



## **Equal before the law or discriminated? The legal status of religious minorities in Poland**

### **Równouprawnione czy dyskryminowane? Status prawny mniejszości wyznaniowych w Polsce**

**Key words:** relations between state and religious communities, religious minorities, equality before law, rule of law, worldview neutrality of public authorities

**Słowa kluczowe:** stosunki między państwem a wspólnotami religijnymi, mniejszości religijne, równouprawnienie, rządy prawa, neutralność światopoglądowa władz publicznych

#### **Abstract**

According to the provisions of the Polish Constitution, all religious communities have equal rights. Adherence to this principle is guaranteed, among other things, by the imperative of worldview neutrality on the part of the public authorities, which includes the duty of state institutions and representatives to maintain an equal distance from all churches and other religious associations. However, the huge statistical predominance of the Catholic Church in Polish society has made this church into the main recipient of state services to religious communities since the 1989 political breakthrough. In this state of affairs, it is important to determine whether or not the standard of equal rights for religious denominations in Poland

---

<sup>1</sup> Prof. dr. hab. Tadeusz J. Zieliński, Wydział Nauk Społecznych Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Warszawie.

is not illusory. This paper reviews the crucial issues in which religious minorities are at risk of discrimination. It starts with an outline of the sizes of the denominations covered by the population census, followed by a description of the legal framework for individual and collective freedom of conscience and religion. A significant part of the paper is devoted to the behaviour of state authorities (administrative practice), especially in the years 2015–2023, when the political groups in power in Poland carried out the destruction of the democratic rule of law and openly declared their ties to Roman Catholicism. The author's analyses reveal a complex, dynamically changing picture (including changes for the better). Despite many shortcomings in the area of legislation and many unacceptable actions of state representatives in recent years, Poland remains a country in which religious minorities enjoy wide-ranging freedoms and rights.

### **Streszczenie**

Zgodnie postanowieniami polskiej Konstytucji wspólnoty religijne są równouprawnione. Jedną z gwarancji przestrzegania zasady równouprawnienia jest nakaz zachowywania przez władze publiczne neutralności światopoglądowej, z której wynika m.in. powinność utrzymywania przez instytucje i przedstawiciele państwa równego dystansu wobec wszystkich kościołów i innych związków wyznaniowych. Olbrzymia przewaga statystyczna wyznawców Kościoła Katolickiego w społeczeństwie polskim jednak sprawia, że od czasu przełomu roku 1989 katolicyzm jest głównym odbiorcą świadczeń ze strony państwa czynionych względem wspólnot religijnych. W tym stanie rzeczy istotne jest stwierdzenie, czy norma równouprawnienia wyznań w Polsce nie ma charakteru iluzorycznego. Prezentowany artykuł dokonuje przeglądu węzłowych zagadnień, w ramach których mniejszości religijne są narażone na dyskryminację. Po charakterystyce stanu posiadania wyznań objętych spisem powszechnym ludności, ukazany został reżim prawny dotyczący wolności sumienia i wyznania w wymiarze jednostkowym i zbiorowym. Szczególnie wiele miejsca poświęcono faktycznym zachowaniom władz państwowych (praktyce administracyjnej), zwłaszcza w latach 2015–2023, kiedy rządzące w Polsce ugrupowania polityczne dokonywały destrukcji demokratycznego państwa prawa i otwarcie deklarowały swoje związki z rzymskim katolicyzmem. Z przeprowadzonych analiz wyłania się złożony, dynamicznie zmieniający się, także na korzyść, obraz. Mimo wielu mankamentów w zakresie prawodawstwa oraz wielu – w ostatnich latach

– niedopuszczalnych zachowań przedstawicieli państwa, Polska pozostaje krajem, w którym mniejszości religijne cieszą się szerokimi swobodami i uprawnieniami.

## 1. Introduction

There are many indications to support the thesis that, historically speaking, the earliest minority groups to receive legal protection were religious minorities (minority religious communities or denominations). Examples of such guarantees are two ancient norms: the regulation of the Roman Empire defining the *Fiscus Judaicus* (shortly after the suppression of the Jewish uprising in 70 AD; Heemstra 2009, 7)<sup>2</sup> and the Edict of Milan issued by the Roman emperors in 313 AD.<sup>3</sup> As the centuries passed, the standards for the protection of the freedom of such communities essentially became stronger and stronger in most countries to finally reach the level of international guarantees, headed by the European Convention on Human Rights (1950 / 1953), which is exemplary for our continent. In democratic systems the importance of respecting the religious freedom of religious minorities is not disputed. This is also the case in contemporary Poland.

