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HISTORY OF POLITOLOGY OF RELIGION IN POLAND. A RESEARCH OVERVIEW

Abstract

The aim of the article is to show the circumstances of birth and the development of research in the field of politology of religion in Poland. The presentation of this process includes information about researchers, research centers, publications, as well as scientific events - congresses and conferences, which formed the sub-discipline of religiology and political science to the greatest extent. Apart from factography, the article contains comments on the dominant trends and tendencies in research. In this context, the ways of explaining the politology of religion and its definitions are also presented.

Keywords: politology of religion, political science of religion, religion and politics, religious studies, sociology of religion, retrospective political science, Poland

Beginnings (1992 – 1999)

The traditions of research into the relationship between religion and politics in Polish science date back to the interwar period, with Leon Halban as their precursor, in the 1930s professor at the Faculty of Law at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv². In this context, his analyses of the significance of the religious factor in German Volkism are cited, e.g: *Religion in the Third Reich* (Lviv 1936) or *Mystical Basics of National Socialism* (Lublin 1946)³. The beginnings of the defined research in the field of the politology of religion in Poland - as understood by reference to the name itself - are connected with a scientific project by Professor Bogumił Grott from the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, carried out in 1992-1993, concerning research on the significance

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- 2 See: Bogumił Grott, Profesor Leon Halban jako badacz neopogaństwa niemieckiego i prekursor politologii religii w Polsce (w czterdziestą piątą rocznicę zgonu), <https://konserwatywizm.pl/profesor-leon-halban-jako-badacz-neopoganstwa-niemieckiego-i-prekursor-politologii-religii-w-polsce-w-czterdziesta-piata-rocznice-zgonu/> (accessed: 27.07.2020); *Przedchrześcijańskie korzenie nazizmu czyli dusza niemiecka w świetle filozofii i religioznawstwa*, Bogumił Grott, Olgierd Grott (eds.), Wydawnictwo von Borowiecky, Radzymin, 2018; Ryszard Polak, Kościół katolicki i neopogaństwo niemieckie w myśli Leona Halbana, *Studia nad Autorytaryzmem i Totalitaryzmem*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2019, pp. 109-125.
- 3 See: Leon Halban, *Religia w III Rzeszy*, Lwów, 1936; Leon Halban, *Mistyczne podstawy narodowego socjalizmu*, Lublin, 1946.

of religious factors in the ideas and programmes of political parties. In his book entitled *Religion, Church, Ethics in the Ideas and Concepts of the Polish Right*, which is a collection of source texts, the Cracow-based researcher stressed that in the research of the relations between the state and the Church (Churches) an in-depth exploration is necessary, i.e. one that, apart from the practice of these relations (the domain of historical sciences) and beyond the formal and legal perspective (the domain of legal sciences), will also be able to capture the motivations and plans of the aforementioned actors, and even the activity of the side subjects. In such a context, he referred to the politology of religion and its tasks: “the object of interest of the politology of religion outside the sphere of the real state - church relations in the history of the state - on the level of political actions or the doctrines applied in practice are also sometimes never and nowhere realised various concepts which are only proposals coming from political movements which do not have the power or even individual thinkers and theorists expressing their individual thoughts”⁴. Bogumił Grott then described the very *politology of religion* as a “research branch”, the essence of which is to explore “the problem of relations between religions and their accompanying organizational structures and the broadly defined sphere of politics”, taking into account the necessary “character of individual religions” and “the degree of development of a given civilization or national culture”⁵. In that decade, these criteria were met by the results of research carried out by another Cracow scholar - a political scientist and religious scholar - Professor Kazimierz Urban from the Academy of Economics (today’s Cracow University of Economics), who conducts studies in the area of religious policy of the Polish state towards religious minorities⁶.

At the same time, i.e. in the mid-1990s, the scientific community in Poland became familiar with the achievements and postulates formulated by Professor Mirosljub Jevtić⁷ (University of Belgrade) and Professor Claus-Ekkehard Bärtsch⁸ (University of Duisburg - Essen). The frequently quoted reference and

4 See: Bogumił Grott, *Religia, Kościół, etyka w ideach i koncepcjach prawicy polskiej*, Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, Kraków, 1993, pp. 7-8.

5 Ibidem.

6 Among the numerous publications, see a collection of posthumously published texts on the policy of the Polish state towards the Orthodox Church, the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, Jehovah’s Witnesses, and the Religious Union of the Mosaic Faith: Kazimierz Urban, *Mniejszości religijne w Polsce po II wojnie światowej. Szkice i materiały*, (oprac. Czesław Bywalec), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Ekonomicznego w Krakowie, Kraków, 2012 (*Religious minorities in Poland after World War II. Sketches and materials*).

7 See: Mirosljub Jevtić, *Religija i politika – uvod u politikologiju religije*, Institut za političke studije i Fakultet političkih nauka, Beograd, 2002; Mirosljub Jevtić, Political Science and Religion, *Politics and Religion Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2007, pp. 59-69; Mirosljub Jevtić, *Religion and Power – Essays on Politology of Religion*, Center for the Study of Religion and Religious Tolerance, Belgrade, 2008; Mirosljub Jevtić, *Political Relations and Religion*, Center for the Study of Religion and Religious Tolerance, Belgrade, 2011; Mirosljub Jevtić, *The Problems of Politology of Religion*, Center for the Study of Religion and Religious Tolerance, Belgrade, 2012.

8 See: Claus-Ekkehard Bärtsch, „Volk und Nation. Das Problem kollektiver Identität unter der Perspektive der Religionspolitologie“, in: *Demokratie, Verfassung und Nation: Die politische Integration moderner Gesellschaften*, Jürgen Gebhardt and Rainer Schmalz-Bruns (eds.), Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG, Baden-Baden, 1994, pp. 52-71; *Wer Religion erkennt, erkennt Politik nicht“*. *Perspektiven der Religionspolitologie*, Claus-Ekkehard Bärtsch, Peter Berghoff, Reinhard Sonnenschmidt (eds.), Ver-

inspiration for research was, in turn, the work of Bogdan Suchodolski⁹, Karol S. Frycz¹⁰, Carl Schmitt¹¹, Eric Voegelin¹² or the aforementioned Leon Halban.

The first broad discussion forums devoted to the politology of religion were the conferences entitled "Religions and Churches versus power and political ideas. History and Present", organized in Cracow by the Institute of Religious Studies of the Jagiellonian University¹³. The former took place on February 12-13, 1998 and the latter on December 4-5, 1999. Bogumił Grott was the main organizer of these meetings, and thus a consistent promoter of *politology of religion* in Poland. These conferences were attended by representatives of as many as nine scientific disciplines: religionology, political science, history, philosophy, psychology, sociology, law, pedagogy and philology. It was in fact a group of people responsible for the dynamics of scientific events in the field of politology of religion taking place in the following years. Experienced scientists and adepts of science represented nearly twenty scientific institutions¹⁴. They were, among others: Jagiellonian University - UJ (Bogumił Grott, Kazimierz Banek, Bogdan Szlachta, Anna Rażny, Elżbieta Przybył, Jerzy Ochmann, Tadeusz Czekalski, Rafał Łętocha, Artur Paszko, Włodzimierz Bernacki, Bożena Bankowicz, Żaneta Bugajska-Moskal, Anna Niedźwiedź, Adam Gruszecki, Maciej Strutyński), University of Gdańsk - UG (Honorata Cyrzan, Bogusław Cygler), Catholic University of Lublin - KUL (Rev. Zygmunt Zieliński, Rev. Stanisław Kowalczyk), University of Silesia in Katowice - UŚ (Wojciech Kaute, Jarosław Tomasiewicz, Piotr Świercz, Danuta Kocurek), University of Wrocław - UWR (Krzysztof Kawalec, Stanisław Potrzebowski, Leon Miodoński), University of Opole - UO (Andrzej Szczepaniak), University of Łódź - UŁ (Jacek Bartyzel), Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin - UMCS (Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Katarzyna Krzywicka), Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań - UAM (Paweł Stachowiak, Marek Żyromski, Krzysztof Krasowski, Katarzyna Szafer,

lag Königshausen & Neumann, Würzburg, 2004; Ian Inerhofer, A short portrait the development of the 'Political Science of Religion' in German-speaking countries, *Politics and Religion Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2008, p. 193.

9 See: Bogdan Suchodolski, *Dusza niemiecka w świetle filozofii*, Poznań, 1945.

10 See: Karol S. Frycz, *Polska prawdziwa*, wstęp i opracowanie Olgierd Grott, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków, 2014; Bogumił Grott, „Polska prawdziwa” Karola Stefana Frycza i „Prawdziwa niemieckość” Friedricha Langego. Dwa systemy wartości i dwie wizje uprawiania polityki”, in: *Implementacja zasad religijnych w sferze politycznej*, Ryszard Michalak (ed.), series: „Politologia religii” [Vol. 3], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2016, pp. 9-24.

11 See: Adam Wielomski, *W poszukiwaniu Katechona. Teologia polityczna Carla Schmitta*, Wydawnictwo Von Borowiecky, Radzymin, 2016.

12 See: *Problem kadu politycznego. Eseje o myśli Erica Voegelina*, Michał J. Czarnecki, Agata Miętek (eds.), Centrum Myśli Jana Pawła II, Teologia Polityczna, Warszawa, 2010.

13 See: Ryszard Michalak, Politologia religii – nowe wyzwania i perspektywy badań. (Referat wygłoszony 19.06.2015 podczas IV Międzynarodowego Kongresu Religioznawczego w Akademii Marynarki Wojennej w Gdyni), on-line: https://www.academia.edu/15889173/Politologia_religii_nowe_wyzwania_i_per-spektywy_bada%C5%84 (accessed 27.07.2020).

14 See: Rafał Łętocha, Religie i kościoły a władza i idee polityczne: historia i współczesność, *Acta Universitatis Jagellonicae*, Vol. XV, No. 6 (222), 1998, pp. 10-11; Andrzej Furier, Religie i Kościoły a władza i idee polityczne – historia i współczesność. Konferencja w UJ, *Życie i Myśl*, Vol. XLVI, No. 2 (438), 1998, pp. 60-63.

Wojciech Nowiak), University of Białystok - UB (Maciej Krzywosz), University of Szczecin - USZ (Krzysztof Kowalczyk, Maciej Drzonek, Andrzej Wątorski, Rev. Robert Włodkowski), Polish Academy of Sciences - PAN (Jerzy Seniów, Adam Wielomski, Andrzej Furier), Opole University of Technology - PO (Wanda Musialik), Cracow University of Economics - currently University of Economics - UEK (Kazimierz Urban), Higher School of Pedagogy in Kielce - currently Jan Kochanowski University - UJK (Rev. Daniel Olszewski, Ryszard Gryz) and the Higher School of Pedagogy in Zielona Góra - currently University of Zielona Góra - UZ (Jarosław Macała, Ryszard Michalak). Moreover, among the speakers or authors of the submitted papers there were also researchers associated with confessional centres: The Polish Catholic Church (Rev. Władysław Pietrzyk) and the Roman Catholic Church (Rev. Stanisław Obirek) as well as representatives of scientific centres from Kiev and Ternopil (Tatiana Rudnicka, Henryk Stroński, Arsen Gudyma, Oksana Shkurgan, Irina Majdaniuk). Both conferences were followed by numerous articles on a wide spectrum of detailed problems in the field of religious political science, published in scientific journals and, above all, in two books edited by Bogumił Grott¹⁵. Their significance is testified to by the fact that despite the passage of twenty years, they remain highly citable.

The matters raised by Bogumił Grott were addressed directly by Kazimierz Banek, who proposed ten issues which, in his opinion, should first of all be submitted to the *politology of religion* as a religious sub-discipline: 1) Great prophets and religious reformers and their influence on the fate of societies and political mentality, 2) The cult of official state deities and religious patrons, 3) The sacred functions of the king and the power elite, 4) The political functions of oracles and fortune-tellers, 5) Religious wars and violent conflicts and attitudes based on religion, 6) Religious and political-religious federations, 7) The problem of the "chosen" nation (in the religious sense) and the link between this issue and nationalism, 8) Political parties referring to religious principles, 9) Systems of relations between state and religious organisation, 10) Other possibilities, e.g. a) theocratic states, b) sacralisation of the law, c) acceptance of new religions by nations or states. The Cracow scholar of religion maintained this model also in the following years¹⁶.

II stage (2000-2013)

At the turn of the twentieth and twenty-first century, conferences devoted to relations between *religion and politics* became a natural and increasingly important part of the exchange of scientific ideas in Poland. Numerous scientific

15 See: *Religia chrześcijańska a idee polityczne*, Bogumił Grott (ed.), Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, Kraków, 1998; *Religia i polityka*, Bogumił Grott (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków, 2000.

