

## **A self-presentation describing scientific accomplishments and achievements**

### **1. Education and professional experience**

In the years 1994-1999 I studied for a Master's degree at the Department of Political and Social Sciences of the Institute of Political Sciences at the University of Warsaw. I graduated with very good results and with a distinction of *Summa cum laude*. At the same time, in the years 1997-1999 I attended a Master's seminar conducted by Professor Doctor Habilitated Leszek Garlicki at the Department of Law and Administration of the University of Warsaw. I wrote my Master's thesis entitled *Participation of the head of state in the final stages of the legislative process* under the supervision of Professor Doctor Habilitated Tadeusz Mołdawa. Professor Leszek Garlicki was its reviewer in the Master's proceedings. I passed the Master's exam with a distinction and a modified version of my MA thesis was published in 1999 by the ELIPSA Publishing House.

Since the fourth year of studies I was a trainee assistant at the Institute of Political Sciences of the University of Warsaw. In September 1999 I became a doctoral student at this Institute.

In 2004 I defended my doctoral thesis entitled *Constitutional accountability in Poland in the period of transformation*, written under the supervision of Professor Doctor Habilitated Tadeusz Mołdawa. The reviewers in the course of doctoral proceedings were Professor Doctor Habilitated Leonard Łukaszuk and Professor Doctor Habilitated Jan Wawrzyniak. I published two books based on my doctoral dissertation: *Constitutional accountability in the Polish law in the period of political*

*transformation and Constitutional accountability. The practice of the Third Republic of Poland.*

In 2004 I started work at the Institute of Political Sciences of the University of Warsaw as a research assistant. After a year I was appointed adjunct professor at the same Institute where I work now. During that time I received the reward of His Magnificence Rector of the University of Warsaw or the Dean of the Faculty of Journalism and Political Science seven times for special achievements in scientific or organizational work.

Since 2009 I have conducted classes in constitutional law for articling students of the Warsaw Chamber of Civil Law Notaries.

I have been the supervisor of 67 Bachelor's theses and 29 Master's theses.

I am an editorial reviewer of a monograph by O. Ju. Ostapowicz devoted to constitutional courts and published in the Russian Federation<sup>1</sup>.

Since 2009 I have held the function of the scientific secretary of "Political Science Studies" (8 points). In 2010 I became a member of the Editorial Board of "A Review of Constitutional Law" (6 points), and in 2012 a thematic editor of a journal "Ius Novum" (5 points), which function I hold until the present moment.

Detailed information on my didactic achievements, cooperation with different institutions, organizations and scientific societies as well as science promoting activities is included in Appendix No. 7.

## **2. Scientific and research interests and achievements**

**2.1.** My scientific interests refer to a few areas of Polish and foreign constitutional law. These are mainly the issues pertaining to constitutionalism of the Russian Federation and other post-Soviet states, Polish parliamentarism, the institution of legal protection and the creation of law.

Since I finished studies, the problems referring to selected political institutions of Poland and other countries have been the subject of my studies, the results of which were presented in the form of books, scientific articles, scientific reviews as well as

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<sup>1</sup> И. Ю. Остапович, *Судебный конституционный контроль и нормотворчество: проблемы соотношения*, ИЦ РИОР, НИЦ ИНФРА, Москва 2015. 230 С.

papers and participation in discussions within the frameworks of scientific conferences. These are also the topics I am concerned with in different forms (university classes, tutorials, lectures) – I conduct classes in the following subjects: constitutional law, institutions of legal protection, the system of legal protection of the European Union, the creation of law, local law, constitutional basis of the state's security, political systems of contemporary states, political systems of post-Soviet states.

Totally, my scientific output includes 120 scientific texts. In addition, I am the editor/co-editor of 14 scientific publications, including 110 publications published after the defense of my doctoral dissertation and before submitting the present self-presentation. These include 5 books, 48 chapters or articles in the Polish scientific collective works, 21 articles in Polish scientific journals, 5 chapters or articles in foreign scientific collective works, 7 articles in foreign scientific journals, 14 scientific reviews, 6 entries in the encyclopedia, 2 reports, participation in the round table abroad. In addition, I was the editor/co-editor of 14 scientific publications.

I participated in nine research projects connected with my studies on constitutionalism of Poland and post-Soviet states.

In the years 2010-2013 I was the main executor of a research project financed from the grant by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education entitled *The constitutional concept of representational mandate and its contemporary conditions – between theory, law and practice* (project manager: Professor Doctor Habilitated Maria Kruk). The purpose of the studies within the project was to conduct the analysis of the constitutional concept of the mandate derived from the Enlightenment doctrine from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the context of its contemporary conditions: the role of political parties, the tasks of the parliament, the system of government and the mechanism of wielding the power as well as the ideas that deputies and senators have on their role as representatives, also against the background of the theory of representation. 154 deputies participated in those studies, which included the latter within the group of the most representative of this kind of studies in Europe. Two monographs appeared

within those studies<sup>2</sup>, where I included 6 analyses (*Parliamentary mandate in the People's Republic of Poland; Deputy and political party; Deputy and voters*).

In the years 2012-2014 I was the coordinator and the main executor of a research project financed from a grant awarded by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education entitled *Polish policy after the transformation. The state and perspectives of development* (the head of the project: Professor Doctor Habilitated Stanisław Sulowski). The purpose of the undertaking was to prepare and present to the renowned foreign universities and research centers a publication in Russian and English devoted to a synthesis of the Polish policy after the transformation. The effect of the work included two monographic volumes of "Political Science Studies": С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Польская политика после периода трансформации. Состояние и перспективы развития* „Political Science Studies” 2013, vol. 30 and S. Sulowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *Polish Politics After the Transformation. Condition and Prospects of Development*, "Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 31. I published two analyses within these frameworks: *Трансформация механизмов управления в Польше после 1989 года* and *Transformations in the Mechanisms of Government*.

In addition to the above, the current of scientific studies on the Polish constitutionalism includes my own studies *Constitutional accountability in the Second Republic of Poland* (2003 Faculty of Journalism and Political Science University of Warsaw) and participation in a research project *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland from 1997 and the requirements of the contemporary state of law* (2004-2006, Lazarski School of Commerce and Law in Warsaw, the head of the research project: Professor Doctor Habilitated Maria Kruk) and statutory studies realized in the years 2010-2011 (*Directions of the evolution of the Polish political system*, Institute of Political Science University of Warsaw, head of the research project: Professor Doctor Habilitated Zbigniew Kiełmiński) and in 2011-2012 (*The government system in Poland*, Institute of Political Science University of Warsaw, head of the research project: Professor Doctor Habilitated Zbigniew Kiełmiński).

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<sup>2</sup> M. Kruk (ed.), *Parliamentary mandate in the People's Republic of Poland*, M. Kruk, K. Kubuj, M. Laskowska, J. Zalesny, M. Godlewski, M. Olszówka, *Representational mandate in the Polish Deputies' practice*, Warsaw.



Within the second group of projects I conducted studies on the political issues of post-Soviet states. In the years 2011-2012 and 2013-2014 – under the scientific supervision of Professor Doctor Habilitated Tadeusz Bodio – I participated in two international research projects devoted to the political elites of Caucasus (*Leadership, political elites and centers of power in Caucasus* and *Political elites in Caucasus: studies and challenges*, Faculty of Journalism and Political Science University of Warsaw). In the years 2012-2013, on the other hand, I participated in a research project *Constitutional institutions in a comparative perspective* (Institute of Political Science University of Warsaw, head of the research project: Professor Doctor Habilitated Zbigniew Kiełmiński).

The material effect of my participation in each of the above research projects are the published scientific texts. Detailed information concerning scientific studies realized by me is included in Appendix 9.

After obtaining the PhD degree I read 16 papers at national and international scientific conferences in Poland and abroad. A complete list of my conference output is presented in Appendix 8.

2.2. Chronologically, the three first, parallel research areas studied by me referred to the Polish and Russian systems of parliamentarism as well as a specific area of constitutional accountability. My MA thesis, defended and published in 1999, was devoted to the political participation of the head of state in the final stages of the legislative process<sup>3</sup>. During my doctoral studies I published an article concerning the procedure of changing the Constitution of the Republic of Poland<sup>4</sup>, and – together with J. Szymanek – source materials, complete with an analytical introduction<sup>5</sup>, to the studies on parliamentary law in the form of the rules and regulations of the Sejm, the

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<sup>3</sup> *Participation of the head of state in the final stages of the legislative*, Warsaw 1999.

<sup>4</sup> *The procedure of changing the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, The state. Democracy. Local government. A Jubilee Book on the 65th anniversary of Professor Eugeniusz Zieliński*, Warsaw 1999.

<sup>5</sup> J. Szymanek, J. Zaleśny, *The legal character of the parliamentary rules and regulations*, [in:] J. Szymanek, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Polish Parliamentary Rules and Regulations 1986-2002*, Warsaw 2002; J. Szymanek, J. Zaleśny, *Parliamentary rules and regulations in practice (in the years 1986-2002)*, [in:] J. Szymanek, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Polish Parliamentary Rules and Regulations 1986-2002*, Warsaw 2002.

