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## **The Church and Politics. Research on Polish National Security**

### Abstract

The article deals with the issue of the relationship between the Church and politics, honing in on specific elements of Polish thinking concerning the security of the Polish nation, namely the contribution of Christian thought, the Church's concern for independence and the sovereignty of Poland. In Poland, attempts to ring-fence the spheres of religion and politics, on the grounds of being at opposite poles, prove a threat to national security. The Church from the beginning of the Polish state has participated in the processes of creating national security, especially in the ideological aspect, by shaping national identity, patriotic attitudes, promoting national history and systematic encouragement to engage for the common good.

**Keywords:** national security of Poland, Church, politics, national identity of Poles, patriotism

## **Introduction**

The aim of this article is to consider the relationship between the Church and politics in order to pinpoint one element peculiar to Polish thinking about creating Polish national security. This element takes into account Christian heritage and Christian identity, which continuously utilizes the power of the individual and the nation allowing the ethical and effective creation of a secure Polish nation. The source material analyzed in this study contains statements by specialists in the field of national security of Poland, politicians, philosophers and representatives of the Catholic social sciences. The document belongs to the area of research characteristic for security sciences and political science. The first part of the study presents the specificity of the Polish thinking about the Church, politics and creating national security. The second part dedicated to the analyses of statements by politicians, analyses the relationship between creating national security of Poland and the politics of national identity. The starting point for the third part is philosophers' statements about contemporary dilemmas of political life and then goes on to indicate the processes needed for creating national security for Poland and Polish citizens.

### **Specificity of the Polish thinking of the Church, politics and creating national security**

In the group of scholars gathered around Józef Marczak dealing with national security of Poland, there is a strong conviction that Christianity perceived integrally with the doctrine and organization of the Catholic Church not only influenced the founding of the Polish state, but is also one of

its main elements in creating security in its different dimensions. Over a thousand years of Polish history consists of not only expanding Western civilization (Prussia, Lithuania), but also defense against aggression. In the course of this defense, Poland, on the one hand suffered great material and human losses, but on the other hand, strengthened its national identity in which Catholicism is one of the main determinants.<sup>1</sup> These statements correspond with the thought of the President of the Republic of Poland, Andrzej Duda, expressed during the celebration of the 1050th anniversary of the baptism of Poland: "Tradition has it that the baptism of the ruler of the Polan people most likely took place on the Holy Saturday of 14 April 966. And it was already at that point that Poland was born. From the baptismal waters it emerged for a new Christian life. It was born for the world, emerging from the prehistoric era and entering the arena of European history. It was also born for its own sake: as a national and political community, since the adoption of the Latin rite at baptism defined our Polish identity. From that time on, we started thinking and speaking of ourselves as «we, the Poles»."<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Marczak, R. Jakubczak, A. Skrabacz, K. Gąsiorek, K. Przeworski, *Doświadczenia organizacji bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski od X do XX wieku. Wnioski dla Polski w XXI wieku*, Wydawnictwo AON, Warszawa 2013, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)* [The Proclamation of the President of the Republic of Poland on the Occasion of the Celebration of the 1050th Anniversary of the Baptism of Poland], Polish text: <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/wysztapienia/art,37,oredzie-prezydenta-rp-przed-zgromadzeniem-narodowym-z-okazji-jubileuszu-1050-lecia-chrztu-polski-pleng.html> official translation into English: <http://www.president.pl/en/news/art,143,-national-assembly-session--on-the-occasion-of-the-celebration-of-the-1050th-anniversary-of-the-baptism-of-poland.html> [access 10 December 2017].

permanent connection of the Church and politics and the mutual influence of these two entities and forces needs to be included among the considerations of Polish thinking about security.

Polish thinking about creating national security, the Church and politics is certainly influenced by world and especially European, narrative about these issues. What is also important is the internal, homegrown reflection. This, in turn, is created essentially by specialists in the field of Catholic social science, theologues and the opinion-forming environments, such as, for example, the environment gathered in Warsaw around the magazine entitled "Teologia Polityczna" ["Political Theology"]. For most Poles, it is downright obvious that the activity and teaching of John Paul II, and especially his words directed to his own nation, the "intervention" in political affairs which contributed to the fall of communism, constantly deserve credit, and have even a timeless value. Also the thought of the Pope concerning the processes of creating security both national and international is highly valued in the Polish academic community.<sup>3</sup> The fundamentals of the relationship between the Church and politics refers not only its systematic analysis<sup>4</sup>, but also the message of Catholic intellectuals concerning the indispensable engagement

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Chrześcijaństwo i bezpieczeństwo. Znaczenie Jana Pawła II w dyskursie polemologiczno-irenologicznym*, ed. T. Kośmider, K. Gąsiorek, C. Smuniewski, Instytut Papieża Jana Pawła II, Warszawa 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Ile Kościoła w polityce, ile polityki w Kościele*, ed. P. Burgoński, S. Sowiński, Księgarnia św. Jacka, Katowice 2009; *Obecność Kościoła katolickiego w sferze publicznej demokratycznego państwa prawa. Przykład współczesnej Polski*, ed. S. Sowiński, Instytut Politologii UKSW, Warszawa 2013; *Religia i polityka, Zarys problematyki*, ed. P. Burgoński, M. Gierycz, Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa, Warszawa 2014.