This paper is intended to present the problem of legal protection of religious minorities in the Third Republic of Poland (since 1989), with particular emphasis on most of the last decade, when the actions of the central government has seriously jeopardised the respect of freedoms and rights of many social groups. In particular, these reflections will attempt to answer the question whether public authorities in Poland discriminate against minority religious communities (legal discrimination

---

<sup>2</sup> While this tax served to repress the Jewish population, it also had the virtue of exempting adherents of Judaism from the obligation to participate in state worship, which should be seen as a guarantee of the Jews' freedom to practise their religion.

<sup>3</sup> This edict ensured that followers of religions other than those included in the Roman pantheon were free to practise their faith, including Christians, for whose sake it was primarily issued.

and discrimination in administrative practice), which is signalled in the title of the article: “Equal before the law or discriminated?”

In order to provide a relatively accurate depiction of the matter at hand, the argumentation is structured as follows. The paper begins with a presentation of statistical information on the denominations as well as the number of non-religious persons in Polish society in order to demonstrate the social position of religious minorities in Poland. The second part of this paper is an outline of the current legal regime for religious minorities, accompanied by observations on its fundamental shortcomings. Further, actions of the government towards religious minorities in the period 2015–2023 is discussed. This period corresponded with two full parliamentary terms and was marked by government behaviours widely considered to be dangerous for upholding constitutional standards regarding the protection of individual rights and rights of many social groups. It is therefore necessary to reflect on whether this period involved any serious violations of the freedoms and rights of religious minorities in Poland. The reflections conclude with a summary.

## 2. Statistics of religious minorities

The questionnaire of the 2021 National Population and Housing Census<sup>4</sup> included a question on religious affiliation, but the answer was voluntary. This approach, i.e. the right to refuse to answer questions about one’s religious affiliation, should be considered appropriate. This is because it takes into account the constitutional prohibition on a public authority asking about the worldview/religious identification of persons residing in the state (or the right of anyone to remain silent about said identification), as expressed in Article 53(7) of the Polish Constitution,<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> The legal basis of the census was *ustawa z dnia 9 sierpnia 2019 r. o narodowym spisie powszechnym ludności i mieszkań w 2021 r.*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2021 r. poz. 1143 [the Act of 9 August 2019 on the National Population and Housing Census in 2021, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2021, item 1143].

<sup>5</sup> Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz. U. z 1997 r.

which reads: “No one may be obliged by organs of public authorities to disclose his worldview, religious convictions or belief.”

The question on religious affiliation in the 2021 census was answered by 30,212,506 persons (those identifying and not identifying with “religious creed”), which makes up 79.43 percent of the total census population of 38,036,118 persons.<sup>6</sup> 7,807,553 persons or 20.53 % of the total population refused to provide an answer.<sup>7</sup> Religious affiliation of any kind was declared by 27,601,000 people or 72.57 % of the respondents. The largest religious denomination in Poland is the Catholic Church. In the 2021 census, membership in the Catholic Church was represented by two entities: “Catholic Church – Latin Rite (Roman Catholic Church)” and “Catholic Church – Byzantine-Ukrainian Rite (Greek Catholic Church)”, which is a highly debatable move, as both entities indicated are part of a single religious denomination in Poland, subject in particular to the Concordat of 28 July 1993<sup>8</sup> and the Act of 17 May 1989 on the relationship between the State and the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland.<sup>9</sup> It is difficult to state unequivocally for what

---

Nr 78, poz. 483, z 2001 r. Nr 28, poz. 319, z 2006 r. Nr 200, poz. 1471, z 2009 r., Nr 114, poz. 946 [Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 78, item 483, of 2001, No. 28, item 319, of 2006. No. 200, item 1471, of 2009, No. 114, item 946].

<sup>6</sup> The data presented comes from a summary table produced by Statistics Poland: “Tabl. 5. Ludność według przynależności do wyznania religijnego w 2021 r.” 2015.