Senate and the National Assembly as well as their successive changes<sup>6</sup>. At the same time I started cooperation with the Center of East European Studies of the University of Warsaw. The result was publishing two analyses devoted to the Russian parliamentarism<sup>7</sup>.

My doctoral dissertation was devoted to the issue of constitutional accountability in Poland in the period of political transformation. The research begun before I obtained the doctoral degree resulted in, totally, fifteen scientific publications, three of which I published before my doctorate<sup>8</sup>. Chronologically the first one combined studies on constitutional accountability with the issue of Russian parliamentarism. Two books were published on the basis of my doctoral dissertation. The first one was devoted to theoretical and legal reflections on constitutional accountability in Poland in the period of political transformation<sup>9</sup>, while the second was concerned with the analysis of the political practice in this sphere<sup>10</sup>. Since I defended my doctorate I have conducted studies on constitutional accountability in a limited scope. Their effects include scientific articles<sup>11</sup>, two reviews<sup>12</sup> and active participation in the conference abroad<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> *Polish Parliamentary Rules and Regulations 1986-2002*, Warsaw 2002.

<sup>7</sup> *Elections to the State Duma of the Russian Federation*, Studies and Materials of the Center of East European Studies University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2000; *Legal regulation of legislative law in the Russian Federation*, Studies and Materials of the Center of East European Studies University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2001.

<sup>8</sup> *Constitutional accountability in the Russian Federation*, [in:] J. Adamowski, A. Skrzypek (ed.), *Russian Federation 1991-2001*, Warsaw 2002; *Constitutional accountability in the Second Republic of Poland*, Warsaw 2003; *Constitutional accountability in the countries of Central-Eastern Europe* [in:] T. Mołdawa (ed.), *Constitutional issues of the countries of Central-Eastern Europe*, Warsaw 2003.

<sup>9</sup> *Constitutional accountability in the Polish law in the period of political transformation*, Toruń 2004.

<sup>10</sup> *Constitutional accountability. The practice of the 3rd Republic of Poland*, Warsaw 2004.

<sup>11</sup> *The Tribunal of State*, [in:] M. Kruk (ed.), *The system of organs of legal protection in Poland*, Warsaw 2006 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2008); *Constitutional concepts of accountability*, [in:] M. Kruk (ed.), *The Constitution of the Republic of Poland from 1997 against the background of the principles of the contemporary state of law, Selected issues*, Warsaw 2006; *The legal character of the Tribunal of State. Selected issues*, „Court Review” 2007, No. 7-8; *The legal and political status of the judge of the Tribunal of State*, [in:] A. Szmyt (ed.), *Third power. Courts and tribunals in Poland*, Gdańsk 2008; *Legal and Constitutional Aspects of Constitutional Responsibility in Poland after 1989*, [in:] L. Orosz, M. Breichová Lapčáková, T. Majcerčák (eds.), *20 rokov Ústavy Slovenskej republiky – I ÚSTAVNÉ DNI*, Košice 2012; *Legal and political aspects of constitutional accountability in Poland after 1989*, [in:] S. Sulowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *Political issues of the East-European space*, „Political Science Studies” 2013, vol. 28; *Legal liability of the President of the Republic of Poland*, [in:] M. Giżyńska, A. Piszcz (eds.), *Liability of public functionaries*, Toruń 2014; *Сущность конституционной ответственности в современной Польше*, [в:] С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Изменения в политических режимах стран Восточной Европы*, „Studia Politologiczne” 2015, vol. 36.

Since I finished my doctoral dissertation I have continued studies on the Polish parliamentarism, I have developed my studies on constitutionalism of the Russian Federation (supplemented with constitutionalism of other post-Soviet states) and on legal protection institutions. In addition, I undertook studies on the problems referring to the creation of law.

In the field of studies on Polish parliamentarism, my scientific output includes publications concerning the parliamentary mandate in the context of relations taking place between a deputy on the one hand and the political party and the electors on the other<sup>14</sup>, as well as legal conditions and their realization in the sphere of financing the parliamentary and presidential campaigns<sup>15</sup> (including an article published in „Сравнительное Конституционное Обозрение”<sup>16</sup>), parliamentary control<sup>17</sup> (including an article published in „MEMLEKETTIK BACQAPY ЖӘНЕ

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<sup>12</sup> [Review] K. Grajewski, Liability of deputies and senators in relation to the rule of the free mandate, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2010, No. 2-3; [Review] S. Grabowska, R. Grabowski (ed.), Forms of constitutional accountability in European states „Athenaeum. Polish Politological Studies” 2010, No. 26.

<sup>13</sup> *Legal and political aspects of constitutional responsibility in Poland after 1989*, International Conference: “20 years of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic – 1st Constitutional Days”, Koszyce (Słowacja), 3–4 October 2012.

<sup>14</sup> *The construction of the parliamentary mandate in the People’s Republic of Poland*, [in:] M. Kruk (ed.), *Representational mandate in theory, law and parliamentary practice*, Warsaw 2013; *Deputy and political party*, [in:] M. Kruk, K. Kubuj, M. Laskowska, J. Zaleśny, M. Godlewski, M. Olszówka, *Representational mandate in the Polish Deputies’ practice*, Warsaw 2013; *The deputy and the voters*, [in:] M. Kruk (ed.), *Representational mandate in theory, law and parliamentary practice*, Warsaw 2013; *Parliamentary mandate in the People’s Republic of Poland*, [in:] M. Kruk, K. Kubuj, M. Laskowska, J. Zaleśny, M. Godlewski, M. Olszówka, *Representational mandate in the Polish Deputies’ practice*, Warszawa 2013; *Deputy and political party*, [in:] M. Kruk, K. Kubuj, M. Laskowska, J. Zaleśny, M. Godlewski, M. Olszówka, *Representational mandate in the Polish Deputies’ practice*, Warszawa 2013; *Deputy and voters*, [in:] M. Kruk, K. Kubuj, M. Laskowska, J. Zaleśny, M. Godlewski, M. Olszówka, *Representational mandate in the Polish Deputies’ practice*, Warszawa 2013; [review] W. I. Fadiejew, M. W. Warlien, *Dieputatskij mandat w Rossijskoj Fiedieracii: konstitucionno-prawowyje osnovy*, „The Sejm Review” 2010, No. 4; [review] K. Grajewski, K. Grajewski, *Liability of deputies and senators in relation to the rule of the free mandate*, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2010, Nos. 2-3.

<sup>15</sup> *Financing the parliamentary election campaign – the Polish specific character*, [in:] E. Pietrzyk-Zieniewicz (ed.), *Before the elections. Conflicts, strategies, hopes*, “Political Science Studies” 2005, vol. 9; *Presidential elections in 2005 – financial conditions*, [in:] J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *A multi-dimensional character of the political systems. Theoretical assumptions and practical conditions*, Warsaw 2009; *Financing the election campaign in parliamentary elections. Legal regulations and their application*, „Ius Novum” 2011, No. 4.

<sup>16</sup> *Финансирование парламентской избирательной кампании в Польше*, „Сравнительное Конституционное Обозрение” 2013, № 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Parliamentary interpellation. Remarks against the background of Polish practice*, [in:] M. Zubik (ed.), *Twenty years of political transformation in Poland*, Warsaw 2010; *Dynamics of interpellation*

MEMЛЕКЕТТИК ҚЫЗМЕТ ғылыми-талдау журналы”<sup>18</sup>) and other issues referring to parliamentary law<sup>19</sup>. Besides, I devoted three papers read at the national conferences and scientific seminars to the subjects related to parliamentarism<sup>20</sup>.

At present, within a team of constitutionalists headed by Professor Doctor Habilitated Jarosław Szymanek, I am preparing a parliamentary dictionary for the Seym Publishing House.

Another area of my scientific interests concerns the institutions of legal protection. I wrote two chapters of a textbook *Systems of legal protection organs*<sup>21</sup> (prepared under the supervision of Professor Doctor Habilitated Maria Kruk. It has had two editions and now the third is in preparation); texts on the Constitutional Tribunal<sup>22</sup>; identity of a jury member<sup>23</sup> (including an article in a collective work

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*procedures. Experience of the period of transformation in the vertical dimension*, [in:] M Kruk, J. Wawrzyniak (eds.); *Political transformation in Poland 1989-2009*, Warsaw 2011; *Parliamentary enquiries*, [in:] B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, W. Sokół (eds.); *Encyclopaedia of politology. Political institutions and systems*, Warsaw 2012; *The legal and political status of the judge of the Seym committee of enquiry*, [in:] J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.); *Mechanisms of wielding the power „Political Science Studies”* 2010, vol. 18.

<sup>18</sup> *Средства депутатского контроля деятельности правительства. Польский опыт периода трансформации государственного строя*, „MEMЛЕКЕТТИК БАСҚАРУ ЖӘНЕ MEMЛЕКЕТТИК ҚЫЗМЕТ ғылыми-талдау журналы” 2014, No. 3.