16 See: Kazimierz Banek, *Politologia religii jako dziedzina badań religioznawczych*, *Przegląd Religioznawczy*, No. 3-4, 1999, pp. 77-82; Kazimierz Banek, *Politologia religii (zakres tematyczny, cele i perspektywy rozwoju)*, *Pantheon*, No. 2, 2007, pp. 164-176; Artur Paszko, *Politologia religii*, *Przegląd Religioznawczy*, No. 3-4 (189-190): *Leksykon religioznawczy L-Z*, 1998, p. 108.

meetings of this kind defined, in a way, the scene of the Polish politology of religion until the middle of the second decade of the 21st century. They were organised by the participants of the Cracow conferences, but also by other researchers, who noticed the importance of the relationship between religion and politics. The names of the conferences did not always refer to the very concept of "politology of religion". However, this term was more and more commonly used in the titles or content of the lectures delivered. While religious scholars from Jagiellonian University used it boldly, consistently convincing about the obviousness of the phenomenon as a sub-discipline of religiology, for political scientists at that time it was more important to popularize the research on the conjunctions between religion and politics than to separate the sub-discipline from the political science. Additionally, in the political discourse - both on a national and local scale, e.g. at the level of individual Institutes of Political science - the name "politology of religion" turned out to be problematic for the fear that numerous *politologies* with supplements referring to areas of life other than *religion* might "proliferate" (e.g. the *politology of sport* or the *politology of culture*). It should be noted that such resistance has long been absent in other disciplines of science, as evidenced by examples of the sociology of religion or the anthropology of religion. The specification of new sub-disciplines within the framework of the sciences of politics, and still such that would have an inherently interdisciplinary methodological basis (in addition to the politology of religion, this was particularly true of geopolitics), was reluctant to the supporters of the "purity of the scientific discipline". Another reason for formulating critical judgements with regard to the politology of religion was simply a failure to see or understand the phenomenon of the growing importance of the religious factor in politics. All these controversies, however, served the purpose of discussion, and these *summa summarum* were conducive to the popularization of the politology of religion.

Among the numerous political (or interdisciplinary in terms of program conferences), the most important ones in this period were those that gathered the most participants, and the publications cited later were the most frequent. The organisers of such meetings were, inter alia, the following The organisers of such meetings were, among others: USZ (e.g. "Society - State - Church (1945-2000)", 2000¹⁷), Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński University in Warsaw - UKSW ("Religion and Conservatism", 2003¹⁸; "Religion and Politics", 2006; "How much the Church in politics, how much politics in the Church" 2008¹⁹), UWR ("Non-

17 See: *Spoleczeństwo – Państwo – Kościół (1945-2000). Materiały z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej, Szczecin 15-16 VI 2000 r.*, Arkadiusz Kawecki, Krzysztof Kowalczyk and Artur Kubaj (eds.), Stowarzyszenie Absolwentów Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin, 2000.

18 See: *Religia i konserwatyzm: sprzymierzeńcy czy konkurenci?*, Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Sławomir Sowiński (eds.), Ossolineum, Wrocław, 2003.

19 See: *Ile Kościoła w polityce, ile polityki w Kościele*, Piotr Burgoński, Sławomir Sowiński (eds.), Księgarnia Św. Jacka, Katowice, 2009.

Roman Catholic Christian Churches in contemporary Poland”, 2007²⁰); UZ (panels on religion and politics within the conference “Lemkos – Boykos – Ruthenians”, 2007, 2009, 2010²¹); “Religion - Politics - History. Religious minorities in Poland of the twentieth and twentieth centuries”, 2008²²) or UMCS (e.g. “Social thought of the world’s great religions”, 2011²³). Since 2010, thanks primarily to Anna Solarz (University of Warsaw – UW), the politology of religion has also begun to be an element of the cyclical, prestigious scientific conference entitled “*Sacrum and Profanum* in the Modern World”, which they have been organizing until today (which will be discussed further): Institute of International Relations of the University of Warsaw - ISM UW, Faculty of Theology of the University of Warmia and Mazury - UWM, Congregation of the Word of God (SVD), Missionary Theological Seminary of Verbist Priests - MSDKW in Pieniężno and Foundation for International Studies - FSM²⁴. Politology of religion has also become part of the long-established meetings of the Studium Generale Europa UKSW²⁵ and the Catholic Social Science Lecturers’ Section, as well as conferences co-organized by these bodies. An example is the scientific conference organized in 2010 at the European Centre for Communication and Culture in Warsaw - Falenica on the Polish Presidency of the European Union²⁶. Of notable importance was also the Second Congress of Political Science in Poznań (19-21 September 2012), and in particular the panel moderated by Bogumił Grott entitled “Politology of religion, as the science of the function of religious knowledge in political research”. The publication, based on the presented papers, of the excellent book took place three years after this event²⁷.

Referring to the dominant trends in the content of publications from the years 2000-2013, we should first of all mention the research on the sub-

20 See: *Kościół chrześcijański we współczesnej Polsce*, Zdzisław J. Winnicki, Tomasz Dębowski (eds.), Nierzymkokatolickie Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2007.

21 See: *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini: historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa*, Stefan Dudra et al (eds.), Łemkowski Zespół Pieśni i Tańca „Kyczer””, Legnica – Zielona Góra, 2007; *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini: historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa*, Vol. II, „Druk-Ar”, Stefan Dudra et al (eds.), Głogów, 2009.

22 See: *Kościół, polityka, historia: ze studiów nad problemami mniejszości wyznaniowych w Polsce w XX i XXI wieku*, Stefan Dudra, Olgierd Kiec (eds.), Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Semper”, Warszawa, 2009.

23 See: *Mysł społeczna wielkich religii świata*, Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Edward Olszewski (eds.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 2013.

24 On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of cooperation between Warsaw University’s internaciologists and the Congregation of the Word of God, a collective work of great importance for the development of the politology of religion, edited by Anna Solarz and Hanna Schreiber, was published, in which multidisciplinary analyses concerning the importance of the religious factor in politics were included, see: *Religia w stosunkach międzynarodowych*, Anna M. Solarz, Hanna Schreiber (eds.), Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 2012. (*Religion in International Relations*).

25 See: <http://politologia.uksw.edu.pl/studia/studium-generale-europa/>, (accessed 27.07.2020)

26 During the conference, during which the political and axiological contexts of EU functioning were discussed, the speakers were, among others, Aniela Dylus, Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Rev. Artur Filipowicz from UKSW and Konstanty A. Wojtaszczyk, Dariusz Milczarek from the University of Warsaw and Jarosław Gowin – the then rector of the J. Tischner European University in Cracow.

27 See: *Wiedza religioznawcza w badaniach politologicznych*, Bogumił Grott, Olgierd Grott (eds.), Wydawnictwo von Borowiecky, Radzymin, 2015.

discipline itself and its theory (e.g. Kazimierz Banek, Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Rafał Łętocha, Anna Siewierska-Chmaj - WSIZ Rzeszów)²⁸, as well as studies on the interaction between selected religious factors and selected components of the political sphere, such as nationalism (e.g. Bogumił Grott, Radosław Zenderowski - UKSW)²⁹. Many topics that corresponded with current issues of international politics were also discussed. Among others, there were publications on the position of religious communities towards global problems (e.g. Tomasz Dębowski - UWR, Joanna Kulska - UO, Wojciech Gizicki - KUL)³⁰, the problem of Islamic Turkey's membership in the European Union (e.g. Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Michał Gierycz, Mariusz Sulkowski - all UKSW)³¹. There are also issues of religion in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (e.g. Marcin Sztydzisz - UWR, Artur Skorek - UJ)³², or religious policy/religious policy of globally active countries - e.g. Russia and the USA - which reach far beyond their internal affairs (e.g. Tomasz Szyszlak - UWR, Ryszard Michalak, Alicja Curanović - UW, Tomasz Stępniewski - KUL, Paulina Napierała - UJ)³³. The studies

- 28 See: Kazimierz Banek, Główne problemy politologii religii, *Nomos. Kwartalnik Religioznawczy*, No. 34-36, 2001, pp. 18-23; Kazimierz Banek, Politologia religii. Nowa dziedzina religioznawstwa: zakres tematyczny, cele i perspektywy rozwoju, *Przegląd Religioznawczy*, No. 3, 2003, pp. 165-176; Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Relations between politics and religion as a challenge to political scientists, *Teka Komisji Politologii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych Oddziału Lubelskiego PAN*, Vol. 1, 2006, pp. 67-80; Maria Marczevska-Rytko, „Sprzężenia religii i polityki jako problem badawczy politologii”, in: *Problemy badawcze i metodologiczne politologii w Polsce*, Andrzej J. Chodubski, Marek J. Malinowski (eds.), Gdańsk, 2006, pp. 177-186; Maria Marczevska-Rytko, *Religia i polityka w globalizującym się świecie*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 2010; Rafał Łętocha, *Religia i polityka w ponowoczesnym świecie. Uwagi na temat wzajemnych relacji*, *Przegląd Religioznawczy*, No. 4 (242), 2011, pp. 171-184; Anna Siewierska-Chmaj, *Religia a polityka. Chrześcijaństwo*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 2013.
- 29 See: Bogumił Grott, „Od „totalizmu katolickiego” do „monoidei”. Czy w II Rzeczypospolitej zanosilo się na ustrój totalny?”, in: *Różne oblicza nacjonalizmu*, Bogumił Grott (ed.), Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”, Kraków, 2010, pp. 117-130; Radosław Zenderowski, *Religia a tożsamość narodowa i nacjonalizm w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Między etnicznością religii a sakralizacją etnosu (narodu)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław, 2011.
- 30 See: Tomasz R. Dębowski, *Kościół chrześcijański w Polsce wobec wybranych zagadnień międzynarodowych w latach 1989-2004*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław, 2011; Joanna Kulska, Ewolucja miejsca i roli czynnika religijnego w stosunkach międzynarodowych, *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, Vol. 45, No. 1, 2012, pp. 75-102; *Religia w polityce światowej. Dylematy narodowe i międzynarodowe*, Wojciech Gizicki (ed.), Series: „Studia Sądecko-Lubelskie”, Instytut Sądecko-Lubelski, Lublin, 2013.
- 31 See: Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Turcja – w Europie czy z Europą?, *Warszawskie Studia Teologiczne*, Vol. 19, 2006, pp. 313-320; Michał Gierycz, *Chrześcijaństwo i Unia Europejska. Rola religii w procesie integracji europejskiej*, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków – Warszawa, 2008; Mariusz Sulkowski, *Pół wieku diaspory tureckiej w Niemczech. Społeczność turecka w Republice Federalnej Niemiec – procesy migracji i integracji po 1961 roku*, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa, 2012.
- 32 See: Marcin Sztydzisz, *Religijne wymiary konfliktu izraelsko-palestyńskiego*, *Wschodnioznawstwo*, Vol. 6, 2012, pp. 167-179; Artur Skorek, Partie religijne w systemie politycznym Izraela, *Politeja*, No. 7, 2007, pp. 253-276.
- 33 See: Ryszard Michalak, Powrót koncepcji Trzeciego Rzymu, *Doctrina. Międzynarodowy Przegląd Humanistyczny*, No. 1, 2004, pp. 91-105; Ryszard Michalak, „Państwo, Cerkiew i Kościół Rzymskokatolicki w Rosji w 2002 roku. Tajny raport „O ekstremizmie religijnym w Federacji Rosyjskiej””, in: *W kręgu historii, prawa i nauki o polityce*, Wiesław Hładkiewicz (ed.), Zielona Góra, 2004; Tomasz J. Szyszlak, Stosunki państwa z Kościołami (zjednoczeniami religijnymi) we współczesnej Rosji, *Wschodnioznawstwo*, Vol. 1, 2007, pp. 139-167; Alicja Curanović, *Czynnik religijny w polityce zagranicznej Federacji Rosyjskiej*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa, 2010; *Religia i polityka na obszarze Europy Wschodniej, Kaukazu i Azji Centralnej*, Tomasz Stępniewski (ed.), series: „Studia Wschodnie Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej”, Lublin–Warszawa, 2013; Paulina Napierała, *Religia i polityka w USA. Faith-based initiatives w okresie prezydentury G.W. Busha*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków, 2013.

on the stance of political parties towards religious life (among others Jarosław Tomasiewicz, Krzysztof Kowalczyk)³⁴, the political role of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland (among others Maciej Drzonek, Krzysztof Zuba - UO)³⁵ and the studies on religion within political thought (among others Rafał Łętocha, Jarosław Macała) also aroused interest³⁶. Other characteristic research trends were also analyses of religious fundamentalism (e.g. Kazimierz Banek, Marcin Pomarański - UMCS)³⁷ and studies on religious political reflections (e.g. Bogdan Szlachta, Rafał Łętocha)³⁸. Researchers of retrospective political science (a model popular in Poland combining the workshop of a historian and political scientist) have also found their place in the field of politology of religion, which is clearly visible in publications on People's Poland (1944-1989)³⁹.