<sup>7</sup> Persons refusing to answer may belong to any of the religious denominations or remain outside these denominations. It is worth noting that some of those who do not identify with any specific religions are not necessarily atheists; they may, for example, be religious people who are not affiliated with existing religious communities (religious associations). Experience shows that persons not affiliated to any denomination are not always irreligious.

<sup>8</sup> *Konkordat między Stolicą Apostolską i Rzeczpospolitą Polską, podpisany w Warszawie dnia 28 lipca 1993 r.*, Dz.U. z 1998 r. nr 51 poz. 318 [Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland, signed in Warsaw on 28 July 1993, Journal of Laws 1998, no. 51, item 318].

<sup>9</sup> *Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Katolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 1966 [Act of 17 May 1989 on the

reason the organisers of the census divided the Catholic denomination into two parts. Perhaps they were aiming to find out about the nationality phenomenon in the sense that Greek Catholicism is perceived as a religious phenomenon related to Ukrainian nationality.<sup>10</sup> 27,121,331 respondents (71.30 of the total population) identified with the Catholic Church of the Latin rite, while 33,209 (0.09 % of the total population) identified with the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite of this Church. It is fair to record at this point that in comparison with the 2011 census the Catholic Church was indicated by much fewer respondents in the most recent census. Previously, 33 762 343 persons did so (87.7 % of the total population).<sup>11</sup> A decrease of 6 607 803 persons has therefore taken place (cf. “Ilu Polaków wierzy? Ilu deklaruje, że jest katolikami?...” 2023).

Due to the number of their adherents, the existing religious denominations in Poland other than the Catholic Church are rightly referred to as minority denominations. The denominations that received the most indications in the 2021 census were the following (in order of the number of people declaring affiliation to those religious associations):<sup>12</sup>

---

relation of the State to the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2023, item 1966].

<sup>10</sup> It seems that the legal factor did not always take priority in the classification adopted in the 2021 census. Latin Catholicism and Greek Catholicism were separated despite belonging to one religious denomination, just as the census included, for example, “Pastafarianism”, i.e. followers of the Church of the Flying Spaghetti Monster, which has not yet formed a legally regulated religious association in Poland due to its refusal to be entered in the register of churches and other religious associations kept by the minister proper for religious denominations. It should be noted that the Polish Constitution allows for the operation of religious associations that have not obtained a legal regulation (see Articles 25 and 53(4)). The census results also included the vague category of “Christianity”, indicated by 8828 persons.

<sup>11</sup> Data included in a summary table published by Statistics Poland “Tabl. 42. Ludność Polski według kategorii wyznania i rodzaju deklarowanej przynależności wyznaniowej w 2011 roku” 2015. The 2011 census also included Catholics of the Armenian rite (227 persons).

<sup>12</sup> The list does not include Greek Catholicism as part of the Catholic Church and the group referred to as “Christianity”, which cannot be identified with any single religious association.

- Kościół prawosławny [Orthodox Church] (151 648 persons; 0.40 % of the total population),<sup>13</sup>
- Świadkowie Jehowy [Jehovah's Witnesses] (108 754 persons; 0.29 % of the total population),
- Kościół Ewangelicko-Augsburski [Evangelical-Augsburg Church] (65,407 persons; 0.17 % of the total population),
- Kościół Zielonoświątkowy [Pentecostal Church] (30,105 persons; 0.08 % of the total population),
- Kościół Starokatolicki Mariawitów [Old Catholic Mariavite Church] (12 248 persons; 0.03 % of the total population),
- Kościół Polskokatolicki [Polish-Catholic Church] (6,942 persons; 0.02 % of the total population),
- Kościół Chrześcijan Baptystów [Church of Christians Baptists] (5 181 persons; 0.01 % of the total population),
- Buddyjski Związek Diamentowej Drogi Linii Karma Kagyu [Diamond Way Buddhist Association of the Karma Kagyu Lineage] (3 236 persons; 0.01 % of the total population),
- Kościół Adwentystów Dnia Siódmego [Church of Seventh-Day Adventists] (3 129 persons; 0.01 % of total population),
- Pastafarianizm [Pastafarianism] (2 312 persons; 0.01 % of the total population),
- Muzułmański Związek Religijny [Muslim Religious Association] (2209 persons; 0.01 % of total population),
- Kościół Chrystusowy w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej [Church of Christ in the Republic of Poland] (2,072 persons; 0.01 % of the total population),
- Rodzima Wiara [Native Faith] (2039 persons; 0.01 % of total population),
- Kościół Boży w Chrystusie [Church of God in Christ] (2007 persons; 0.01 % of total population).

