collaborators from public life. Lustration can be interpreted as part of a nationalist agenda in the context of the Polish democratic transition from communism. Much more was at stake than the question of past collaboration. Indeed, the conflict seemed to centre on the nature of the Polish state. The project of the nationalist right-wing was to create a national political community of which the ex-communists were excluded. The nation’s natural historic progression should resume from

⁴¹⁹ Sabbat-Swidlicka, A. (1992), “Poland’s Two Camps Specify Terms for Grand Coalition”, RFE/RL Research Report, 1(18).

⁴²⁰ Sabbat-Swidlicka, A. (1992), “Poland: Weak Government, Fractious Sejm, Isolated President”, RFE/RL Research Report, 1(15).

where it had been forced off course in 1939. Moved by moral revulsion at the communist system and a sense of justice denied, Olszewski and his allies argued that communism was an alien period that should be excised from Polish history, its perpetrators punished and its victims rewarded. Judging from the rhetoric, lustration was a nation-building task and a patriotic duty. On the other hand, liberal politicians, prompted both by pragmatism and a civic vision that the political community should include the willing and not the deserving, argued that communism had left an indelible mark on Polish society.

The Olszewski government illustrates the opposing logics of nationalist ideology and governmental imperatives. After five trying months the government fell following the elaboration of a list of supposed collaborators with the communist regime put up by the interior minister Antoni Macierewicz, a list which included several well-known Solidarity activists, and aimed to ban them from taking office. The government was brought down by a vote of confidence supported by the liberal parties of the “small coalition” and the SLD. Olszewski’s priorities in government are also a good illustration of how nationalism narrows the possibilities of coalition between right-wing parties. The government’s reformist mission against the political prominence of forces associated with the communist system meant that UD politicians, by having “collaborated” with the communists and taken part in the Round Table agreements, were considered evil. During the vote of confidence on the government on 4 July 1993, Olszewski declared that the vote would help to determine to “whom Poland belongs”.⁴²²

The Suchocka’s government

Although for many analysts it had seemed impossible to create a wider coalition than the one achieved by Olszewski on 4 July 1992, while in the Sejm parties were still

⁴²¹ Rzeczpospolita, 12 June 1992.

⁴²² Rzeczpospolita, 5 June 1992.

acrimoniously discussing the Macierewicz List, representatives of the warring parties met over a period of nineteen hours. A coalition whose main components were the UD and the ZChN was put together with the help of the trade unionists from Solidarity under the direction of Hanna Suchocka, a technocrat from the UD. Although the presence of the ZChN and the UD in the same coalition was a surprise for many, the fact is that ZChN had since the Bielecki government attempted to downplay nationalism and adopted a centripetal strategy aiming at taking office. The pragmatism of its leadership made it possible for the party, although having claimed a radical version of Catholic nationalism as its ideology, to ally with the most liberal parties. The PC's opting out during the negotiations marked a turning point in the coalition patterns of the right. By failing to find an agreement with the liberals, the PC's leaders decisively relinquished their role as the pivotal element of the right.

The Suchocka's coalition formula was based on a truce between the secular liberals of the Democratic Union and the Catholic nationalists of the ZChN. The limits of this formula were that if the government would lean too far either left or right on social, economic or political questions, this would antagonize one of the major coalition partners, thereby undermining the government from within. Although the liberals were careful in avoiding antagonising the nationalists, the ZChN's hard line factions did not play along with the party's leadership and consistently torpedoed projects considered as anti-family or anti-national. This revealed the limits of the party's ideological transformation. The absence of two ZChN members on the vote of confidence that brought down the coalition on 31 May 1993 by one vote therefore came as no surprise.

The 1993 elections: further fragmentation

Parliament's dissolution on 29 May 1993 was quickly followed by plans for coalition formation on the right. On 4 June 1993 an appeal was launched to unite all the parties "for whom the overriding aim is an independent, democratic, and affluent Poland faithful to the

patriotic traditions of our fathers".⁴²³ Although it was recognised that the grouping should involve a large ideological spectrum, Olszewski started negotiations by imposing an a priori exclusion of liberal parties (the UD and the KLD), as well as the ZChN, from this coalition.⁴²⁴ The new coalition was to be called the Polish Union (ZP). Underlying the project was the attempt to reunify the original PC and the ZChN's radical splinters organised in the RdR, the Akcja Polska and Ruch III Rzeczypospolitej. The only ideological dissonance from the otherwise nationalist profile of the coalition was the presence of the historical Christian Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic – Labour Movement (CD-SP). The CD-SP's historical membership of the Christian Democratic International (CDI) explains the interest of the party unifiers in its integration in the coalition. The coalescent parties expected to get the CD-SP's membership in the CDI transferred to the Polish Union. Although the president of the EUCD (European Union of Christian Democrats) Wilfred Martens, agreed to this plan, its execution was hampered by the German CDU, its leaders arguing that the membership of the EUCD should only be granted after the election results were known. According to Thomas Jackowski, the leader of the CD-SP at the time, the incentive that international affiliation of the CDI implied was the only factor that could have prevented the dissolution of the ZP.⁴²⁵

The conflicts within the ZP originated in the disagreements between the PC and its splinters over the definition of the political community. Olszewski's nationalism followed Piłsudskist' independentist tradition while the PC's brothers Kaszynski followed the Christian democratic tradition. These differing traditions were reflected in different strategies of competition.⁴²⁶ The Polish Union eventually broke under these multiple pressures.⁴²⁷

⁴²³ Lentowicz, Z. (1993), "W Stronę Bloku Centroprawicy", (On the Side of the Centre-Right Block), Rzeczpospolita, 4 June 1993.

⁴²⁴ Zdort, M. (1993), "RdR Stawia Warunki", (RdR Puts Conditions), Rzeczpospolita, 7 June 1993.

⁴²⁵ Author's interview with Tomasz Jackowski, centre-right politician, June 2001.

⁴²⁶ Zdort, M. "Centroprawica Już w Koalicji", (The Centre-right already in Coalition), Rzeczpospolita, 21 June 1993.

⁴²⁷ Kaminski, M. Lissowski, G. and Swistak, P. (1998), "The Revival of Communism or the Effect of Institutions? The 1993 Polish Parliamentary Elections", Public Choice, 97(3): 429-449, p. 436.

With hindsight, Olszewski's choices in 1993 had long lasting effects. Olszewski's nationalism became the basis of an exclusivist conception of his political movement and strongly restricted his coalition options. Olszewski's choice for ideological coherence in opposition to the broadening of government coalition implied that the chances of ideological moderation and the broadening of the electoral appeal dramatically decreased. The radical nature of the nationalist tradition followed by the Olszewski government proved incompatible with the PC's centrist strategy. After suffering a series of splits, the PC leadership decided to follow Olszewski's radical path and abandon the aspiration of becoming a centrist Christian democratic party.

The ZChN factions' nationalism is another illustration that parties' strategy can be limited by its ethos. Despite the willingness of its leaders to be part of Suchocka's government, the ZChN was a disruptive force in parliament, frequently acting to defeat projects of law that it found unpatriotic or anti-family. On the eve of the 1993 elections the right-wing parties composing the governmental coalition chose to run as independent parties. The ZChN ended up integrating a Church-brokered coalition with three minor right-wing parties allied under the heading of Ojczyzna (Fatherland). The fate of Ojczyzna was a prime example of nationalists' insistence on their separate identity: despite the threshold for election coalitions being 8 percent and the opinion polls attributing 6 percent of the vote intentions to the party, the leaders insisted on registering as an electoral coalition rather than a party, which could have passed the electoral threshold for parties, 5 percent. Given that the inability to coalesce was crucial for the disastrous results of the elections⁴²⁸ and perceived as such by the leaders⁴²⁹, it appears that ideological nationalism and strategic considerations clashed not only during the 1991-1993 period but also on the run up to the 1993 parliamentary elections.

⁴²⁸ Kaminski, M., Lissowski, G. and Swistak, P. (1998), op.cit.

⁴²⁹ Jarosław Kaszynski called the separate electoral lists "electoral death lists".

1997-2001: the AWS government

The AWS, formed in the wake of the 1997 elections as a coalition of thirty parties, aimed at challenging the SLD's supremacy. Marian Krzaklewski, the leader of the Solidarity trade union played the role of unifier and opened the electoral coalition to all right-wing forces. The places in the party list were attributed according to the popularity of each party as expressed in the opinion polls. Krzaklewski ascribed to the trade union a coordinating role and exerted personal influence over the AWS's formation. In the chief legislative and coordinating body of the AWS, the National Council, votes were allocated by a formula measuring the relative input of every partner to coalitional power. Krzaklewski, a computer scientist, operationalised the input of the partners with a formula based on several variables, including poll estimates.⁴³⁰ The essence of the scheme was that the Solidarity trade union had blocking power in all national and regional executive and legislative bodies.

The Solidarity trade union was perceived as roughly equidistant to all right-wing parties and Krzaklewski was regarded as its unbiased arbiter. The AWS aimed at recreating the ideological scope of the Solidarity movement in the eighties. Therefore, alongside the conservatives of the SKL and the trade unionists, Krzaklewski integrated several formations of soft and hard catholic nationalists, such as the Stowarzyszenia Rodzin Katolickich, the Rodzina Polska, and the Liga Krajowa.

Controversy emerged over the inclusion of Hard Eurosceptic nationalists in the AWS. While some considered them necessary partners of a successful centre-right formation,⁴³¹ others argued that giving the nationalists a place in the AWS's electoral lists meant assuring the survival of non-reformable parties that would otherwise have been eliminated from the

⁴³⁰ Variables included membership, numbers of representatives in legislatures at all levels, territorial span, media access, know-how potential, input to local AWS organizations, votes in recent presidential and parliamentary elections, and the mean support in recent polls for parties and leaders. The formula was not released to the public.

⁴³¹ Łętowski, M. "Trzymać Się Prawej Ściany", (Holding the Right-Wing Wall), *Rzeczpospolita*, 16 June 1998.

political scene.⁴³² In fact, their integration in the centre-right confirmed a distinctive feature of the Polish party system. While nationalist parties were prominent in most other countries of the region,⁴³³ only in Poland did nationalists have such a prominence in the centre of the party system. Even members of the AWS associated with Christian democracy, like Maciej Łętowski, were of the opinion that extreme nationalists should always be included in a right-wing coalition to avoid the creation of a sizeable nationalist right.⁴³⁴ It was also believed that the support of Radio Marja was very advantageous in the elections, and helped the centre-right to achieve a majority in the parliament.⁴³⁵

The result of the inclusion of the nationalists in the AWS was disastrous for the discipline of its parliamentary caucus. Their penchant for extreme behaviour is well encapsulated in Jan Łopuszanski's declaration: "In the AWS we must use confrontation".⁴³⁶ The AWS unifiers, especially Krzaklewski and the trade unionists, had hoped to keep a grip on the smaller nationalist parties of the coalition and predicted that the governing experience would have a moderating effect on them. The governing experience not only did not change their behaviour but increased their capacity to exert vetoing power. Ultimately Krzaklewski's position was weakened by the nationalist' ability to put the government in check.

Given the smaller parties' potential for blackmail, the AWS was gradually modified into a coalition clustered around five main constituent elements that were to jointly take decisions. Meanwhile a new Solidarity-sponsored political party, the Solidarity Electoral Action-Social Movement (RS AWS), led by the Prime Minister Buzek, was set up in November 1997 to take over the union's political functions as the union gradually withdrew from politics. A more equal

⁴³² Majcherek, J. "Kłopoty na Własne Życzenia", (The Trouble of our Wishes), *Rzeczpospolita*, 13 June 1998; Majcherek, J. "A Kłopoty Pozostały" (And the Trouble Persist), *Rzeczpospolita*, 30 June 1998.

⁴³³ Vago, R. (1991), "The East European Radical Right and European Integration", Paper to the Conference on the Radical Right in Western Europe, University of Minnesota.

⁴³⁴ Łętowski, M. " Trzymać Się Prawej Ściany ", (Holding the Right-Wing Wall), 19 June 1998.

⁴³⁵ Majcherek, J. " A Kłopoty Pozostały ", (And the Troubles Persist), *Rzeczpospolita*, 30 June 1998.

⁴³⁶ *Slowo Ludu* in 12 June 1998, quoted in *Politika* on 27.06.1998.

distribution of power between the larger and more structured parties, the Conservative People's Party (SKL), the Polish Agreement of Christian Democrats (PPChD) and the ZChN was established. The increased power of these three parties put some checks on Krzaklewski's power as a party leader.