Editorial offices of religious and political journals have contributed to the popularization of research on the influence of religious and political factors at this stage (and continuously to this day): "Studia Religiosa. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego" (Scientific Journals of the Jagiellonian University) (editor-in-chief: Jan Drabina, then Elżbieta Przybył-Sadowska), „Nomos. Kwartalnik Religioznawczy” (Nomos. Religious Studies Quarterly) (editor-in-chief: Włodzimierz Pawluczuk), „Nomos. Czasopismo Religioznawcze” (Nomos. Religious Studies Magazine) (Editor-in-Chief Henryk Hoffmann), "Przegląd Religioznawczy" (Religious Review) (editor-in-chief: Zbigniew Drozdowicz), "Chrześcijaństwo – Świat – Polityka. Zeszyty Społecznej Myśli Kościoła" (Editor-in-Chief: Father Piotr Mazurkiewicz; English

34 See: Jarosław Tomasiewicz, „Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski i jego wizja „Katolickiego Państwa Narodu Polskiego” jako uwspółcześiona wersja narodowego radykalizmu”, in: *Różne oblicza nacjonalizmu*, Bogumił Grott (ed.), Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”, Kraków, 2010, pp. 171-220; Krzysztof Kowalczyk, *Partie i ugrupowania parlamentarne wobec Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce w latach 1989-2011*, Wydawnictwo Zapol, Szczecin, 2012.

35 See: Maciej Drzonek, *Między integracją a europeizacją. Kościół katolicki w Polsce wobec Unii Europejskiej w latach 1997-2003*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków, 2006; Krzysztof Zuba, *The Political Strategies of the Catholic Church in Poland*, *Religion, State & Society*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2010, pp. 115-134.

36 See: Rafał Łętocha, *Katolicyzm a idea narodowa. Miejsce religii w myśli obozu narodowego lat okupacji*, Fundacja Servire Veritati Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, Lublin, 2002; Artur Paszko, *O Katolickie Państwo Narodu Polskiego. Inspiracje katolickie w ideach politycznych Grupy „Szańca” i Konfederacji Narodu*, Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”, Kraków, 2002; Jarosław Macała, *Polska katolicka w myśli politycznej II RP*, Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2005.

37 See: Kazimierz Banek, „Fundamentalizm muzułmański i jego współczesne przejawy”, in: *Religia – Polityka – Naród. Studia nad współczesną myślą polityczną*, Rafał Łętocha (ed.), Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”, Kraków, 2010, pp. 33-46; Marcin Pomarański, *Współczesny amerykański fundamentalizm protestancki*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 2013.

38 See: Rafał Łętocha, „Solidaryzm chrześcijański w ujęciu Leopolda Caro”, in: *Religia – Polityka – Naród. Studia nad współczesną myślą polityczną*, Rafał Łętocha (ed.), Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”, Kraków, 2010, pp. 70-80; Bogdan Szlachta, „Konteksty narodzin chrześcijańskiej refleksji politycznej (wprowadzenie do badań)”, in: *Religia – Polityka – Naród. Studia nad współczesną myślą polityczną*, Rafał Łętocha (ed.), Zakład Wydawniczy „Nomos”, Kraków, 2010, pp. 97-125.

39 See: Ryszard Michalak, *Kościół protestancki i władze partyjno-państwowe w Polsce (1945-1956)*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe „Semper”, Warszawa, 2002; Krzysztof Kowalczyk, *W walce o „rząd dusz”. Polityka władz państwowych wobec Kościoła katolickiego na Pomorzu Zachodnim w latach 1945-1956*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, Szczecin, 2003; Stefan Dudra, *Kościół prawosławny na Ziemiach Zachodnich i Północnych Polski po II wojnie światowej*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, Zielona Góra, 2004; Olgierd Kiec, „Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski w Polsce wobec przełomu 1956 roku”, in: *Polski protestantyzm w czasach nazizmu i komunizmu*, Jarosław Kłaczkow (ed.), Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2009, pp. 232-249.

version: "Christianity – World – Politics"), "Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Sectio K: Politology". (Editor-in-Chief: Maria Marczevska-Rytko), "Przegląd Narodowościowy - Review of Nationalities". (editor-in-chief: Stefan Dudra). It was of great importance that the first publications exploring the relationship between religion and politics⁴⁰ were published by „Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne” (editor-in-chief: Roman Bäcker, then Bartłomiej Michalak) - a magazine published at the Nicolaus Copernicus University and co-created by most political science centres in Poland (in English: "Athenaeum. Polish Political Science Studies"). One more event should also be highlighted. In 2012-2013, the first Polish researchers (Joanna Wardęga from the Jagiellonian University and Maciej Potz from the University of Łódź - UŁ) published articles in the Serbian "Politics and Religion Journal", which was already setting world trends in the field of politology of religion⁴¹. Naturally, important articles in the field of politology of religion were also published in many other journals, as well as in collective works on a wide range of topics.

At the end of the presentation of the issues of this period, the merits of the students should be emphasized. In this context, the most important event is the National Student-Doctoral Conference "Religion – Politics – State" which took place on 25-27 March 2011 in Auditorium Maximum of Jagiellonian University. It was organized by the Jagiellonian University Religious Studies Students' Scientific Circle (among others, Jacek Skup, Tomasz Niezgodą, Justyna Figas). The conference consisted of speeches with papers, lectures by invited guests and discussion panels with experts. The participants of the event, apart from students and doctoral students, also included academics, diplomats and journalists. Among the advertised objectives of the conference was the exchange of knowledge and deepening the reflection on the relations between religion and state in various aspects, showing the ambivalence of these relations and their model diversity. The interdisciplinary perspective adopted by the organisers was to lead to the creation of a broad, multi-faceted

40 The first articles that referred to the relationship between religion and politics in the magazine were: Stanisław Burdziej, Prezydenci Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec religii, *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne*, Vol. 18, 2007, pp. 272-286; Robert Potocki, Europa Josepha Ratzingera, *Athenaeum. Polskie Studia Politologiczne*, Vol. 23, 2010, pp. 252-270. For the first time in 2010, a thematic block in the field of politology of religion (entitled "Church and Politics") was presented together with Vol. 24 (articles: Rudolf Uertz, Chrześcijaństwo w Europie. O stosunku religii i polityki w kontekście europejskim, pp. 11-17; Michał Gierycz, Quid pro quo religii i polityki. O dawnym i współczesnym zapożyczeniu kategorii religijnych przez politykę w Europie, pp. 18-35; Radosław Zenderowski, Etnicyzacja religii i sakralizacja etnosu: nacjonalizm w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej, pp. 36-50; Dariusz Góra-Szopiński, Katolicka nauka społeczna jako wyzwanie dla politologii, pp. 51-69; Stefan Dudra, Kwestia metropolity Dionizego jako element polityki państwa wobec Cerkwi prawosławnej w Polsce po drugiej wojnie światowej, pp. 70-83; Grażyna Strnad, Chrześcijaństwo w Korei Północnej – polityczne wyzwanie dla komunistycznego państwa dżucze, pp. 84-100; Sylwia Grochowina, Katarzyna Kącka, Pusty tron. Wybór kardynała Josepha Aloisa Ratzingera na biskupa Rzymu w świetle prasy polskiej, pp. 101-118).

41 See: Joanna Wardęga, Mao Zedong in present-day China – forms of deification, *Politics and Religion Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2012, pp. 181-197; Maciej Potz, Religious Doctrine as a Factor of Stability of Political Systems. A Study of two North American Theocracies, *Politics and Religion Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 2013, pp. 413-435; Joanna Grela was also the editor of a single issue, see: Joanna Grela, The word of guest editor, *Politics and Religion Journal*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2012, pp. 176-178.

map of the problems discussed. The thematic panels included: Denominational and religious law, issues of legislation; Issues of separation of state and religion; prevailing religions and the political and legal status of religious minorities; Political ideas and religion; Mutual relations between religious systems and political movements and groups; Religion and issues of geopolitics and science of civilizations; Conflicts on the basis of religion and belief; Media discourse on politics and religion; State and power in culture and mythology⁴².

III stage (2014-)

The third stage of development of the *politology of religion* in Poland contractually commenced in 2014, when two political science centres submitted - in the form of projects and publications - arguments justifying the possibility of considering it as a sub-discipline of the political science. The first of these was the Institute of Political Science UKSW. It was thanks to Rev. Piotr Burgoński and Michał Gierycz that the first academic textbook in Poland entitled *Religion and Politics. The outline of the issues* was edited. It comprehensively covered the issues of politology of religion⁴³. This work, *de facto* setting a new trend of didactic offensive, not only strengthened the existing academic courses relating to two-way influence of religious and political factors, but more often contributed to the inclusion of such subjects in the educational offers of universities. From the perspective of 2020, it can be concluded that the *politology of religion* (under this or similar names) occurs in the teaching programmes of most Polish universities. In terms of wider utilitarianism, the book is a unique guide to the interpenetrating worlds of the *sacred and profane* and proves - contrary to the "atheisation of political science" which lasted several decades in Poland - of course, human identity often consists not only of *homo politicus* but also of *homo religiosus*. The work was created by a total of seventeen scientists and researchers (apart from editors: Aniela Dylus, Tadeusz Kamiński, Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Małgorzata Pawlus, Anna Peck, Bartosz Rydliński, Anna Skolimowska, Sławomir Sowiński, Artur Wysocki, Radosław Zenderowski - all of them UKSW and Stanisław Burdziej - UWM, Wojciech Janyga - UAM, Joanna Kulska, Justyna Miecznikowska - UW, Bogdan Szlachta) with recognized scientific achievements, is also an extensive proof of the growing importance of the religious factor for the scientific analysis of political processes. The work consists of five parts, which the editors treat directly as fundamental issues *in statu nascendi* of politology of religion. These are the five parts: 1) Religion and politics in terms of the main religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism); 2) Religion and politics - basic relationships (analysis of the participation of religion

42 See: <http://sites.google.com/site/religiapolitykapanstwo/> (accessed 31.07.2020)

43 *Religia i polityka. Zarys problematyki*, Piotr Burgoński, Michał Gierycz (eds.), Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa, 2014.

in political processes); 3) Ideologies about the place of religion in politics (conservatism, liberalism, leftist ideologies, feminism, Christian tradition); 4) Religion and politics - selected theoretical discussions (including categories: secularization, religious freedom, fundamentalism, political theology and civic religion); 5) Religion and international relations (religious factor compared to other factors in international relations). The dual nature of the religious factor in politics, shown in the textbook - once dysfunctional, and another time *à rebours* constructive - is an important argument and a postulate addressed to political scientists for the revision of thinking about religion, enclosed years ago only in the Marxist vision and methodology.

In 2014, the scientific community of the UZ also submitted a postulate to recognise the politology of religion as a sub-discipline of the political science. At that time, under the direction of Ryszard Michalak, a scientific project called "Religious determinants of politics" was carried out, which was then published in the form of the first volume in the series "Politology of religion" (publisher: Centre for Research on National and Ethnic Minorities of the Institute of Political Science and "Morpho" publishing house)⁴⁴. The work was opened by the editor's article containing the justification for sanctioning the politology of religion among political sub-disciplines. The main part of the book was divided into four thematic blocks: 1) religion in the emblematic dimension (issues: politicians' behaviour in the area of sacrum determined by the assumptions of political liberalism; distant religious phenomena as a building block of political ideologies; sacralization of seemingly non-religious areas - Łukasz Młyńczyk, Arkadiusz Stolarek, Weronika Górnicka), 2) religion in the institutional dimension (issues: multi-aspect conditioned determination of the minority status of the religious trend; organized forms of ecumenical activity in relation to the principles of the state's religious policy; settlement of the past by religious organizations; behavior of religious entities in the conditions of the new political order - Stefan Dudra, Danuta Krawczyk, Agnieszka Opalińska, Olgierd Kiec), 3) religion in the systemic dimension (issues: creating social and political reality in the conditions of a specific cultural and religious background; secularization determined by new systemic solutions; religious conditions of the crisis of ideas and politics of multiculturalism; political messianism; politicization of religion - Katarzyna Kaczmarek, Dorota Matuszak, Martyna Masłowska, Wioletta Husar, Paweł Śnieg, Danuta Cudna), 4) religion in the geopolitical dimension (issues: the significance of religious determinants in political research; religious determinism in precise geopolitical conditions; potential opportunities resulting from the specificity of the religious factor in the international environment

44 *Religijne determinanty polityki*, Ryszard Michalak (ed.), series: „Politologia religii” [Vol. 1], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2014. 2014 also saw the publication of a monograph on religious policy, which in the theoretical layer contained the characteristics of religious policy, see: Ryszard Michalak, *Polityka wyznaniowa państwa polskiego wobec mniejszości religijnych w latach 1945-1989*, Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, Zielona Góra, 2014.

- Tomasz Klin, Jarosław Macała, Piotr Pochyły).