<sup>19</sup> *Правовые последствия сокращения срока полномочий Сейма Республики Польша*, [в:] А. В. Малько (ред.), *Право и политика: теоретические и практические проблемы*, Рязань 2014; *Parliamentary rules and regulations*, [in:] B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, W. Sokół (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of politology. Political institutions and systems*, Warsaw 2012; *The constitutional procedure of passing the laws*, [in:] B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, W. Sokół (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of politology. Political institutions and systems*, Warsaw 2012; *Ordinances with the force of the law*, [in:] B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, W. Sokół (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of politology. Political institutions and systems*, Warsaw 2012; *Promulgation*, [in:] B. Dziemidok-Olszewska, W. Sokół (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of politology. Political institutions and systems*, Warsaw 2012.

<sup>20</sup> *Deputy – parties – electors*, The Polish Scientific Conference „Representational mandate in the deputies’ Practice”, Warsaw, 13 January 2014; *The election campaign and financing the elections*, The Polish Scientific Conference „Election law”, Warsaw 19 May 2011; *Instruments of deputies’ control over the government in the period of political transformation*; The Polish Scientific Conference „System transformations in Poland and other post-communist states” Pułtusk, 7-8 October 2009.

<sup>21</sup> *The Tribunal of State*, [in:] M. Kruk (ed.), *The system of organs of legal protection in Poland*, Warsaw 2006 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition 2008); *Prosecutor’s office*, [in:] M. Kruk (ed.), *The system of organs of legal protection in Poland*, Warsaw 2008 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition).

<sup>22</sup> *Controlling constitutionality of law as a form of studying internormative relations*, [in:] J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Explaining politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2010, vol. 17; *Special legitimation of appealing to the Constitutional Tribunal against normative acts*, [in:] J. Kuciński (ed.), *Fifteen years of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland from 1997. Inspirations, regulations, durability*, Warsaw 2012; *The issue of discrepancy in the Constitutional Tribunal jurisdiction*, [in:] K.A. Wojtaszczyk, A. Mirska (eds.), *Democratic modernization of the public sphere*, Toruń 2012.



published in the Russian Federation<sup>24</sup>); the right to court<sup>25</sup>; and constitutional aspects of applying temporary arrest in preparatory proceedings<sup>26</sup>. The subjects presented within this point of my self-presentation also include a book – written together with Doctor Habilitated Przemysław Szustakiewicz – devoted to legal aid. I am the author of its four chapters concerning characteristics of the jobs of an attorney, legal counsel, notary public and court executive officer<sup>27</sup>. Institutions of legal protection were also the subject of my four papers read at a congress, two international conferences and a scientific seminar<sup>28</sup>.

**The third collection of scientific publications is the fruit of my studies on the creation of law, including correct legislation.** They were published both in Poland<sup>29</sup> and abroad<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>23</sup> *Independence of the jury and its guarantees. Dilemmas in the period of the change of the political system*, [in:] J. Jaskiernia (ed.), *Transformation of the systems of administration of justice. The political position of the judiciary and the conditions of transformation*, vol. 1, Toruń; *Access of the jury to classified information*, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2011, No. 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Независимость судебного заседателя и ее гарантии. Польский опыт*, [in:] М. В. Мархгейм (ред.), *Публичные механизмы обеспечения государственного суверенитета: юридические императивы и практика*, Белгород 2014.

<sup>25</sup> *Pre-trial in the proceedings before the Supreme Court in relation to the right to procedural justice in the light of the Constitutional Tribunal jurisdiction*, [in:] J. Jaskiernia (ed.), *Efficiency of the European system of human rights protection. Areas of the analysis of the efficiency of the European system of human rights protection*, Toruń 2012.

<sup>26</sup> *The right to a reasonable period of temporary detention and its implications for the organs of authority in the Republic of Poland*, [in:] J. Jaskiernia (ed.), *Efficiency of the European system of human rights protection. Areas of the analysis of the efficiency of the European system of human rights protection*, Toruń 2012.

<sup>27</sup> *The Bar*, [in:] J. Zaleśny, P. Szustakiewicz, *Organs of legal aid*, Warsaw 2009; *Legal counsels*, [in:] J. Zaleśny, P. Szustakiewicz, *Organs of legal aid*, Warsaw 2009; *Notaries*, [in:] J. Zaleśny, P. Szustakiewicz, *Organs of legal aid*, Warsaw 2009; *Court enforcement officers*, [in:] J. Zaleśny, P. Szustakiewicz, *Organs of legal aid*, Warsaw 2009.

<sup>28</sup> *Organs of legal protection and the development of human rights in Poland*, 1st national Congress of Political Science: „Democratic Poland in the world in the process of globalization”, 22-24 September 2009; *Independence of the jury member and its guarantees. Dilemmas in the period of the change of the political system*; 2<sup>nd</sup> Scientific Conference “Transformation of the systems of the administration of justice in the states of Central and Eastern Europe in the years 1990-2012”, Legnica 10-11 April 2010; *Access of the jury to classified information*, A seminar “The judiciary in European states”, Olsztynek, 05-07 April 2011 r.; *The right to a reasonable period of temporary detention and its implications for the organs of authority in the Republic of Poland*, 3<sup>rd</sup> International Scientific Conference: Efficiency of the European system of human rights proportion”, Warsaw 18-19 April 2011.

<sup>29</sup> *Principles of correct legislation*, [in:] J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Faces of politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 13; *The principle of an individual's trust to the state and law in the period of political transformation*, [in:] M. Laskowska, J. Wawrzyniak (eds.), *Institutions of constitutional law in the period of European integration. A Jubilee Book dedicated to Professor Maria Kruk-Jarosz*, Warsaw 2009; *The definite character of the rules of law as a model of controlling legal norms*, [in:] A. Bałaban, P. Mijal (eds.), *Fundamental principles of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland from 2*

The fourth area of my research, which became an inspiration for the subject of my habilitation dissertation, is constitutionalism of the Russian Federation and other post-Soviet states. My scientific output in this field (after the defense of my doctorate) includes three books (together with the habilitation dissertation to be discussed in point 3), 25 analyses published in Polish scientific journals and collective works, 4 reviews, participation in the round table abroad and 4 texts published abroad. Three texts (including one in w „Сравнительное Конституционное Обозрение”)<sup>31</sup> discussed general problems of post-Soviet states, i.e. institutionalization of the state leadership in those states, including the use of the institution of a referendum in this process with the aim of reducing the importance of the parliament. Two of my books published in the Seym Publishing House were devoted to the constitutional systems of Belarus and Azerbaijan<sup>32</sup>. The articles, on the other hand, dealt with detailed issues related to definite institutions of Russian<sup>33</sup> and Azerbaijani<sup>34</sup> constitutional law.

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*April 1997, Szczecin 2011; The role of local law in maintaining the legal order, [in:] S. Sulowski, M. Brzeziński (ed.), Internal security of the state. Seclected issues, Warsaw 2009; The specific character of acts of law with the inner binding force, J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), Understanding politics, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 14.*

<sup>30</sup> *Понимание принципа доверия гражданина к государству и праву в Польше в период трансформации государственного строя, "Пробелы в российском законодательстве" 2013, № 5; Неизменность и изменность приобретенных прав в Польше, [в:] А. В. Малько (ред.), Право и политика: теоретические и практические проблемы, Рязань 2013; Четкость законоположений как форма защиты прав гражданина. Рассуждения в контексте практики польского Конституционного трибунала, „Journal of Constitutionalism & Human Rights” 2013, № 4.*

<sup>31</sup> *Institutionalization of political leadership in post-Soviet states, [in:] T. Bodio, W. Jakubowski (eds.), Leadership and political elites in the countries of CIS, Vol. 2, Warsaw 2010; Plebiscite authority. The idea and its accomodation in the post-Soviet space, [in:] Z. Kiełmiński, J. Szymanek (eds.), Institutions of constitutional law in the politological perspective, Warsaw 2013; Институционализация политического лидерства в постсоветских странах Центральной Азии, „Сравнительное Конституционное Обозрение” 2011, № 5.*

<sup>32</sup> *The constitutional system of Belorussia, Warsaw 2011; The constitutional system of Azerbaijan, Warsaw 2013.*

<sup>33</sup> *Financing the presidential election campaign in the Russian Federation – the experience of the 2004 elections, „Eastern Policy” 2006, Nos. 1-2; Protection of electoral rights in the Russian Federation: mechanism of legitimation of the parliament, [in:] T. Mołdawa, J. Szymanek (ed.), Parliament, president, government. Constitutional issues on the example of selected countries, Warsaw 2008; The president in relation to the government in the Russian Federation, [in:] J. Zaleśny (ed.), Issues related to the political system of post-Soviet states, Warsaw 2010; The president and the State Duma in the process of appointing the government of the Russian Federation, „Ius Novum” 2010, No. 2; The governmental legislative initiative as an instrument of legislative planning in the Russian Federation, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2010, Nos. 2-3; The influence of the Government of the Russian Federation on the execution of the legislative power, [in:] T. Mołdawa, J. Zaleśny (ed.), Parlamentarism in the contemporary world. Between idea and reality, Warsaw 2011;*