Krzaklewski's intention had been to fulfil the decade-old project of unifying the right by transforming the AWS into a single party. The purpose of the RS-AWS was not only to separate the political from the industrial functions of the Solidarity trade union but also to create an organisational basis for the unification of the right-wing. The founders of RS AWS expected that AWS parliamentarians relinquish the membership of their parties to become members of the RS AWS. However, none of the AWS's MPs but the trade unionists left their original parties and the RS AWS never fulfilled the hopes of its leaders. The fact that each of the main AWS partners strongly underlined their distinctive identity and could potentially threaten the government's majority also meant that the government had to constantly square off their various partisan interests. This obviously jeopardised the party's coordination capacity and the efficiency of the government.

Squaring the circle: impossible ideological combinations

Krzaklewski's pre-electoral speech illustrates how much the formation of the AWS in 1997 was a pragmatic affair in which parties coalesced without questioning the compatibility of their identities: "This large, modern formation will embrace the national, Christian, democratic and independent traditions."⁴³⁷ The attempt to create an encompassing party organisation was not accompanied by any agreement on a common overarching identity. The founders initially focused on attaining and controlling state power by building party structures capable of controlling the state administration.

It was already clear when the party attained power in early 1998 that the idea of developing a Christian democratic identity was taken with some enthusiasm by the party unifiers. Christian democracy was seen as the ideology with the best chances of attracting overall support. Within the circles of the founders of the RS AWS, Christian democracy was seen as a neutraliser of ideological disagreements between the Catholic nationalists and the liberals.

However, although Krzaklewski and the trade union had been regarded as unbiased arbiters, when the choice of a common presidential candidate was to be made, his impartiality was quickly doubted. His candidature was controversial from the outset, and opposed by the liberal and conservative wings of the party. Krzaklewski's campaign strategy was one of polarisation on nationalist grounds⁴³⁸ which made any agreement between the AWS's parties even more difficult to achieve. The leader of the SKL, Jan Maria Rokita, led a coalition of moderate conservatives and asked for an internal party referendum to choose the presidential candidate. However, the leadership and the rank-and-file of the Solidarity trade union refused to question Krzaklewski's right to present itself as the AWS's presidential candidate. By choosing a nationalist tactic Krzaklewski provoked an irate response from the AWS's moderate conservative parties. By taking the side of the nationalists and accepting the support of Radio Marjia, the trade union leader relinquished the role of moderator that he had devised for himself. Krzaklewski nationalist electoral strategy jeopardised the possibilities of a Christian democratic identity.

Without ideological or organisational settlement within the AWS, Krzaklewski's landslide defeat in autumn 2000 provoked a crisis that would tear apart the AWS in the run-up to the 2001 parliamentary elections. Despite the internal opposition, Krzaklewski refused to step down from the AWS leadership. The AWS statutes foresaw that a change of leadership

⁴³⁷ Przemówienie Marian Krzaklewski na Konwencji Przedwyborczej w Radomiu, (Foreword by Marian Krzaklewski at the Pre-Electoral Convention in Radom), October 1997.

⁴³⁸ Łętowski, M. "Trzymać się prawej ściany", 19 June 1998 and Zdort, M. D. "Kandydat Katolicki i Radykalny", (Catholic and Radical Candidates), Rzeczpospolita, 22 June 1998.

required 75 percent of the votes in the Political Council. The two constituent parties controlled by Krzaklewski, the Solidarity trade union and the RS AWS counted 48 percent of the votes. Therefore, the change of leadership envisaged by the other parties of the coalition was not attainable through statutory means. Krzaklewski initial reaction was to try to get rid of the SKL and other rebellious elements. "We always had problems with the group of the AWS politicians that oscillated between the AWS and the UW. This problem has to be solved once and for all."⁴³⁹ However, the rebellious parties did not show willingness to leave peacefully, and considered that the AWS was "as much theirs as it was Solidarity's". After two months of negotiations mediated by Prime Minister Buzek, the historical leader of the ZChN, Wiesław Chrzanowski, and the Catholic Church, the rebelling parties founded a federation excluding the trade union and the nationalists and threatened to leave the AWS as a tactical move to provoke change.

Although the resistance of the constituent AWS party leaders was partially motivated by Krzaklewski's tactics to centralise power,⁴⁴⁰ the opposing parties justified their resistance to Krzaklewski's tactics with ideological arguments. Jan Maria Rokita, Krzaklewski's main opponent within the AWS, stated that the strategy embraced by the trade union leader "threatens the AWS with a Lepenisation process, a radicalisation that does not allow the AWS to govern."⁴⁴¹ Rokita also alluded to the fact that Krzaklewski had jeopardised his own role of mediator and the possibility of unification of the right around a Christian democratic option by adopting a radical right nationalist discourse in the run-up to the presidential elections.

After Krzaklewski eventually stepped down as party leader, its succession came to the fore, bringing again into light the ideological conflicts that had hampered the unification of the AWS. Nationalists and liberal candidates were rejected as they were not acceptable to one or the other of the parties' in the coalition. "For the trade unionists Krzaklewski is their man (...).

⁴³⁹ Gazeta Polska, 11 October 2000.

⁴⁴⁰ Waszkielewicz, B. and Zdort, M. "Toszącość Partii Władzy", (Identities of the Parties of Power), Rzeczpospolita 24 October 2000.

⁴⁴¹ Jan Maria Rokita's speech to SKL's Political Council, quoted in Rzeczpospolita, 16 October 2000.

Liberals, which want to change their leaders, are a fifth column".⁴⁴² The increased influence of the SKL conservatives in the AWS after the defeat of Krzaklewski and the creation of a federation of parties, the Federation AWS, made the conservative option embodied in Maciej Płażynski desirable. Part of the conservative wing of the SKL, Płażynski was a member of the AWS RS and was widely accepted as a future leader of the centre-right party.

However, Płażynski's plans were different. Andrzej Olechowski's performance in the presidential elections had triggered in the conservatives the hope of creating a successful liberal conservative party able to dominate the centre-right. Krzaklewski acknowledged this fact when he stepped down as the AWS political leader in early December 2000. "Politicians of the centre-right tend to marginalise the role and the meaning of Solidarity. The predominance of the conservative liberal programme is in conflict with a Christian social vision of the centre-right. The trade unionists must react to the attempt to de-solidarise the centre-right".⁴⁴³ During the following months the AWS would slowly disintegrate into several small parties. The project of a Christian democratic party based on the trade union was over.

The EU accession proved a particularly difficult context for the Polish right-wing unification. The parties of the post-Solidarity camp differed in their attitudes towards the EU; in government these differences proved extremely divisive, and European integration became the touchstone of disagreement between the parties. Nationalists' Euroscepticism translated into each of these attempting to hinder the accession process while in office and this, in turn, heightened the conflicts with the other coalition members. Despite their office-driven attempts to reinterpret their ideology into compatibility with European integration, the defence of the Polish nation remained necessary and sufficient to dictate a Eurosceptic attitude. The context of European integration made the disagreements between the right-wing coalition partners more concrete, and deepened the divisiveness of nationalists.

⁴⁴² Quoted in *Gazeta Wyborcza*, October 2000.

⁴⁴³ Declaration to the XIII Meeting of the Solidarity trade union in Spale, quoted in *Rzeczpospolita*, 12 December 2000.

No party illustrates the difficulty of overcoming Euroscepticism as well as the ZChN. The primacy of the ZChN nationalist ethos over its centripetal strategies was particularly obvious when Rychard Czarnecki was appointed chair of the Committee of European Integration (KIE) in late 1997. When integration in the AWS in 1996 became a possibility the ZChN centrist strategy resulted in the choice of the moderate Marian Piłka as a leader. However, when in February 1998 Piłka tried to take the party transformation one step further by drawing it closer to the UW by strengthening the economic ethos,⁴⁴⁴ the leader faced strong internal opposition and was eventually closely challenged by a hard liner, Henryk Goryszewski, in the party's internal elections.

Despite the attempts of the party to reinterpret its ethos into compatibility with European integration and one of the party's leaders, Ryszard Czarnecki, being made chairman of the office for European integration (KIE), the ZChN's presence in office after 1997 was still marked by the party's attempts to hinder European integration. Czarnecki's performance as KIE's chair resulted in a sharp conflict with the liberal leaders. Due to the ensuing institutional paralysis in KIE, the prime minister started chairing the Committee in order to reinforce its authority over matters of European integration. The controversy over Czarnecki's leadership had far reaching consequences for the progress of accession preparations. After Czarnecki's resignation in June 1998 the KIE's position was weakened by a long period of institutional instability as a coalition deadlock prevented the prime minister from appointing a permanent KIE secretary. The Freedom Union's insistence on its right to propose a candidate for the KIE secretary, and the ZChN's opposition to the notion illustrates the ideological fight for the control of the process of European integration.⁴⁴⁵ The ZChN inspired a number of negotiation stances, such as that of an 18-year transition period for the sale of land to foreigners. In parliament the harmonisation of Polish legislation with the *acquis communautaire* was also encumbered by nationalist members of the coalition who opposed the process and impeded

⁴⁴⁴ Zdort, M. "Partyjni Weekend", (Weekend Parties), Rzeczpospolita, 2 March 1998.

⁴⁴⁵ Author's interview with Piotr Nowina-Konopka, July 2000.

the transposition of directives into Polish law, making the failure to implement the acquis one of Polish chief liabilities. When the disintegration of the AWS produced a more polarised environment in parliament, one group of ZChN's politicians joined the PO's conservative liberals, the other the national conservative PiS.

2001: The search for ideological coherence

Once the chances of AWS's survival appeared minimal, the incentives for conservatives from the SKL to remain in the coalition decreased considerably. The temporary settlement of the AWS crisis was jeopardised in early 2001 when the chosen leader of the new AWS, Maciej Płazynski, abandoned the party to form a new conservative liberal party project, the Platform of Citizens, with Andrzej Olechowski. The exit options also determined splits from the UW and, after some months of hesitation, the splitting of the SKL and its integration into the PO.

The demise of the AWS Christian democratic project was a critical moment in the right-wing's evolution, making the creation of a broad Christian democratic party less likely.⁴⁴⁶ Once a cooperative endeavour fails to endure, the chances are that fragmented and small parties will return to their initial identity. Small parties, with lower competitive capacities, tend to have higher ideological consistency (even if a less appealing one). Parties in a weak competitive position are dependent on loyal members and activists. When parties become weaker competitors, militants are more likely to advance⁴⁴⁷ and leaders attempt to maximise existing supporter loyalty by retaining symbols and appeals with their organisational forms or the symbolic past treasured by its membership.

⁴⁴⁶ Pierson, P. (2000), "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence and the Study of Politics", American Political Science Review, 94(2): 254-268.

⁴⁴⁷ Kitschelt, H. (1989), "The Internal Politics of Parties: the Law of Curvilinear Disparity Revisited", Political Studies, 37(3), p.407.

The project of unifying the centre-right was not dead. In their early days both right-wing parties, the Law and Justice (PiS) and the Citizens' Platform (PO), maintained explicitly fuzzy identities as a way to preserve a range of choices. The triple leadership of the PO encompassed a socially conservative wing and a faction based on economic neo-liberalism. The supremacy of economic neo-liberalism became clear. Contrary to the expectations of some of its leaders, the PO's identity was overwhelmingly dictated by economic neo-liberalism, which led one of the conservative party founders to leave the party. "There was no desire in the Civic Platform to widen its electorate, while there was a desire of a large part of the electorate for stabilization in the centre. That is a difference of ideas" Płażynski said, adding that Poland needs a "popular, broad-based, right-wing party that is not associated with just one circle."⁴⁴⁸ To this claim the liberals answered that Płażynski's proposals that included an approximation with the PiS national conservatives would disorientate their electorate, especially in matters related to European Union. "For a long time we did not know what is the position of the PiS in this matter. We have the impression that Płażynski is nostalgic of the political majority of the AWS, but for the politicians originating in the UW, the AWS is a warning and not an inspiration."⁴⁴⁹ As Krzysztof Piesewicz emphasised: "We want to build a formation of people that think in the same way about the values, the objectives and the ways of acting of the party. We are not interested in a party that has as an objective supporting someone to the presidency, or a party to oppose that. That would finish, as always, in a permanent parliamentary crisis."⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ Kublik, A. "Maciej Płażynski Odchodzi z Platformy", (Maciej Płażynski Leaves the Platform), Gazeta Wyborcza, April 2003.

⁴⁴⁹ Interview with Janusz Lewandowski, Gazeta Wyborcza, 9 April 2003.

⁴⁵⁰ Krzysztof Piesewicz, quoted in Gazeta Wyborcza, 10 April 2003.