The next project - and at the same time another publication in the series "Politics of Religion", entitled *Polityka jako wyraz lub następstwo religijności* (Politics as an Expression or Consequence of Religion) (2015)⁴⁵ - had a much wider reach, since the political scientists from Zielona Góra (Jarosław Macała, Danuta Cudna, Marta Czura, Wioletta Husar, Stefan Dudra, Martyna Masłowska, Katarzyna Kaczmarek, Łukasz Młyńczyk, Piotr Pochyły, Ryszard Michalak) were joined by researchers from thirteen centres: Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Dorota Maj and Marcin Pomarański, Radosław Zenderowski and Mateusz Seroka (UKSW), Dariusz Góra-Szopiński (Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń – UMK; today UKSW), Grzegorz Bębniak (Institute of National Remembrance - IPN), Grzegorz Jasiński (UWM), Krzysztof Karczewski (USZ), Marek Mutor (Memory and Future Centre in Wrocław), Marcin Pisarski (UWR; today UZ) Robert T. Ptaszek (KUL), Waldemar Rogowski (Rev. Jerzy Popiełuszko Higher School of Democracy in Grudziądz - WSD), Bartłomiej Secler (UAM), Piotr S. Ślusarczyk (Europe of the Future Association; today UKSW), Paweł A. Leszczyński (Jacob of Paradies University in Gorzów Wielkopolski - AJP). The volume opened with an article by Dariusz Góra-Szopiński containing his own understanding of the politology of religion. Four perspectives were taken into account in the deliberations on religiousness leading to specific political phenomena: 1) religious fundamentalism, 2) national identity and nationalism, 3) the context of public space and 4) pacifist and irenological phenomena. The latter issue, extended to include the issues of polemology, was also the subject of scientific reflection undertaken in Zielona Góra during the international scientific conference "Peace/War - Humanities Facing the Challenges of Modernity". (18-19 November 2015)⁴⁶. The result of the meeting is a collective study edited by Roman Sapeńko and Piotr Pochyły, and some of the articles are in the area of politology of religion⁴⁷.

Two prestigious congresses were held in 2015: 1) international religious congresses in Gdynia (17-20 June)⁴⁸ and 2) national political congresses in Cracow (22-24 September)⁴⁹. The first of these events referred to the politology of religion: "Religion and the social and political transformations of the modern world". Of the fifteen thematic sections, the most popular was the block "Religion and Politics", to which the largest number of papers were submitted, i.e. 70 out of 223. The papers delivered in the session moderated by Professor

45 *Polityka jako wyraz lub następstwo religijności*, Ryszard Michalak (ed.), series: "Politologia religii" [Vol. 2], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2015.

46 See: Weronika Górnicka, Wioletta Husar, Międzynarodowa Konferencja Naukowa „Pokój/wojna – humanistyka wobec wyzwań współczesności”, Zielona Góra 18–19 listopada 2015 r., *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio K, Politologia*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2015, p. 185.

47 See: *Wojna/pokój – humanistyka wobec wyzwań współczesności*, Roman Sapeńko, Piotr Pochyły (eds.), Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2017.

48 See: Dorota Łazewska, 4th International Religious Studies Congress "Religion and socio-political transformations of contemporary world". Polish Naval Academy Gdynia 17–20 June 2015, *Journal of Modern Science*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2015, pp. 413-420.

49 See: Bogdan Szlachta, Odsłony polityki. III Ogólnopolski Kongres Politologii w Krakowie, *Politeja*, Vol. 36, No. 4, 2016, pp. 5-8.

Jerzy Kojkoł (Naval Academy in Gdynia - AMW) and Professor Adam Karpiński (UG), were placed in four groups: 1) politology of religion - theory and detailed phenomena on its grounds; 2) socio-political life and Catholicism; 3) religious context of socio-political life of selected countries and continents; 4) concepts of contemporary thinkers on the relationship between religion and politics. Among the issues raised were : politology of religion as a sub-discipline of religious studies and political science sciences; the links between religion and politics as challenges of the 21st century; religion and geopolitics; secularization; religious Zionism; the Central European model of religion in the public sphere; religion and democracy and identity; religious diversity and contemporary pluralism; public funding of churches; the problem of images of religious feelings; liberal religious policy; religion and secularism; a vision of a world without religion; the European Union's religious/religious policy; contemporary religious narrative; theocratic succession; philosophy of law and religious fanaticism; immigration and religious diversity; relations between war, politics and religion, conflict transformation and peace; religion, politics and law; religious rationalisation project; religion and fundamentalism; religious conflicts; ritual slaughter and Polish law, separation of church and state. As regards the theoretical side of the relationship between religion and politics, the following presented their thoughts: Rev. Janusz Balicki, Rev. Janusz Węgrzecki, Rev. Jacek Grzybowski, Michał Gierycz (all UKSW), Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Jerzy Ochmann, Zdzisław Mach (UJ), Krzysztof Kowalczyk, Joachim von Wedel (USZ), Jarosław Macała, Ryszard Michalak, Łukasz Młyńczyk, Robert T. Ptaszek, Maciej Potz, Justyna Ołędzka (UB), Joanna Kulska, Bartłomiej Secler, Waldemar Rogowski and Gracjan Cimek (AMW).

The political congress in Cracow was held under the slogan "Political overviews". As many as three panels concerned the issues of the *politology of religion*: 1) *Religious factor in the domestic and international politics at the turn of the second and third millennium* (Maria Marczevska-Rytko); 2) *Religion - memory - politics. Religion and churches and the process of shaping collective memory* (moderator: Paweł Stachowiak); 3) *Politology of religion: state and research program* (moderator: Maciej Potz). The former enjoyed the greatest popularity, if only because of the number of speakers and the number of participants (including Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz and Wawrzyniec Konarski from UJ). The result of this scientific meeting is a monograph published in 2016⁵⁰. Its content consisted of such issues as: the isolation and functioning of various forms of public religions and their social and political consequences; contemporary religious fundamentalism (including in particular the ideology of Jihadism); the religious factor as a tool of mobilization and legitimacy in the sphere of domestic and international politics; the religious factor in the context of internal and

50 See: *Czynnik religijny w polityce wewnątrzpaństwowej i międzynarodowej na przełomie drugiego i trzeciego tysiąclecia. Wybrane problemy*, Maria Marczevska-Rytko (ed.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 2016.

international security; the religious factor as a stabilizer / threat to democratic systems; barriers in research on the role of the religious factor in politics. The authors of the studies are: Maria Marczewska-Rytko, Maya Abromchik, Dorota Maj, Marcin Pomarański, Wojciech Zięta (all UMCS), Małgorzata Abassy, Karolina Blecharczyk, Seweryn Krzyżewski, Krzysztof Pilarczyk (all UJ), Rafał Prostack (UEK), Michał Białkowski (UMK), Justyna Cywoniuk, Stanisław Kosmynka (both UŁ), Marek Delong (Rzeszów University - UR), Janusz Węgrzecki, Hieronim Kaczmarek (UKSW), Jerzy Ochmański, Przemysław Krzywoszyński (both UAM), Jarosław Macała, Ryszard Michalak.

A two-volume monograph entitled *Religion in Ethnic Conflicts in the Modern World*⁵¹, published also in 2016, developed by a team of 40 people, was very well received. The editors are Andrzej Szabaciuk (KUL), Dariusz Wybranowski (USZ) and Radosław Zenderowski. The articles deal with the relationship between ethnicity and religion. It is difficult to imagine further references to the combined issues of ethnicity and religion without referring to the theses and facts contained in this paper. As written in the introduction to volume one: "Ethnicity and religion - both these social phenomena have an equally long history. Moreover, ethnicity is closely related to religion, since it (religion) is in almost every case the core of the identity of a given ethnic group, or its relevant component. On the other hand, (...) it must be said that religion is a much more important factor stimulating collective identity than ethnicity, which often seems to be the product of a sociological and anthropological narrative rather than a reality in itself. Besides, very often the separation of ethnicity and religion is difficult in practice and can only be achieved by building certain theoretical models of relations between the two phenomena".

In 2016, the third book in the Zielona Góra series "Politology of Religion", entitled *Implementation of Religion Principles in the Political Sphere*⁵², was also published. The aim of the book, edited by Ryszard Michalak, was born on the basis of numerous discussions during congresses in Gdynia and Cracow. The volume consists of articles that reflect as many as eight leading themes. These are: the issue of clergy's attitude towards social and political changes; dilemmas related to the perception of the sacrum; reading and referring to encyclicals; the analysis of society's attitude towards the place of religion and religious organizations in public space and the related analysis of religious interest groups; the connection of religious issues with voter turnout; the inclusion of religious issues in fundamental laws; comparative approaches related to the relationship between religion and politics; the determinants of Islamism. The authors

51 See: *Religia w konfliktach etnicznych we współczesnym świecie*, Andrzej Szabaciuk, Dariusz Wybranowski, Radosław Zenderowski (eds.), Vol. 1: *Zagadnienia teoretyczne. Europa i obszar poradziecki*, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin, 2016; *Religia w konfliktach etnicznych we współczesnym świecie*, Andrzej Szabaciuk, Dariusz Wybranowski, Radosław Zenderowski (eds.), Vol 2: *Afryka i Azja*, Wydawnictwo KUL, Lublin, 2016.

52 See: Maciej Potz, *Teokracje amerykańskie. Źródła i mechanizmy władzy usankcjonowanej religijnie*, series: „Politologia Religii”, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, 2016.

of this volume are: Bogumił Grott, Jakub Sokół (UJ), Paweł Leszczyński, Krzysztof Łabędź (Ignacianum Academy in Cracow - AI), Karolina Wojtasik (UŚ), Paweł Nieczuja-Ostrowski (Pomeranian University in Słupsk - AP), Renata Pomarańska (UR), Marcin Pomarański, Bartłomiej Secler, Mariusz Sulkowski, Mateusz Seroła, Paweł Skorut (Pedagogical University of Cracow - UPK). On this occasion, it should be noted that in 2016 the series called "Politology of Religion" was inaugurated by the University of Lodz Publishing House. A monograph by Maciej Potz entitled *American Theocracies. Sources and mechanisms of religiously sanctioned power* was published at that time.

In May 2016, a scientific team led by Maria Marczevska-Rytko organized a conference in Lublin to look at new social movements⁵³. Among the topics of the speeches there were also issues from the area of religious political science. During the ceremonial plenary session, seven lectures had been presented. Two of them concerned the problem of the Islamization of Europe. Jarosław Macała focused on the German PEGIDA movement. Ryszard Michalak discussed anti-Islamic movements in the Nordic countries: Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. In 2017 the UMCS published conference materials in the form of a book⁵⁴. It is also worth noting that thanks to the research team from UMCS, the Polish religious political trend found its place in the deliberations of the 24th World Congress of Political Science - International Political Science Association (23-28 July 2016, Poznań). The panel "Democracy, Religion and Citizen Education in the Age of Globalization" organized by Professor Maria Marczevska-Rytko highlighted the needs to analyze the place and the role played by religion in the contemporary world of globalization⁵⁵.

The year 2017 was particularly rich in conferences, which took up the subject of the politology of religion. First, in May, again at the premises of the Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, a conference entitled directly "The Politics of Religion" was held. (a post-conference volume under this title was published the following year)⁵⁶. Its aim was to summarize the scientific findings of religious scientists and political scientists. As Dorota Maj and Kamil Aksiuto reported: "The organizers of the conference invited the participants to focus their debate on a number of thematic issues: terminological and methodological questions; relations between science and religion; religious factor in the political studies; social thought in the religious systems; religious movements; relations between religion and politics/state; institutionalization of religion; the place of religion in the democratic order; religious freedom; religious conflicts and

53 See: Dorota Maj, Marcin Pomarański, Report from the National Scientific Conference 'New Social Movements' (11–12 May 2016, Lublin, Poland), *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio K, Politologia*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2016, pp. 198-199.

54 See: *Nowe ruchy społeczne*, Maria Marczevska-Rytko, Dorota Maj (eds.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 2017.

55 See: Oleksii Polegkyi, Report from the 24th World Congress of Political Science (23–28 July 2016, Poznań, Poland), *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio K, Politologia*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2016, pp. 200-201.

56 See: *Politologia religii*, M. Marczevska-Rytko, D. Maj (eds.), Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie Skłodowskiej, Lublin, 2018.

wars; religious minorities; secularization, privatization, deprivatization of religion; religious fundamentalism; religious leadership; religious ritualism and religion in the contemporary world. The conference attracted the attention of 72 participants from 21 scientific institutions (Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Cardinal Wyszyński University in Warsaw, Jagiellonian University, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, University of Zielona Góra, University of Warsaw, University of Gdańsk, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, University of Silesia in Katowice, University of Łódź, University of Opole, Cracow University of Economics, Akademia Ignatianum, Kazimierz Pulaski University of Technology and Humanities in Radom, Pomeranian University in Słupsk, Jerzy Popiełuszko Higher School of Democracy in Grudziądz, War Studies University, University of Białystok, Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, University of Rzeszów, Gdańsk University of Technology), Scientific Association of Płock and "Christianitas" quarterly⁵⁷. During the plenary session 6 papers were presented. Among others: Maria Marczevska-Rytko presented the main assumptions underlying the politology of religion as a subdiscipline of political science; Roman Tokarczyk (UMCS) focused in his paper on the main epistemological and practical theses of politology of religion; Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz's presentation was the indispensability of religion for politics; Rev. Janusz Węgrzecki conducted a thorough analysis of the output of Polish scholars working in the field. The other conference proceedings were divided into 9 panel sections. "The first panel was concerned with definitional issues and theoretical approaches applicable to political science of religion as well as with issues of religious persecutions and demography of religion. The second panel dealt with the historical aspects of relationship between religious organizations and state authorities in countries such as: Great Britain, France and V4 states. It also touched upon the topics of puritanism, religious and ethical neutrality of the state in American liberalism and the relations between religion and a state in the thought of Baruch Spinoza. In the third panel, participants discussed the impact of the religious factor on the internal and external political affairs, including the importance of religion in the presidential campaign in the USA, in the politics of Iran, the Grand Principality of Moscow and the Czech Republic. The speakers in the fourth panel focused their attention on contemporary religious movements, including the revival of Buddhism on the territory of China and the importance of new religious movements and sects in Poland, Armenia and Italy. The fifth panel dealt with the concept of religious freedom in Poland, the European Union and the USA. Furthermore, it also brought into light the issue of religious freedom in penitentiary institutions. The sixth panel was devoted to the phenomenon of religious fundamentalism and religious conflicts. The participants in the seventh panel discussed the importance of religion in political

57 See: Dorota Maj, Kamil Aksiuto, Statewide Scientific Conference 'Political Science of Religion', Lublin 10–11 May 2017, *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska. Sectio K, Politologia*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2017, pp. 205-207.

thought and doctrines. The panel presentations offered insight into Christian radicalism, Catholic social teaching and principle of subsidiarity, the thought of Charles Taylor and Peter Berger as well as the attitude of libertarianism towards religion. The eighth panel was concerned with religion in public sphere and religious leadership. In the ninth panel, the attention of participants was focused on the complex relations between religion and society⁵⁸.