---

<sup>13</sup> The official name of the church is the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Minority faiths other than those listed were indicated by 40,343 respondents (0.11% of the total population) in 2021.

Clearly, the actual membership base of the minority religious communities mentioned by name and the other minority religious communities may be larger, as it is likely that some of their faithful have exercised their right to refuse to answer the religious affiliation questions included in the census questionnaire. The same applies to the actual number of Catholic Church members.<sup>14</sup> The group of those refusing to answer may have included non-religious people, including atheists, which consequently has implications for the number of adherents to religious denominations.

The 2021 national census also recorded the number of people declaring no affiliation to any religion. They numbered 2,611,506 (6.87% of the total population). There has been a significant increase in such declarations since the previous census, i.e. in 2011, there were 929,420 people (2.4 % of the total population) who declared no religious affiliation.

To sum up the data on the membership in minority religious denominations in terms of the number of declared affiliations expressed in the course of the most recent census, it must be stated that they total at least 437,632 people. There has been a slight decrease in this respect, as the 2011 census registered identification with religious minorities of 457,426 persons (author's own calculation).

In addition to Polish citizens, there is a significant and difficult-to-estimate number of foreigners on Polish territory, some of whom identify with religions that have a minority status in our country. Following the outbreak of war between Russia and Ukraine in 2022, a large group of Ukrainian refugees found themselves on the territory of Poland. In 2024,

---

<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, leaders of some minority religious associations informed that the 2021 census registered a higher number of people declaring affiliation to their communities than their internal statistical data shows. There is therefore an interesting phenomenon of people identifying with religious communities without formally belonging to them.

some sources estimated it at 2.5–3 million people (Pawłowska 2024). There is no doubt that a considerable number of them come from the Orthodox churches operating in Ukraine.<sup>15</sup> It is likely that the available statistics of followers of Islam in Poland and of religions of Far Eastern origin, including Buddhism, are underestimated due to the fact that some foreigners residing in Poland organise their religious worship outside religious associations with a regulated legal status (“związki wyznaniowe o uregulowanej sytuacji prawnej”), which is, of course, in principle legal.

The demographics of religious minorities in Poland should be considered in the context of the large increase in the number of persons declaring no religious affiliation registered in the last general census. The dynamics in this respect is important for the public perception of religious minorities and, consequently, also for the actions of the state authorities, which, in view of the deepening worldview/religious pluralism of Polish society, may more comprehensively address the aspirations of minority groups, including their endeavours for access to certain goods distributed by the state, largely implementing the constitutional principle of equal treatment of churches and other religious associations (Article 25{1}).

### **3. Legal framework governing the position of minority churches and other religious associations**

The current Polish Constitution contains a broad set of guarantees of freedoms and rights for minority religious communities.<sup>16</sup> The model

---

<sup>15</sup> A significant number of school-age war refugees from Ukraine have entered the Polish school system. There have been signals that, due to a lack of accurate information, some of these persons, despite belonging to non-Catholic denominations, have been enrolled in religious education classes of the Catholic Church.

<sup>16</sup> A distinction must be made between the legal guarantees for individuals belonging to minority religions (individual freedom of conscience and religion), as set out, *inter alia*, in Articles 53 and 48(1) of the Constitution, and the guarantees for churches and other religious associations as collective entities (collective or corporate freedom

of legal protection of such entities adopted in the fundamental law had been determined by the statistical domination of Catholic faith adherents in Polish society. This was reflected in the creation of a provision for the Catholic Church in the Constitution that took into account its special social and international legal position. It was contained in Article 25, section 4, which reads: “The relations between the Republic of Poland and the Catholic Church shall be determined by an international agreement concluded with the Holy See and by statutes.” Thus, the authors of the 1997 Constitution found a solution that respected the actual shape of state–church relations in Poland at the turn of the 1980s and 1990s, including the role of the Polish Pope John Paul II, the aspirations of the Catholic Church in the context of state reconstruction after the fall of communism, and the traditional desire of this Church to obtain from the state a guarantee of its rights in the form of an international agreement with the Holy See. The norm of Article 25(4) took into account the accomplished facts and a model of ordinary legislation in religious matters originating from the time of the Second Republic of Poland, namely: the fact of signing of the Concordat on 28 July 1993, which was awaiting ratification until 1998, and the existence of the Act of 17 May 1989 on the relationship of the State to the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland<sup>17</sup>, which individually and separately defined the status of this Church (one of the so-called particular denominational acts). As the authors of the Constitution agreed to the model of individual regulation of the legal position of the Catholic Church, a similar model of individual regulations was created for other churches and other religious associations expressed in Article 25(5) of the Constitution, which reads: “The relations between the Republic of Poland and other churches and religious organisations shall be determined by statutes adopted pursuant to agreements concluded between their appropriate