*The leadership of the Chairman of the Russian Federation Government*, [in:] W. Konarski, A. Durska, Sz. Bachrynowski (eds.), *Leadership crisis in contemporary politics*, Warsaw 2011; *Cooperation of the government and the president of the Russian Federation in realizing the legislative initiative*, [in:] A. Kosecki, J. Wojnicki (eds.), *Changes in Central-Eastern Europe*. Pułtusk 2011; *Participation of the Russian Federation Government in budgetary proceedings – the experience of the last twenty years*, [in:] A. Jach (ed.), *The collapse of the USSR and its consequences for Europe and the world. Part 1: Russian Federation*, Cracow 2011; *Cooperation of the federal government and organs of authority of the entities of the Russian Federation in realizing the legislative initiative. Introductory remarks, "A Review of Constitutional Law" 2012, nr 1; Ratification act as a special form of the federal act in Russia*, [in:] R.M. Czarny, K. Spryszak (eds.), *The state and law towards contemporary challenges. Contemporary political systems and the development of democracy in Poland. A Jubilee Book of Professor Jerzy Jaskiernia*, Toruń 2012; *Division of power in the Russian Federation – between the native and the West-European traditions*, [in:] J. Jaskiernia (ed.), *The effect of international standards on the development of democracy and human rights protection*. Vol. 3, Warsaw 2013; *The Accounts Chamber of the Russian Federation as an organ of financial and budgetary control*, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2014, No. 2; *Priority legislative proceedings in relation to the so-called ordinary legislative proceedings. Some remarks on the background of Russian experience*, [in:] M. Paździor, B. Szmulik (eds.), *Institutional guarantees of the principle of political pluralism in Poland on the background of European standards*, Lublin 2014; *Parliamentary hearing as a form of the State Duma's control over the Russian Federation*, [in:] M. Grzybowski, P. Tuleja (eds.), *A democratic, legal and social state. Constitutional studies. A Jubilee Book dedicated to Professor Zbigniew Antoni Maciąg*, vol. 1, Cracow 2014; *Participation of the Ombudsman in the Russian Federation in parliamentary control*, [in:] J. Jaskiernia (ed.), *Problems in realizing the regional standards of human rights protection in the political practice of the states*, Toruń 2015; *Women's rights in the Russian Federation*, [in:] L. Kondratiewa-Bryzik, W. Sokolewicz (eds.), *Women's rights in the contemporary world*, Warsaw 2011; *Political leadership in Dagestan*, [in:] T. Bodio (ed.), *North Caucasus: the ruling elites and the political life*, Warsaw 2014; [review] O.N. Bułakow, *Dwuchpałatnyj parlament Rossijskoj Fiedieracyi*, „State and Law” 2004, fasc. 12; [review] Ł.W. Smirnjagin (ed.), *Sowiet Fiedieracyi. Ewolucja statusa i funkcji*, „The Sejm Review” 2004, No. 6; [Review] W. I. Fadiejew, M. W. Warlien, *Dieputatskij mandat w Rossijskoj Fiedieracii: konstitucionno-prawowyje osnovy*, „The Sejm Review” 2010, No. 4; [Review] W. J. Czirkin, *Gława gosudarstwa. Srawnitielno-prawowoje issledowanije*, „The Sejm Review” 2011, No. 3; *Взаимодействие органов федеральной власти и органов власти субъектов Российской Федерации в реализации законодательной инициативы*, [в:] М.В. Маркгейм (ред.), *Политика. Власть. Право*, Белгород 2014; *Круглый стол: элиты Северного Кавказа: опыт польско-российского сотрудничества*, ч. 1, «Гуманитарий Юга России» 2015, № 1; *Круглый стол: элиты Северного Кавказа: опыт польско-российского сотрудничества*, ч. 2, «Гуманитарий Юга России» 2015, № 2; *Особенности системы государственной власти в Республике Дагестан*. Ч. 1, «Юридическая наука» 2015, № 1; *Особенности системы государственной власти в Республике Дагестан*. Ч. 2, «Юридическая наука» 2015, № 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Evolution of the state leadership of independent Azerbaijan*, [in:] T. Bodio (ed.), *Caucasus: mechanism of legitimation and functioning of the political elites*, Warsaw 2012; *The Constitutional Court in the system of the judiciary of the Republic of Azerbaijan*, [in:] M. Paździor, B. Szmulik (eds.), *Evolution of representational democracy in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe*, Lublin 2013; *The Ombudsman of the Republic of Azerbaijan*, [in:] S. Sulowski, J. Szymanek (eds.), *The political system of the world. Poland, Europe, the world*, Warsaw 2013; *Конституционный суд в системе судебной власти Азербайджанской Республики*, [в:] С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Проблемы конституционализма и его судебной защиты в государствах Восточной Европы*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 32; *Эволюция системы государственного управления независимого Азербайджана*, [in:] S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (red.), *Mechanizmy rządzenia w państwach Europy Wschodniej*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 33.

The issues related to constitutionalism of the Russian Federation and other post-Soviet states are dealt with in six papers which I read at Polish and international conferences and a scientific seminar in Poland<sup>35</sup> and one in the Russian Federation<sup>36</sup>.

**The last collection comprising my publications includes *varia*.** These are two texts devoted to access to classified information<sup>37</sup>, an article on the choice of the form of government in post-communist states<sup>38</sup>, two texts in a foreign language on transformation of the system of government in Poland after 1989<sup>39</sup>, the analysis of the political position of the president in Yemen<sup>40</sup>, a paper on the constitutional aspects of financial independence of a commune<sup>41</sup>, eight reviews<sup>42</sup> and two reports<sup>43</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> *Leadership of the Prime Minister of the Government of the Russian Federation*, the Polish Scientific Conference „Leadership crisis in contemporary politics”, Warsaw, 13-14 May, 2010; *Legislative initiative of the Government of the Russian Federation*, seminar „The system of government in European states”, Gdynia, 5-7 October 2010; *Forms of the Russian Federation Government determining the budgetary proceedings – experience of the last twenty years*, International Conference „Collapse of the USSR and its consequences for Europe and the World”, Cracow 30 November – 02 December 2011; *Applying the principle of the distribution of Power in the Russian Federation – between the native and West European traditions*, 4th International Scientific Conference „Influence of international standards on the development of democracy and human rights protection”, Warsaw, 22-23 April 2012; *Participation of the Ombudsman for Human Rights in parliamentary oversight. Russian experiences*, 6th International Scientific Conference: „Models of human rights protection: European and American Ones. Axiology – institutions – effectiveness”, Warsaw 9-11 April 2014; *Political conditions for the development of the institution of the Ombudsman in Kyrgyzstan*, 7th International Scientific Conference: „Systems of human rights protection: European and Asian ones”, Warsaw 13-15 April 2015.

<sup>36</sup> *Взаимодействие органов федеральной власти и органов власти субъектов Российской Федерации в реализации законодательной инициативы*, I Международная научно-теоретическая конференция: „Политика. Власть. Право“, Белгород (Rosja), 26 April 2014 r.

<sup>37</sup> *Access to classified information in the sphere of public matters*, [in:] T. Gardocka (ed.), *The civil right to information*, Zakamycze; *Verifying proceedings in the field of access to classified information*, „Ius Novum” 2009, No. 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Post-communist states of Central-Eastern Europe facing the choice of the form of government (dilemmas and planes of reference)*, [in:] T. Mołdawa, J. Szymanek (ed.), *Systems of government. Dilemmas of constitutional regulation of practical functionality*. Warsaw 2007.

<sup>39</sup> *Трансформация механизмов управления в Польше после 1989 года*, [в:] С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Польская политика после периода трансформации. Состояние и перспективы развития*, „Political Science Studies” 2013, № 30; *Transformations in the Mechanisms of Government*, [in:] S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Polish Politics After the Transformation. Condition and Prospects of Development*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 31.

<sup>40</sup> *President in the political system of Yemen. An introduction to studies on political leadership in Arab states*, [in:] A. Rothert, J. Szymanek, A. Zięba (eds.), *Political changes in Arab states. Selected issues related to the political system*, Warsaw 2012.

<sup>41</sup> *Financial autonomy of the commune – assumptions and results*, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2015, No. 5.