of Catholics in social and state activity.<sup>5</sup> The Church, as no other entity in Poland, is engaged in the promotion of patriotic attitudes symbolized by clergymen: Rev. Piotr Skarga, Rev. Ignacy Jan Skorupka, Fr. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe, Card. Stefan Wyszyński, Card. Karol Wojtyła / John Paul II, Rev. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Notably, Polish patriotism, the basis of creating security processes, has been shaped by Catholic thinkers.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Zięba, *Dylematy chrześcijańskiego polityka*, „Chrześcijaństwo – Świat – Polityka” 2 (11) 2010, pp. 8-17; P. Mazurkiewicz, *Wyzwania jaki stoją przed chrześcijaninem biorącym udział w polityce*, „Chrześcijaństwo – Świat – Polityka” 2 (11) 2010, pp. 27-32.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. D. Adamczyk, *Miłość Ojczyzny w perspektywie chrześcijańskiego powołania do świętości*, „Studia Pastoralne” 2009, no 5, pp. 234-249; I. Celary, *Wychowanie patriotyczne w rodzinie chrześcijańskiej*, „Perspectiva. Legnickie Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne” 2010, no 1 (16), pp. 5-18; K. Chałas, S. Kowalczyk, *Wychowanie ku wartościom narodowo-patriotycznym. Elementy teorii i praktyki*, v. II, *Jedność*, Lublin – Kielce 2006; B. Drożdż, *Spółeczna cnota patriotyzmu – między nacjonalizmem a kosmopolityzmem*, w: *Jan Paweł II nauczycielem patriotyzmu*, ed. A. Bałabuch, Wyższe Seminarium Duchowne Diecezji Świdnickiej i Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, Świdnica 2008, pp. 159-167; A. Garbarz, *Patriotyzm jako zadanie formacji narodu w ujęciu arcybiskupa Ignacego Tokarczuka*, in: *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, ed. W. Janiga, Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl-Rzeszów 2006, pp. 227-254; T. Głuszak, *Kochać Boga i Ojczyznę*, „Przewodnik Katolicki” 2013, no 17, pp. 19-21; *Oblicza patriotyzmu. Rozprawy i szkice*, ed. H. Kiereś, Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej, Toruń 2007; G. Kobiela, *Patriotyzm polski – wychowanie patriotyczne*, „Studia Warmińskie” XLI-XLII (2004-2005), pp. 391-399; P. Przesmycki, *Patriotyzm w nauczaniu Kościoła*, „Annales. Etyka w życiu gospodarczym” 2008, vol. 11, no 2, pp. 195-203; J. Salij, *Patriotyzm dzisiaj*, W drodze, Poznań 2005; C. Smuniewski, *Na drogach krzewienia miłości Ojczyzny. Patriotyzm jako fundament bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, in: *Klasy mundurowe. Od teorii do dobrych praktyk*, ed. A. Skrabacz, I. Urych, L. Kanarski, Wydawnictwo AON, Warszawa 2016, pp. 39-51; C. Smuniewski, *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu. Studium o miłości ojczyzny*

Taking religion into consideration in politics often takes the form of accentuating ethics. This fact places religion in the centre of discussion about political objectives and the ways of achieving them. In this way, religion by strengthening good and lasting political objectives, prevents politics from having effectiveness as its sole objective. Polish experience of the Church's presence in the political sphere, especially after World War II, and then after the fall of communism allows:

- to indicate the value of the existence of an authority competitive towards the state. The existence of such an authority provokes questions about the limits of political power, and so it questions the idea of unlimited power.
- to observe the effects of building a world as if God did not exist. Such a process inevitably leads to recognizing the state as something divine, and service to the state as the highest value which is not subject to any moral norms. In the world without God, moral values do not have an absolute sense – something evil in private life may be considered good in public activity.

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*w oparciu o biblijną i współczesną myśl katolicką*, in: *Bezpieczeństwo jako problem edukacyjny*, ed. A. Pieczywok, K. Loranty, Wydawnictwo AON, Warszawa 2015, pp. 84-103; J. Wagner, *Ojczyzna*, in: *Słownik katolickiej nauki społecznej*, ed. W. Piwowarski, Instytut Wydawniczy „Pax” i Palabra, Warszawa 1993, pp. 117-118; M. Wolicki, *Wychowanie patriotyczne w rodzinie*, w: *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, ed. W. Janiga, Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl – Rzeszów 2006, pp. 421-430; M. Wolicki, *Wychowanie patriotyczne w szkole*, in: *Wychowanie do patriotyzmu*, ed. W. Janiga, Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Przemyskiej, Przemyśl – Rzeszów 2006, pp. 431-438; A. Zellma, *Wychowanie patriotyczne współczesnej młodzieży polskiej w szkolnym nauczaniu religii*, „Studia Warmińskie” XL (2003), pp. 183-197.

- to identify the consequences of omitting in analysis of political life the fact that the nation is in its majority religious, that faith has meaning for people, and the society somehow refers to the Transcendence and authority of the Church (teaching of the Church). What is characteristic for such statements is that they discuss something which does not exist. These actions usually aim at falsifying the image of the nation and the functioning of the state.

### From politics of identity to creating national security of Poland

The connection between the Church and politics, *sacrum* i *profanum*, in the Polish context comes out particularly when thinking about the national identity of Poles.<sup>7</sup> And this is the national identity of Poles that is one of the essential forces influencing the processes of creating national security of Poland. This identity is inseparably linked to Christianity. The connection between Christianity and the processes of creating national security was indicted also by President Andrzej Duda in his speech on the occasion of the 1050th anniversary of the baptism of Poland: “Thanks to Duke Mieszko’s far-sighted decision Christianisation provided a powerful stimulus for Poland’s development. The state gained a