---

of conscience and religion), which are the subject of further consideration.

<sup>17</sup> Consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2023, item 1966.

representatives and the Council of Ministers.” This ambitious solution, which was intended to ensure that minority religious communities receive treatment similar to that of the Catholic Church (in their case the international agreement with the Holy See supplemented by statutes was replaced by an agreement between the authorities of a given church or other religious association and the Council of Ministers, on the basis of which an individual statute was passed) has proved dysfunctional in practice (Borecki 2013, 37–44; Leszczyński 2012).

Among other key constitutional guarantees of freedoms and rights for minority religious communities, one should mention in particular the norms of Article 25(1)–(3). Sec. 1 introduced the principle of legal equality of all churches and other religious associations<sup>18</sup>, Sec. 2 established the principle of religious, philosophical and worldview impartiality of public authorities<sup>19</sup>, which implies, among other things, the ban on the establishment of a state religion or official religion, and Sec. 3 introduced the principle of independence and autonomy of

---

<sup>18</sup> “1. Churches and other religious associations shall have equal rights.” Jurisprudence of Constitutional Court of Poland stipulate the principle of legal equality of all churches and other religious associations stating, *inter alia*, that the objects identified as ones having the same or similar relevant feature should be treated equally (see for instance: decision of Constitutional Tribunal of 2 April 2003 (K 13/02; Mezglewski, Misztal, Stanisław 2011, 77). For example a pastoral care for persons serving in the military may be offered in institutionalised military chaplaincies (*ordinariates* etc.) organized only for churches or other religious associations that have a substantial number of the faithful in armed forces. Churches or other religious associations without substantial representation among the military personnel may offer their pastoral services there in noninstitutional forms.

<sup>19</sup> “2. Public authorities in the Republic of Poland shall be impartial in matters of religious, worldview and philosophical convictions, ensuring freedom of their expression in public life.”

the state and religious associations within their respective spheres<sup>20</sup>, which stipulates the separation of religious communities and the state.

One of the important constitutional rights of religious communities is the right to teach religion in schools, set out in Article 53(4), which has the following wording: “(4) The religion of a church or other religious organisation that has obtained regulation of its legal situation may be taught in schools, but other persons’ freedom of conscience and religion shall not be infringed thereby.” The lawmaker has thus provided for religious instruction by those religious communities that have received legal regulation, within the framework of “schools”, including public schools, on a voluntary basis, i.e. excluding the obligation for anyone to take such lessons. The constitutional norm in this respect is so general that its implementation requires detailed legislative provisions in subordinate acts.

The wording of Article 35(2) of the Constitution, which is part of the provision on national and ethnic minorities, is rather enigmatic. It declares: “2. National and ethnic minorities shall have the right to establish educational and cultural institutions, institutions designed to protect religious identity, as well as to participate in the resolution of matters connected with their cultural identity.” The concept of “institutions designed to protect religious identity” invoked in the above sentence is puzzling. Assuming that the lawmaker was rational, one must conclude that these institutions are not religious associations or their equivalent. Rather, they are entities other than religious communities that support the activities of these communities or individual adherents or groups of adherents (Czarny 2016, 900–901).

The sub-constitutional legislation concerning religious communities had, for the most part, been shaped prior to the entry into force of the

---

<sup>20</sup> “3. The relations between the state and churches and other religious associations are formed on the principles of respect for their autonomy and the mutual independence of each in its own sphere, as well as on the principle of cooperation for the individual and the common good.”