<sup>42</sup> [Review] A. Antoszewski, *Models of political competition in contemporary democracies*, „European Review” 2006, No. 1 (12); [Review] R. Chruściak, *Constitutionalization of the freedom of the media, freedom of speech and the National Broadcasting Council*, J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Faces of politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 13; [Review] R. Skarżyński, *Anarchy and*

I am a co-editor of thirteen scientific publications and the editor of one. Two of them are in Russian<sup>44</sup>, two with most texts in Russian<sup>45</sup>, one in English<sup>46</sup>, and the others mostly in Polish<sup>47</sup>. I consider two Russian language publications co-edited by me as especially valuable for the development of the doctrine of constitutional law in Poland in the sphere of constitutionalism of post-Soviet states internationalization of the Polish science of constitutional law<sup>48</sup>. The texts included there were submitted by outstanding academics from the best universities of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, the

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*polycentrism. Elements of the theory of international relations*, J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *The ways of understanding politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 14; [Review] P. Biskup, *The legal and political evolution of the British doctrine of sovereignty*, „Athenaeum. Polish Politological Studies” 2010, No. 23; [Review] M. Sułek, *Forecasting and international simulations*, J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Presidential elections of 2010. In the shadow of extraordinary events*, „Political Science Studies” 2011, vol. 19; [Review] S. Bułajewski, *The poviats district council. The political position, law making, control*, [in:] S. Sulowski (ed.), *Policy on the level of the local government*, „Political Science Studies” 2011, vol. 20; [Review] M. Giżyńska, *The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Lithuania*, „Ius Novum” 2011, No. 3; [Review] B. Michalak, *Parties of protest in Western Europe. The analysis of political relevance*, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2012, No. 4.

<sup>43</sup> [Report] International Scientific Conference: *Transformation of the systems of the administration of justice in the states of Central and Eastern Europe in the years 1990-2012*, Legnica 10-11 April 2010, „A Review of Constitutional Law” 2010, No. 1; [Report] *A report from 53<sup>rd</sup> National Convention of Departments of Constitutional Law*, Józefów, 9-11 June 2011, „The Sejm Review” 2011, No. 5.

<sup>44</sup> С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Польская политика после периода трансформации. Состояние и перспективы развития*, „Political Science Studies” 2013, № 30; С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Проблемы конституционализма и его судебной защиты в государствах Восточной Европы*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 32.

<sup>45</sup> S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Political issues of the East-European space*, „Political Science Studies” 2013, vol. 28; S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Mechanisms of wielding the power in the states of Eastern Europe*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 33.

<sup>46</sup> S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Polish Politics After the Transformation. Condition and Prospects of Development*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 31.

<sup>47</sup> J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Mechanisms of wielding the power in the states of Eastern Europe*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 13; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *The ways of understanding politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 14; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Explaining politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2010, vol. 17; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *A multi-dimensional character of the political systems. Theoretical assumptions and practical conditions*, Warsaw 2009; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Mechanisms of wielding the power*, „Political Science Studies” 2010, vol. 18; J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Issues related to the political system of post-Soviet states*, Warsaw 2010; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Presidential elections of 2010. In the shadow of extraordinary events*, „Political Science Studies” 2011, vol. 19; T. Mołdawa, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Parliamentarism in the contemporary world. Between idea and reality*, Warsaw 2011; J. Szymanek, J. Zaleśny (ed.), *Problems of the religious policy*, „Political Science Studies” 2012, vol. 23.

<sup>48</sup> С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Проблемы конституционализма и его судебной защиты в государствах Восточной Европы*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 32; S. Sulowski, J. Zaleśny (eds.), *Mechanizmy rządzenia w państwach Europy Wschodniej*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 33.

Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, Latvia and Ukraine. They are widely referred to in foreign scientific publications as well as in the didactic process. At present, I am co-editing another publication of this type, where several constitutionalists from Eastern Europe participate.

Two publications in Russian and English which are co-edited by me are devoted to the Polish policy after transformation<sup>49</sup> and they belong to the few scientific publications intended for a foreign reader. They analyze in a synthetic way the main processes which have taken place in the Polish politics since 1989.

The book edited by me<sup>50</sup> contains analyses of the key issues related to the political systems of post-Soviet states, four co-edited publications deal with selected political problems of Poland and other countries<sup>51</sup>, whereas one refers to the religious issues<sup>52</sup>. The other three<sup>53</sup>, besides providing analyses from the field of political sciences, also include articles on selected aspects of constitutional law.

### **3. Scientific achievements constitute a considerable contribution to the development of the scientific discipline**

The monographic study which I would like to submit for the assessment of the reviewers and the Habilitation Committee, in accordance with art. 16 item 1 of the law from 14 March 2003 on scientific degrees and titles and on scientific degrees and titles in the field of law (i.e. Journal of Laws from 2014, item 1852 with amendments) is **"The State Duma and the Government in the Russian Federation. The study of**

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<sup>49</sup> С. Суловски, Я. Залесны (ред.), *Польская политика после периода трансформации. Состояние и перспективы развития*, „Political Science Studies” 2013, № 30; S. Sulowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *Polish Politics After the Transformation. Condition and Prospects of Development*, „Political Science Studies” 2014, vol. 31.

<sup>50</sup> J. Zalesny (ed.), *Issues related to the political system of post-Soviet states*, Warsaw 2010.

<sup>51</sup> J. Błuszkowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *A multi-dimensional character of the political systems. Theoretical assumptions and practical conditions*, Warsaw 2009; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *Mechanisms of wielding the power* „Political Science Studies” 2010, vol. 18; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zalesny (ed.), *Presidential elections of 2010. In the shadow of extraordinary events*, „Political Science Studies” 2011, vol. 19; T. Mołdawa, J. Zalesny (ed.), *Parliamentarism in the contemporary world. Between idea and reality*, Warsaw 2011.

<sup>52</sup> T. Mołdawa, J. Zalesny (ed.), *Parliamentarism in the contemporary world. Between idea and reality*, Warsaw 2011, vol. 23.

<sup>53</sup> J. Błuszkowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *Faces of politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 13; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *The ways of understanding politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2009, vol. 14; J. Błuszkowski, J. Zalesny (eds.), *Explaining politics*, „Political Science Studies” 2010, vol. 17.



constitutional law”, ELIPSA Publishing House, Warsaw 2015, 476 pp. The editorial reviewers were Professor Doctor Habilitated Maria Kruk and UW Professor, Doctor Habilitated Jarosław Szymanek.

The choice of the subject of the dissertation is justified by the topicality and importance of the problems undertaken and – at the same time – by the fact that these issues have not been broadly discussed in the Polish doctrine of law so far. The offensive, global policy pursued by the Russian Federation indicated a need to analyze the system of government in this country and the relations taking place between its main participants. The legal and political relations between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation as well as their key importance in the decision making process of the state should be studied. Besides the President, they play a significant role in shaping new political, economic and social relations in post-communist Russia. The constitutional model of relations between the Government and the State Duma and its actual application has been subject to thorough studies neither in the Polish nor in the Russian doctrines. No sufficient attention has been devoted to it in a publication of a monographic character. In this respect, the undertaken subjects significantly differ from the state of research on another key institution of the political system realized in Russia, namely the President of the Russian Federation. Otherwise than the relations between the first chamber of the Federal Assembly with the federal executive, the political status of the President of the Russian Federation has been discussed in a few monographs<sup>54</sup>, with a dissertation by W. N. Suworov at the head<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup>Special attention should be directed to the following: W.I. Radczienko, *Priezident Rossijskoj Fiedieracii w sistemie razdielienija vlastiej*, Saratow 1995; Ł.A. Okuńkow, *Priezident Rossijskoj Fiedieracii. Konstitucija i političieskaja praktyka*, Moscow 1996; S.N. Pak, *Institut Priezidenta w sowriemiennoj Rossii*, Moscow 2001; I.W. Filippow, *Rol Priezidenta w obiespieczienii razdielienija i wzaimodiejstwija vlastiej w Rossijskoj Fiedieracii*, Moscow 2002; D.S. Aszajew, *Rol Priezidenta i Prawitielstwa Rossijskoj Fiedieracii w osuściestwlenii ispołnitielnoj własti*, Moscow 2003; G.W. Diegtiew, *Institut priezidentstwa w Rossijskoj Fiedieracii. Osobiennosti prawowego statusa i kompietencii, problemi sowierszenstwowanija*, Moscow 2005; G.W. Diogtiew, *Stanowlienije i razwitije instituta priezidentstwa w Rossii*, Moskwa 2006; Je. A. Tichon, *Priezident Rossijskoj Fiedieracii – garant praw i swobod czelowieka i graždanina*, Saratow 2006; N. Je. Kołobajewa, *Konstitucionno-prawowej status Priezidenta Rossijskoj Fiedieracii (woprosy tieorii i praktiki)*, Jekaterynburg 2007; I.S. Iksanow, *Priezident Rossijskoj Fiedieracii: osnovnyje połnomoczija i ich organizacionnoje obiespieczienije*, Moscow 2008; A.A. Panow, *Priezident Rossijskoj Fiedieracii kak garant gosudarstwiennogo jedinstwa*, Moscow 2008; A.W. Zujkow, *Ewoliucija instituta priezidentstwa Rossijskoj Fiedieracii*, Moscow 2009.

<sup>55</sup> W.N. Suworow, *Konstitucionnyj status Priezidenta Rossijskoj Fiedieracii*, Moscow 2000.

The Polish literature also possesses a monograph on the President of the Russian Federation by S. Gardocki<sup>56</sup>. In comparison with a magnitude of excellent papers on both legal and political aspects of presidency in the Russian Federation I see a shortage of discussions about the relations between the federal organs of the legislative and the executive powers. The discussion undertaken in my habilitation dissertation is expected to minimize this shortage.