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<sup>7</sup> C. Smuniewski, *Tożsamość – horyzont zagadnień*, w: *Spoleczne uwarunkowania bezpieczeństwa. Wybrane zagadnienia psychologii i socjologii*, p. 1, ed. L. Kanarski, M. Koter, K. Loranty, I. Urych, Wydawnictwo AON, Warszawa 2015, pp. 96-116; C. Smuniewski, *Ku identyfikacji współczesnej drogi miłośnika ojczyzny. Z badań nad tożsamością i patriotyzmem w tworzeniu bezpieczeństwa narodowego Polski*, in: *Powrót do Ojczyzny? Patriotyzm wobec nowych czasów. Kontynuacje i poszukiwania*, ed. C. Smuniewski, P. Sporek, Wydawnictwo Instytutu Nauki o Polityce, Warszawa 2017, pp. 15-46.

stronger basis on which to build its security and sovereignty. Over time it became increasingly modern, more efficiently governed, more internally integrated.”<sup>8</sup> Poland’s identity has been “linked” to Christianity, and more precisely to Catholicism. This clarification seems particularly important when it is noticed that Catholicism gave the Polish nation a “link” with Rome, which incessantly turns out to be a strength for Poles living in the middle of Europe, and at the same time between the East and the West. This “link” with the South gave Poland access not only to a monotheistic religion, but also philosophy, culture, broadly understood heritage of thought, but also technology; it influenced the development of farming, changed everyday life. It undoubtedly had influence on shaping of both state structures and army as well as the way of exercising power and conducting wars. The “link” with the South has constantly allowed to find its place and survive in the clash between the East and the West. Many times, the Polish territory became a bloody arena of this clash.” In our country – as President Lech Kaczyński said – located between the West and the East, the paths of European civilizations crossed for centuries. This brought plenty of benefits and a lot of spiritual wealth”.<sup>9</sup>

Indications of the influence of Christianity on the national identity of Poles, which has turned out to be their strength,

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<sup>8</sup> A. Duda, *Oroędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski* (Poznań, 15 April 2016), op. cit.

<sup>9</sup> L. Kaczyński, *Przemówienie podczas powitania Jego Świątobliwości Ojca Świętego Benedykta XVI w Polsce [The Speech during the Welcome of His Holiness Benedict XVI in Poland]* (Warsaw, Okęcie Airport, 25 May 2006), in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2006, wybór*, ed. K. Janaszek, A. Fijewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 2007, p. 62.



appeared in the statements of many contemporary politicians, among whom the special preference has been given in this study to Polish presidents, beginning with Lech Wałęsa who soon after the election to the office of the President of the Republic of Poland said: "Europe without Christianity would not be itself. Similarly, Poland entering Europe does not want to lose its roots"<sup>10</sup>. The same President during his first foreign visit to Vatican and the Republic of Italy said to Pope John Paul II: "A new Poland is emerging. It wishes to draw strength from its centuries old tradition connected with Christianity and Western civilization".<sup>11</sup> What seems to be a continuation of this statement is the speech given also by Lech Wałęsa during John Paul II's welcome to Poland at the beginning of the pilgrimage in 1991. Then, the President talked also about "novelty", "Europe", "Christianity" and "tradition". The difference is that in that speech, he used the term "national identity". This fragment of Lech Wałęsa's statement reads: "We are creating a new reality. We are heading to Europe, the united Europe. We want good relations with all neighbors. We are building democracy and a healthy economy. However, we will not depart from values which constitute our national identity. We do so with attachment to the Christian faith, to the Catholic faith. From Western achievements we will take what enhances our culture, which contributes

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<sup>10</sup> L. Wałęsa, *Jako pierwszy prezydent wybrany przez cały naród... Przemówienie wygłoszone w Sejmie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na uroczystym posiedzeniu połączonych Izb Sejmu i Senatu (22 December 1990)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, foreword A. Zakrzewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 1995, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> L. Wałęsa, *Ojciec Święty umacniał nasza siłę przetrwania i wiarę w zwycięstwo... Przemówienie podczas oficjalnej wizyty w Watykanie i Republice Włoskiej (5 February 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, op. cit., p. 15.

to the development of man”.<sup>12</sup> While the content of the two above statements, in Vatican and from the welcome of the Pope to Poland, may be determined by the addressee, it is not so in the case of a speech given at the inaugural meeting of the Sejm of the first term Parliament chosen in the first free democratic elections, that is in 1991. President Lech Wałęsa said in this speech: “We know where we are going. Without looking back – let us remember where we come from. It is tradition that gives us identity. It differentiates us from others. It allowed us to survive the years of partitions, occupation and enslavement. When «language and speech were homeland», the Church was our national institution. It was and it has remained. Because Poland grows out of Christianity. Christian values have been inherent in us for centuries. In culture and in everyday life. These are our roots”.<sup>13</sup> The Christian foundation of the national identity of Poles together with the institutional dimension of the Church’s functioning are according to Lech Wałęsa distinguishing features of creating security, independence and sovereignty of Poland. The future of Poland and the way of its presence in Europe was possible based on axiology characteristic for the Christian view of an individual and the world.

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<sup>12</sup> L. Wałęsa, *Klucze ojczyzny są w Twoich rękach.... Przemówienie powitalne Jego Świątobliwości papieża Jana Pawła II przybywającego z czwartą pielgrzymką do Polski (1 June 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, op. cit., pp. 32-33.

<sup>13</sup> L. Wałęsa, *Musimy wspólnie zbudować most by przejść na drugą stronę.... Przemówienie wygłoszone na inauguracyjnym posiedzeniu Sejmu I kadencji, wyłonionego w pierwszych wolnych, demokratycznych wyborach (25 November 1991)*, in: L. Wałęsa, *Wszystko co robię, robię dla Polski*, op. cit., p. 40.