Constitution (Pietrzak 1999, 161–202). It was mainly drafted in the years 1989–1997. Even though provisions adopted in the fundamental law were intended to strengthen the position of minority religious associations in their relations with the state (such as the norm in Article 25(5) on the conclusion of agreements with the Council of Ministers, which are the basis for particular denominational acts), under the rule of the Constitution in force, i.e. for over 26 years, no law has been passed that would comprehensively regulate the status of any religious denomination<sup>21</sup>, despite the fact that some non-Catholic churches have been making efforts to achieve such a regulation (cf. Leszczyński 2011, 283–311).

The list of applicable statutory acts which individually regulate the legal existence of minority religious associations is currently as follows:

1. *rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 22 marca 1928 r. o stosunku Państwa do Wschodniego Kościoła Starobrzędowego, nie posiadającego hierarchji duchownej*, Dz.U. z 1928 r. Nr 38 poz. 363 [Ordinance of the President of the Republic of 22 March 1928 on the relation of the State to the Eastern Old Rite Church with no clerical hierarchy, *Journal of Laws* 1928, No. 38, item. 363],
2. *ustawa z dnia 21 kwietnia 1936 r. o stosunku Państwa do Muzułmańskiego Związku Religijnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Dz. U. z 1936 r. Nr 30, poz. 240, z 1945 r. Nr 48, poz. 271 i 273 [Act of 21 April 1936 on the relation of the State to the Muslim

---

<sup>21</sup> Only *ustawa z dnia 13 maja 2011 r. o finansowaniu Prawosławnego Seminarium Duchownego w Warszawie z budżetu państwa* (Dz.U. z 2011 r. Nr 144 poz. 849) [the Act of 13 May 2011 on the financing of the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Warsaw from the state budget, *Journal of Laws* 2011. No. 144, item 849] has been adopted in accordance with the procedure set out in Article 25(5) of the Constitution. This is an act normalizing a narrow scope of activities of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

- Religious Association in the Republic of Poland, *Journal of Laws* 1936, No. 30, item 240, 1945, No. 48, items 271 and 273],
3. *ustawa z dnia 21 kwietnia 1936 r. o stosunku Państwa do Karaïmskiego Związku Religijnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Dz. U. z 1936 r. poz. 241 oraz z 1945 r. poz. 271 i 273 [Act of 21 April 1936 on the relation of the State to the Karaite Religious Association in the Republic of Poland, *Journal of Laws* 1936, item 241, and 1945, items 271 and 273],
  4. *ustawa z dnia 4 lipca 1991 r. o stosunku Państwa do Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 544 [Act of 4 July 1991 on the relation of the State to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 544],
  5. *ustawa z dnia 13 maja 1994 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 509 [Act of 13 May 1994 on the relation of the State to the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 509],
  6. *ustawa z dnia 13 maja 1994 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2015 r. poz. 483 [Act of 13 May 1994 on the relation of the State to the Evangelical-Reformed Church in Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2015, item 483],
  7. *ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Methodystycznego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 85 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the Evangelical-Methodist Church in Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 85],
  8. *ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Chrześcijan Baptystów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 1874 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the

- State to the Church of Christians Baptists in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 1874],
9. *ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Adwentystów Dnia Siódmego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2022 r. poz. 2616 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2022, item 2616],
  10. *ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Polskokatolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 51 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the Polish-Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 51],
  11. *ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do gmin wyznaniowych żydowskich w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2014 r. poz. 1798 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Jewish religious communities in Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2014, item 1798],
  12. *ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Katolickiego Mariawitów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 8 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Catholic Mariavite Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 8],
  13. *ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Starokatolickiego Mariawitów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 47 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Old Catholic Mariavite Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2023, item 47],
  14. *ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Zielonoświątkowego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, t.j. Dz. U. z 2015 r. poz. 13 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Pentecostal Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* 2015, item 13].

The above-mentioned individual (particular) denominational acts were given to religious communities that the authors of Poland's religious policy deemed to be deserving of this type of regulation. This list included minority churches and other religious associations with the longest tradition in Poland. There is no doubt, however, that the admission of a particular community to the circle of religious associations subject to individual statutory regulation is a matter of an arbitrary decision of public authorities, and in particular the Sejm (the main chamber of Polish parliament). This is one of the main shortcomings of the model in which the legal status of religious communities is regulated by individual statutory acts.