The subject of my studies refers to the relations between the Government and the State Duma, and not both chambers of the Federal Assembly. Omitting the Council of the Federation (in reference to its essence) in my considerations is a conscious step. It follows from its specific political role as a place to articulate the interests of the Russian Federation entities in the decision process of the state. A separate character of the Russian Federation Council, the connection between its tasks and ways of realizing them with the procedure of electing the second chamber of the Federal Assembly constitute the material for an individual study. That is the reason why my dissertation only signals certain aspects of the participation of the Federation Council in the state's decision process. The issue relates to this activity of the second chamber of the parliament which is of importance to the relations taking place between the State Duma and the Government.

Legal and political problems concerning the organization and competences in the mutual relations connecting the State Duma and the Government were noticed on the level of the application of regulations of the Russian Federation Constitution from 12 December 1993. Postulates are put forward<sup>57</sup> to modify those relations both in the sphere of concrete means of the effect of the State Duma on the activity of the cabinet and the parliamentary accountability borne by the latter. They induce studies on the state of relations connecting the federal executive and the first chamber of the Federal Assembly and make them significant and topical for the doctrine of constitutional law.

The purpose of the studies is a complex and multi-aspect establishment of the essence, forms and effect of mutual influences of the first chamber of the parliament and the government in the Russian Federation as the institutions typical of

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<sup>56</sup> S. Gardocki, *Institution of the president in the Policy of the Russian Federation*, Toruń 2008.

<sup>57</sup> This type of postulates are presented, for example, by I.A. Aliebastrowa, Je. A. Biessolicyna, G. Ju. Diwajewa, Je. A. Korownikowa and A.N. Mieduszkiewskij.



parliamentary law in contemporary states, characterization of the specific character and the role of legal determination of the competences of each of the studies organs of public authority in their mutual relations, mechanisms and partly also the practice of using them. The research assumption is to examine the major tendencies and the possible perspectives of developing future relations between the State Duma and the Government as the key participants of the decision process in the state. The starting point for the analyses is the normative model of relations occurring between the State Duma and the Government of the Russia Federation. It was the basis to analyze the signs of the Russian practice in the examined scope of the system of government.

The basic research tasks referred to the presented objectives of the study. They consist of the following:

- separating the competences of the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation used in their mutual relations,
- making a systematic arrangement of the competences of the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation used in their mutual relations,
- establishing and analyzing as well as determining the specific character of the normatively established competences of the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation used in their mutual relations,
- analyzing the specific character of the regulation of the relations taking place between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation,
- establishing and analyzing the key elements of practice of the relations taking place between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation,
- formulating conclusions based on the analyses on the essence of the relations between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation in different dimensions.

The adopted research method makes it possible to show the identity of the relations connecting the first chamber of the parliament and the government in the Russian Federation. What is not the subject of studies, it helps place the analyzed Russian political solutions in the context of political constructions which are of primary character for the contemporary concepts of the distribution of powers, compare them

with the solutions characteristic of the distinguished forms of government and their actual application.

The legal basis of the studies includes above all the binding normative acts adopted by the organs of the federal authorities of the Russian Federation as well as selected normative acts of the state's federal level which have already lost their force. In the context of the relations between the State Duma and the Government I also directed my attention to the documents of program character such as the address of the Chairman of the Federal Assembly or the government's strategic programs and I subjected them to analysis.

The studied subjects are discussed most of all in the Russian literature, which seems obvious. They lie in the center of attention of the Russian science. The Russian literature does not lack books referring to issues connected with the parliament or the federal executive. One should also take notice of scientific articles dealing with the analyzed subjects. Nevertheless, despite a great number of valuable publications, the state of research so far, which is the effect of work of outstanding experts of the Russian political system, should be regarded as insufficient. The nature of relations between the State Duma and the Government has not been studied enough. It has not been wholly reflected in scientific publications. Both in the Polish and Russian literature there is a lack of a monographic study on the relations between the State Duma as the first chamber of the Federal Assembly and the federal Government which would be devoted to theoretical and empirical aspects of the analyzed problems.

Although there are a number of publications concerning the first chamber of the Federal Assembly and the Government, no complex studies have been conducted on the relations between the State Duma and the Government. In spite of the fact that particular elements of the subject of study have been raised either in textbooks or in monographic literature, they have not been made a separate subject of studies.

Studies conducted by me have no counterpart in the Polish doctrine of constitutional law. Against the background of the conclusions concerning the Russian doctrine they are a novelty. Although the majority of Russian researchers specializing in constitutional law and political systems attribute significant weight to studies on the organization and realization of the federal system of government and the relations

taking place between the organs of the state authorities, there is still a deficit of monographs on the subject. As I indicated above, only scarce publications include more developed subject discussions. In the Russian literature one does not encounter monographic, multi-aspect considerations on the system of government built and developed in the Russian Federation or on the relations between the State Duma and the Government. Insufficient studies in the sphere of the doctrine and the topical character of the examined issues as well as their practical importance for the understanding of the mechanisms of power in the contemporary Russian Federation induced me to undertake studies in this field.

The subject of my studies refers to a complex of legal acts on the federal level of the Russian Federation which deal with the relations between the State Duma and the Government, the doctrine raising the subject issues and – although in a limited, selective scope – the practice of their realization. The analysis in the dissertation is of auxiliary character. It illustrates the functioning of the adopted legal regulations in the political reality and the dilemmas following from this.

The object of my studies are the relations between the State Duma and the Government.

In reference to the posed research hypotheses, the assumption is made that the State Duma in the Russian Federation influences the activity of the Government only to a limited extent although it possesses a wide range of means to control the Government and the entities composing it. They are typical of the contemporary states, basing on the principles of parliamentarism. On the other hand, the consequences of applying the means of controlling the executive power are not typical. In case of unsatisfactory effects of control, the State Duma cannot independently make the Government (and its members) politically or constitutionally responsible, constitutional liability not referring to the Government members at all. Though the State Duma does have influence on the personal composition of the cabinet (including the changes taking place in it), it does not have a sovereign character but it is dependent on the political will of the President.

The State Duma is a key participant in the legislative process. Except for a draft of a budget bill (which is typical of a great majority of contemporary states), it is not

bound by the decisions of the Government whereas the legislative will of the State Duma determines the behaviour of the Government and is legally binding to the latter.

The work makes use of a variety of research methods, which are related to the analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction. The formal-legal and analytical method was used in a significant degree while the comparative and historical methods are of auxiliary character. In the process of realizing the aforementioned objectives of the study and the basic research tasks, the application of the research methods referred to above made it possible to consolidate various aspects of relations between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation and place them in a uniform research perspective of the relations: the State Duma – the Government of the Russian Federation.

The scientific novelty of the publication presented here is contained in the very way of setting the problem of relations taking place between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation as an independent multi-aspect subject of studies discussed on the basis of the analysis of normative acts regulating the given aspects of the system of government and the practice of their application. The dissertation sets and views the issues to determine and explain the specter of problems composing the relations linking the first chamber of the Federal Assembly and the federal executive power. The work establishes and analyzes particular levels of relations between the State Duma and the Government, the specific character of particular forms of relations between them. In addition to analyzing the normative acts, the work also follows the practice, thus showing what actual importance is attributed to particular legal institutions.

The research problems formulated in this work justified the use of the achievements of a few areas of scientific knowledge: constitutional law, political sciences, the theory of the state and law (apart from normative acts, jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court and other Russian courts as well official documents). Understandably, the Russian sources, both primary (normative acts, official documents) and secondary (court jurisdiction, settlements of the doctrine), were used. Problems connected with the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation have also been raised in the Polish literature, In this context, the

publications of the following authors should be referred to: A. Antoszewski, A.R. Bartnicki, A. Czajowski, S. Gardocki, J. Jaskiernia, W. Marciniak, M. Słowikowski, A. Stelmach, J. Zaleśny and E. Zieliński. Besides, the publications of selected English authors were also taken into consideration, namely: J.T. Andrews, P. Chaisty, G. Gill, V.L. Hesli, K. Hobér, E. Huskey, R.D. Markwick, T.F. Remington, C. Ross, R. Sakwa, T.A. Troxel and J.P. Willerton. However, it needs to be repeated and emphasized that within the scope of the analyzed issues the major sources are Russian (as primary sources) and it is them that made the source basis of the studies under discussion. I analyze the relations between the State Duma and the Government through the light of settlements of the Russian doctrine. I made use of the sources in the Polish and Russian languages only as an aid. Studying them was not the subject matter of my research.