Among the many achievements of the conference, there are important proposals concerning the ways of defining the politology of religion. They were formulated during the plenary session and in the first panel, moderated by Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz, and the participants: Anna Solarz, Michał Gierycz, Marcin Pomarański and Ryszard Michalak. The latter, having analyzed the previous explanations of the politology of religion occurring in Polish science, specified four types of them: 1) In the most popular and commonly used interpretation - initially formulated by religiologists, and with time and by political scientists - the politology of religion is considered to be the whole of research taking into account all possible combinations of phenomena specific to the worlds of religion and politics, based on the marriage of methods of many disciplines of science, in particular: the sciences of politics, religiology, theology, sociology, philosophy, anthropology, cultural studies, history, law, economics and geography. In this sense, the specific findings of these disciplines will be an inherent part of the politology of religion, and it in turn - in the opposite direction - aspires to the role of their sub-discipline (political science, religiology) or auxiliary science (other disciplines); 2) In the sense proper to social sciences, the politology of religion is defined as a sub-discipline of the political science, the essence of which is the political analysis of the phenomenon of religion - both in its full dimension and in relation to any of its components, i.e. doctrine, worship, religious organization. In such a case, the basic assumption is to see religion as a political phenomenon - analogously to the assumptions of the sociology of religion, which sees religion as a social phenomenon. Or even differently: If the sociology of religion is a sub-discipline of general sociology and deals with doctrinal, cult and institutionalized religion in their social contexts, then the politology of religion is a sub-discipline of the political science and deals with doctrinal, cult and institutionalized religion in their political contexts; 3) Another exegesis regarding the position of the politology of religion among the sub-disciplines of the political science - again by analogy with the position of the sociology of religion within general sociology - assumes that its content includes issues of the permeability or interplay of religious phenomena and political phenomena (in the sociology of religion: social phenomena), but the obligatory starting point for research is the assumptions of political science with reference to methods and achievements of other scientific disciplines; 4) The politics of religion in the narrower sense is in turn political research on reli-

58 Ibidem.

gion based on the paradigm of the function of the political factor in religion⁵⁹.

By slightly disturbing the chronology of events, it is worth emphasizing here that in December 2017, during a conference at the UKSW, and then in "Studia Religiológica" in 2019, another proposal for understanding the politology of religion was proposed by Maciej Potz. In its assumption, it sets the categorical boundaries of the science of politics understood as "empirical science about the mechanisms of political power". The precise role of the sub-discipline in this approach is to be the answer to the question about the importance of religion for the relations of political power⁶⁰. And although such a vision is controversial - mainly because of the narrow understanding of the science of politics itself - this concept was later developed in the form of a monograph entitled *Political Science of Religion. Theorising the Political Role of Religion*⁶¹ will certainly become an indispensable reference for studies in the theory of politology of religion.

In June 2017, the first conference in the field of religious political science, planned from the beginning as a cyclical one, was held, organized by the Institute of Political science of the UZ in close cooperation with political scientists from UKSW and UMCS, as well as other universities. The scientific director of the conference was Ryszard Michalak, and the venue was Łagów Lubuski. The main theme referred to the political and religious identity of the research: "Religious determinants of politics - Political determinants of religion". As Michał Gierycz wrote in his report: "It gathered over 30 scientists and doctoral students from many Polish universities, both public and private, as well as several representatives of religiously inspired third sector organizations (so-called *Faith-based Organisations*). All the speeches were presented during the plenary sessions, of which there were seven during the three days of the meeting. (...) three particularly important trends of reflection could be observed at the conference. The first one was connected with theoretical analyses of the influence of religion on politics and vice versa. It is worth emphasizing that not only the recapitulation of theoretical approaches by leading political theorists was presented, referring them to contemporary problems (e.g. John Rawls' theory, classical approaches to secularization and secularization, the theory of nationalism), but also attempts were made to present the author's own theoretical approach to the processes taking place before our eyes, either by adapting classical theoretical approaches to the analysis of contemporary phenomena (e.g. political theology to geopolitical analyses or the influence of liberal and conservative ideas on the position of the Catholic Church), or by building author's theories

59 Ryszard Michalak, *Politologia religii – w poszukiwaniu definicji*. The paper was delivered during the conference "Politology of Religion" on 10 May 2017 in Lublin (UMCS). The theses of the paper were published in 2018 in the form of an extensive explanatory note, see: Ryszard Michalak, "Politologia religii", in: *Leksykon wiedzy politologicznej*, Joanna Marszałek-Kawa, Danuta Plecka (eds.), Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, Toruń, 2018, pp. 344-348.

60 Maciej Potz, *Perspektywy badawcze politologii religii*, *Studia Religiológica*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 2019, pp. 277-291.

61 Maciej Potz, *Political Science of Religion. Theorising the Political Role of Religion*, Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, Switzerland, 2020.

(e.g. the theological foundation of the idea of limited power or sacralization of power). The other two trends were connected with the presentation of case studies related to Islam and Christianity, especially Catholicism. As part of the research on Islam, issues such as the consequences of the conflict in Syria for the position of the Muslim Brotherhood or the promotion of fundamentalist positions in Polish Muslim periodicals were addressed. As part of the studies on Christianity, the current situation of political theology in Latin America and the role of Christianity in political processes in the USA, Sweden, Poland or Spain were presented. Apart from these main streams, two other important subjects discussed during the debates were also noted. Firstly, it is worth noting the papers on Vatican politics. In this respect, the speech on the Vatican's policy towards the Uniate Churches of the Middle East was particularly moving, the memory of which, it seems, should also be important nowadays when shaping the Vatican's policy towards the Far East. The second important topic, indicated in two papers, was methodological issues, and thus the question of a research paradigm adequate for the study of religious issues in the field of political/international relations sciences⁶². In the perspective of Weronika Górnicka and another published report: "The main focus of the conference included topics such as conceptualisation in the field of political science of religion, methodological issues related to the politology of religion as sub-disciplines of political science and sub-disciplines of religion, religious factors in political studies and political factors in religious studies, politics and politics of religious narratives, As a part of public policy, religion in the institutional and systemic dimension, religion in the context of international and geopolitical, or social phenomena determined by religious factors and religious phenomena determined by political factors"⁶³. Most of the conference materials, together with a few sent in, appeared in print as early as 2017 as volume IV of the Zielona Góra series "Politology of religion" under the title reversed in relation to the conference name: *Political determinants of religions - Religious determinants of politics*⁶⁴. The articles were published: Dariusz Góra-Szopiński, Piotr Furmański (then a doctoral student and soon afterwards a doctor promoted at UKSW), Andrzej Dwojnych (Płock Scientific Society), Małgorzata Świder (UO, now UP), Krzysztof Kowalczyk, Krzysztof Łabędź, Sylwia Górzna [Góra] (AP), Michał Gierycz, Mirosław Rucki (Radom University of Technology and Humanities), Michael Abdalla (UAM), Bartłomiej Grysa (Agape Publishing House), Renata Król-Mazur (UJ), Magdalena Tomczyk, Rafał Prostack, Piotr S. Ślusarczyk, Stefan Dudra, Wio-

62 Michał Gierycz, Sprawozdanie z ogólnopolskiej konferencji naukowej „Religijne uwarunkowania polityki/polityczne uwarunkowania religii” Łagów Lubuski, 1-3.06.2017 r., *Chrześcijaństwo – Świat – Polityka*, No. 21, 2017, pp. 142-144.

63 Weronika Górnicka, Report from a nationwide scientific conference "The religious conditioning of politics / political determinants of religion", Łagów, 1-3.06.2017, *Przegląd Narodowościowy – Review of Nationalities*, Vol. 7, 2017, pp. 449-454.

64 See: *Polityczne uwarunkowania religii – Religijne uwarunkowania polityki*, Stefan Dudra, Ryszard Michalak, Łukasz Młyńczyk (eds.), series: "Politologia religii" [Vol. 4], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2017.

letta Husar, Ryszard Michalak, Daria Podedworna, Anna Ratke-Majewska (UZ). In addition, Maciej Potz, Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Rev. Janusz Węgrzecki, Michał Strzelecki (UMK), Anna Solarz, Waldemar Rogowski, Natasza Dembińska-Urbaniak (Congress of Conservative Women), Małgorzata Samojedny (UWR), Kleopatra Kharof, Kamil Aksiuto (UMCS), Paweł Leszczyński, Jarosław Macała, Piotr Pochyły, Martyna Masłowska and Łukasz Brodziak (UZ).

At the beginning of July 2017, researchers of relations between religion and politics met in Pieniężno in Warmia at a cyclical conference “Sacrum and Profanum in the Modern World”, organised by the Institute of International Relations of the University of Warsaw, Faculty of Theology of the University of Warsaw, MSDKW in Pieniężno and FSM. As it has already been mentioned, this prestigious conference has been dealing with the issue of politology of religion for several years, but it was the 17th edition of the conference - organized by Jacek Pawlik SVD and Anna Solarz - that was particularly saturated with this subject. According to the leitmotif, entitled “Religion – Nation – Identity”, the conference was aimed at seeking influence and mutual relations between religion and nation. As Anna Solarz wrote in her report: “We emphasized that man in the modern world is most often a citizen of a particular country with which he is usually connected by his origin (family), mother tongue and history. According to statistics, more than two thirds of the world’s population are considered to be believers, and even more - almost 85% - is connected with a particular religion. Some beliefs are more strongly associated with a particular ethnic group, nation or country of origin (these are the so-called ethnic religions), others are international in nature - their followers live in different countries, constitute a transnational community, and religion is one element of their identity (these are the so-called transnational religions) - often the most important. It is worth noting that the collapse of the bipolar system at the end of the last century, which marked a new chapter in the history of international relations, was related to national and religious revival. These factors, which were considered to be the so-called basic ties, became the backbone of a rebuilt identity - people once again felt the strength of their community, united by values shared by the majority in opposition to ideologies that were then widely spread - often anti-national and/or anti-religious. It turns out that in the second decade of the 21st century, national and religious factors still play a very important role, which, however, manifests itself differently in different parts of the world. The accelerated processes of globalization after the fall of the Iron Curtain, on the one hand, build up the world community, on the other hand, sharpen cultural differences and arouse an even greater need for local self-identification”⁶⁵. In Pieniężno, 37 people from 22 scientific centres in Poland presented their papers. The participants confirmed the multidisci-

65 See: Anna M. Solarz, Sprawozdanie z XVII Konferencji Instytutu Stosunków Międzynarodowych WNPiSM Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego i Księży Werbistów ‘Sacrum i profanum we współczesnym świecie’, pt. Religia – Naród – Tożsamość, *Stosunki Międzynarodowe*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 2017, pp. 235-240.

plinary nature of the conference. They included representatives of the political science, international science, theology, anthropology, psychology, geography, legal sciences, sociology, history, bibliology and oriental sciences. Among several sessions, the most issues concerning the relationship between religion and politics could be found in the blocks: "Religious identity and the identity of Europe and its nations", "Religious and national factor and the economic and institutional dimension of the evolution of contemporary societies", "Migration and social change processes towards religious and national identity", "Faith and ethnic identification - the identity of Poland and its regions", "Russia and the Balkans - identity transformations in the post-Cold War world", "Religious-ethnic aspects of identity in the Middle East" and "Religious-ethnic aspects of identity in Africa". Among the specific topics were: The religious identity of the state in the Enlightenment on the example of the Habsburg monarchy 1780-1790. Multiethnic and multiculturalism and the reforms of Joseph II (Agnieszka Bógdał-Brzezińska, UW), United Europe as the New Jerusalem - around the narrative of the European unification project (Paweł Borkowski, UW), Religious freedom and intercultural and interreligious dialogue (Rev. Janusz Węgrzecki), The influence of religious factor on the activities of the United Nations system organizations (Irena Rysińska, UW), Anti-religious components of identity and counter-cultural attitudes in the Nordic countries (Ryszard Michalak), Patriarch Pavle - national and religious identity of the Serbian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Magdalena Ickiewicz-Sawicka, Białystok University of Technology), Romanian Church - a factor of national identity growth after 1989 (Jan Wendt, UG), Ethnic-religious identity and national identity in the Middle East - complementary or competitive concepts? Examples of Iraq and Lebanon. Western scholar's problems with categorization and methodological challenges (Paulina Warsza, UW), The question of Jewish-Israeli identity and its influence on Israeli foreign policy (Anna Solarz), Religion and the State of Israel - a barrier or an opportunity? (Marcin Szydzisz), The Nation, Identity and Religion in the States of the Horn of Africa at the Beginning of the 21st Century (Robert Kłosowicz, UJ), The Influence of Christianity on the Formation of State Awareness in Former Congo (Robert Piątek, University of Natural Sciences and Humanities in Siedlce) and Religious and Ethnic Identity and Challenges for Regional Security in Africa (Wiesław Lizak, UW). The scale and importance of the conference in Pieniężno is best reflected in the fact that the next scientific event, where the topic of religion - politics appeared, i.e. the Second Congress of European Studies in September 2017 at the University of Szczecin, brought only one such panel. The meeting entitled "Religious-ideological conflict for the state in the European Union". (moderator: Łukasz Młyńczyk), however, introduced the politics of religion to a new forum of science. Its popularization in the new circle was undertaken, among others, by Dariusz Góra-Szopiński, Michał Gierycz, Piotr Pochyły and Ryszard Michalak.