Polarisation and nationalism

The analysis of the interaction between European attitudes, strategies of competition and ethos shows the prevalence of the latter over the other two elements. Despite the attempt to mute nationalist identities integrating into governmental coalitions, these parties remained wary of shedding political sovereignty. This resulted in nationalists' disruption of the accession process. When the accession negotiations started in September 1997 the Euroscepticism of some of the governmental parties started being seen as a danger and the imperatives of the process of law harmonisation led the AWS to exclude Jan Łopuszanski from the government's parliamentary circle.

The failure to form a Christian democratic party resulted in the increased importance of nationalism and the unusual number of Eurosceptic parties in the 2001 elections. The electoral success of two Hard Eurosceptic parties resulted in the establishment of a strong Eurosceptic lobby in parliament flanking both centre-left and centre-right parties in government.

The predominance of parties' nationalist political ethos in dictating parties European positions seems also to have contributed to the establishment of the polarising identities of the LPR and the Samoobrona. The evolution of the nationalist polarising right suggests that Eurosceptic parties were progressively excluded from the centre. This exclusion has met with a mode of competition that explicitly adopts "isolationist strategies, tends to build a separate pole of the system, refuses to enter coalitions (at the national level) and resorts to outbidding propaganda tactics, systematically opposing and discrediting some founding values of the regime, on which all other parties agree."⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ Capoccia, G. (2002), "Anti-System Parties, a Conceptual Reassessment", *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 14(1): 9-36.

Synergies between identities and strategic behaviour

The PSL and the SLD's transformations

The transformation of the PZPR and ZPL from regime parties implied a transformation of their ethos and doctrine, by abandoning communism and embracing social democracy and agrarianism. Without betraying their left-wing orientation, the parties' leaders based their new identities on the definition of the economic concepts of class and estate. Their political ethos had diverse origins: while the Polish Communist Party was one of the most entrenched parties in class internationalism of the Central and Eastern European communist parties,⁴⁵² the PSL is the inheritor of nationalist conceptions inherent to biological agrarianism, the ideology of the inter-war peasant movements.

Being based on divisible and quantifiable economic concepts, the PSL and SLD's European positions had a conditional nature, and the transformation of the parties resulted in a different appreciation of the CAP and the Single Market regime. The governmental drive of the two parties, its ethos transformation and their European positions became mutually reinforcing elements.

The SLD's class-based cosmopolitanism

The transformation of the SLD is an example of the synergies created by the consistent pursuit of a social democratic ethos, governmental office and Europhilism. The SLD's ideological transformation from communism to social democracy was, arguably, one of the drivers of transition itself. By accepting market economy, an internationalist conception of the political community and stressing their liberal social policies the new party leadership elected

⁴⁵² Kitschelt, H. (2002), "The Strategic Conduct of Post-Communist Successor Parties", in Bozóki, A. and Ishiyama, J. (eds.), The Communist Successor Parties of Central and Eastern Europe, New York: Sharpe.

in January 1990 steered the party into the core of the party system. The ideological choices of the SdRP made possible both the incorporation of several minor parties into a single structure and the broadening of the party's public appeal. The drive to attain governmental office also consisted of the search for international recognition, and the party multiplied its efforts to gain membership of the Socialist International and integrate the Party of European Socialists.

As I have argued in chapter IV, the victory of the SdRP's reformist leadership in taking control of the party determined its rapid transformation. The office-seeking drive of the party went hand-in-hand with the transformation of the party's ethos, which consisted not only in stressing a liberal social and political stance but also the abandon of Keynesian demand-side policies. By the mid-nineties the SLD's leadership had understood, through direct governmental participation, the constraints on the development of a strong welfare state imposed by international commitments and considered the EU's policy regime as a relatively more protective environment of class interests. This transformation was in pace both with European social democratic transformations and with the economic policies pursued by the European Union.

The legacy of communist internationalist ideals in Poland is now embodied in SLD's Hard Europhilism. The support for European integration results essentially from the party viewing the EU as a facilitator of social democratic economic ideals. Moreover, whenever class-based cosmopolitanism is combined with the perception of a synergetic relationship between the party's economic goals and those of the EU,⁴⁵³ the sufficient conditions for unconditional Europhilism are met. Also, although in the 1980s communist leaders attempted to revamp failing support for the regime by using nationalist rhetoric and symbolism, the Soviet imposition of communism on Poland made Polish national communism a contradiction in terms. The SLD's Hard Europhilism therefore also derives from the communist legacy of internationalism.

The PSL's re-working of the concept of estate

The PSL transformation and survival was anchored in the division between rural and urban ethos.⁴⁵⁴ Although farmers do not constitute a class and therefore their political ethos is not *a priori* given,⁴⁵⁵ due to the historical circumstances of the birth of the agrarian movement in XIX-century partitioned Poland, the PSL's political ethos is founded on the concept of nation.⁴⁵⁶ Agrarian parties are primarily based on the idea that land ownership should be rewarded by support and privileges from the central state. However, the freeze imposed by communism on the development of the farmers' movements in Poland meant that the PSL's ideological resources deriving from interwar ideologies combined the two conceptions in the concept of family farming. The PSL's interpretation of the concept of estate was therefore influenced by the nationalist concept of the role of farmers.

The success of the PSL's transformation from communist satellite party, as well as its resistance to the catholic parties' attempts to incorporate it,⁴⁵⁷ certainly owes much to the conception of the particular role of farmers in the survival of the Polish nation. However, the main identifying element of the PSL is economic in nature and the identification of the peasantry with the nation practically elevates peasants' interests to national interest. The

⁴⁵³ Marks, G. and Wilson, C.J. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", British Journal of Political Science, 30(3): 443-460, p.435.

⁴⁵⁴ Small, family-sized farmers are proportionally very numerous in Poland. Incidentally this is considered by Stein Rokkan one of the most determinant conditions for the creation of a farmers' party. Rokkan, S. (1967), "The Structuring of Mass Politics in the Smaller European Democracies: a Developmental Typology", Comparative Studies in Society and History, 10, p. 173-203.

⁴⁵⁵ Kane, A. Mann, M. (1992), "A Theory of Early Twentieth-Century Agrarian Politics", Social Science History, 16(3), p.421.

⁴⁵⁶ Dahl, R. (ed.), (1966), Political Oppositions in Western Democracies, Yale: Yale University Press, p. 336.

⁴⁵⁷ Traditionally in Catholic countries peasant movements have joined Catholic-inspired parties. The PSL resisted pressure from Wałęsa to join a wide coalition of Christian inspired parties. Author's interview with Tomasz Jackowski, centre-right politician, June 2001.

party's evaluation of the compatibility between European integration and the national interest impinge on the evaluation of CAP's impact on farmers' welfare.

The PSL's changing European position can be understood in the context of a dynamic relationship between the EU and Poland. The uncertainty of the conditions of application of the CAP on the new member states meant that as negotiations on the EU evolved between September 1997 and 2001, a new assessment of the impact of accession on Polish agriculture was demanded. Since the economic interests of the party's constituency are directly relevant for the party's position on the EU, the party increased its expertise on the application of CAP benefits and price mechanisms to the Polish market. With time, the party came to understand that integration of the Polish agricultural market would be advantageous, therefore staking a Soft Europhile position.

The analysis of PSL's move between Euroscepticism to Europhilism indicates that office-seeking considerations also played a part in the revaluation of parties' European positions. A landslide electoral defeat in the 1997 elections resulted in the election of a leader more open to a revaluation of the impact of European integration for the peasant class as a whole. However, although the shift to conditional Europhilism certainly incorporated office-seeking considerations, this centrist stance is in the long-run dependent on the fulfilment of the farmers' interests by integrating the European Common Agricultural Policy. The evolution of the PSL's European positions also illustrates that when the parties' chances of government participation appear small, more extremist middle-level cadres can push for a different interpretation of the party's economic ethos and constituencies' interests and lead to a Eurosceptic stance. A Eurosceptic position, in turn, marks the exclusion of governmental coalitions and reinforces a polarising stance.

Analysis

The analysis of the interaction between the three variables carried out in this chapter confirms that party strategies are not necessary and in the short-term sufficient but in the long-term insufficient for parties' positions on European integration. It emerges that only the re-assessment of the relationship between parties' definitions of the political and the economic community and European integration allows a lasting change of parties' European positions. The sufficiency but not necessity of a polarising strategy for Euroscepticism is consistent with the assumption that a party's core conception determines its ideological positions down the line. This suggests that a party's opposition to European integration undermines the stability of nationalist parties in the centre and therefore conditions the party's competitive strategy.

The analysis of the Polish right-wing attempts to create a sizeable centre party testifies to the resistance of parties' ethos to strategic-driven efforts to mute parties' opposition to European integration. The cases of discrepancy between the effects of the ethos and a competitive strategy on a party's European positions demonstrate that parties can suspend their ethos only temporarily.

The ZChN's evolution throughout the 1990s perfectly illustrates this proposition. Despite its centrist strategy and the addition of a neo-liberal economic ethos the party's national Catholicism remained the primary source of its ideological and policy positions. In order to integrate the liberal governments of Bielecki, Suchocka and the AWS, the party's leadership tried to silence, dilute or reinterpret its nationalist ethos. However, when in government, the parties' ideological and policy stances often disrupted the workings of the cabinets and the consistency of the parliamentary caucus with its principled opposition to Polish participation in a supranational institution. By not choosing between nationalism and a centrist position, the ZChN contributed neither to the formation of a centrist party nor to a nationalist polarising pole, which was eventually filled by the League of Polish Families after the 2001 elections.

When searching for support for its contested presidential bid in the nationalist wing of the AWS, Marian Krzaklewski's first speech took a Eurosceptic tone. The centrifugal tactics

and nationalist rhetoric of the AWS's leader at the end of its period in office reasserted the heightened divisions between lines of support and opposition to Europe within the governing coalition. The disintegration of the AWS along these lines of conflict resulted in an unusual number of Eurosceptic parties gaining parliamentary representation, demonstrating the resilience of the nationalist ethos and the failure to create a Christian democratic party. Embodied in different organisations, nationalism proved in the long-term both necessary and sufficient for staking an unconditional opposition to European integration. The presence of nationalists in the mainstream political scene in Poland made the ideological distance between the post-Solidarity parties impossible to surmount. The European question became the hallmark of the ideological disagreements of the Polish right.

The developments of the Polish right-wing shows nationalism as an identity that is hard to combine with governmental office. The limits to changing a party's ethos, and consequently the limits to changing a party's opposition to European integration, determine the strategic options available to parties. The predominance of political nationalism over strategic-driven attempts to change the party's European attitude results in their marginalisation within the party system. The analysis of the interaction between the three variables shows that a party ethos is the predominant element.

The analysis of the Polish left shows that the interaction between a party's choice of ethos, strategies and European attitudes facilitated the transformation of the Polish left from communism to social democracy. This virtuous spiral resulted primarily from the compatibility between the social democracy and the European policy regime in the mid 1990s. Being based on quantifiable economic concepts the SLD and the PSL could more easily re-evaluate the effects of the European policy regimes.

Conversely, the incompatibility between nationalism and European integration is part of the explanation for the failure to create a centre-right party in Poland. This results in the fact that, despite being the first country to initiate the transition process, Poland has been the CEE state where the emergence of Euroscepticism has been higher. Despite the expectations that a Christian democratic party would emerge from the post-Solidarity camp and fill the centre-right space, the predominance of nationalism over Catholic universalism, prevented the

development of both Christian democracy and a unified centre-right party. The nationalist ideology proved enduring and divisive and impeded a synergetic relationship between Christian cosmopolitanism, Europhilism and a centrist strategy.

The predominance and stability of ethos poses strict limits to the impact of Europeanization on party systems. The mismatch between a party's identity and its competitive strategy can lead to insurmountable tensions. Consequently, a stable centre and periphery should be defined not only by the parties' coalition options and their propaganda tactics, but also through a discursive dimension. The creation of a centre party is thus as much a practical problem of coalition strategy as is a question of the elite finding agreement on the values of a common "community of discourse". The different nature of the political and the economic ethos explains the different degree of conflict in party systems based on the economic and the political axis.

Chapter VII Conclusion

The theory proposed in this thesis is based on an understanding of parties as embodiments of political ideas. The concepts imprinted in the party ethos are vital elements of parties' existence and guide their response to contemporary issues. The way parties respond to the integration of the continent is, in the long run, determined by the way parties define the political and economic communities. Party ethos, and their degree of conceptual flexibility, limits the impact of centripetal and centrifugal strategies of competition on party responses to European integration.