The aims of studies determined the character and content of the source basis. The latter consisted of a developed set of documents and materials. They can be divided into four groups. The first group includes normative acts; first of all, the Constitution of the Russian Federation, the federal constitutional laws, federal laws, the rules and regulations of the Federation Council, normative acts of the Government of the Russian Federation and other federal organs of the executive, normative acts of the President of the Russian Federation. The second group of sources consisted of court decisions; first of all, the decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation. The third group includes official documents: a variety of addresses, plans, strategies or concepts of the organs of state authority, in addition to transcripts from the plenary sittings of the State Duma, where issues pertaining to the relations existing between the State Duma and parliamentary fractions on the one hand, and the Government and its agencies on the other were frequently raised. The fourth group composing the source basis of the publication is made of electronic resources, first of all of the Duma. They were mainly used within the frameworks of the empirical part of the study, to investigate the actual signs of relations occurring between the State Duma and the Government.

Results of my studies supplement the settlements of the doctrine of constitutional law concerning the form of government of contemporary states with the

analysis of the essence of relations occurring between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation. The studies referred to the forms and mechanisms of the influence exerted by the state authorities of one of the key participants of international political relations: the state whose legal and political solutions radiate onto the legal constructions adapted in other countries, above all including the Commonwealth of Independent States. The study makes generalizations and systematization of the practical activity of the State Duma and the Government in their mutual relations in the legislative process and within the frameworks of parliamentary control: legislative presentments, official reports and speeches by public officials and other materials concerning participation of the Government in the legislative process and in the realization of the oversight function by the State Duma.

Effects of my studies can be applied in the didactic process of lecturing such subjects as comparative constitutional law, contemporary political systems, parliamentary procedures or the political system of the Russian Federation. Results of the analysis could find application in further work on the specific character of government in contemporary states, including members of the CIS as a group of states related to each other by their common experiences referring to similar political models.

The structure of the publication was determined by the objective and subject of study as well as by selected methods of analysis. Both the structure of the whole work and the construction of particular chapters aim to provide the analysis of the relations between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation. Proportions in the book depend on the scope of legal regulation and the actual importance of a given group of problems connecting the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation. This is the reason why the monograph exposed the problems of the cabinet's participation in the legislative process as the primary sign of the aforementioned relations. At the same time, these topics are of key importance because of the consequences of the legislative process, which is establishing the commonly binding models of behaviour of the participants in legal relations.

The book consists of six chapters, introduction, conclusions and bibliography. The first chapter generally characterizes the system of government in the Russian



Federation. The analysis is made of the horizontal dimensions of the distribution of power. This is an introduction into the Russian system of government, with a special emphasis laid on the role of the President as the key organ ensuring harmonious functioning and cooperation of the organs of the state authority and thus intensively affecting the organs of the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. Without establishing the scope and intensity of the influence that the President exerts on the organs of state authority, it would be risky to establish the relations occurring between the State Duma and the Government.

The second chapter is devoted to the analysis of appointing and calling off the Government of the Russian Federation and particular people composing it. The way of shaping the composition of the cabinet and the participation of particular participants in political relations was reconstructed on two, complementary levels, namely the normative and political ones. Confronting the normative and political aspects of the Government formation enabled to determine the importance of particular stages of this process. By means of a similar research method the problems of political and legal liability of the Government and particular people composing it were analyzed. To achieve this aim, the categories of “no-confidence vote”, “confidence vote”, “renewed confidence vote” and “the government’s responsibility before the president”, which are of key importance for studies on the systems of government, were used. Attention was directed to the procedure of applying those institutions and the accompanying political circumstances, the understanding of which is necessary for the analysis of the mechanisms of the Government’s responsibility and particular people composing it to be complete.

The third chapter analyzes the participation of the Government in the legislative process. The necessity for a theoretical reflection on the subject is irrefutable if one wants to understand the influence of the organ of the federal executive on the Russian legislation and the mechanisms by which it takes place. It is essential to study what the essence of the governmental legislative initiative is and how – using the former – the Government can embody the state’s policy the executor of which it is. It is important to study how draft laws are prepared within the intra-governmental legal procedures. The work also emphasized the character of the Government’s participation in the

stages of legislative proceedings within the parliament. In other words, the process by which a law is made is analyzed through the light of the government's activity. Therefore, the analysis of those aspects of the legislative proceedings which do not absorb the Government and on which the latter has not greater influence is omitted.

Chapters four and five deals with the budget. The latter was discussed in a holistic way, both through the prism of the procedure of creation the budget law (chapter four) and its execution as well as evaluation of that process (chapter five). Exposing the budget problems is a result of the conclusion articulated in the work that effective budgetary policy of the state is the key task of the latter, a condition to realize the other tasks of the state and to ensure the state's sovereignty and security, the public order or the social development. That is why programming, preparing, passing, executing and controlling it required a separate block of issues which – for the sake of order – were divided into two chapters. The thesis posed in the work that the key determinant of effective budgetary control by the State Duma is the quality of the activity of the Accounting Chamber as a specific extension of the parliament required an analysis of the specific character of that organ and its effect on the parliamentary process of controlling the execution of the budgetary law by the Government.

In the sixth chapter I studied the problem related to the control of the State Duma over the Government, omitting the budgetary control, which I analyzed in the previous chapter in the context of relations connecting the State Duma and the Government in the sphere of budgetary matters. The oversight function of the parliament, besides the legislative function, is the basic function of each parliament, inseparably connected with the legislative function. Even with a narrow understanding of the oversight function, the parliament which would not possess the capacity to control the manner of realizing the laws would lose its importance as a legislative organ. While analyzing the oversight function of the State Duma, I separated the forms of exercising this function and I studied the way in which the State Duma and its organs as well as the deputies to the State Duma make use of the instruments of controlling the Government and its agencies in the Russian political reality.

Each chapter of the dissertation is closed with conclusions. The whole of the monograph is finished with conclusions.

Referring to the research hypotheses adopted in the work it should be stated they were positively verified. Although in the Russian Federation the State Duma has a number of means of overseeing the Government and the entities composing it, it influences the Government's activity only to a limited extent. The means of parliamentary control at its disposal are typical of contemporary states and they are based on the principles of parliamentarism. The research hypothesis that the consequences of using the means of oversight over the executive are not typical was confirmed. In a situation when the effect of oversight are not satisfying, the State Duma cannot independently hold the Government (and its members) responsible either politically or constitutionally (with the Government members not being subject to it constitutional liability at all). The final decision on the Government's resignation is taken by the President. In spite of the fact that the State Duma participates in the process of appointing the President of the Government and has influence on the personal composition of the cabinet (including the changes taking place in it), it does not have a sovereign character but is dependent on the President's will.

The studies positively verified the hypothesis that the State Duma is the key participant in the legislative process. Except for a draft of a budget bill (which is typical of a great majority of contemporary states), it is not bound by the decisions of the Government whereas the legislative will of the State Duma determines the behaviour of the Government and is legally binding to the latter. The Government does not possess the competences to undertake legislative acts.

Specifying the above conclusions, it should be said that the relations occurring between the State Duma and the Government of the Russian Federation combine the phenomena and processes typical of contemporary states, at the same time including endemic features. On the one hand, they contain the results of historical experiences of the rule of the distribution of powers and the form of its specific application as well as the political experience of other countries, while, on the other they refer to the native political traditions and realize the actual political needs. Typically for the Russian constitutional experience, they are characterized by domination of the competences of the executive and the President over the legislative power, with the President (formally) being outside this structure. As shown in the work, the constitutional

placement of the President over the distribution of power was strengthened by the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Court and by practice. That is why it would be methodologically a mistake to call the Russian system of government the presidential model (after the American model) or semi-presidential (after the French model). It is not similar to the parliamentary system of the rule of the assembly, either. Due to the fact that it is a system based on different assumptions in comparison to the so-called classic systems of government, it should be stated that it cannot be classified within any of them. This is a system of government referring to the legal solutions used in other states but – at the same time – it is built on the ground of Russian experiences and social expectations, differing from the experiences and social expectations of the other European countries. It exposes the importance of the President as a guarantor of the constitution, human rights and liberties and the rights and liberties of the citizen, it is the organ which takes steps aimed to protect Russia's sovereignty, its independence and state integrity according to the procedure determined by the constitution in addition to securing harmonious functioning and cooperation of the organs of state authority. It is due to the above aims why the President was placed above the Government and the Federal Assembly, which is not allowed by any of the so-called classic systems of government.

Basing on the analysis of the legal norms of the mechanisms of the division of competences between the legislative and executive powers, I found a lack of balance in the system of the distribution of power. It is caused above all by the specific competences of the President in relation to the executive. The President supervises it, which - in turn – conditions the relations existing between the Government and the State Duma. It should be said in the light of the present reflections that the competences of the State Duma in relation to the Government are limited. This happens both on the normative level and in the practice of political relations. Within the environment of stabile and consolidated presidency of W. Putin (a similar phenomenon took place in the period of D. Medvedev's presidency), the political practice deepens the limited character of parliamentary means of activity designed by the law-maker.

According to the regulations of the Russian constitution, the executive power is exercised by the Federal Assembly. Within it, there is an additional inner division of competences into those of the chambers of the Russian parliament. The State Duma and the Federation Council – as two chambers of the Federal Assembly – are equipped with their own competences. They are characterized by both formal and material autonomy at the same time. In addition to having legally separated competences, they function on the basis of their own, separate rules and regulations – those of the State Duma and those of the Federation Council, which regulate the specific character of each of them expressed in different norms of proceedings and mechanism of participating in exercising the competences attributed to them.