Even before the 1997 Constitution came into force, the lawmaker had adopted a model for regulating the legal existence of religious communities that offered an alternative to particular statutory acts, i.e. the so-called registration model. It was introduced by *ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o gwarancjach wolności sumienia i wyznania* [the Act of 17 May 1989 on Guarantees of Freedom of Conscience and Religion].<sup>22</sup> It made it possible to register almost 200 churches and other religious associations.<sup>23</sup>

The Act on Guarantees of Freedom of Conscience and Religion is not limited to the registration of religious communities. It is an elaborate, modern and freedom-oriented legal regulation that sets up the legal framework for key aspects of the activities of religious associations. It had

---

<sup>22</sup> Consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2023, item 265.

<sup>23</sup> As of 8 April 2024, 173 churches and other religious associations were listed in the register of churches and other religious associations maintained by the minister competent for religious denominations. Taking into account the 14 minority churches and other religious associations subject to particular statutes, there are currently – apart from the Catholic Church – a total of 187 religious communities that have received legal regulation in Poland. The total number of religious associations registered under the Act on Guarantees of Freedom of Conscience and Religion is higher than 173, as 21 religious communities have been removed from the register. Cf. “Rejestr kościołów i innych związków wyznaniowych” n.d.

been prepared by the Communist authorities of the People's Republic of Poland (with the participation of eminent specialists in church–state legislation) in the final phase of this political formation as a legal act guaranteeing fundamental freedoms and rights to minority churches and other religious associations. This was done in the context of the approaching entry into force of the above-mentioned Act on the relation of the State to the Catholic Church, which was being prepared at the same time.<sup>24</sup> The Act on Guarantees is a legal act that applies to all religious associations without exception and to the freedom of conscience and religion of all individuals, including those not affiliated to religious associations. However, it has been stereotypically (and wrongly) perceived as a standard of protection only for minority religious communities, and as such especially at the time when a number of churches and other religious communities with the longest tradition on Polish territory were still subject to the restrictive laws of the inter-war period (this was especially true for churches that obtained new statutory regulations in the years 1991–1995). The Act on Guarantees enabled them to evade the authoritarian elements of the regulations from the Second Republic (1918–1939) and to enjoy a broader catalogue of freedoms and rights than those specified therein (see Article 18(2) of the Act).

When discussing the legal framework applicable to minority religious communities, it should be noted that the main shortcoming of the Polish freedom of conscience and religion legislation is a result of insufficient legal regulation (lack of legal framework). In particular, there is a lack of regulation that would satisfactorily protect the constitutional rights of persons and organisations not belonging to the religious / worldview

---

<sup>24</sup> Both acts were adopted on 17 May 1989, i.e. the act relating to the Catholic Church and the Act on Guarantees. Another statute enacted alongside them was *ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o ubezpieczeniu społecznym duchownych* (Dz.U. z 1989 r. Nr 29 poz. 156) [the Act of 17 May 1989 on the Social Insurance of the Clergy, *Journal of Laws* of 1989, No. 29, item 156] (later amended and finally repealed) referring to the clergy of all religious associations that have obtained legal regulation.

majority, and this allows violation of freedoms and rights of minority groups by means of *a fait accompli*. The scope of this paper allows only for a closer look at two important areas of such deficits: religious education in public schools and kindergartens as well as a religious form of civil marriage.

Due to the manifold importance of this matter and the high probability of violations of fundamental freedoms and rights (especially in administrative practice), sub-constitutional provisions were needed to ensure the implementation of the Constitutional provisions concerning religious instruction in schools (*inter alia*, the above-cited Article 53(4)). In this respect, it must be said that in the entire period since the introduction of religious education in public schools in 1990, public authorities have shown a well-established legislative indolence. The existing statutory regulations in this respect are perfunctory (especially Article 12 of *ustawa z dnia 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty* [the Act of 7 September 1991 on the Education System]).<sup>25</sup> The lawmaker notoriously refrains from regulating this issue in more detail and, in violation of constitutional standards, has merely formulated a statutory delegation to issue an executive act, i.e. the rightly criticized *rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 14 kwietnia 1992 r. w sprawie warunków i sposobu organizowania nauki religii w publicznych przedszkolach i szkołach* [ordinance of the Minister of National Education of 14 April 1992 on the conditions and manner of organising religious instruction in public kindergartens and schools]<sup>26</sup>, which has been in force for more than three decades now. The main victims of the current legal and administrative model of religious education in public schools and kindergartens are pupils and parents (legal guardians) belonging to

<sup>25</sup> Consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2024, item 750.