After Lech Wałęsa lost the elections in 1995, Aleksander Kwaśniewski was elected President and held the office for two terms. His statements on the influence of Christianity on Polish national identity are much more restrained. It results from the fact of his declared detachment from religion and communist party origin. Aleksander Kwaśniewski rather indicated the need of current dialogue with the Church than the influence of Christianity on national identity, and hence also the contribution of identity in the processes of creating security. The day he took the office of the President of the Republic of Poland, he said to Polish MPs: "In a democratic state of law all activities should aim at diminishing tensions, diminishing conflicts. I am convinced that a great role for the agreement should be played by the relationship of the state and its structures with the Churches, and especially with the Polish Roman Catholic Church. Well, irrespective of all the words which have recently been said I would like to say that there is a need for cooperation, there is a need for dialogue, there is a need for a serious conversation about Poland and challenges which we will face in the coming years. I hope that this dialogue will be possible, that we will depart in it from emotions and will think about how in a modern, democratic state of law the relationship between the Church and state structures should look like, acknowledging the identity of all sides as well as all liberties, all rights which should be held by both a citizen as well as a believer and a non-believer in such a state".<sup>14</sup> Two days after the speech in the Parliament, in an

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<sup>14</sup> A. Kwaśniewski, *Wystąpienie podczas wspólnego posiedzenia Sejmu i Senatu (Warszawa, 23 December 1995)*, in: A. Kwaśniewski, *Przemówienia, listy, wywiady, styczeń – grudzień 1996, wybór*, ed. J. Kluczkowski, K. Domska, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 2005, p. 9.

interview for “Corriere della Sera”, Aleksander Kwaśniewski stressed again the issue of the dialogue between the state and the Church.<sup>15</sup> It is a dialogue with the Church and not creating the space for the Church which influences the society that seems characteristic of this President’s attitude towards the relationship between the state and the Church.

For Lech Kaczyński, who took the presidential office after Aleksander Kwaśniewski, the contribution of Christianity in the shaping of Polish national identity, and hence participation in the processes of creating security in its different dimensions, was obvious: “For a thousand years, our nation has based its identity on the foundation of the Christian faith. Hence, the traditions of tolerance, respect for the freedom of conscience, coexistence of so many cultures, religions and denominations are so great in Poland”.<sup>16</sup> Undoubtedly, it needs to be assumed that such an attitude was related to a specific understanding of connecting history and future in a “today” of a politician’s activity. In his proclamation after taking an oath before the National Assembly and taking the office of the President, he said: “The

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Wywiad dla włoskiej gazety „Corriere della Sera” (25 December 1995), A. Kwaśniewski in a conversation with J. Pałkiewicz, in: A. Kwaśniewski, *Przemówienia, listy, wywiady, styczeń – grudzień 1996, wybór*, op. cit., pp. 16-17:

“When will you be able to meet with the Pope?

I received greetings from John Paul II with great pleasure and I will be honored paying him a visit as soon as possible.

*The Pope is a good friend of your opponent, Lech Wałęsa. And the Church never concealed its preferences ...?*

To achieve a national agreement the dialogue with the Church is necessary. I will tell the Pope that my key task will be economic development, social stability and joining the European Union by Poland”.

<sup>16</sup> L. Kaczyński, *Przemówienie podczas powitania Jego Świątobliwości Ojca Świętego Benedykta XVI w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 62.

nation as a community is built also around tradition. It must not be set against necessary changes, necessary modernization of Poland. It is an imaginary contradiction. It is a harmful way of thinking. The greatest successes in Europe have been achieved by those who could combine modernization with good tradition”.<sup>17</sup> Lech Kaczyński understood nation as a diachronic community: “Nation is the community of the living and the dead”.<sup>18</sup> He thoroughly differentiated in a nation the role of tradition and the role of memory. He knew that as a nation is built around tradition, without memory (which demands reliable knowledge<sup>19</sup>) it cannot survive: “... memory is incredibly important, because without it,

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<sup>17</sup> L. Kaczyński, *Orędzie po złożeniu przysięgi przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym i objęciu Urzędu Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (Warszawa, Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 23 December 2005)*, in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2006, wybór*, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> L. Kaczyński, *Ojciec Profesor Andrzej Napiórkowski Przeora Klasztoru Paulinów w Krakowie na Skałce, Organizatorzy i Uczestnicy uroczystej inauguracji Roku Wielkich Polaków w Bazylice na Skałce (List, Warszawa, 22 February 2007)*, in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2007, wybór*, ed. K. Janaszek, A. Fijewski, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 2008, s. 135; *ibidem*: “In the memory of those who preceded us in the earthly walk, there is also an example of their behavior - the values they were guided by, and the attitudes they embraced in the face of the challenges of their time”.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. L. Kaczyński, *Organizatorzy i Uczestnicy konferencji Prawda – pamięć – odpowiedzialność. Powstanie warszawskie w kontekście stosunków polsko-niemieckich. Warszawa, Belweder, (List, Warszawa, 30 March 2007)*, in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2007, wybór*, op. cit., p. 152: “Reliable knowledge about the more difficult and often tragic past cannot be only the domain of people of science, but should enrich the intellectual and political discourse”.