The ethos theory of party positions on Europe differs not only from strategically-driven theories, such as Sitter's, but also from Marks and Wilson's cleavage-based theory of party responses on European integration. In their 2000 article Marks and Wilson represent political cleavages almost exclusively in terms of reflecting social groups' diverse economic preferences.⁴⁵⁸ In a later article (2002) the same authors (with Hooghe) note the omission of the political cleavage and admit to its ascendancy over the left/right economic axis in determining parties' European positions.⁴⁵⁹ However, in the introduction to the special issue of *Comparative Political Studies* dedicated to political contestation in the EU, the authors hedge their position by stating that the political dimension is highly correlated to the left-right economic dimension, so much so that the two can be considered part of the same axis.⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁸ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op. cit.

⁴⁵⁹ Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), "Does Left-Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965-989.

⁴⁶⁰ Marks, G. and Steenbergen, M. (2002), "Understanding Political Contestation in the European Union", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 879-892.

By assuming that the left-right axis explains party positions on European integration Marks, Hooghe and Wilson⁴⁶¹ follow a long tradition of party analysis that understands ideology primarily as the representation of social group economic interests. The primordial character of economic interests results in a single (mainly) economic axis. The conceptualisation of the left-right axis as the synthesis of left-wing social libertarianism and right-wing social authoritarianism was first proposed by Inglehart. Although the conceptualisation of the rise of a cultural conflict of competition has been Inglehart's main contribution to the literature, he asserts that the opposition between materialist/post-materialist values has eventually fused with the left-right economic axis and created a one-dimensional space of competition.

In this thesis a typology of political and economic ethos takes the place of the left-right axis to explain party European positions. This typology differs from the latter in two ways. First, the bi-dimensional character of this typology implies that the political dimension is independent of the left-right dimension (or the economic ethos) and that the political ethos can prevail over the economic ethos (and vice versa). Second, this typology defines the vertical axis not as a reflection of socio-cultural attitudes but reflecting party's prescriptions of the relation between the individual and the political community. By specifying the interpretative concepts binding parties' rationality⁴⁶² this typology represents a more fundamental way to conceive the ideological space. The party ethos determines not only parties' positions on European integration but could also explain the stability of parties' policy positions.⁴⁶³

⁴⁶¹ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present: A Cleavage Theory of Party Response to European Integration", *British Journal of Political Science*, 30(3): 443-460; Marks, G. Hooghe, L. Wilson, C. (2002) "Does Left/Right Structure Party Positions on European Integration?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 35(8): 965-989.

⁴⁶² Boudon, R. (1982), *The Unintended Consequences of Social Action*, London: Macmillan, p.105.

⁴⁶³ Budge, I. et. al. (2001) *Mapping Policy Preferences: Estimates for Parties, Electors and Governments, 1945-1998*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

The Polish party system demonstrates in a vivid way that although a one-dimensional left-right conceptualisation of party systems is widely accepted,⁴⁶⁴ a two-dimensional classification of party identities appears to provide a better classification of parties European positions. In spite of the necessity and sufficiency of the central element of a party's identity for the party fundamental choice between Euroscepticism and Europhilism, the other dimension of identity still bears an independent effect on a party's positioning in the Eurosceptic-Europhile scale. The framework proposes that while party attitudes to the European issue based on an indivisible political concept are unchangeable, attitudes based on economic concepts can more easily be reassessed.

The testing of the ethos theory on the Polish case has shown it broadly successful in explaining both left- and right-wing parties' European attitudes. The Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA)⁴⁶⁵ and the language of sufficiency and necessity proved a productive method to test the theoretical framework, helping to identify cases of theoretically interesting combinations of strategic and ideological conditions. This resulted in a better understanding of the dynamic interaction between conceptions of political and economic ethos, strategies of centripetal or centrifugal mode of competition, and parties' attitudes towards European integration.

A further inference to the systemic level can be derived from the ethos theory. It appears that in a party system where the political axis is predominant, European integration will be more intensely contested. The antidote to the disruption caused by the European issue on these party systems is a Hard Europhile Christian democratic party. In its absence, political nationalism is likely to be mobilised and becoming a disruptive element of the political spectrum. In party systems based on the economic axis the European issue will be more easily accommodated; parties based the economic ethos have conditional and changeable

⁴⁶⁴ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op.cit. and Marks, G. and Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), op.cit. Hix, S. and Lord, C. (1997), Political Parties in the European Union, Basingstoke, Macmillan.

⁴⁶⁵ Ragin, C. (1987), The Comparative Method, Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies, Berkeley: University of California Press.

European positions and a reassessment of the changing European policy regimes is therefore possible.⁴⁶⁶

In Poland divergent ideological and office-seeking strategies have led to a highly unstable right-wing. The failure of Christian democracy to thrive in Poland resulted in the success of a high number of Eurosceptic parties. The instability of the Polish centre-right is related to the ideological importance of nationalism for the post-Solidarity camp and the impossibility of its reconciliation with a Europhile position. Although office-seeking strategies can serve as incentives to moderation, they are not sufficient either to determine parties' attitudes towards European integration. The resolution of the contradiction between parties' appreciation of European attitudes and their strategies of competition is necessary for the achievement of a stable centre-right identity.

A dynamic theory

In Chapter V I criticised the government-opposition theory for failing to explain parties' long-term positions on European integration. In Chapter VI it was conceded that, in the short-term, modified competitive strategies can explain the short-term adoption of pro- or anti-European positions. Parties signalling their will to enter government will adopt Europhilism and parties' opposing the government can also indicate such strategy by temporarily opposing European integration. The change of European position resulting from strategic considerations implies the suspension of the party ethos. This suspension is, however, only sustainable in the short-run since it provokes untenable tensions within the party.

A change in a party's position on European integration in the long-term can only derive from the re-assessment of the relationship between parties' ethos and European attitudes. Although Eurosceptic parties will feel uncomfortable in governmental positions they will stick

⁴⁶⁶ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), "The Past in the Present", op. cit.

with their ideological evaluation of European integration. In the long-run, the tension between Euroscepticism and office makes these parties drift to the margins of the system.

A further inference of the ethos theory is that a party's external action is strongly determined by the conditions needed for internal cohesion.⁴⁶⁷ The concepts defining a party's ethos are a reserve out of reach of bids for or opposition to government. Ideological change is a separate and long process, subject to its own conceptual limits. Thus, parties based on the conception of class will not propose policies that promote market efficiency to the detriment of redistributive policies, but they can devise policies counteracting inequalities stemming from positions in the labour market through demand- or supply-side policies. Equally, ecological parties will not propose policies that put economic growth ahead of ecological concerns, but the form of conceiving the ecological crisis will determine the types of policies they advocate.

The change in a party's position on Europe can be triggered by a bid for government. However, this change will only be sustainable if it provokes a permanent reassessment of the relationship between parties' ethos and European policy regimes. This process is likely to occur only in parties in which the economic ethos is predominant. Since political concepts are indivisible and unquantifiable, parties based on a predominant political ethos hold unconditional support or opposition to European integration. Replacing the concept of the community at the core of a party's identity is subject to even stronger limits, only attainable through a longer time span and normally involving the creation of a different party organisation. Therefore, the impact of party's office-seeking strategies will be limited by the political and economic conceptions. The incompatibility between Euroscepticism and office condemns parties whose values are incompatible to European integration to a polarising position. Party systems competing on a political axis will experience strong conflicts over European integration.

The constraints imposed on party strategies by core values become most evident in the Euroscepticism of nationalist formations. The sufficiency of nationalism for Euroscepticism,

⁴⁶⁷ Bartolini, S. (2000), op.cit.

even when a party is part of a governing coalition, is illustrated by several parties in Poland. Even when pursuing a centripetal strategy, nationalists remain Eurosceptic. In the 1991-1993 and the 1997-2001 governments several political formations showed the resilience of nationalism in face of strategic pressures. The history of the AWS coalition and its failed attempts to achieve a unified party organisation and stay in office illustrates the instability that nationalist Eurosceptic parties impose on a party system where conflicts over the definition of the political community run high. Despite the acute awareness that the right should be united in order to face the SLD's centre-left block, the AWS's nationalist factions remained Eurosceptic. When the disintegration of the party coalition proved irreversible several Eurosceptic and centrifugal parties gained parliamentary representation.

The analysis of the Polish case confirms the ethos theory and also suggests that the establishment of a party's identity and its strategic behaviour are not independent from the process of Europeanization. In post-communist Central and Eastern Europe, "Europe", as the only symbol referring to the future, gained a more prominent meaning than in Western Europe. Scrutinising the compatibility between parties' core concepts and European integration quickly became a task of the party.

Europe seen from the political prism

The typology of parties' ethos assumes that parties are primarily based on either a political or an economic core conception. The different nature of political and economic concepts means that some families are more prone to change than others. Since economic values are more amenable to quantification and attainable by degrees, parties based on economic values can change their attitudes towards the European Union. In contrast, political values are absolute concepts while those parties whose identities are based on political conceptions are fixed in their positions.

The nation and its problematic place on the European sphere

The nation is the political conception that has become the main source of opposition to European integration. Resistance to the transfer of political authority from the nation-state to the European level in the last half century mainly derived from the ideology that legitimises the political authority of nation states, i.e., nationalism. Concepts of political community are indivisible and result in an absolute rejection of European integration. The Polish case also illustrates that nationalism is a powerful basis for political action even when it hinders parties' chances of keeping office, for example, by leading them to adopt Eurosceptic positions.

Two party types take the nation as their central identifying concept: nationalists and national conservatives. The difference between them is that while nationalists are locked in their political conceptions, national conservatives can switch to a neo-liberal economic identity. Although nationalists often try to develop a neo-liberal economic identity to dilute their nationalism, this new identity does not replace parties' core identity. The centrality of the nation in a party's identity determines the resilience of its scepticism despite a positive evaluation of the economic effects of European integration and a centripetal strategy of competition. Therefore, nationalist parties and national conservatives often meet increasing difficulties in their attempts to gain and stay in office.

Since nationalists' understanding of the political community is necessarily incompatible with the principles of European integration, these parties become troublesome partners in government. In a multi-level system of governance a Eurosceptic party's opposition to an essential feature of the political system turn difficult their participation in government. Therefore, in the long-term, Eurosceptic parties will be gradually excluded from the centre. Party systems organised around the political axis, i.e. where the conflicts between nationalism and cosmopolitanism run high, tend to become arenas of conflicts on European integration. The irreducible nature of political concepts makes European integration a disruptive and contentious issue. Nationalist parties may attempt to integrate government, but their strategy-derived Europhilism is necessarily temporary.

The increased importance of nationalism in Poland is far from an isolated phenomenon. In several other European countries nationalist parties have gained increased electoral support. Not only have nationalist parties proved resilient in their beliefs, but new parties based on such appeals have successfully entered the electoral arena. The limits to the transformation of the nationalist ethos are illustrated by the evolution of the nationalist camp in Poland, in particular of its most representative party, the ZChN. Despite its centripetal strategy and willingness to reject Euroscepticism, the ZChN remained an unsettling element of centre-right coalitions. The attempts of the ZChN to forge a conservative identity based on neo-liberalism were unsuccessful and lacked credibility. Despite the party's emphasis on nationalism having been diluted through the addition of a liberal economic doctrine, the ZChN's Catholic nationalism remained its identifying element, as the difficulties of the party in developing a positive European stance, and the several splits it suffered while attempting to do so, demonstrate.

The re-organisation of the right in the wake of the 2001 elections opened the way for a new Catholic nationalist formation in the League of Polish Families (LPR). The LPR's ideology is a more radical example of the synthesis of Catholicism and Polish nationalism that proves the continuing appeal of "national democracy" (Endecja) of Roman Dmowski. In its major oeuvre *Myśli Nowoczesnego Polaka* (Thoughts of a Modern Pole) Dmowski opposed the romantic nationalism prevalent in XIX century Poland with a combination of Catholicism and Polishness that cancels out the cosmopolitanism inherent in the Catholicism and Christian democratic legacy. The LPR's leader, Roman Gyertych, is therefore the inheritor of a long tradition of Polish nationalist thought, now finding its number one enemy in European integration.

The Christian cosmopolitanism: Christian democrats, the hardest Europhiles

Due to the demise of civil society as the identifying element of liberal parties, currently, Christian democrats are the only party type based on a cosmopolitan conception of the political community. Political actors viewing the politics of the continent through the prism of Christian cosmopolitanism consistently promote European integration as the way to overcome national approaches and advance the political integration of Europe. Christian democrats are therefore the unalterable supporters of a project that fulfils the vision of overcoming the nation-state and achieving a cosmopolitan political order.