At that time, Michał Gierycz was conducting recent work on launching a portal for researchers of religious and political relations. Under the name “Politology of religions” and at the address: <https://politologiareligii.pl/> it inaugurated its activity in October 2017. It contains studies and analyses, information about books, news about past and future events, as well as multimedia files with lectures. The construction of the portal assumes its extensive editing and the possibility of co-creation by individual researchers. The institutional partner group within the portal has been formed since its foundation: Institute of Political Science and Administration UKSW (until 2019 Institute of Political Science), Institute of Political Science and Administration UZ (until 2019 Institute of Political Science), Faculty of Political Science and International Relations UW (until 2019 Institute of International Studies), Institute of Political Science and Administration UO (until 2019 Institute of Political Science), editorial team of “Chrześcijaństwo – Świat – Polityka” and Section of Lecturers of Catholic Social Science. The portal has been instrumental in publicising the conference, which was held at the turn of November and December 2017 in UKSW under the title “Relation of religion and politics as a subject of political science research” with over 60 participants. The idea of the meeting was to lead to environmental reflection on theoretical and methodological questions concerning the research of relations between politics and religion, as well as to present the latest research. The efforts of the organizers from UKSW - Michał Gierycz, Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Mariusz Sulkowski, Radosław Zenderowski - also led to a significant increase in the rank of the conferences held in Poland, as the event was actively attended by prominent professors from foreign research centers, who have been studying the interaction between religion and politics for years. They were in this group: Mirosljub Jevtić (University of Belgrade, *25 years of politology of religion*)⁶⁶, Marko Veković (University of Belgrade, *Religion as mechanism of explaining political behaviour*), Jeffrey Haynes (London Metropolitan University, *The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations: Improving inter-civilisational relations?*), Fred Lazin (Ben Gourion University, *The changing context of Judaism and Jews in American politics: from 1930s to the Trump era*)⁶⁷, Netanel Fisher (Academic Center for Law and Science Sha’arei Mishpat, *Religion and immigration – Israel in a comparative perspective*), Vinicio Busacchi (University of Cagliari, *On Daisakulkeda’s interpretation of the concept of Ōbutsu Myōgō and its theoretical-practical consequences for political science*)⁶⁸, David Reichardt (Comenius University, Bratislava, *Ethnicity in Slovakia; Hungarians, Slovaks and the search for a cross-cutting Catholic effect*).

In the plenary panel entitled “The science of politics and the phenome-

66 See: Mirosljub Jevtić, *25 Years of Politology of Religion*, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 23, 2019, pp. 151-158.

67 See: Fred Lazin, *The changing context of Jews in American politics – 1930s to the Trump era*, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 23, 2019, pp. 122-133.

68 See: Vinicio Busacchi, *On Daisaku Ikeda’s Interpretation of the Concept of Ōbutsu Myōgō and Its Consequences for Political Science*, *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, Vol. 8, No. 11, 2017, pp. 35-41.

non of religion" (moderator: Zbigniew Stawrowski UKSW) Polish researchers considered the consequences of taking into account the role of religion in political research and the identity of the discipline. Tomasz Żyro (UW) and Aniela Dylus spoke about the political perspective in the perception of the tensions in the relations between sacrum and profanum, and Rev. Jacek Grzybowski spoke about the understanding of the postulate of scientific impartiality in the context of research on religion. Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz delivered a paper *What Should a Political Scientist Know About Religion?*⁶⁹. In his opinion: „A political scientist will not see any reasons for becoming seriously interested in the phenomenon of religion unless he finds religion to be a lasting phenomenon in the history of civilization. The first question that needs to be answered in order to talk reasonably about the borderland between religion and politics is the issue of what religion is, and how historical religions essentially differ from one another. One may then study, for example, the political effectiveness of religious motivation. The other question is whether a functional approach to religion in the context of political science is sufficient". Rev. Mazurkiewicz suggests that it should be replaced with a semi-substantial approach: „It requires from a political scientist to understand the essence of a particular religion and the extent to which certain social consequences of religious beliefs (e.g. polygamy, religiously motivated violence, separation between religion and politics) are related to its essence, and to what extent such relationship is merely accidental". In a paper published as an article in "Christianity - World - Politics" he also analyzes traditional areas of a political scientist's interest in religion, i.e. the relationship between the state and religious communities, religiously defined and motivated interests, and the state's policy towards religious institutions. In addition, new areas of interest are discussed, such as confessional politics in the EU, or forgiveness as a political category of current relevance and a strictly Christian origin.

As Michał Gierycz noted: "One of the important conclusions of this panel for further discussion at the conference was the observation that although a political scientist only studies the substitute functions of a religion, he must also be aware of its own functions if he wants to understand the former properly in the context of a particular religion. Otherwise, political analysis is inevitably threatened by the syndrome of "EU diplomats" who, expecting similar effects of the influence of Islam in the course of the "Arab Spring" to the influence of Catholicism in the "Autumn of Nations", expected the democratization of North Africa on the threshold of the second decade of the 21st century"⁷⁰.

Participants of another plenary panel, entitled "Research methods of po-

69 See: Piotr Mazurkiewicz, *What Should a Political Scientist Know About Religion?*, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 23, 2019, pp. 11-30.

70 See: Michał Gierycz, *Sprawozdanie z konferencji Relacje religii i polityki jako przedmiot badań politologii*, 30.11.2017–1.12.2017 r., Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie, *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, Vol. 53, No. 4, 2017, pp. 241-244.

litical science and religion" (moderator: Rev. Piotr Burgoński), asked which research paradigms applied in the political science can be considered adequate to study religious phenomena and what are their possible limitations. Maciej Potz proposed, as it was mentioned above, the understanding of the politology of religion within the strict limits of the science of politics understood as the "empirical science about the mechanisms of political power", with the task of finding an answer to the question about the significance of religion for relations of political power. In turn, Łukasz Młyńczyk⁷¹ and Michał Gierycz⁷² spoke about old and new paradigmatic and methodological perspectives applied or postulated within the framework of the politology of religion. "Apart from showing interesting methodological perspectives for the study of religious phenomena in the field of political science (e.g. behavioural methods or deep systemic analysis), the session unveiled the clearly unobvious nature of "moderate naturalism" in the study of religion and the risk of political reductionism. Among the speakers, there were two approaches. Some, reducing religious beliefs to functional equivalents of political ideologies, considered the reduction of religious phenomena to ideological phenomena as a necessary condition for their study in the political science. Others, on the other hand, argued that religions and their constituent religious organizations, including churches, have their own specific character, which should not (for substantive reasons) and does not have to (from a methodological point of view) be reduced within the framework of political research. The resulting interesting methodological discussion ultimately revealed a much deeper question about the possibility and purposefulness of transcending the atheistic paradigm of the sciences of politics; or, to put it another way, did it reveal the question about the sense of agnosticism of these sciences"⁷³.

During the proceedings of another plenary panel, entitled "The theory of religious political science - selected problems" (moderator: Michał Gierycz), its participants undertook an attempt to define the difference between political religion and the religion of politics (Marcin Pomarański) and to show various possible variants of the theoretical perspective for research in the field of the politology of religion (Krzysztof Gładkowski⁷⁴ - UWM, Rev. Tadeusz Jarosz⁷⁵ - Jordan University, Tanzania, Jarosław Macała, Rev. Janusz Węgrzecki), trying to define what distinguishes the approach to religion in the field of political science. In turn, parallel panels presented the results of research on the following

71 See: Łukasz Młyńczyk, Political Science Concerning Religion in the Perspective of Moderate Methodological Naturalism, *Athenaeum. Polish Political Science Studies*, Vol. 60, 2018, pp. 59-73.

72 See: Michał Gierycz, Overcoming Reductionism. On „In-depth” Systems Analysis in the Political Science of Religion, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 23, 2019, pp. 41-65.

73 See: Michał Gierycz, *Sprawozdanie z konferencji Relacje religii i polityki...*, pp. 241-244.

74 See: Krzysztof Gładkowski, Can Interdisciplinarity Be Overcome in the Political Science of Religion?, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 23, 2019, pp. 31-40.

75 See: Tadeusz Jarosz, Ecclesial Politology: in Search of an Adequate Perspective of Viewing the Church in Political Studies, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 23, 2019, pp. 66-82.

problem areas: "Religion in international relations". (moderator: Joanna Kulska), "Around the theory of secularization" (Moderator: Marcin Pomarański), "Christianity, Church, Europe". (moderator: Mariusz Sulkowski), "Islam as a religious and political problem". (moderator: Ryszard Michalak); "Religion at the edge of Europe" (moderator: Anna Solarz); "Ways of secularization" (moderator: Andrzej Rudowski, UKSW), "Dimensions of the influence of religion on politics" (moderator: Sławomir Sowiński).

Michał Gierycz rightly pointed out: "The conference undoubtedly showed how rich and intellectually attractive the issue of relations between religion and politics is, as well as revealed the methodological and theoretical possibilities of Polish political science in their research. It also fulfilled an important integration function, allowing not only to acquaint, usually scattered in different centers, researchers of this issue, but also to establish (...) cooperation between leading institutes undertaking this subject in Poland. The participation of a large group of scientists from abroad made it possible to show that the research conducted in the country is on a world level and it is worth taking care of its international dissemination. Finally, the conference unveiled the metatheoretic, theoretical and methodological areas that are worth further discussion and analysis. These include, among others, the question of how to understand the orientation of the political science on the axis of atheism - agnosticism - transcendentalism and its significance for the methods and political results of research on religion or (...) the issue of instrumentalisation of religion and its understanding in the context of within-the-world and outside-the-world religions"⁷⁶.

Two years later, political scientists from the UKSW (Chairman of the Organizing Committee: Michał Gierycz) organized a second conference with equally strong theoretical and methodological accents. This time it had an even more international character and was entitled "Secularism as a challenge for politics and political science". Special guests were professors: Joseph Weiler (New York University) and Fabio Petito (University of Sussex). The debates were held in the following panels: "Religious Engagement in International Relations: Overcoming secular blind spots and building apostsecular sensitivity in foreign policy" (moderator: Anna Skolimowska), "Faces of secularism" (moderator: Adam Wielomski, UKSW), "Relations Church - State in the western hemisphere" (moderator: Sławomir Sowiński), "Church - State relations in Poland" (moderator: Andrzej Rudowski, UKSW), "Secularism as a confessional state" (moderator: Michał Gierycz), "Religion, secularism and post-secularism in international relations" part I-II (moderators: Jerzy Ciechański, UW and Anna Solarz), "Dilemmas of post-secularism" (moderator: Dariusz Góra), "Secularism and the world of Orthodoxy" (moderator: Stefan Dudra), "30 years later: religion and politics in Central and Eastern Europe" part I-II (moderators: Kinga Wojtas-Jarentowska, UKSW and Joanna Kulska), "Islam: between religion and politics" (moderator:

76 See: Michał Gierycz, *Sprawozdanie z konferencji Relacje religii i polityki* ..., pp. 241-244.

Mariusz Sulkowski), "Secularism as a challenge for political science" (moderator: Katarzyna Grzybowska-Walecka, UKSW), "Political theology and the political science of religion" (moderator: Rafał Prostack), "Religion that corrects reason" (moderator: Rev. Janusz Węgrzecki), "Religion, superstitions and University" (moderator: Rev. Piotr Mazurkiewicz). A comprehensive report in English was published by Bianka Speidl⁷⁷. It is worth reading the detailed message, and at this point recalling the most important assessment: "The conference on religion and politics focusing on secularism as a challenge for politics and political science proved above all, that defining the scope and role of religion in a secular and post-secular context does not mean exclusive confinement to empirical or positivistic rationality. Rather, openness to include moral and spiritual / religious truth, brings depth to our reflection and indispensable for a novel and realistic approach. Keynotes speakers prof. Joseph Weiler and prof. Fabio Petito as well as all panelists made important contributions to outline a much-needed new paradigm. Fabio Petito in his opening speech pointed out that in international relations and political science we are in a "post-secular" moment, in which we search for new paradigm, as the secular one is no longer convincing. Prof. Weiler raised attention to the fact that Europe's political culture is rooted in two sources, the Greek and Christian traditions and the Christian foundation of our modern tradition of Human Rights considered as a major secular achievement, is undeniable. The constitutional pluralism of Europe is the fruit of tensions and syntheses of these two traditions, and it is impossible to understand political culture-even secular political culture, the most secular intellectual and political trends and states without considering this legacy. In addition, this means freedom to determine the scope of religion in the collective and public space with respect to the history of the given country, the nature of its religious traditions and communities, and pragmatic considerations of how best the state may ensure peaceful coexistence among religious factions. Another important and re-emerging observation was that the blurring of the boundaries between the various religions, religious traditions and religious regulations leads to pitfalls. In civilizations inspired by Christianity, the Sacred and the Profane are linked but enacted in separate spheres or dimensions. The outward manifestation of religion belongs to the realm of sacred with its earthly manifestations, while the profane everyday life can be evaporated and fertilized by values rooted in religion but not its outward manifestations. Worship and daily life are complementary but not conflated"⁷⁸.