there is no nation”.<sup>20</sup> The President said these words in Przemyśl, that is in the city in the part of Poland which is characterized by, among other things, the best statistics relating to religious practices. No wonder that in the same speech Lech Kaczyński indicated the attachment of local population to the Church. However, he placed this attachment in the third place, firstly speaking about attachment to Polishness, and then to patriotism. Indicating attachment to the Church in the third place was accompanied by a significant development in the form of a personal thanks: “I would like, not only as a Catholic, as one of millions of Poles, but as the President of the Republic of Poland sincerely thank you for that – because without it our country does not exist, there is no family which is the condition of a stable life and calm development, the condition of educating the young generation, the condition of the feeling of certainty and security, and without this feeling fully mature people are not formed. For all that, I would like to thank you so much here in podkrapackie province and especially in Przemyśl”.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienie podczas uroczystości wręczenia orderów o odznaczeń państwowych w trakcie wizyty na Podkarpaciu (Przemyśl, Plac Niepodległości, 15 October 2007)*, in: L. Kaczyński, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2007, wybór*, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*. In the margin of analysis carried out in this study, it should be noted that at the end of this speech, Lech Kaczyński thanked not only the local community, but considerably expanded the circle of addresses (*ibidem*, p. 96): “I would like to thank the Polish Church for its role which it plays in its education at schools through teaching religion. This is a great role, although certainly no one can be coerced to participate in religion lessons. In a free country, it is a free choice of parents, and in case of young adults, their own decision. Nobody intends to question that. This is obvious and clear, but let us appreciate it, because if in these difficult times, which we are anyway slowly leaving behind, Polish nation kept its cohesion, it is a nation similar to the one from a dozen years back, although some said that it changed considerably, it is thanks

President Bronisław Komorowski, despite publicly declaring his faith and affiliation to the Church, was more restrained in statements on the relationship between Christianity and Polish national identity and hence, the influence of this relationship on the processes of creating security. He talked about the presence of the Church in the life of the nation which is not limited to the sphere of faith and cult as well as ethics, but is clear also in culture and art. He saw Christianity as a transnational experience, which strengthens the community of Poland with other European nations.<sup>22</sup> In an interview conducted soon before the beatification of John Paul II, President Bronisław Komorowski confessed: “Personally, I try to locate Pope’s teaching more in the context of the affairs of the whole humanity. Since he referred to problems and challenges of the whole contemporary world: the relationship between an individual and the God, between people, relationship between an individual and the Church. In the face of these great deliberations, there was always a place to think in Polish, national categories. For me, the thought and activity of John Paul II means the possibility

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to two institutions: the Polish Church and Polish family. Thanks to it [the Church], those who claimed that in a few years we would have the world similar to the one in some countries to the West of Poland, were very wrong. And this is thanks to these two institutions which are the basis of our existence although, I would like to stress again that, no one can be refused the freedom of choice. But without them, Poland will not be the Poland which survived the wonderful times, the times of might, survived also the times of crisis and enslavement, short-term freedom, monstrous war and not full but far-reaching enslavement. This Poland still exists today and functions and owes it to someone. I will not repeat, but we all know to whom”.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. B. Komorowski, *Kultura Polska w perspektywie europejskiej*, in: B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2010-2011*, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 2011, p. 382.

to accommodate the possibility of functioning within the contemporary Church and activity for the sake of one's homeland".<sup>23</sup> President also talked about the Church as of a "bastion of freedom and Polish wisdom", "foundation of Polish democracy and freedom". While the relationship between the Church and the state was seen by him, as he himself put it, "not on the basis of cold separation, but on the basis of the separation of Church and state – but a separation which is friendly, in which there is place for mutual respect for autonomy and a will of cooperation and understanding that we all together work for the common good, for the Homeland and its citizens".<sup>24</sup> In his speech during the 9th Gniezno Convention<sup>25</sup>, the President starting with the problem of European identity, referred to the question of the state-Church relationship: "We are here together in Gniezno, remembering the year 1000, but also looking for and finding all roots of our identity. We are in the moment of a European crisis, crisis in Greece where our origins reach. We are here, deliberating the problem of the presence of people of faith and

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<sup>23</sup> B. Komorowski, *Będę się modlił o szanse na odbudowanie wspólnoty* (30 April 2011, interview for *Katolicka Agencja Informacyjna*), in: B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2010-2011*, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>24</sup> B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienie podczas uroczystości wręczenia odznaczeń państwowych z okazji Święta Niepodległości* (Warszawa, Pałac Prezydencki, 10 November 2011), in: B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2010-2011*, op. cit., pp. 186-187.

<sup>25</sup> The Gniezno Conventions, ecumenical meetings of Christians from Central and Eastern Europe take place in Gniezno. With their name and purpose they refer to the Gniezno Convention in year 1000, that is a pilgrimage of Emperor Otto III to the grave of Saint Wojciech, and to meet with Duke of Poland Bolesław in the then capital of the state – Gniezno. The revived Gniezno Conventions are at the beginning of 21 century organized by the Polish Primate.



Christians within a secular state and in the situation when we know that uniting Europe is in many aspects at the crossroads. We are here together and we all surely feel that very strong, important questions are asked about the future of our community. And we feel that as strongly as never before do we feel the need to refresh the definition of what is Christian and what European”.<sup>26</sup> This transnational view on Christianity which prevails in Bronisław Komorowski’s thought does not mean that he ignored Polish specificity. He indicated, for example, Catholic social science which in the times of PRL (People’s Republic of Poland) was the most important counterbalance to Marxist ideology. Unlike in Western countries, in Poland, the Church supported modern statehood. Christian origin helped to maintain interpersonal bonds and the feeling of community in an unparalleled agreement with the intellectual, often atheistic environment. Despite this experience, according to Bronisław Komorowski there is “however, one problem which we still face”. In accordance with his diagnosis of the Polish situation, after the years of difficult history citizens’ ties with the state have been emaciated. Rebuilding them, as he claimed, needed to reconcile two contradictory tendencies: a modern enlightenment tendency of secularization and socially important role of the Church in the newest history of civic liberty. Bronisław Komorowski believed that in Poland there is a need for another reflection on the relationship between the state and the Church.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienie na IX Zjeździe Gnieźnieńskim (Gniezno, 16 March 2012)*, in: B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2012*, Kancelaria Prezydenta RP, Warszawa 2013, p. 45.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. B. Komorowski, *Uczestnicy i Organizatorzy Konferencji Dobro Wspólne. Teoria i praktyka na Uniwersytecie Jagiellońskim (List, Warszawa, 20 kwietnia 2012 roku)*, in: B. Komorowski, *Wystąpienia, listy, wywiady, 2012*, op. cit., p. 204.