However, the decline of Western European Christian democracy has been matched by the failure to establish viable Christian democratic parties as the main centre-right formation in Central and Eastern Europe. This failure is most intriguing in Poland and, with hindsight, has had the most dramatic effects. The persistence and increased importance of nationalism has prevented the development of a strong party with a Christian democratic political ethos, and provides an effective explanation for the unusually high propensity of Polish right-wing parties to adopt Eurosceptic positions.

In party systems where the political axis is predominant, a sizeable Christian democratic party can prevent the emergence of strong conflicts over European integration. The presence of a strong Christian democratic party assures a Europhile centre-right core. Conflicts over integration will appear less vivid and confined to the margins of the party system. Christian democracy appears the most effective ideological antidote to political nationalism in party systems where conflicts over the definition of political community are intense.

The failure of Polish Christian democracy demonstrates the importance of the ideas informing political “communities of discourse” for the formation of political parties. The legacy of national Catholicism continued to divide the right-wing political elite after 1989, as it had done also in the interwar period. The division of post-Solidarity political elite between Christian nationalists and Christian cosmopolitans reflected the divisions between liberals and traditionalists within the Polish Catholic Church. The disagreements between those preaching universal Catholicism in the Polish episcopate and those advocating Polish national

Catholicism prevented the Church from acting as a unifying force and supporting one political party or even in succeeding as mediators of political forces.

The ideological divergences within the post-Solidarity elite resulted in a highly fragmented right-wing political scene throughout the nineties, which became further fragmented after the 2001 elections. The AWS's increasingly Eurosceptic rhetoric while in office illustrates the resilience of a nationalist identity against office-seeking considerations. The centrifugal tactics and nationalist rhetoric of the AWS's factions at the end of the 1997-2001 parliaments led to the dissolution of the coalition for the subsequent 2001 parliamentary elections in which national Catholicism achieved success through its advocacy of protecting the national culture and the state's political sovereignty.

Europe seen from the economic prism

Parties whose identifying community is of economic nature are able to successfully alter their stance on European integration. First, the divisible and quantifiable nature of economic concepts results in a conditional appreciation of the European economic regime. Second, since the European Single Market is not positively based on either a liberal or a social democratic model, the EU has adopted both market opening and regulatory policy regimes. Changes occurring at these two levels result in the re-appreciation of European integration.⁴⁶⁸

The reassessment of European economic regimes by parties based on the economic ethos appears linked to a centripetal mode of competition. In the last decade the positive interaction between centripetalism and a change in the European policy regimes, allowed social democratic and economic conservatives to preserve their centrist status. While in Western Europe the positive evaluation of the EU by social democrats has mostly resulted

⁴⁶⁸ Majone, G. (1996), *Regulating Europe*, London, Routledge; Scharpf, F. "Negative and Positive Integration in the Political Economy of European Welfare States" in Marks, G. Scharpf, F. and Schmitter, P. and Streeck, W. (eds.), *Governance in the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

from a surge of regulatory activity by the Commission, the change in the positions of Central and Eastern European social democrats on the EU was caused by their internal transformation from communism to a modern conception of social democracy, combining a liberal political stance with supply-side conceptions of class-based economic policies. This transformation coincided with the clarification of the relations between the European Union and Poland, which allowed for a reassessment of European integration. For example, the conclusion of the negotiation of the agricultural chapter regulating the application of the CAP subsidies led the PSL to abandon the opposition to a system previously considered discriminatory of Polish farmers.

The class: social democrats and their more extreme cousins

Social democrats, the defenders of the working class and the promoters of the welfare state, have been committed to the elimination of class differences by counteracting inequalities stemming from positions in the labour market and protecting low and minimum income groups.⁴⁶⁹ Although social democrats have been one of the parties with a stronger commitment to class internationalism, their understanding of the international economic system has in the past led them to consider that the nation-state is the most appropriate setting for correcting market inequalities on the basis of class. Therefore, despite internationalism being embedded in the ideological roots of left-wing movements,⁴⁷⁰ during its evolution, social democracy has often held a nationalist political ethos. The nation-state was regarded as the best setting to apply class-based policies that challenged an international economic order that benefits capital rather than labour and creates pressures for the lowering of welfare state standards.

⁴⁶⁹ Huber, E. Ragin, C. and Stephens, J. (1993), op.cit.

⁴⁷⁰ Since its inception both the socialist and communist movements have defended workers' interests at the international level. The International Socialist, as a separate entity from the PES, embodies this effort.

However, in the context of a global international economy the perception that national Keynesianism is no longer viable has compelled social democrats to renounce demand-side policies and undertake the pursuit of a new growth path to compete in global markets by maintaining certain instruments for influencing the supply-side of the economy.⁴⁷¹ The re-operationalisation of parties' ethos underway in Western Europe in the nineteen eighties and nineties is however bound by the limits established by the concept of class. Social democrats will not embrace policies that pursue growth at the expense of social justice, and will only support European integration if they see it as furthering this goal.

In the early nineties, following the Single European Act (SEA), the EU began developing market regulation instruments. Since its inception, the European institutions had worked for the de-regulation of the European market. The SEA was thus hailed by Social Democrats as a new policy approach, and gradually came to support integration.⁴⁷² The endorsement of policies promoting supply-side correctors to the market at the European level coincided with the change of national social democratic parties' supply-side policy preferences at the national level. Social democrats' Hard Europhilism mainly derives from their changed appreciation of integration as a project occupied not only with the completion of the internal market but also with its regulation. Social democratic parties therefore support the deepening of political integration in the European Union as a necessary step to correct the failures of national states in promoting market regulation. Moreover, social democrats' Europhilism is strengthened by a cosmopolitan political ethos.

While the change of attitude of Western European social democratic parties was the result of these two processes, in Central and Eastern Europe the change of attitude of social democrats has resulted from a different understanding of class. The Polish case shows that although the former communist party's inherited internationalism predisposed it to Europhilism, it was the party's embracement of social democracy and the transformation of its

⁴⁷¹ Boix, C. (2000), *op. cit.*

⁴⁷² Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), *op. cit.*

economic beliefs away from state ownership that drove the party's change of attitude towards the European Union. The legacy of communist internationalist ideals is now embodied in the SLD's Europhilism. The party supports European integration because it views the EU as a promoter of left-wing economic ideals and judges it a politically valid project to overcome the shortcomings of the nation-state.

The SLD's transformation is not, however, exclusively a result of the Europeanization process. The specific interpretation of its left-wing inheritance devised by the party modernizers is the result of a clear choice of the party leaders to model themselves on European social democracy and support European Integration. This support for European integration – a symbol of the transformation of the party and a source of its legitimacy – has, to an extent, determined the direction of the transformation of the SLD, and the specific form of its present identity.

The conversion of social democrats to a pro-integration position was not accomplished by those factions that interpret the concept of class in extreme terms. They consider that European integration prevents the attainment of the policy regimes that are essential for correcting inequalities deriving from positions in the labour market, such as public control over capital flows, extensive public investment in industrial policy and the statutory right to work and housing.

In Poland, Self-Defence (Samoobrona), originally a protest movement of agrarian origins, articulated an extreme interpretation of the concept of class. Noteworthy for the non-intellectual character of its programme, the Samoobrona defined its ethos over time as an extreme interpretation of class concepts. Its policies addressed the needs of the losers of transition. Initially, the political ethos of the Samoobrona was clearly nationalist, but in 2000 the party dropped nationalism as a source of party identification. The move coincided with a conditional rather than an outright rejection of European integration. The fact exemplifies the effects that a secondary political ethos has on parties' European attitudes. The protection of vulnerable economic groups against the vagaries of a liberal economic system formed the basis of both Samoobrona's polarising strategy, and its perception of an *a priori* incompatibility between European integration and the national interest.

The market: liberals and liberal conservatives

Since the free market represents liberals' identifying concept, their evaluation of the EU is based on whether it contributes to the creation of a free European-wide market. While broadly in favour of a project that appears geared to the abolition of barriers to trade and the creation of economic competition at the European level, liberals have become more sceptical of integration since the Delors' Commission launched policies to increase market regulation and redistribution at the European level. While the positioning of liberal parties on either side of the Europhilism-Euroscepticism line depends on their evaluation of the effects of the EU's economic policy regime. Liberals' support for the EU's economic regime, if combined with the civil society as the secondary identifying element, results in unconditional Europhilism.

The liberal conservatives, holding the nation as their political ethos, will be either Soft Europhiles or Hard Eurosceptics. When judging the EU's economic regime as too regulatory, their opposition to the effects of economic integration is reinforced by the opposition of their nationalism to political integration. A positive evaluation of the European policy regimes is mitigated by the nationalist view of the political order.

In Poland the liberal conservatism of the right-wing Citizens Platform's resulted in the centre-right's varying support for integration. While in the early nineties the civil society was the identifying concept of political liberalism, after the 2001 elections and the formation of the Citizens' Platform (PO), economic liberalism emerged as the dominant liberal identity. Therefore the early liberal parties' appraisal of European integration in terms of civil society gave way to a conditional and economically based approval of the EU. The centre-right in Poland therefore appears to be consolidating around a neo-liberal economic ethos.

The liberals' troubled development is a mirror image of the failure of Catholic cosmopolitanism to thrive in the Polish party system. Christian and liberal political cosmopolitanism have not thrived as central identifying elements of Polish parties and the ideological anchors of a Europhile right-wing coalition. The replacement of political with economic liberalism as the identifying element resulted in the disappearance of an

unconditional support for European integration as a community of civil societies. The economic appraisal of integration is conditional and dependent on the policy regimes of European integration. The political and unconditional support for the European project in the post-Solidarity camp now appears to have been a phenomenon of the transition. The centre-right now approaches European integration through the prism of the market.

The estate and its elusive operationalisation

The farmers have been the social group that has most strongly benefited from European integration through the CAP.⁴⁷³ The concept of estate, on which agrarians are founded, means that farmers are entitled to benefits from the state. Nevertheless, the agrarian party family is a vivid example of how the understanding of economic community determines the perceptions of the benefits and costs of the CAP. The form in which the concept of estate is operationalised by parties is as important for their appreciation of integration as the real benefits deriving from the EU.

The stance on Europe taken by the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) illustrates well the decisiveness that a favourable evaluation of the application of the CAP on Polish agriculture had on the attitude the party towards European integration. Until 1997 the party's nationalist interpretation of the role of family farming was incompatible with the reforms proposed by the European Union. The PSL's peasant ideology, inherited from inter-war Poland, considered small family farms as the backbone of the Polish nation and the defence of small farmers' as vital constituents of the nation became the justification for a farmer's party.

Following the landslide defeat in the 1997 election, the party changed its leadership. This resulted in attempts to widen the party's appeal beyond small family farmers. The party changed its discourse away from the nationalist interpretation of family farming into a wider and more pragmatic understanding of the farming community. A re-evaluation of the

extension of the CAP on Polish farmers was also facilitated by the beginning of the negotiations between Poland and the EU. In contrast to the party's previous insistence on the promotion of conditions that maintained family farming, by 2001, Jarosław Kalinowski, claimed that the party's support for Europe depended exclusively on whether Polish farmers would enjoy similar competitive conditions as their counterparts in the EU member states. This case thus shows that parties founded on specific agrarian cleavages are constrained by their specific constituencies' economic interests.

The general applicability of the ethos theory

The strength of nationalism as a political identity makes Poland an extreme case in which to test the ethos theory. Poland thus serves as a basis for producing and testing a theory of heterogeneous causality of parties' European positions. Although the level of structuration provided by the political axis to Polish political competition is unusually high,⁴⁷⁴ the ethos framework appears relevant to explain the dilemmas experienced by nationalist parties holding office in other European states and the interaction between political and economic primary identities. For the last ten years, nationalist parties have proven increasingly successful in gaining a central place in European party systems, and in providing a strong challenge to established centrist parties.

Moving beyond the immediate context of this study, we can test this explanation in two different sets of cases. The first set consists of cases from Central and Eastern Europe, where the European issue determined the original ideological set up of party systems, i.e.,

⁴⁷³ Gabel, M. (1998), Interests and Integration: Market Liberalisation, Public Opinion and European Union, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press

⁴⁷⁴ Kitschelt, H. et al. (1999), Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 457.

where it seemed to influence which types of parties occupy the left and right-wing space. The ethos theory proposes that success in unifying the centre-right in the Central and Eastern European democracies hinges on the ability of the different ideological groups to agree on basic identities and the compatibility of those with the values informing European integration.