In the meantime, i.e. between conferences at UKSW, another proposal, bringing a new quality in the area of Polish religious political science, was brought by the second Zielona Góra conference held on 4-6 June 2018 in

77 See: Bianka Speidl, Overview of the international conference 'Secularism as a challenge for politics and political science', Warsaw, 12-13 December 2019, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 24, 2020, pp. 31-40.

78 Ibidem.

Łagów Lubuski. The scientific director of the conference entitled *Religious policy in the national and international dimension* was Stefan Dudra. This time, the aim of the conference was to exchange research results between scientists exploring the issues of religious policy in the cognitive perspective of political science and other scientific disciplines. The conference participants addressed the following issues: Religious policy as a subject of research on politology of religion; conceptualisation in the area of religious policy and politology of religion; methodological issues concerning religious policy and politology of religion; conditions and determinants of religious policy; religious policy in formal-legal and anormative perspective; problems of religious policy as an element of public policy; religious policy in institutional and systemic dimension; state models in relation to religious matters; decision-making process in relation to religious policy; specific mechanisms in the area of religious policy; religious policy in the international environment; religious policy in regional and local realities; the role of interest groups in the creation of religious policy; the importance of scientific and expert recommendations in the creation of religious policy; religious policy in relation to religious and faith minorities; religious policy: detailed exemplifications.

The papers delivered during the conference were followed by discussions and unusual arrangements that were made among the participants. Well, the topic proved to be so important that it was decided to resign from issuing one volume containing articles and instead continue research in the area of religious policy in formed small, two-person and three-person teams. This was the birth of an unusual research project in the history of Polish politology of religion, led by Stefan Dudra, Piotr Pochyły and Ryszard Michalak. It resulted in seven monographs published at the turn of 2018 and 2019 by 19 authors. Some of the speakers, who did not start working on the books as authors, accepted the task of consultants and insightful reviewers. They were in this group: Olgierd Kiec, Paweł Leszczyński, Michał Gierycz, Rafał Prostack, Adam Jarosz (UZ). Four books were published by "Morpho" in the "Politology of Religion" series, one in the newly created "Politology of Religion" series of the Publishing House of the University of Zielona Góra, one was published by the Ignatianum Academy Publishing House in Cracow and one by the Academic Bookstore in Cracow. These are the following monographs: 1) Radosław Zenderowski, Ryszard Michalak, *Religious Policy. Theoretical Aspects and Exemplifications*⁷⁹, 2) Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Robert T. Ptaszek, Łukasz Młyńczyk, *Religious Policy. Perspective of the European Union*⁸⁰, 3) Stefan Dudra, Renata Król-Mazur, Dorota Maj, *Religious Policy. East-*

79 See: Radosław Zenderowski, Ryszard Michalak, *Polityka wyznaniowa. Aspekty teoretyczne i egzemplifikacje*, series: „Politologia religii” [Vol. 5], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2018.

80 See: Piotr Mazurkiewicz, Robert T. Ptaszek, Łukasz Młyńczyk, *Polityka wyznaniowa. Perspektywa Unii Europejskiej*, series: „Politologia religii” [Vol. 6], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2018.

*ern and ecumenical ecclesial perspective*⁸¹, 4) Wioletta Husar-Poliszuk, Bartłomiej Secler, Piotr S. Ślusarczyk, *Religious Policy. Contexts of other public policies. Austria, Catalonia, Poland*⁸², 5) Anna Ratke-Majewska, Waldemar Rogowski, *Catholic Church against authoritarianism and integrationism. The case of Spain, Chile and the Brotherhood of St. Pius X*⁸³, 6) Dariusz Góra, Krzysztof Łabędź, Piotr Pochyły, *Religious Policy. Perspective of the Third Republic of Poland*⁸⁴, 7) Małgorzata Świder, Sylwia Góra, Beata Springer (UZ), *Muslims and Islam in Germany - political, legal and cultural perspective*⁸⁵. The first four monographs, similarly to the previous volumes in the series "Politology of Religion", are available in electronic form on the website: <http://www.ip.uz.zgora.pl/index.php/politologia-religii>. Research has shown that religious politics is primarily a detailed type of public policy of the state, which is focused on the activity of religious organisations (religious associations), i.e. communities whose aim is to profess and spread religious faith, having their own system, doctrine and cult. The religious policy consists of activities of a conceptual, programmatic, operational and executive nature, carried out by specialist entities of state authority in relation to religious entities. In the conditions of a democratic state, these are administrative entities (independent, e.g. in the form of an office or a ministry, or forming part of a wider structure, e.g. a department within a ministry) and special services (e.g. monitoring the activities of religious fundamentalists or destructive sects). In authoritarian and totalitarian states, the entity implementing religious policy may be more complex (e.g., apart from state structures, party structures have a decision-making status, and expanded special services also play a greater role). In both variants - democratic and undemocratic - religious policy is usually closely related to national policy.

Religious policy is conditioned by a number of factors, among which one can distinguish: internal (e.g. specificity and religious structure of the state; political system and system of the state; legal and systemic model of the state; ideology dominating in the state; pragmatics of political struggle) and external (e.g. character of religious policy occurring in the international environment; geopolitical conditions; international legal norms in which the state participates; considerations of state security). Among the varieties of religious policy

81 See: Stefan Dudra, Renata Król-Mazur, Dorota Maj, *Polityka wyznaniowa. Wschodnia i ekumeniczna perspektywa eklezjalna*, series: „Politologia religii” [Vol. 7], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2018.

82 See: Wioletta Husar-Poliszuk, Bartłomiej Secler, Piotr S. Ślusarczyk, *Polityka wyznaniowa. Konteksty innych polityk publicznych. Austria, Katalonia, Polska*, series: „Politologia religii” [Vol. 8], Pracownia Badań nad Mniejszościami Narodowymi i Etnicznymi – Instytut Politologii – Uniwersytet Zielonogórski & Morpho, Zielona Góra, 2018.

83 See: Anna Ratke-Majewska, Waldemar Rogowski, *Kościół katolicki wobec autorytaryzmu i integrizmu. Przypadek Hiszpanii, Chile i Bractwa św. Piusa X*, series: „Politologia Religii”, Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, Zielona Góra, 2019.

84 See: Dariusz Góra, Krzysztof Łabędź, Piotr Pochyły, *Polityka wyznaniowa. Perspektywa III RP*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, Kraków, 2019.

85 See: Małgorzata Świder, Sylwia Góra, Beata Springer, *Muzułmanie i islam w Niemczech – perspektywa polityczna, prawna i kulturowa*, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków, 2019.

one can distinguish: full concession policy (practically unlimited and minimally controlled activity of religious associations), regulatory policy (means a concession for the basic activity - aimed at the faithful of their own community - and permission for limited missionary possibilities), liquidation policy (manifests itself among others through repressive actions - such as arrests, deportations -, unfavorable administrative decisions - such as prohibitions, refused applications -creating inter-faith and intra-denominational conflicts). The religious policy may also concern entities other than the state - e.g. in conditions of religious pluralism a given religious association may create its own religious policy towards other religious associations, e.g. by entering into coalitions and alliances with one religious organisation and/or by running a competition with others. In the specific conditions of the state theocracy, the policies of the state and the dominant religious association are convergent in practice.

At the same time, the environment of political scientists from Zielona Góra announced the continuation of in-depth research in the area of religious policy. This was the reason for the Łagów conference to be held every 2 years and to set the next meeting for 2020. As early as in 2019, in one of the most recognized Polish scientific publishers "Scholar", a monograph by Stefan Dudra entitled *Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the field of religious policy and national policy of the People's Republic of Poland and the Third Republic of Poland*⁸⁶ was published. In a review by Prof. Grzegorz Rydlewski (UW), the work is an example of a "cognitively and analytically valuable comprehensive approach to the title issue". The announcement of research on religious policy in the field of politology of religion was also made by researchers from other centres. Also from outside the "project of seven monographs". An example is the research of Rafał Prostack from UEK, who successfully researches the concepts of religious policy of Baptists in the 17th century. This is at the same time another stage of retrospective political studies⁸⁷.

The Polish politology of religion is naturally also the active participation of Polish researchers in numerous foreign conferences, which cannot be listed here. Unfortunately, due to the Covid-19 pandemic, all such activity was stopped in mid-March 2020. Shortly afterwards, national conferences were also cancelled. Very soon it turned out that this dramatic event is also not far from the politology of religion. When countries' anti-epidemic activities began to include restrictions on participation in masses, services and other religious meetings, the problem became political. At the turn of March and April 2020, a team of employees of the Department of International Relations at the INPA UZ (Stefan Dudra, Ryszard Michalak, Piotr Pochyły), began research to establish the relationship between

86 See: Stefan Dudra, *Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny w obszarze polityki wyznaniowej oraz polityki narodowościowej Polski Ludowej i III Rzeczypospolitej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, Warszawa, 2019.

87 See: Rafał Prostack, *Credobaptism and religious policy. Separation of church and state, freedom of religion, and religious tolerance in the writings of the early Baptists*, *Christianity – World – Politics*, No. 24, 2020, pp. 214-228. See more in: *Ogród murem oddzielony od pustyni. Relacje państwo – Kościół, wolność sumienia i tolerancja religijna w myśli pierwszych baptystów*.

religious doctrines and the behavior of leaders and believers of individual religious associations in the face of restrictions introduced during outbreaks of infectious diseases. The key issue is to determine the level of firmness of a given doctrine and its susceptibility to adaptation or maladjustment to the challenges of epidemics. Another research problem is to find religious justifications for covidonegationism, an attitude that is very popular in far right circles.

The achievements of the Polish politology of religion

When assessing the successes of the Polish politology of religion, the most important thing is the continuing trend towards development. As shown in the article, successive congresses of religious studies and political science have noted an increase in interest in the research of relations between religion and politics. This has translated into a growing number of publications. In conditions of sharpened review criteria, these are usually very good studies - published in recognized journals and publications. There is no shortage of those whose authors not only boldly situate their research in the area of politology of religion, but also bring new theoretical proposals to it. The most recent studies of this kind include, for example, the books: *The Conference of European Churches towards European Integration* by Dorota Maj, *The Contemporary Assyrian-Aramaic Diaspora in Sweden*⁸⁸ by Marta Woźniak-Bobińska (UŁ) and *Between Sacrum and Profanum. The role of the religious factor in conflict resolution and peace building* Joanna Kulska⁸⁹, or articles: Paulina Napierała in "Humanities and Social Sciences Review"⁹⁰, Anna Solarz in "Stosunki Międzynarodowe"⁹¹ or Mariusz Sulkowski in "Review of Nationalities"⁹². The most capacious definition of the politology of religion also includes interdisciplinary and multimethodological works, such as *The Political Islam* of Anna Zasuń⁹³ or *John Paul II in the face of Islam's presence in the European Union. Contexts of politology of religion* by Sylwia Górzna [Góra]⁹⁴.

88 See: Marta Woźniak-Bobińska, *Współczesna diaspora asyryjsko-aramejska w Szwecji*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź, 2018.

89 See: Joanna Kulska, *Między sacrum i profanum. Rola czynnika religijnego w rozwiązywaniu konfliktów i budowaniu pokoju*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole, 2019.

90 See: Paulina Napierała, Analyzing the influence of the American Religious Right on U.S. foreign policy and international relations: theoretical, methodological and empirical approach, *Humanities and Social Sciences Review*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2018, pp. 179–222.

91 See: Anna M. Solarz, Jakie znaczenie ma religia? Religia w badaniu stosunków międzynarodowych, *Stosunki Międzynarodowe – International Relations*, No. 4(53), 2017, pp. 9–35. This article was followed by in-depth studies with the participation of several researchers. The result is a book: *Wprowadzenie do polityki zagranicznej muzułmańskich państw Bliskiego Wschodu i Afryki Północnej*, Anna M. Solarz, Marta Woźniak-Bobińska (eds.), Warszawa, 2018.

92 See: Mariusz Sulkowski, Secular Republic and the Old Order – Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Turkish identity, *Przegląd Narodowościowy – Review of Nationalities*, Vol. 9, 2019, pp. 175–187.