A significant change in the question of interest [described in this article] was brought by the presidency of Andrzej Duda which began in 2015. Christianity according to his way of thinking is the reality which constituted the specificity of what is Polish. Baptism of Mieszko I in 966, which gave origin to Poland, had not only a spiritual but also state-building meaning. The baptism, as President said, “laid the foundations for creating a modern state. Modern, as for those times certainly, as it brought something completely new. But it brought modernity which is sustainable, universal”.<sup>28</sup> In the above statement, attention should be paid to the special connection between the religious [and] political order. What connects these two orders is modernity. It seems that what is meant is a modernity that reveals itself in its uniqueness if one follows the way of thinking characteristic for theology which emphasizes novelty of Christianity in every generation, necessity to read the message of faith “today”, experience Jesus in “today” of an individual and nations, with a simultaneous reference to history and the message of Tradition, not only customs. The words by the “One seated on the throne” – “I make all things new” (Rev 21, 5) and the request

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<sup>28</sup> A. Duda, *Przemówienie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy z okazji 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Gniezno, 14 April 2016)*, <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/wystapienia/art,36,przemowienie-prezydenta-andrzeja-dudy-z-okazji-1050-lecia-chrztu-polski.html>, [Accessed: 10 December 2017]. Cf. A. Duda, *List Prezydenta z okazji konferencji „Obchody Millenium na Uchodźstwie – w pięćdziesiątą rocznicę” (18 April 2016)*, <http://www.prezydent.pl/aktualnosci/wypowiedzi-prezydenta-rp/inne/art,142,list-prezydenta-z-okazji-konferencji-obchody-millenium-na-uchodzstwie--w-piecdziesiata-rocznice.html>, [accessed: 10 December 2017], “The baptism of 966 remains a fundamental event constituting the Polish Nation. The decision of Mieszko I, substantial in historical consequences, influenced the whole later history of our country”.

repeated in the prayer “Our Father”: “Give us this day our daily bread” (Matt 6, 11) are symbols of what is “new” in “today” of an individual, and what is accessible through faith in the order of grace.<sup>29</sup> Adopting such an understanding, one can talk of Christianity which enhances in every generation a necessity, characteristic of the state functioning, to create novelty of the political thought and new analyses concerning security. Theological thinking confirms believers in the necessity of facing “today”, without escaping into archeology or futurology. The first escape is characterized by the conviction that everything which was a part of the state functioning before is wonderful and should be restored. And the second escape is such looking into the future of the state (international community) which is not only detached from history, but even does not result from the analysis of the present day. Both approaches are dangerous. The Church and the state are living organisms, which obviously have their past influencing the present situation, they have their future which they think about. They cannot, however, close themselves in old forms or dreams.<sup>30</sup> In Andrzej Duda’s thinking, what is specific for the Polish experience is the fact that the spiritual

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<sup>29</sup> In this point of the presented study, I was inspired by the text by Fr. Prof. Mieczysław A. Krąpiec, who when writing about the enduring novelty of Christianity refers the experience of faith to the Polish context. Cf. M.A. Krąpiec, *Nieprzemijająca nowość chrześcijaństwa*, „Człowiek w Kulturze” 13 (2000), pp. 5-17.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)*, op. cit.: “Christian civilization, for the past 1050 years co-created and defended with great dedication by the Polish people – (...) It is not a fossil. It keeps organically evolving. It needs its young leaves and sprouts just as much as it needs its hidden roots. It also needs a trunk to mediate between them, that is a natural synthesis of the old and the new”.

element and the state element have been interwoven and they endure, although there were moments in history when the state element disappeared because of aggression which crossed Polish land, which touched Poles.<sup>31</sup> “Thanks to what the baptism brought into the souls, souls of people living here, [subsequent] generations never let Polishness to be taken away from them. They never let to be taken away from them this thanks to which tradition, culture, community were built. And when Poland disappeared from the map, it came back. It came back. It returned by the strength of the Poles and returned with the strength of her spirit, originating from faith and baptism, and which the Church helped to protect”.<sup>32</sup> Continuing, the President said that what gives Poles power<sup>33</sup> is abiding in the tradition of ancestors, in faith. No wonder that he finished his speech with the words: “May God bless my homeland, God bless Poles, God bless the

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)*, op. cit.: “Our Christian legacy continues to shape the destinies of Poland and of each and every one of us, Polish people, until this very day”.

<sup>32</sup> A. Duda, *Przemówienie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy z okazji 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Gniezno, 14 April 2016)*, op. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Andrzej Duda spoke in a similar fashion also the next day: “... there is a massive power to be unleashed in our community, our power whose origins lie in our shared national and Christian identity. The power which manifested itself on a number of occasions in our history in recent centuries, which helped us to weather the most trying experiences: the loss of civil liberties and of an independent state, the attempts to denationalise and de-Christianise our people. The power which carried us through confrontation with our enemies, partitioning powers, occupying forces and led us to win and get the upper hand as even stronger and more united a nation”. A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)*, op. cit.