Hungary

Hungary provides a good control case for testing the ethos theory's main claim, i.e., that the dominant element in a party's ethos determines the choice between support and opposition to European integration. On the one hand, the failure of Eurosceptic parties to enter parliament in the 2002 elections contrasts with the Polish outcome in the 2001 elections, where 20 percent of the vote went to Eurosceptic parties. On the other hand, the similarity of the Hungarian and the Polish negotiated transitions, the occupation of the left-wing political space by the successor communist parties, as well as the predominance of the political axis in structuring political competition, make the two cases fit for a comparison.

The successful unification of the Hungarian right in a liberal conservative party shows that despite the relevance of conflicts over the definition of political community for party competition, nationalism was successfully subordinated to a neo-liberal economic ethos.⁴⁷⁵ The transformation of the Alliance of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) from liberalism to conservatism⁴⁷⁶ allowed the party to occupy effectively the centre-right space and sustain a Soft Europhile position in harmony with the party's centrist strategies. The FIDESZ captured the nationalist appeal while turning it into a secondary element of its identity.

The strong leadership of the FIDESZ captured the window of opportunity provided by the disintegration of the anti-communist umbrella organisation, the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) and the weakening of the senior liberal party, the Alliance of Free Democrats

⁴⁷⁵ Kiss, C. (2003), "From Liberalism to Conservatism: The Federation of Young Democrats in Post- Communist Hungary", *East European Politics and Societies*, 16(3): 739-761.

⁴⁷⁶ op.cit.

(SzDSz), when it joined a governmental coalition with the ex-communist Hungarian Socialist Party (MSzP). The FIDESZ galvanised the right-wing spectrum and, in the run up to the 2002 elections, it incorporated minor right-wing parties, in an attempt to control the right-wing space. From 1994 onwards the FIDESZ detached its destiny from the SzDSz, previously its senior counterpart, and set about its ideological transformation, stressing a family-based social policy, defending the creation of a strong state and espousing conservative Catholic morals. However, FIDESZ did not adopt a Christian democratic identity, and remained entrenched in the commitment to the individual, understood as an economic entity. In rejecting the option of transforming itself into a Christian democratic party, the party avoided being regarded as a replacement for the Hungarian Democratic Forum, which had attempted to unify diverse beliefs under the overall label of Christian democracy.

Progressively, the FIDESZ adopted the nation as the community defining its political identity. In the 1998 elections, the FIDESZ defeated the Socialists and entered government. While in office, the rhetoric of the party was increasingly determined by nationalist elements. In 1998 Prime Minister Orbán asked the parliament to vote for the government's programme and thereby demonstrate who "belongs to the nation".⁴⁷⁷ As the subsequent parliamentary elections of 2002 approached and the new identity of the party consolidated, Laszlo Kover, the party chairman after the 2000 Congress, made clear that "the nation is only important to us", and "only we have a message for the nation".⁴⁷⁸ However, despite the strong nationalist language, the party's commitment to economic liberalism remained the central element of the party's identity and the basis of its governmental policy. The creation of a strong middle-class based on private enterprise became the central plank of government policy. Under these conditions, FIDESZ remained broadly positive regarding the compatibility between the perceived national interest and European integration. FIDESZ mobilisation of the right-wing vote in the 2001 election resulted in the exclusion of polarising Eurosceptic parties from the

⁴⁷⁷ Ripp, Z. "A Letamas Mergele" (The balance of the attack), *Mozgo Vilag*, 25, 4 *quoted in* Kiss, C. (2003), *op.cit.*

⁴⁷⁸ Budula, I. "Szemelyi kerdesek" (Questions of Personnel), *Magyar Narancs*, 23 December 1999 *quoted in* Kiss, C. (2003), *op.cit.*

parliament.⁴⁷⁹ The evolution of the Hungarian right-wing thus proves that agreement on a central identity compatible with European integration facilitates a stable centrist party.

The ethos theory also explains why the Hungarian agrarian party, the Independent Smallholders Party (FKGP) is, despite its nationalist ethos, Soft Europhile.⁴⁸⁰ Agrarian parties are fundamentally determined by the conception of estate as their basic economic community. Their evaluation of the EU depends is based on whether the EU facilitates transfers to farmers. Contradicting previous explanations that consider the party's positive attitude towards European integration the result of its competitive strategies,⁴⁸¹ the ethos theory considers FKGP's Europhilism the result of a positive evaluation of integration's impact on state support for farmers. Nationalism, as a secondary element in the party's identity, merely determines whether this support is conditional or unconditional.

Czech Republic

The manner in which the European issue determined the Czech party system is not directly comparable to the Polish case since the Czech transition resulted in a party system where political competition is structured around economic issues.⁴⁸² In the Czech Republic the left appears in the pro-European camp while the right takes a Eurosceptic position. Nevertheless, the ethos framework explains the Soft Euroscepticism of the Czech centre-right party, the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). The ODS's choice of an extreme interpretation of the individual as the central economic identity leads the party to consider European integration as detrimental to the national interest. This interpretation of economic liberalism

⁴⁷⁹ Batory, A. (2002), "Europe and the Hungarian Parliamentary Elections of April 2002", RIIA/OERN Election Briefing Paper, 1.

⁴⁸⁰ Batory, A. (2002), "Attitudes to Europe: Ideology, Strategy and the issue of European Union membership in Hungarian Party Politics", Party Politics, 8(5): 525-540, p.543.

⁴⁸¹ Batory, A. (2002), "Attitudes to Europe, Ideology, Strategy and the issue of European Union membership in Hungarian Party Politics", Party Politics, 8(5).

⁴⁸² Kitschelt, H. et al. (1999), op. cit.

has led the party to oscillate between a conditional positive appraisal of European integration and, more recently, to a rejection of integration under the name of Eurorealism, a position that claims to evaluate European integration according to “real” as opposed to “ideological” criteria. The outspoken opposition of Vaclav Klaus, party chairman and Czech president, to European integration is backed by economic arguments, and complemented by criticism of European supranational bureaucracy portrayed as an agent of market regulation.⁴⁸³

West European parties

The second setting to test the theory is the West European party systems, where the European issue gained relevance when the party systems had achieved a degree of ideological structuration. Despite the consolidation of the ideological space characteristic of West European party systems, the evolution of modes of European-level governance, in particular since the Maastricht Treaty which provided for the extension of majority voting, has also had indirect effects on the ideological identity of parties. The long-term incompatibility between political nationalism as the central core party ethos and centrist strategies appears particularly marked in the case of right-wing parties in Western Europe.

The British Conservative Party’s change of dominant ethos from neo-liberalism to nationalism during the second half of the 1990s explains the move of the party from Soft Europhilism to Hard Euroscepticism. As a mirror image of this development, the French Gaullist camp’s move from nationalism to economic liberalism explains the Europhilism of the Movement for the Republic (RPR). The impossibility of changing their fundamental identity underpins the Euroscepticism of Austrian and French nationalist parties, as well as the tensions arising between their stance on Europe and their desire to participate in government.

⁴⁸³ Hanley, S. (2003), “The Czech EU Accession Referendum 13-14 June 2003”, RIIA/OERN Election Briefing, 6.

Such tensions were most visible in the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), with the European issue rising to prominence when the party became the junior partner in a governmental coalition with the Christian Democratic Party (ÖVP) in 2000. The sanctions imposed by the member states of the EU on the Austrian government were a factor in the resignation of its leader and ideological mentor, Jörg Haider. However, the impossibility of replacing its nationalist ethos resulted in a severe party crisis, causing the demise of the governmental coalition and the subsequent electoral decline of the party.

France

The ethos theory helps to explain why parties with a nationalist ethos, if this is not central to their identity, can conditionally support European integration. The evolution of the French right-wing camp illustrates how downgrading its legacy of nationalism to a secondary element, allowed the French Gaullist camp to support European integration. The transformation of the French right in the context of the conversion of governance at the European level into a more supranational regime was characterised by a clear division between nationalists like the Front National and the creation of a liberal conservative camp consisting of the UDF and, with increased dominance, the Union for the Republic (RPR).

The Gaullist camp was effectively split in the late seventies when, in 1976, Jacques Chirac created the Union for the Republic (RPR) and attempted to make the party the inheritor of de Gaulle's legacy. Initially, Chirac adopted a nationalistic Eurosceptic attitude. This became the defining difference with respect to the cosmopolitan and pro-European Union for French Democracy (UDF) created in 1978 and led by Giscard d'Estaing. In founding the RPR, Chirac attempted to reoccupy the Gaullist high ground on the issue of French national sovereignty. However, his intention was not simply to be a passive inheritor of the Gaullist legacy, but to renew the right-wing. He set out to achieve this by reinterpreting the fundamental concepts of Gaullism. During the late seventies and early eighties, Chirac's reinterpretation of Gaullism was based on the assumption that the increasing degree of European integration meant that economic liberalism should be the central identifying concept

of a Gaullist party rather than political nationalism. The RPR's central identifying reference became neo-liberalism. References to de Gaulle's nationalism became much rarer.⁴⁸⁴ Instead the party stressed an economic programme clearly based on the conception of the market as the perfect distributor.⁴⁸⁵

The victory of the Socialist Party on an interventionist economic platform in the 1981 elections gave the RPR a platform against which to stand. This reinforced the reinterpretation of de Gaulle's legacy away from a nationalist vision of the national interest. The party's programme stressed the centrality of economic liberalism, strongly attacking the socialists' plans for reforming the French economy and defending the merits of deregulation, privatization and market forces.⁴⁸⁶ The French centre-right moved away from national conservatism to liberal conservatism.⁴⁸⁷

In the elaboration of the party's identity, economic liberalism and the commitment to the market went hand-in-hand with a Soft Europhile stance based on a vision of European integration as the consolidation of a European free market. With the conversion of the party to market liberalism, the appeal of Europe as an economic space came to outweigh the political threat posed to national sovereignty. The role of Jacques Chirac in this transformation fits the theory outlined in this thesis. The Soft Europhile stance deriving from the new party identity made possible the compatibility between the party's ethos, European position and office-attaining ambitions. Jacques Chirac's reinterpretation of de Gaulle's legacy allowed the RPR to conditionally support a more supranational mode of governance, thus making Chirac an odd figure among Gaullists. Chirac understood that the "cosmopolitan dimension" bestowed by de Gaulle's to French nationalism, i.e., presenting a "Grand Europe" as a continuation of

⁴⁸⁴ Shields, J. (1996), "The French Gaullists" in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

⁴⁸⁵ Shields, J. (1996), op. cit.

⁴⁸⁶ Lauber, V. (1988), "Change and Continuity in French Conservatism since 1944", in Girvin, B. The Transformation of Contemporary Conservatism, London: Sage.

the defence of French national interests, was not well suited to the project of creating the European Union. The Maastricht Treaty and the extension of qualified majority voting made it explicit that the loss of sovereignty implied in European integration would be too severe for a nationalist party to bear.

The transformation of the RPR from national conservatism to liberal conservatism was not a consensual process and divided the ranks of the party on several occasions, most vividly during the campaign for the Maastricht Treaty. The primary cause of the split arose from differing visions of the party's identity as the inheritor of de Gaulle's nationalist legacy. A centralised and unified party saw the strongest opposition to the leadership of Jacques Chirac and the Maastricht Treaty emerge through the voices of Charles Pasqua and Philippe Sèguin. So serious was the contestation mounted by Philippe Sèguin's defence of democracy as inseparable from national sovereignty against "Maastricht Europe" that he became a serious rival to Chirac for the leadership of the party, and even for the presidency. The party eventually split on the issue of European integration.

The adoption of the Maastricht Treaty ultimately showed the contradiction between nationalism and Europhilism that had marked Le Pen's rhetoric until then. The Gaullist Europhilism and nationalist identity proved too difficult to reconcile in the face of the Maastricht Treaty provisions for extending majority voting to new areas of policy making.⁴⁸⁸ Previously, Le Pen had attempted to reproduce de Gaulle's combination of nationalism and Europhilism, by portraying integration as a process serving the French national interest. In the 1989 European elections, Le Pen outlined a Gaullist vision of European integration, stating that France would only allow a pooling of national sovereignty where this appeared beneficial to its own interest, for example in the area of defence. This implied that the process of

⁴⁸⁷ Liberal conservative is a category proposed by Smith, G. (1988), "Between Left and Right: the Ambivalence of European Liberalism", in Kirchner, E.J. Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

European integration remained under French control. The Europhilism of Le Pen was part of a strategy to appear statesman-like, i.e., it derived from his centrist, office-seeking strategy. Le Pen campaigned for a “No” vote, in a concerted strategy that stated that the consequences of a yes vote would be “worse than losing a war”, the triumph of an “international conspiracy mounted by hidden forces and vested interests against our nation”, the end of the “France eternal”.⁴⁸⁹ The alternative proposed by Le Pen was a European concert of nations where France was to have a commanding role.