93 See: Anna Zasuń, *Polityczny islam. Między religią polityczną a instrumentalizacją religii w polityce*, Wydawnictwo Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie, Częstochowa, 2018.

94 See: Sylwia Górzna [Góra], *Jan Paweł II wobec obecności islamu w Unii Europejskiej. Konteksty politologii religii*, Wydawnictwo Akademii Pomorskiej w Słupsku, Słupsk 2018.

It is worth emphasizing that successive generations of researchers are often alumni of the participants of the 1998-1999 Cracow conferences. The source centre - the Institute of Religion Studies of the Jagiellonian University - maintains its care for the politology of religion, which is visible in the publications of its employees, the profile of the "Studia Religiologica" magazine, in the themes of student conferences and in the didactic process. Over the past two decades, the reception of the politology of religion on the basis of the sciences of politics has followed. Centres in Warsaw (UKSW, UW), Lublin (UMCS), Zielona Góra (UZ) or Opole (UO) can boast the creation of permanent research teams, which are constantly joined by young students of science. This picture is complemented by the successes of individual researchers from other centres, for whom conferences are not only a forum for presenting their own achievements, but also an opportunity to join intercollegiate projects. Finally, a great value is the cooperation of people who see the need to promote research in the field of politology of religion. Unveiling a little behind the scenes of e.g. theoretical-methodological conferences at UKSW, it should be stressed that they are preceded by extensive consultations of the main organizers with partners.

The servant/supporting role of the politology of religion in relation to other disciplines of science should also be defined as a success. The representatives of the latter, using their own methodology, more and more often make use of the results of investigations of political scientists and religiologists. In such a situation there are, for example, researchers of legal sciences, and specifically religious law. When studying, for example, the religious law of the People's Republic of Poland, one cannot ignore its correlation with the religious policy explored from the position of the politology of religion. This awareness accompanies most of the authors publishing in the "Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego" (Studies of Religious Law) - journals of the Faculty of Law, Canon Law and Administration of the Catholic University of Lublin. The same applies to the studies on Islam and its political forms, which is book by Mirosław Sadowski's (UWR) thesis entitled *Islam. Religion and law*⁹⁵ and the achievements of The Centre of Oriental Law Research, which is run by this professor. The leading centers are also: the Department of Church and Religious Law UJ⁹⁶ (Head of the Department: Zdzisław Zarzycki) and the Department of Religious Law UW⁹⁷ (Head of the Department: Wojciech Brzozowski). A special role in exposing the advantages of the politology of religion in legal research falls to those researchers who combine workshops on politics and legal

95 See: Mirosław Sadowski, *Islam. Religia i prawo*, Wolters Kluwer Polska, Warszawa, 2017; Ryszard Michalak, Totalitarny islamizm czy totalny islam? Irracjonalny lęk czy uzasadniony strach? Mirosława Sadowskiego integralna i kontekstowa analiza szariatu, *Studia nad Autorytaryzmem i Totalitaryzmem*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2019, pp. 201-213.

96 See: Zdzisław Zarzycki, Katedra Prawa Kościelnego i Wyznaniowego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w latach 1945-2003, *Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego*, Vol. 7, 2004, pp. 37-61.

97 The founder of the Department is Prof. Michał Pietrzak, author of, among others, the book *Religious Law (1978-2013)*.

sciences. This is exemplified by studies on religious law and politics conducted by Katarzyna Krzysztofek (UJ)⁹⁸ and Beata Springer⁹⁹, or by studies on models of relations between the state and religious associations conducted by Paweł Leszczyński¹⁰⁰. It is also important to stress the openness of representatives of other disciplines to the perspective of religious politics during their conferences. An example is the prestigious, cyclical cultural studies conference “Culture and method. Culture and Religion”, organized by Robert T. Ptaszek, head of the Chair of Religion Dialogue and Alternative Religion Movements at the Catholic University of Lublin, which created an opportunity to present - in the form of a paper and then to publish - the issue of the religious factor in its political contexts¹⁰¹.

Finally, there's one more thing you need to highlight. During more than twenty-five years of the process of conceptualization and crystallization of the research area, confronting the positions and paradigms of Polish researchers in relation to national and international research, it can be stated that nowadays the Polish politology of religion fills practically all detailed research fields commonly indicated as components of sub-disciplines. It also brings new elements, e.g. related to its own specificity. Thus, the achievements of the Polish politology of religion consist of:

1) studies in the field of religion teaching, which has a direct political content and message of the religious legitimacy of power; religious justification of authority and social/political leadership; religious explanations/justifications of political processes; religious justification of the existing political order; religious visions of political order; justification of theocracy and primacy of religious law over secular law; the principle of symphony (synergy, symbiosis); religious justification of political activity; the question of the politicisation of religion and religious politics; the phenomenon of political theology; politics as an expression or consequence of religiousness;

2) research in relation to functional or destructive influence (direct and indirect) of a religious factor in the political sphere – e.g.: religion and the issue of war and peace; religious conflict transformed into political conflict or vice versa – religion as a factor mitigating / resolving another conflict; socially integrating role of religion; socially disintegrating role of religion; processes of transforming religious fundamentalisms into political expressions; religious movements creating ideologies; ethnofilethism; religious dimension of

98 See: Katarzyna Krzysztofek, *Położenie prawne i działalność nierzymskokatolickich Kościołów i związków wyznaniowych w Krakowie w latach 1945-1970*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków, 2018.

99 See: Małgorzata Świder, Sylwia Góra, Beata Springer. . . chapter V: „Kulturowa tożsamość landu”. *Prochrześcijańska ofensywa Administracji Bawarii*, pp. 97-132.

100 See: P. A. Leszczyński, O nową klasyfikację modeli relacji między państwem a związkami wyznaniowymi, *Przegląd Prawa Publicznego*, No. 7-8 (53-54), 2011, pp. 44-54.

101 See: Ryszard Michalak, Czynniki religijny w procesie kształtowania nowego wymiaru nordyckiej wspólnoty kulturowej, *Roczniki Kulturoznawcze*, Vol. 8, No. 4, 2017, pp. 7-43.

political transformations; relations between religion and democracy – in the dimension of national states, in the dimension of individual civilization circles and under the conditions of crossing territorial and national borders by religions; a religious factor as a determinant of specific state policies;

3) studies on religious terrorism and extremism and their social and cultural background – e.g. relations between religious extremism and religious terrorism; classification of religious terrorism/extremism among other types of terrorism/extremism and comparisons of terrorism/extremism; classification and comparisons of religious terrorisms/extremisms; Islamic terrorism/extremism – logistics and social facilities; Hindu and communalist terrorism/extremism; Sikh terrorism/extremism; Judaistic terrorism/extremism; the so-called Judeo-Christian anti-abortion terrorism; paramilitary organizations and religious militias; terror/terrorism state;

4) search for religious behavior and religious practice, which has no direct political content and message, but has direct political consequences – e.g. social and political conflicts as a consequence of building / limiting the construction of sacred buildings, the presence of religious symbols in public space, place of religion in the public sphere, participation of politicians in religious ceremonies;

5) explaining the attitudes of political actors towards religious and religious organizations – for example, the state's religious policy; religious policy of the European Union; positions of the state authority apparatus, political parties, ideological and political groups, pressure groups on religion and religious organizations; open or veiled implementation of religious and philosophical-religious content and principles in the political sphere; the question of the institutionalization of dialogue in relations between state authorities and religious organizations;

6) researching the relations between religious subjects when these relate to political matters – for example, relations that make religious organizations and religious organizations de facto political actors;

7) inquiring about theoretical categories, phenomena and matters remaining in the circle of independent (and differently perceived) interests of the world of religion and the world of politics – e.g. political and religious interpretations of truth, loyalty, freedom, upbringing, good and evil; determinants of emotionality in people's behavior; the issue of human development; issues of secularization, privatization and deprivatization of religion; the question of religious and political ritualism; theodicies and anomies; religious and political conditions for cultural change in international relations;

8) studies of what is apparently within the limits of a secular society, which has no religious motivations but has religious consequences – e.g. the phenomenon of nationalism becoming similar to religion; ethnic mythology;

national iconography; racist mythology; the phenomenon of “sacralization” of Marxism-Leninism, e.g. quasi-religious meaning of values; tradition for political entities; the phenomenon of deification of political leaders within the individual cult; political missionism and messianism; civic religion; religious transformations as a result of economic migration or political refugees;

9) research on religious sources of shaping collective memory – e.g. religious narratives about the past; religious communities of memory; influence of religiously conditioned memory policy on political decisions; religions and religious communities towards contemporary historical debates; functions, goals and strategies of religiously conditioned memory policies; religious determinism in the processes of shaping collective identity;

10) studies on the theory of politology of religion – e.g.: politicalization of religious narration; conceptualization of key notions describing matters related to religious and political factors conjunctions, especially those that are commonly used but not in accordance with the essence of the described phenomenon, e.g.: the term “Islamophobia” is commonly transferred from the world of medicine – where, while remaining in the depository of psychiatrists, it acts as a description of a particular anxiety disorder – to the social sciences and humanities, where in fact, the analyzed phenomenon is “Islamoscpticism” (a critical attitude towards Islam or any element characteristic of this religion or any phenomenon generated by it, e.g., ideology, social movement, political party, which results from rational reflection and skeptic doubts about the possibility of achieving a state of permanent and harmonious co-existence of Muslims with non-Muslims, due to the axiological contradictions existing between them).

Post Scriptum (my politology of religion)

I have been doing research in the field of politology of religion for over twenty years. The event that determined my scientific path was the conference entitled “Religions and Churches and Power and Political Ideas. History and present day” at the Jagiellonian University in 1999. The meeting with Professor Bogumił Grott (including the chance to speak among eminent scientists) instilled in me the conviction of the validity of exploring the relationship between religion and politics based on the tools of many scientific disciplines. I am fortunate and honoured to be able to maintain until today an email correspondence with the precursor of the politology of religion in Poland. At the same conference I also met Professor Kazimierz Urban. Until Professor’s death in 2007, we met several times - during the conference and archival queries. We also exchanged several traditionally written and sent letters. It was primarily thanks to these scholars that I managed to find my place in science and to see many processes and interactions between the worlds of religion

and politics.

Another of my personal assets connected with the politology of religion is my work in the Zielona Góra centre, where I came to work in 1997. I went to the conference in Cracow with a colleague from the Institute of Political Science, today its professor, Jarosław Macała - a researcher of the idea of "Catholic Poland" and an expert on religious issues in its connection with geopolitics. We first talked about religious politics in Cracow in 1999. Together with satisfaction we observed its development in the following years, being participants of most of the conferences and congresses mentioned in the article. In the first decade of the 20th century, the Institute was joined by Professors Olgierd Kiec (researcher of, among others, Protestantism, religious politics and politics of memory) and Stefan Dudra (researcher of, among others, Orthodoxy, religious politics and national politics). This is how the comfortable circumstance of holding talks about the politology of religion was created on a daily basis, and not only during conferences. Stefan Dudra soon created the Unit for Research on National and Ethnic Minorities and the scientific journal "Review of Nationalities". Today, these are the forums for international scientific discussion. Participation in the permanent exchange of ideas allowed our team to develop their own concepts and understanding of the politology of religion. We have constantly and mutually inspired our research. Over the years, we have been joined by other researchers, mainly alumni, graduates of the political science of Zielona Góra. Some of them took up studies in the field of politology of religion on the occasion of other research, while others, like Dr Piotr Pochyły, made it a goal in itself. The opportunity to work in a wide team on a daily basis is a great asset. However, my politology of religion also means long telephone conversations with Waldemar Rogowski, Michał Gierycz, Mariusz Sulkowski, Piotr Ślusarczyk, Jan Wójcik, Rafał Proszak, Renata Król-Mazur, Piotr Furmański, Krzysztof Kowalczyk, Paweł Leszczyński, Sylwia Góra, Dariusz Góra, Dorota Maj and Marcin Pomarański. Without these Persons, there would not be my politology of religion. It is not a triviality, a scientific whim or an ephemeral. My politology of religion is more than twenty years of contact with sources, books and, above all, with People. It all started in Cracow. Even this text was written with the help of the participants of the "founding conferences" - Professor Rafał Łętocha and Professor Jarosław Tomaszewicz.

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ИСТОРИЈА ПОЛИТИКОЛОГИЈЕ РЕЛИГИЈЕ У ПОЉСКОЈ. ИСТРАЖИВАЧКИ ПРЕГЛЕД

Сажетак

Циљ овог чланка је да покаже услове у којима се родила и развила дисциплина политикологије религије у Пољској. Анализа укључује информације о истраживачима, истраживачким центрима, публикацијама, као и научним догађајима – конгресима и конференцијама, које су утицале да се политикологија религије развије у Пољској. Поред фактографске анализе, овај чланак нуди и коментаре у вези са доминантним трендовима и тенденцијама у истраживању. Поред тога, чланак се бави и објашњавањем политикологије религије и њеним дефинисањем.

Кључне речи: политикологија религије, политичка наука и религија, религија и политика, студије религије, социологија религије, Пољска

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