The constitutional task of the chambers of the Federal Assembly is to realize the legislative function of the parliament. It is characteristic that it is the Federal Assembly (the parliament of the Russian Federation) as a whole, and not its chambers treated individually, which was called by the legislator in art. 94 of the constitution the representational and legislative organ of the Russian Federation. The Federal Assembly is a legislative organ although particular competences were transferred to its chambers: the State Duma and the Federation Council.

On the normative level the Russian legislator gave the function of establishing legislative acts only to the parliament. Neither the Government nor any other state organ can issue legislative acts. This is inadmissible either directly, on the basis of the regulations of the constitution, or by way of the Federal Assembly chambers delegating legislative competences. Inadmissibility of delegated legislation is a significant premise in strengthening the position of the State Duma towards the Government. Against the will of the first chamber of the parliament no act replacing a law and thus weakening the political importance of the State Duma can take place.

On the level of acts of law application, the legislative monopoly of the Federal Assembly chambers is weakened by the President's decrees. In the light of the constitution these cannot contradict the latter or the federal laws. Moreover, they can bind only until a given problem is regulated by the parliament. Nonetheless, due to the fact that a law to be announced needs the President's signature and the President is competent, if not to block, to delay the process of a law coming into life – in a



situation of a conflict between the President and the State Duma it can be a relatively long process. This would mean actual replacement – against the parliament's will – of a parliamentary act by the President's act.

The practice of more than 20 years of the binding of the Russian Federation Constitution confirmed that the fact that the Government is not equipped with the competences to issue legislative acts should be viewed jointly with the presidential competences of issuing legislative decrees. On the ground of the system of relations adopted in Russia and concerning the relations between the Federal Assembly, the President and the Government, this can be an instrument used against the parliament limiting its ability to shape the legal relations taking place in the country, as it happened in the 1990's.

The role of the cabinet in legislative proceedings should be assessed as properly defined. Its position in this process is an expression of rationalization of legislative work combined with aiming to realize the rule that the content of the law – as a primary regulator of legal relations occurring in the Russian Federation – is established by the State Duma treated as an organ of the state authority expressing the will of the multi-national people, which is the subject of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation.

An expression of rationalization of legislative proceedings is that it is dominated by the Government. The legislative initiative exercised by the latter is of key importance. The Government is quantitatively the leading entity of the legislative initiative but, at the same time, its drafts of bills dominate on the qualitative level. These are of comprehensive character and they regulate the behaviour of big social groups. Considering the process of establishing different reasons and interests accompanying the governmental legislative initiative, the rule is that the governmental drafts of bills are not subject to any deeper changes in the State Duma, which is also strengthened by the political coherence of the parliamentary majority and the Government. Effective cooperation of the cabinet and the first chamber of the Federal Assembly is contributed to by compulsory assessment of the so-called financial drafts of bills by the Government. Thanks to the adopted method the latter is not surprised by the content of the legislative work of the parliament and the deputies achieve the



analyses facilitating a rational law-making decision, which – after being implemented – will be performed by the governmental administration in a considerable degree.

In the course of parliamentary stages of the legislative process, the Russian law-maker emphasized the importance of mechanisms of cooperation between the State Duma and the Government. To this aim, a representative plenipotentiary of the Government in the State Duma is appointed. Besides, developed procedures of information exchange are provided for between the first chamber of the Federal Assembly and the cabinet, the aim of which is to undertake a legislative decision which is maximally agreed upon.

While establishing that the federal executive power is exercised by the Government of the Russian Federation, the law-maker does not submit it *expressis verbis* to oversight by the State Duma (or the Federation Council or both chambers of the Federal Assembly). Parliamentary control of the executive follows from detailed competences attributed to the State Duma. On the other hand, the provisions of the constitution directly point to the political liability of the Government before the first chamber of the Federal Assembly. It is realized in the form of a no-confidence vote and a confidence vote.

The President, who is elected in general elections, which gives him social legitimation to act correspondingly to a wide scope of importance competences, forms the federal Government but a reservation is made that in an ordinary mechanism of appointing the cabinet the Prime Minister is appointed with the consent of the State Duma. In case of discrepancies in this field, the standpoint taken by the President is of decisive importance.

Having the constitutional right to give a no-confidence vote to the Government or refuse a vote of confidence, the State Duma is not practically able to use those competences since their application could result in dissolving the State Duma. In matters of liability or the cabinet's resignation, the final word belongs to the head of state. It determines the fate of the Government and, respectively, the State Duma. The Government has the power to pursue internal and foreign policy of the state, without taking into consideration the will of the first chamber of the Federal Assembly, which – on the other hand – cannot enforce resignation on it. In order to confirm a lack of

effect of a no-confidence vote towards the Government as a mechanism of parliamentary liability, the fact should be recalled that within more than 20 years of the binding of the 1993 constitution the Government has not been recalled even once as a result to the decision of the State Duma to pass a no-confidence vote.

It is concluded in the book that the State Duma was not equipped with the means of overseeing the Government typical of contemporary states. It can exercise it through a system of committees, permanent and extraordinary commissions, inquiry commissions, parliamentary hearings, passing the state's budget and accepting reports from its realization as well as through interpellation procedures.

Parliamentary hearings are an important institution of the Russian parliamentary law and they show considerable possibilities of further development. Their attribute is that the parliament as a representational organ has the right to invite the Government members to its activity not only within cooperation between the State Duma and the cabinet in the process of establishing the laws but also to control its work through explaining the issues raised by the deputies and constituting the competences of the Government and the organs subordinated to the latter. Parliamentary hearings can be used both in the process of the State Duma realizing legislative and controlling tasks. Their effectiveness is derived not so much from the legal situation (typical of contemporary states) but from behavioral factors – relations between the State Duma and the Government in the process of law application. The President of the Russian Federation's leadership, which is not questioned by the deputies, affects extensive forms of the Government's subordination to him, which weakens the dependence of the Government from the State Duma and causes that parliamentary hearings, like the parliamentary inquiry and other means of parliamentary oversight, are deprived of the anti-governmental blade. In parliamentary practice, they are aimed at cooperation of the State Duma with the Government in order to realize the state's policy the essence of which is determined by the President.

The Accounts Chamber, formed by both chambers of the Federal Assembly, is a permanently working organ of parliamentary oversight. In the light of the studies discussed here, it has an actual capacity to effectively control the realization of the federal budget, which is due to the competences that it has, its organization and way of

activity. As such, it is a key instrument at the disposal of the State Duma and it enables to establish how the Government and the organs subordinate to the latter make use of the public means and to design the legal regulations to rationalize the public finances.

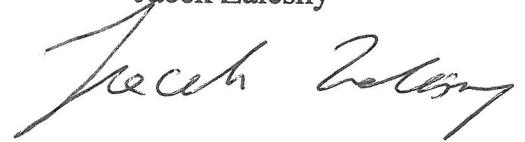
The effectiveness of parliamentary oversight is conditioned not only by the wording of the binding legal regulations but also by a complex of co-factors affecting the specific character of their binding force as well as historical conditions and the behaviour of the main participants of political relations. The fact that the State Duma uses the controlling competences that it possesses only in a limited degree is connected with the form of government in the Russian Federation. It is a derivative of the fact that the President is the dominating decision center and he makes the cabinet dependent on him. This takes place more in the real rather than constitutional system of relations occurring between the organs of public authority. It should be remembered that using the instruments of parliamentary control requires the proper political subsoil and it is possible only in the states respecting the principles of a democratic political regime and accepting free activity of the political opposition in different organizational forms (political parties, associations, etc.). Respecting the rules of a democratic political regime is in a feedback relation to the use of the instruments of parliamentary control. This means that the democratic character of the regime facilitates the use of the means of parliamentary control, while the use of the instruments of parliamentary control strengthens the democratic character of the political regime.

Parliamentary oversight is also linked to the problem of liability of the executive organs for their political decisions. Effective use of the provided means created a possibility of multi-aspect determination of the identity of events within the activity of the executive and the character of participation of definite public officials in it, which enables assessment of their behaviours and the answer whether they are adequate to the needs and expectations of the parliament and whether they can be accepted by the latter. In other words, without effectively applied means of oversight it is not possible to obtain a stabile level to assess the activity of the controlled entities. From the perspective of the studies discussed here, in this aspect one can speak of far-reaching restraint of the State Duma from using the means of oversight directly in its relations with the Government. Instead, the first chamber of the parliament bases on

the settlements of the Accounts Office as an independent organ of state control, which is subordinated – as far as its organization and tasks are concerned – to the State Duma. It is owing to the effects of control by the Accounts Chamber and not the State Duma that the latter is able to establish the process of the federal executive organs executing the laws and the compatibility of the work of those organs with the binding laws.

Warsaw, December 20, 2015

Jacek Zaleśny

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jacek Zaleśny', written in a cursive style.