The French case shows that a nationalist party’s inability to change its central commitment to the nation as the central element of its identity condemns it to Euroscepticism and leads to a polarising strategy. Nationalist parties differ from conservatives in that the latter are able to subjugate a nationalist legacy to economic neo-liberalism and maintain their centripetal strategy.

Britain

The same dilemmas over loss of sovereignty versus economic liberalism run high in the British right-wing camp. The ethos theory explains the variation in the British Conservatives’ European position in the same way as it does for the French right. In a mirror image of the developments occurring in the French RPR, where the reinterpretation of the Gaullist legacy meant that economic neo-liberalism became the central party identity and allowed the RPR to adopt a Europhile attitude, the British Conservative’s Euroscepticism derives opposition to both developments accomplished in Maastricht: the regulation of European markets and the extension of policy areas subject to qualified majority. The party’s Eurosceptic attitude

⁴⁸⁸ Fieschi, C. Shields, J. and Woods, R. (1996), “Extreme right-wing parties and the European Union” in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

⁴⁸⁹ Le Monde, 25 August 1992; Liberation, 24 August 1992 quoted in Fieschi, C. Shields, J. and Woods, R. (1996), “Extreme right-wing parties and the European Union” in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

resulted also from the replacement of economic neo-liberalism as the party's central element in the party identity with political nationalism.

During the seventies, the Conservatives' reluctance to accept any form of supranational governance had been overcome by Edward Heath, and in the Conservatives led Britain to membership of the EEC. The party's Soft Europhilism resulted from a positive evaluation of European integration's contribution to economic liberalisation, the central goal of the party. Later, Margaret Thatcher's neo-liberalism reinforced the individual and the market as the identifying concept of the party. European integration was welcomed as a way to create an internal free market within the EC and as a security guarantee against the communist threat. Although the Conservatives' backing of British participation in the EEC was still a balancing act between the positive evaluation staked by neo-liberals and the opposition of nationalists, Margaret Thatcher was one of the strong supporters of the 1985 SEA.⁴⁹⁰ However, after the SEA and the completion of the Single Market, Jacques Delors's EU agenda moved towards European market regulation and a supranational mode of governance. Margaret Thatcher's 1989 Bruges speech marked a shift in the party's position on integration. T. Margaret Thatcher defined British Conservatives in relation to European integration as the party of economic deregulation and nationalism.⁴⁹¹

Although Thatcher's Euroscepticism resulted from seeing the European Union as "socialism through the back door", opposition to ratification of the Maastricht Treaty also derived from nationalist elements within the Conservative Party, and the issue provided a platform against which to rally. The issue became highly salient since Margaret Thatcher's resignation as Prime Minister was partially related to her stance on European integration. To deal with the party's divisions on Maastricht, the next Prime Minister, John Major, resorted to the argument that ideological disagreement should be muted in order to maintain party unity. This argument implied that nationalist's opposition to European integration should keep silent

⁴⁹⁰ Morris, P. (1996), "The British Conservative Party", in Gaffney, J. Political Parties and the European Union, London: Routledge.

⁴⁹¹ op.cit.

for so that the party could retain its centrist, office-seeking strategy. In order to make ratification of the Maastricht Treaty possible, John Major had to demand a parliamentary vote of confidence.⁴⁹² However, in the long-run, efforts to combat a Eurosceptic attitude with an instrumental justification based on strategic, office-seeking considerations, in the long-run weakened the neo-liberal wing of the party by not properly linking the party's Europhile stance with economic neo-liberal arguments. John Major's stance provided the nationalists with a rallying platform and came to be seen as an office-seeking strategy. Once out of office, under the leadership of William Hague, the nationalist faction's ascendancy ensured that the party's identity was increasingly determined by the concept of a national political community and resulted in a decidedly Hard Eurosceptic stance in the 2001 parliamentary elections.

Austria

The Austrian case shows in a forceful way how, in the context of European integration, tensions caused by the participation of a nationalist party in a governmental coalition are bound to be highly disruptive. The weakening of the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) in the 2002 parliamentary elections primarily stemmed from tensions between office-holding constraints and the party's nationalist identity. This tension was reinforced by the European question. The transformation of the FPÖ into a liberal conservative party was impeded by structural difficulties in overcoming the commitment to the nation as the fundamental political community.

The FPÖ's ideology has its origins in the nationalist camp that, at the time of democratic mobilisation, represented the aspirations of the German-speaking majority within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. During World War II, the predecessor of the FPÖ was linked with the Nazi

⁴⁹² Baker, D. Gamble, A. and Ludlam, S. (1994), "The Parliamentary Siege", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 47(1): 37-60, p.57

regime, leading to its exclusion from government until 1983.⁴⁹³ In the seventies and eighties, the party attempted to change its identity and overcome its exclusion from office, by replacing nationalism with economic liberalism. However, the limits to the possibility of changing the basic ethos of the party's identity soon became apparent.

The temporary success in reversing the hierarchy of values between nationalism and economic liberalism allowed the party to become part of a government coalition with the Socialist Party. This was made possible by the domination exerted by the top liberal elite which had the party renamed internationally as the Liberal Party of Austria and made it a member of the Liberal International. In 1985, Vice Chancellor Steger and G. Stix attempted to formalise this change by introducing the concept of freedom as the centre-piece in the new party programme. Freedom was conceptualised as autonomy for the individual *and* the national community, but the attempt to reconcile the two party traditions also meant a reversal of the FPÖ's tradition of subordinating liberalism to nationalism.⁴⁹⁴

However, the constraints and compromises imposed by participation in government alienated parts of the party's rank-and-file, in particular in the regional structures of the party. Taking advantage of the strengthened position of nationalists within the party regional structures, Jörg Haider exploited the differences between the liberal leadership and the membership, and gained the leadership of the party on a nationalist platform. A reversal of the ideological transformation from nationalism to liberalism quickly followed, and in the next elections the FPÖ, campaigning on a nationalist platform, significantly increased its share of the vote. The electoral success of the party grew with time, drawing voters away from the Austrian Christian Democratic Party (ÖVP). In what is interpreted *a posteriori* by some analysts as a strategy to undermine the party's electoral success in January 2000, after failing to conclude negotiations with the Socialist Party, the ÖVP formed a governmental coalition

⁴⁹³ Luther, K. (1988), "The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs: Protest Party or Governing Party?" in Kirchner, E.

Liberal Parties in Western Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p.240.

⁴⁹⁴ op.cit.

with the FPÖ. The formation of the ÖVP–FPÖ coalition, which included a nationalist party with past links with the Nazis, provoked an outcry among the governments of EU member states for and led to the imposition of diplomatic sanctions.

The diplomatic sanctions introduced by Austria's EU partners increased internal pressures and served to mobilise Austria's anti-FPÖ forces and led to the resignation of Jörg Haider from the party's chairmanship. On 1 May 2000 Haider resigned from the chairmanship in favour of Susanne Riess-Passer, who became Vice-Chancellor and led the FPÖ's government team.⁴⁹⁵ However, Haider's resignation did not exclude him from party politics, and he remained the FPÖ's leader behind the scenes and a member of the coalition committee. Haider considered himself responsible for the FPÖ's success⁴⁹⁶ and resented the popularity of the moderate FPÖ leaders with ministerial posts, like Riess-Passer and Finance Minister Karl Heinz Grasser.⁴⁹⁷ Enmeshed in this conflict of personalities was the deeper issue of the nationalist party identity. The conflict between the office-seeking moderate wing of the party and Jörg Haider and his followers implied the (re)definition of the party's identity away from nationalism. However, neither Haider nor his followers were inclined to let that happen, and in the midst of a party crisis involving the two factions, one of Haider's followers, Stadler, launched a petition against the party's moderate wing in order "to ensure the FPÖ remains Haider's party". Among the conditions raised in the petition were typical demands destined to reinforce the party's identity, like vetoing the EU enlargement if the Czech government did not revoke the Benes decrees.

The FPÖ's unambiguously nationalist identity is the basis of its Hard Euroscepticism. The tensions between the centripetal strategies of the FPÖ while in office and its nationalist ethos embodied in Jörg Haider became evident and contributed to the disintegration of the

⁴⁹⁵ Luther, K. (2003), "The Self Destruction of a Right Wing Populist Party? The Austrian Parliamentary Election of 2002", *West European Politics*, 26(2): 136-152.

⁴⁹⁶ Luther, K. (1988), "The Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs: Protest Party or Governing Party?" in Kirchner, E.J. *Liberal Parties in Western Europe*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 251.

party soon after its participation in the governmental coalition. Three of the FPÖ's ministers resigned and the government finally fell, which led to early elections in early 2002.⁴⁹⁸ Much more was at stake than the question of Haider's leadership. Indeed, the conflict seemed to centre on the identity of the party. Once again the historic confrontation between the liberal and centrist wing of the party, on the one hand, and the nationalist elements of the party on the other, led to a fierce factional fight. This showed the impossibility of reconciling the symbolic policy stances serving the party's identity and the constraints imposed by a centrist strategy.

The poor election results in early 2002, when the FPÖ lost two-thirds of its vote despite being part of the government, meant that the party lost a number of ministries and parliamentary committees – weakening its chance of staying in office. The evolution of the FPÖ illustrates that nationalism and the preservation of a centrist position are in the long run incompatible.

The divisiveness of the European issue was more marked in the case of the FPÖ because of the diplomatic sanctions introduced by the European Union. In Austria the incompatibility between nationalism and the constraints imposed by office materialised in an unusually concrete way. When Jörg Haider, the agent of the party's nationalist identity had to resign from the party's leadership due to European objections to a party with a Nazi past being instated in government, the nationalist elements in the party rebelled against what they saw as a process of undermining the nationalist identity of the party, provoking the fall of government coalition.

⁴⁹⁷ Luther, K. (2003), "The Self Destruction of a Right Wing Populist Party? The Austrian Parliamentary Election of 2002", *West European Politics*, 26(2): 136-152.

⁴⁹⁸ op.cit.

Denmark

The causes of the evolution of the Scandinavian social democratic parties from Soft Eurosceptic positions in the seventies and eighties to Hard Europhilism in the late nineties illustrate the result of two related but separate processes. The Scandinavian states, and in particular Denmark, developed a much more comprehensive welfare state than other European states. Throughout the seventies and eighties the Danish social democratic party (SD) maintained an interpretation of the core class ethos through the prisms of a national Keynesian policy.⁴⁹⁹ The party's commitment to the left-wing ideal of workers' involvement in salary decisions further prevented the party from staking an effective income policy of wage restraint. This worsened the effects of the economic crisis that followed the 1970s oil price hikes.

The SD's belief in national Keynesianism led the party to evaluate negatively the effects of economic integration on the national economic regime. Social democrats saw the European Single Market as a mechanism for promoting tax competition and attempting to insulate markets from political interference by combining a European-wide market under selective supranational surveillance with intergovernmental decision-making vested in sovereign national governments. Therefore, until the early nineties the Danish social democrats were among the parties with the lowest support for European integration.⁵⁰⁰ A strongly regulated national market with a sizeable welfare and social transfers implied their considering that European integration was a threat to the Danish national interest.

The re-appreciation of the SD's position on Europe resulted from changes in the European agenda and Jacques Delors' initiatives leading to regulated capitalism in line with European social democratic and Christian democratic traditions.⁵⁰¹ The EU became the

⁴⁹⁹ Kitschelt, H. (1995), op. cit.

⁵⁰⁰ Marks, G. and Wilson, C. (2000), op. cit.

⁵⁰¹ Hooghe, L. and Marks, G. (1999), "The Making of a Polity: The Struggle over European Integration", in Kitschelt, H. et.al. *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

provider of a series of supply-side policies of collective goods. Simultaneously, the SD leadership came to realise that national Keynesianism was not a viable option in a global economic environment where capital is free to move. In 1992 the party elected a new leader, Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, and in its 1993 electoral programme the SD proceeded to shed traditional claims, such as workers' participation in enterprises' decision-making. The abandon of national Keynesianism and the acceptance that all European economic regimes are interconnected became part of the programmatic claims of the party. Traditional claims to economic democracy, i.e., the belief that workers should have a say in the decision-making process of the firms in which they work, was replaced with an insistence on good economic governance as the priority of the party.

After winning office in 1993, the party changed the labour law and performed a reform of the tax system. The SD seemed to have achieved a new formula for combining social justice and effective economic governance after the failure of the Keynesian formula in the 1970s and the 1980s.⁵⁰² The party advocated a retrenchment of unemployment benefits, and focused on active labour market policies. The extent and speed of party reinterpretation of its economic ethos is illustrated in the change of attitude towards reform of the welfare state. In the late eighties the party had refused to support the conservative government attempts to implement a package of tax and labour reforms, aiming at wage moderation. This reform was supported by the trade unions. However, after winning office in 1993, the social democratic government implemented a series of reforms with the objective of rolling back the welfare state.