Church”.<sup>34</sup> Andrzej Duda’s thinking concerning the concept of creating the state in the contemporary reality distinguishes him as president from among other leaders in Europe. For him Christianity giving the foundation of faith designated the core around which the Polish nation was shaped along with the idea of freedom, self-determination and solidarity. Poles’ faith being a part of their identity, turned out the most important and last shield which enabled victory. This experience of Poland cannot be unused in the contemporary context: “In Poland and in Europe, debates are ongoing on how to address these new challenges. I personally believe that the thing to do in this situation is to trust the strength of our identity, to draw on the rich treasury of ideas, experiences and solutions developed in a combined mainstream of the two great traditions: the Greco-Roman and the Judeo-Christian ones. They are what we should base our actions on”.<sup>35</sup>

### **From contemporary dilemmas to the future of creating national security of Poland**

In political science and international relations of the Western world in the second half of the 20th century, among their axioms one can find the proposition concerning the necessity of ultimate and absolute autonomy of politics and apolitically of religion. Surely no one needs to be convinced that attempts to combine religion and politics are for many Europeans a misconception. Dariusz Karłowicz – Polish philosopher and

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<sup>34</sup> A. Duda, *Przemówienie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy z okazji 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Gniezno, 14 April 2016)*, op. cit.

<sup>35</sup> A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)*, op. cit.

social activist – provocatively even claims that it is “an obvious scandal” for them”.<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, the idea of politics’ autonomy and apolitically of religion has the status of certitude only in a small part of the world. This is reminiscent of the opposition of Islamic immigrants who do not like the axiological shape of European politics, as well as the very idea of separating religion from politics. This separation is viewed skeptically, as Dariusz Karłowicz notices, by new members of the European Union who eagerly refer to the tradition which seeks the foundation, purpose and source of norms in the Absolute. It is impossible not to notice distrust towards the idea of a neutral forum. As this idea seems to be a manifestation of “liberal naiveté” or “leftist tactics aimed at occupying a field abandoned by Christians”.<sup>37</sup> Such a begs the following questions: “Is it not wishful thinking to attempt to completely separate religion and politics? Should one not go back to the starting point and start thinking again”?<sup>38</sup> For a philosopher, “going back to the starting point” and “thinking again” is no different than to refer to the wisdom of ancient Greece. This is where religion and politics formed a relationship that was so violent and so permanent. It happened that religion and politics were seen as complementary realities that could not do without each other. It happened that they were seen as competitors due to a different description of the purpose and nature of an individual, it happened that they became deadly enemies. However, they were always thought of as a whole. Human nature is both political and religious, and so must necessarily be a human community. It means that “politics

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<sup>36</sup> D. Karłowicz, *Polska jako Jason Bourne*, Fundacja Świętego Mikołaja, „Teologia Polityczna”, Warszawa 2017, p. 186.

<sup>37</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, p. 187.

understood as responsibility for the whole must take into consideration both of these basic aspects of human reality”.<sup>39</sup>

Creating national security in Poland will not take place without a systematic reflection on the relationship between the Church and politics. “It seems – as Aleksander Bobko wrote – that in the Western European civilization, the issue of the relationship between religion and politics has finally been resolved, and the solutions adopted in this field have also been successfully consolidated into social practice. Religion which is about searching for the meaning of human life and ultimately saving people, has been clearly inscribed in the sphere of privacy. While politics, whose aim is to rationally organize the space of interpersonal matters, undividedly fills the public sphere. Both fields should keep their independence as far as possible”.<sup>40</sup> The words “It seems...” used by the philosopher and politician at the beginning of the reflection on the relationship between politics and religion undoubtedly accurately raise doubt in readers. This “it seems...” published in 2007, after 10 years may be changed into a stronger “it only seems...”, or “it only seemed to us...”. Searching for sources of mutual “greatest independence of religion from politics and politics from religion” Aleksander Bobko indicates John Locke’s *A Letter Concerning Toleration* published in London in 1689. In this text, the necessity of the separation between the state and the Church, and hence separation between politics and religion, is one of the main topics of the book next to: tolerance seen as the value written down in the Gospel, prohibition to force anybody to

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<sup>39</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>40</sup> A. Bobko, *Myślenie wobec zła. Polityczny i religijny wymiar myślenia w filozofii Kanta i Tischnera*, Instytut Myśli Józefa Tischnera, Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, Kraków-Rzeszów 2007, p. 5.

adopt a particular religion, impossibility of a religious belief on command and perceiving the Church as a free, voluntary group of people. Nowadays, the postulates of the English philosopher are obvious and obligatory in public space, however they require to be interpreted in the context of “today” of Europe. In the 21st century, many issues arising along the lines of religion – politics require patient and thorough consideration. According to Aleksander Bobko, there are three self-imposing reasons for that (it is impossible not to notice reference to security in them):

- Europeans are anxious about the clash of Christian and Islamic civilizations.
- Intensified discussions are continuing the ideas which unite Europe and disputes about its religious heritage (it manifested itself especially clearly at an attempt to adopt the European Constitution).
- New ethical challenges arise in relation to the possibilities resulting from the development of technology, especially in medicine and biotechnology.<sup>41</sup>

The first reason indicated by the philosopher – the clash between Christian and Islamic civilizations – concerns the problem directly connected with the issue of security.<sup>42</sup> The second reason contains an indication to issues concerning

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Wprowadzenie do teorii walki cywilizacji w naukach o bezpieczeństwie*, in: *Metodologiczne i dydaktyczne aspekty bezpieczeństwa narodowego*, ed. W. Kitler, T. Kośmider, Difiń, Warszawa 2015, pp. 82-103; C. Smuniewski, *Czy systemy cywilizacyjno-kulturowe mogą przybierać charakter konfliktogenny? Z namysłu nad fundamentalizmem i ekstremizmem*, w: *Europa w dobie przemian. O wielokulturowości i bezpieczeństwie*, ed. C. Smuniewski, R. Kobryński, Oficyna Wydawniczo-Poligraficzna „Adam”, Warszawa 2016, pp. 429-472.



