Stefan Dudra / Tytus Jaskułowski /
Ryszard Michalak (eds.)

Religious policy

Between theory and practice

V&R



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PREFACE

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Stefan Dudra, Tytus Jaskułowski, Ryszard Michalak

Religious Policy. Between Theory and Practice

The aim of the book is to analyze the phenomenon of religious policy, understood primarily as a detailed type of state public policy. The deliberations consist of chapters that deal with theoretical issues as well as case studies focused on specific examples. The paper was written in the Zielona Góra center, among Polish researchers of religious policy, hence the dominant Polish perspective on research and exemplification is noticeable. However, there are also other references, including those to German issues. Moreover, one of the chapters shows the active religious policy of religious entities.

The theoretical part includes reflections on the following issues: studies on religious policy as a component of research in the field of religious political science (Ryszard Michalak, Piotr Pochyły), methodological problems of research on religions and beliefs as a factor hindering the creation of religious policy (Dorota Szaban), the conditions of the current governmental religious administration in Poland (Beata Springer) and the search for regularities in the relationship between religious policy and geopolitics (Jarosław Macała).

The practice of religious policy, however, includes the following issues: the activity of the Orthodox Patriarchates of Moscow and Constantinople in Estonia (Stefan Dudra), the policy of the Polish People's Republic towards the Polish pastoral care of the Roman Catholic Church in Germany (Bernadetta Nitschke-Szram), the influence of political parties on the religious policy of Germany (Aleksandra Kruk), Catalonia's religious policy as an instrument in the independence process (Wioletta Husar-Poliszuk), the religious policy in relation to the policy of remembrance based on the casus of Roman Catholicism in Poland (Anna Ratke-Majewska) and the continuation and turns in the religious policy of the Polish state towards Evangelical Churches in the 20thand 21st centuries (Olgierd Kiec).

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THEORY

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Ryszard Michalak, Piotr Pochyły

Religious Policy as a Subject of Research on the Political Science of Religion (Politology of Religion) in the Polish Perspective

For years, the studies on *religious policy (confessional policy)* have been the domain of representatives of the legal sciences, who have studied its nature in relation to subjective religious law. Most often in contextual research they also appeared in the works of historians, who sought to explain wider phenomena in the analysis of state-religious relations. Such a tendency concerned both world and Polish science. In Poland, following the Soviet model, additionally, religious policy as a subject of research attracted the attention of philosophers and religious experts in the 1970s of the twentieth century, who closely associated conceptualization in its area with Marxist ideological determinants, as a result of which this work is often perceived as a service in the face of the then absolutely binding ideological monism.

Relatively recently, religious policy has become an area of growing interest for researchers representing political sciences. Representatives of *political science of religion (politology of religion)* have played a special role in this respect[1]. 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 Lviv[2].

1 Bogumił Grott (ed.): *Religia i polityka,* Kraków 2000; Maria Marczewska-Rytko: *Religia i polityka w globalizującym się świecie,* Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2010, eadem (ed.): *Czynnik religijny w polityce wewnątrzpaństwowej i międzynarodowej na przełomie drugiego i trzeciego tysiąclecia,* Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2016; Piotr Burgoński/Michał Gierycz (eds.): *Religia i polityka. Zarys problematyki*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 19–24; Ryszard Michalak (ed.): *Religijne determinanty polityki*, Zielona Góra 2014, pp. 5–11; Dariusz Góra-Szopiński: *Czym może, a czym nie powinna być politologia religii?*, in: Ryszard Michalak (ed.): *Polityka jako wyraz lub następstwo religijności*, Zielona Góra 2015, pp. 13–31; Maria Marczewska-Rytko: *Politologia religii jako subdyscyplina religioznawstwa i/lub nauk o polityce*, in: Maria Marczewska-Rytko/Dorota Maj (eds.), *Politologia religii*, Lublin 2018, pp. 17–33; Ryszard Michalak: *The history of politology of religion in Poland. A research overview*, in: Politics and Religion Journal Vol. 14, No. 2 (2020), pp. 219–262.

2 Bogumił Grott: *Profesor Leon Halban jako badacz neopogaństwa niemieckiego i prekursor politologii religii w Polsce (w czterdziestą piątą rocznicę zgonu)*, https://konserwatyzm.pl/profesor-leon-halban-jako-badacz-neopoganstwa-niemieckiego-i-prekursor-politologii-religii-w-polsce-w-czterdziesta-piata-rocznice-zgonu/ [last *accessed* 27.07.2020]; Bogumił Grott/Olgierd Grott (eds.): *Przedchrześcijańskie korzenie nazizmu czyli dusza niemiecka w świetle filozofii i religioznawstwa*,

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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 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].

Today, in the most popular and commonly used interpretation – initially formulated by religiologists, and with time also 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

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Radzymin 2018; Ryszard Polak, *Kościół katolicki i neopogaństwo niemieckie w myśli Leona Halbana*, Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis No 3933: "Studia nad Autorytaryzmem i Totalitaryzmem" 41, nr 3, Wrocław 2019, pp. 109–125.

3 Leon Halban: *Religia w III Rzeszy*, Lwów 1936; idem, *Mistyczne podstawy narodowego socjalizmu*, Lublin 1946.

4 Bogumił Grott: *Religia, Kościół, etyka w ideach i koncepcjach prawicy polskiej*, Kraków 1993, pp. 7–8.

5 Ibid.

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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).

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.

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. The politics of religion in the narrower sense is in turn political research on religion based on the paradigm of the function of the political factor in religion.[6]

The most important research issues in the field of political science of religion include as follows:

6 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: idem, *Politologia religii*, in: Joanna Marszałek-Kawa/Danuta Plecka (eds.): *Leksykon wiedzy politologicznej*, Toruń 2018, pp. 344–348. See also: Kazimierz Banek: *Politologia religii jako dziedzina badań religioznawczych, in: Przegląd Religioznawczy* 3–4 (1999), pp. 77–82; Miljorub Jevtić: *Political Science and Religion*, in: Politics and Religion Journal Vol. 1, No. 1 (2007), pp. 59–69; Bogumił Grott/Olgierd Grott (eds.): *Wiedza religioznawcza w badaniach politologicznych,* Warszawa 2015, p. 7; Steven Kettell: *Do We Need a "Political Science of Religion"?*, in: Political Studies Review, Vol 14, issue 2 (2016), pp. 210–222; Piotr Mazurkiewicz: *What Should a Political Scientist Know About Religion?*, in: Chrześcijaństwo – Świat – Polityka 23 (2019), pp. 11–30; Maciej Potz: Perspektywy *badawcze politologii religii*, in: Studia Religiologica 52/4 (2019), pp. 277–291; idem: *Political Science of Religion. Theorising the Political Role of Religion*, Cham (Switzerland) 2020.

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a. 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;
b. 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; ethnophylethism; religious dimension of 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;
c. 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;
d. 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;
e. explaining the attitudes of political actors towards religion 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;

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f. 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;
g. 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;
h. 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; quasi-religious meaning of values, e.g. 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;
i. 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; the attitude of 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;
j. studies on the theory of political science of religions – 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[7].

The greatest contribution to the development of Polish research in relation to religious policy was made by Professor Kazimierz Urban[8]. The latest achievements

7 Ryszard Michalak: *Political science of religion*, in: Joanna Marszałek-Kawa/Danuta Plecka (eds.), *The Dictionary of Political Knowledge*, Toruń 2019, pp. 364–368.

8 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* (ed. Czesław Bywalec), Kraków 2012.

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