Although Eurosceptic factions remain present within the SD, the party can today be characterised as Hard Europhile.⁵⁰³ The progressive transformation of its stance on the EU was shaped by the re-assessment of the impact of EU policies on the national economic

⁵⁰² Green-Pedersen, C. and van Kersbergen, K. (2002), "The Politics of the Third Way: The Transformation of Social Democracy in Denmark and The Netherlands", *Party Politics*, 8(5): 507-524.

⁵⁰³ Marks, G. Hooghe, L. and Wilson, C. (2002), op.cit. p. 975, Christensen, D.A. (1996), "The Left-Wing Opposition in Denmark, Norway and Sweden: Cases of Europhobia", *West European Politics*, 19(2): 525-546.

regime. Since 1992 the SD's conditional Euroscepticism⁵⁰⁴ evolved in a consolidated pro-European attitude. For the Danish social democrats, Europhilism became attractive, feasible and consistent with the party's policy goals. While domestic political calculations have been important determinants of the SD's Europhilism, the change in the party's position is not mere political convenience. The SD's repositioning on the European issue reflects the acknowledgement that the EU provides the most appropriate framework for pursuing many of its left-wing objectives.

The wider picture: the contribution to the literature on party positions on European integration

This thesis is based on the understanding that parties are constituted by a core nucleus of conceptions of the political and economic realities. The process of modern ideological creation implies the abstractisation of certain elements of social and economic reality that remain available to be used at different times and circumstances. Political parties are created around such ideological cores, and these account for the resemblance of political competition across Europe. The understanding of nucleus of ideas, i.e., the party ethos, as the party's fundamental element resulted in a theory that sees long-run party positions on European integration as largely independent of the mobilisation and representation of social groups. Party responses to the fifty-year process of construction of a European supranational entity and the step-by-step creation of a template of European economic norms is thus largely determined by the compatibility of parties' basic conceptions with this process.

⁵⁰⁴ Sauerberg, S. (1992), "Parties, Voters and the EC", in Lyck (ed.), Denmark and the EC Membership Evaluated, London: Pinter.

This understanding of political parties admits that although parties are “layered institutions”, thus able to respond to contemporary concerns by conceiving new appeals and policies,⁵⁰⁵ when taking positions on European integration parties will be consistent with the conceptual core of their identities. This links with the ideas of those authors that consider the dual imperatives of a party’s internal need for collusion and the conditions of external competition as structural elements of political life.⁵⁰⁶ The concept of party ethos is thus consistent with the ideas of those authors for whom the preservation of party identity is in the long-term as important for party survival as successfully responding to office competitive drives.

This vision of parties is thus at odds with the strategic theories of party positions on European integration. Both Taggart and Sitter based their theories on a Downsian conception of political parties, and assumed that parties are prepared to compromise any of their stances in order to gain office or oppose it. Indeed, the ethos theory assumption of the primordial nature of a party’s political and economic identity contradicts the assumptions of strategic predominance. The ethos theory predicts that when political ideologies and strategic considerations clash, in the long-run parties will be consistent with their conceptions of the national interest. Beyond attaining office or representing socio-economic groups, political parties’ rationality for adopting positions on European integration ultimately results from basic conceptions of the political and economic reality.

The typology of party ethos, and in particular the concept of political community, appears a better classification tool, and a more fundamental explanation for parties’ European attitudes than Marks, Hooghe and Wilson’s GAL-TAN axis. The definition of the political community incorporates both the socio-cultural dimension, i.e., it defines the degree of

⁵⁰⁵ Schickler, E. (2001), Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press; Stark, D. and Bruszt, L. (1998), Postsocialist Pathways: Transforming Politics and Property in East Central Europe, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁰⁶ Bartolini, S. (2000), “Collusion, Competition”, op. cit; Katz, R. (2002), “The Internal Life of Parties” in Luther, K. and Muller-Rommel, F. Political Parties in the New Europe: Political and Analytical Challenges, Oxford: Oxford University Press

desirable cultural openness within the community, and the nationalist/cosmopolitan dimension, i.e., the degree of the political community's openness towards other political communities. A party's basic characterisation of a political community thus appears a more fundamental explanation for parties' European attitudes than a party's positioning on the GAL-TAN axis.

By specifying the conditions of the predominance of parties' ideology while testing for the effects of a specified strategic hypothesis on parties' European positions, the thesis also speaks to the literature on the impact of Europeanization on political competition. Peter Mair's 2000 article "*The Limited Impact of Europeanization on National Party Systems*" argues that Europeanization has a very limited impact on party systems, both in terms of its format and mechanics.⁵⁰⁷ The present thesis reinforces this statement by suggesting that the European issue is fought along pre-existing lines of competition. However, the analysis of European attitudes, party values and competitive behaviour suggests that, despite the preponderance of political values, the three elements interact, i.e., that the centripetal and ideological transformation of left-wing parties towards Europhilism was facilitated by the compatibility of their aims with European values and policies. This effect is maybe more accentuated in party systems like the Polish, where Europeanization and the formation of the party systems have been taking place simultaneously.

The coincidence of the processes of European accession and transition to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe reinforces the relationship between Europhilism and the formation of the centre of the party system, posing a constraint on the type of identities in the centre of party systems. Party identities prevent compromise on issues that are institutional or informal preconditions of governmental participation. The most obvious effect and the one most accounted for in this thesis is the correlative effect of nationalism in the centre of a party system. Because political ideologies take the high ground over party strategies in determining

parties' European attitudes, nationalist parties will in the long-run remain Eurosceptic. Nevertheless, nationalist Eurosceptic parties appear ill-suited for the practice of multi-level government in the context of integrated Europe. Euroscepticism thus reinforces nationalist parties' long-run incompatibility with centrist politics. The constraints imposed by core identities on parties' European positions can thus limit the choices of competitive strategic behaviour available to parties, for example by constraining parties to take a polarising strategy.

By basing and testing the ethos theory from the Polish case, the present thesis also speaks to the literature on party formation in Central and Eastern Europe. Indeed, the understanding of parties as bound by core concepts is particularly contentious in the context of Central and Eastern Europe. The low degree of party institutionalisation in most Central and Eastern European countries has been interpreted by some authors as a sign that political competition in the region is mainly structured by office-seeking considerations and that political parties are mere ad hoc coalitions of office-seeking individuals. Authors claiming that vote-seeking concerns prevail over value-driven considerations argue that the predominant party form is a sort of catch-all party with a very light ideological baggage;⁵⁰⁸ parties of this nature are successful in catching the centre position and achieving office without committing to any form of value-based policies. Party formation is a function not of ideological differences "but rather the consequence of fierce battles over party leadership, personal aversions among party leaders, and an intolerance of minority opinions within the party".⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁷ Mair, P. (2000), "The Limited Impact of Europeanisation on National Party Systems", West European Politics, 23(4): 27-51.

⁵⁰⁸ Innes, A. (2002), "Party Competition in Postcommunist Europe: The Great Electoral Lottery", Comparative Politics, 35(1): 85-104; Olson, D. (1998), "Political Formation and Party System Consolidation in the New Democracies of Central Europe", Political Studies, 46(3): 432-464, p.445

⁵⁰⁹ Kostelecky, T. (2002), Political Parties After Communism, Developments in East-Central Europe, Baltimore: Woodrow Wilson Center for Scholars, p.175.

The test in the Polish case of a theory arguing that a party's core identity provides the long-term anchorage for its subsequent programmatic choices endorses the views of those authors that claim that political competition in Central and Eastern Europe is structured mainly by parties' programmatic choices. Kitschelt et al *Post-Communist Parties and Party Systems* is based on the premise that political competition in the Central and Eastern European new democracies is structured along defined ideological dimensions of competition.⁵¹⁰

The same premise underlies Gabor Tóka's studies on the forging of stable party-voter loyalties in Central and Eastern Europe. When stating that stark ideological language contributes to the forging of stable relations between political elites and voters, the author strengthens the idea that parties' identities are key to the establishment of an ideologically structured space of political competition.⁵¹¹ "Value preferences seem to provide for relatively more solid, stable basis for enduring partisan attachments.(...) In the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, voters' willingness to stay with party preferences over time is a function of their 'value voting' along such dimensions as religious-secular, left-right, and nationalism-anti-nationalism."⁵¹² Clear and sharp value-based choices are the main factor entrenching voters' choices in Central and Eastern European countries.

This thesis thus builds on the literature analysing the development of party systems in Central and Eastern Europe through the prism of parties as policy-seeking entities. The thesis thus bases the classification of Polish political parties on the premise that once the ideological space is established party organisations may come and go but political identities are stable. If a particular party occupying a certain ideological space disappears, another party will succeed it and inherit its political and economic ethos.

⁵¹⁰ Evans, G. and Whitefield, S. (1995), "The Politics and Economics of Democratic Commitment: Support for Democracy in Transition Societies", *British Journal of Political Science*, 25(4): 485-514, Kitschelt, H. et.al. (1999), *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation and Inter-Party Cooperation*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, p. 457.

⁵¹¹ Tóka, G. (1998), "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalties in New Democracies", *Political Studies*, 46(3): 589-610.

Conclusion

The analysis of the Polish case study shows that the repeated failure of right-wing political leaders to create a stable centrist party based on a Christian democratic identity has led to a proliferation of Eurosceptic parties on the right. Even when in government, nationalist parties or factions continued to oppose European integration. This tendency was persistent in 1991-1993 and the 1997-2001 right-wing governments. Although the need to be competitive at the governmental level may lead parties not to oppose European integration openly, nationalists within government coalitions or parties are uneasy and rebel against this solution. Therefore, even if Polish right-wing coalitions attempted to formulate their European positions in a way as to obscure contradictions, for example by portraying European integration as an enterprise of Christian nations, in the medium and long-term divergences among liberals and nationalists were magnified by the necessity to devise concrete positions on European accession. The splitting of the centre-right, facilitated by the European issue, freed the space for the victory of the Eurosceptic nationalist right.

A further contribution of this thesis concerns the link between the dominant identifying discourse of parties and the contestation of European integration within a political system. Political opposition to European integration leads to the debate on Europe being fought along the axis on less versus more Europe, rather than what should Europe do.⁵¹³ In Poland the European debate and the positions taken by its governments in negotiations with their European counterparts, reflects the salience of sovereignty issues. This is visible in the emphasis given by the right-wing governments' negotiating stances on issues such as land

⁵¹² Tóka, G. (1998), "Party Appeals and Voter Loyalties in New Democracies", *Political Studies*, 46(3): 589-610; Tóka's analysis makes tests the premises for the seminal study by Kitschelt et. al (1999), op. cit.

acquisition by foreigners, declarations of sovereignty on issues of morality, references to the need for a return to fundamental values and European spiritual traditions, and the strident opposition to the modification of the voting formula in the Council of Ministers decided at Nice. All this suggests that the European question is framed by the conceptions of political community and that party responses depend on their core political ethos.

The reluctance of Poland to compromise on the issue of voting rights once it had been decided at the Nice Intergovernmental Conference is a manifestation of European integration being taken hostage by nationalism. The Nice voting formula is regarded by the Polish political elites as limiting the loss of sovereignty inflicted by accession, and the political class was unanimous in its support for the government's position. The voting formula gained in the Nice Treaty was regarded as an assurance that integration remains partially in the hands of the Polish nation. Reluctance to shed sovereignty is natural in a country of the size and history of Poland. However, the submission of the ideologies opposing communism which surfaced in the Round Table negotiations in 1989, Catholicism and political liberalism, to an essential nationalist stance, has to be explained by the process of right-wing party formation. The success in creating a centre-left social democratic party compatible with European integration was not matched by a similar outcome on the centre-right. On the contrary, the centre-right parties running for the 2001 elections abandoned the Christian democratic ethos, and the post-Solidarity political elite was divided among liberal conservatives, national conservatives and nationalists. Such developments lead us to expect that the Polish participation in European integration will continue to be marked by the country's troubled past. The resistance to accept changes to the model of political and economic organisation inscribed in parties identities at the time of their formation appears to determine not only the behaviour of the Polish political elite, but to affect the process of political and economic integration across the whole continent.

⁵¹³ Katz, R. (1999), "Multi-level Party Systems: Europeanisation and the Reshaping of National Political Representation", Conference Paper Between Europe and the Nation State: the Reshaping of Interests, Identities and Political Representation, European University Institute, Florence.

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