cultural security, culture of creating security and culture of common life.<sup>43</sup> While the third reason is an indication, among others, of an individual who being the creator of security and risks is above all the subject of security. After all, any dealing with security issues has only meaning if it concerns a human being in consequence.<sup>44</sup>

Thinking on the national security of Poland, taking into consideration the identity of Poles and the specificity of contemporary threats will have to refer to the tried and tested elements, will not be able to permit experimenting on the person or the Nation. It will have to take into account not only the strength of mutual influence of both religion and politics, but also the fact that in the European reflection on politics and religion, speaking about God, is speaking about religion, is speaking about a person. Christian theology reflecting on the Holy Trinity and Christ the two themes around which the whole interpretation of faith is concentrated, flows smoothly in narratives from transcendence to earthly order, and therefore from reflection on the Divine Persons to reflection of human beings. Besides, the notion of a person (Lat. *persona*), used in social and political discussions came into the secular language from theology – from a Christian reflection on the Divine Persons. Without a doubt, it is necessary

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<sup>43</sup> Cf. C. Smuniewski, *Tworząc bezpieczeństwo. O potrzebie budowania kultury życia wspólnego w cywilizacji zachodniej*, in: *Edukacja dla bezpieczeństwa. O kształtowaniu kultury bezpieczeństwa*, ed. A. Skrabacz, L. Kanarski, K. Loranty, Wojskowe Centrum Edukacji Obywatelskiej, Warszawa 2015, pp. 17-35.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. K. Kołodziejczyk, *Bezpieczeństwo. Kontekst personalno-aksjologiczny*, „Zeszyty Naukowe WSOWL” 1 (151) 2009, pp. 134-143; C. Smuniewski, *Człowiek w czasach pokoju i wojny. Wybrane zagadnienia z antropologii Jana Pawła II*, in: *Święty Jan Paweł II syn oficera Wojska Polskiego*, ed. A. Skrabacz, J. Dohnalik (ed.), Warszawa 2014, pp. 179-198.

to mention here the contribution of Saint Augustine, who is the author not only of *De Civitate Dei*, but also *De Trinitate*. This was accurately put by Józef Tischner who wrote that *De Trinitate* by the Bishop of Hippo” is as much a treatise about God as a treatise about a human being”.<sup>45</sup> History of theology shows that “Christology” turned out to be not only a treatise about the incarnate Son of God, but also a method of thinking about the world, and the conversation between Jesus of Nazareth with Pilate, the image-symbol of the dialogue between religion and politics.

Thinking of the future of Poland and its way of presence in Europe, about sovereignty and security will need to refer to the three pillars of Western civilization which have also become the pillars of Polish identity and culture. The first is philosophy with the primacy of objective truth, precise tools of learning and analyzing reality. The second is the Roman legal and systemic thought with the concept of a republic, that is the state which is a common good of citizens ruling it, including a civic ethos together with privileges and duties. The third pillar is Christian thought. Andrzej Duda when talking about the history, presence and future of Poland characterized this third pillar in the following way: “This novel, revolutionary vision of humanity as a family, as a community of brothers and sisters equal before the Father and His moral law. It is also a call for peace, for repentance for any evil done and for forgiveness for any wrongdoing one has suffered. An imperative to give priority to the human person over objects, over mundane advantages and the desire for possession. The protection of the weaker ones, an appeal for solidarity in

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<sup>45</sup> J. Tischner, *O Bogu, który jest blisko. Wprowadzenie do lektury „O Trójcy Świętej” św. Augustyna*, in: *Św. Augustyn, O Trójcy Świętej*, tłum. M. Stokowska, Znak, Kraków 1996, p. 9.

helping the needy and the brilliant subsidiarity principle. It is the recognition of the dignity of women and the contribution made by them to the lives of societies in various fields. The idea of government and superiority as service and the belief that rulers, too, are subject to moral judgment. Christianity is also a unique concept of the separation between the sacred and the profane, that which is divine and that which belongs to Caesar. The idea of autonomy, but at the same time of cooperation between the secular and spiritual authorities. These are also institutions such as the university and the local school, the hospital and the orphanage. It is a new vision of military, medical and economic ethics. And, last but not least, the heights of art and genius, achieved by artists inspired by Christianity: visual artists, architects, musicians and poets”.<sup>46</sup>

### Conclusion

The above considerations are not exhaustive concerning the relationship between the Church and politics, a relationship in which one of the specific elements of Polish thinking about the creation of national security in Poland is revealed – Christianity. From the beginning of the Polish state, religion has co-created the national identity of Poles, influenced their civic attitudes, shaped the spirit of defense and sovereignty. In the Polish historical and social context, separating – as opposites – the sphere of religion and politics is not only doomed to failure, but should be understood as a threat to the processes of creating security, and even independence of

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<sup>46</sup> A. Duda, *Orędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)*, op. cit.

the State. Just as the relationship between the Church and politics in the Polish conditions has been uninterrupted, the Church has participated in the process of creating national security, above all in the ideological dimension and through shaping patriotic attitudes, promoting national history and a systematic incentive to engage [in activities] for the sake of the common good. In the light of contemporary threats identified in the area of European identity and culture, it needs to be expected that in the processes of creating security, thinking inspired by religious premises, will play an increasingly important role. Andrzej Duda's words seem to set the right direction for further action: "Poland is and will remain true to her Christian heritage. For it is in this heritage that we have a well-tested, strong foundation for the future"<sup>47</sup>.

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<sup>47</sup> A. Duda, *Oroędzie Prezydenta RP przed Zgromadzeniem Narodowym z okazji jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski (Poznań, 15 April 2016)*, op. cit.

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