<sup>26</sup> Consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2020, item 983. The Constitution does not envisage religious instruction in kindergartens. It is enshrined in the 1993 Concordat (Article 12) and, following it, in the Education System Act. More on the shortcomings of the regulation in question: Zieliński 2023, 69–90.

religious and worldview minorities, although the group of people affected also includes Catholics critical of the educational solutions favoured by official representatives of the Catholic Church.

The Polish freedom of conscience and religion legislation also guarantees the right to perform religious practices that go beyond models of behaviour typical of the dominant faiths in Europe. One example is the case of ritual slaughter, guaranteed, inter alia, in Article 9(2) of the Act on the relation of the State to Jewish Religious Communities. Legal provisions concerning this controversial practice (the killing of an animal without prior stunning),<sup>27</sup> which in addition to Judaism is also important for followers of Islam, were reviewed by the Constitutional Tribunal, which, in its judgment of 10 December 2014,<sup>28</sup> stated its admissibility under certain conditions as a form of religious freedom deserving protection (Brzozowski 2015, 41–52).

The COVID-19 pandemic in Poland in 2020–2023 forced the state authorities to impose significant restrictions on religious practices of churches and other religious associations. The legal solutions adopted at the time should be viewed as compliant with the principle of equal rights of religious communities (Abramowicz, 2021, 255–278).

One of the most significant rights arbitrarily denied to most religious associations is the right to offer a religious form of civil marriage. The religious (confessional) form was introduced in 1998 after the ratification of the Concordat, which set out the rules for civil effects of canonical marriages in the Catholic Church. In order for this solution to be effective, amendments had to be made to *Kodeks rodzinny i opiekuńczy* [the Family and Guardianship Code] as well as other laws. In order not to deny this right to non-Catholic churches and other religious associations, it was granted to those of them that obtained individual statutory acts (particular denominational acts) after 1989. These are:

---

<sup>27</sup> For more on the subject, cf. Czohara, Zieliński 2012, 78–80.

<sup>28</sup> File reference K 52/13.

the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Evangelical-Augsburg Church, the Evangelical-Reformed Church, the Evangelical-Methodist Church, the Church of Christians Baptists, the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists, the Polish-Catholic Church, the Jewish religious communities in Poland, the Old Catholic Mariavite Church and the Pentecostal Church.<sup>29</sup> Both religious communities subject to statutes from the interwar period, i.e. the Eastern Old Rite Church, the Muslim Religious Association, the Karaite Religious Association and all those listed in the register of churches and other religious associations were left out. It is blatant case of discrimination against the faithful of these communities and other persons wishing to marry in their respective communities. It could be eliminated since a draft law to solve this problem was created almost a decade ago (cf. Zieliński 2012, 169–176).

For this outline of the most substantial issues in the legal framework governing the status of minority religious communities to be complete, it must be added that the maintaining in force of the archaic pre-war statutory acts on the Eastern Old Rite Church with no clerical hierarchy (1928), on the Muslim Religious Association in Poland (1936), and on the Karaite Religious Association in Poland (1936) is hard to justify. They clearly violate the standards set out in the Constitution in multiple ways (cf. Borecki 2015, 21–39; Brzozowski 2012, 11–24). They should have been replaced long ago by new individual laws or amended by removing or modifying provisions that conflict with the Constitution.

#### **4. Government actions towards religious minorities 2015-2023**

In 2015–2023, when the so-called *Zjednoczona Prawica* [United Right] (consisting mainly of the *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* [Law and

---

<sup>29</sup> Particular laws concerning these associations were amended to include provisions establishing the right to perform a religious form of civil marriage, for example Article 9a of the Act on the relation of the State to the Jewish religious communities in the Republic of Poland. The Mariavite Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, which is subject to a particular statute of 1997, did not agree to obtain such a right.

Justice] party and the Solidarna Polska [Solidarity Poland] party) was in power,<sup>30</sup> no significant legislative amendments were made that would explicitly limit the freedoms and rights of religious associations. However, the then ruling coalition took a number of measures to strengthen the position of the Catholic Church and the influence of the religious factor on public life. This was expressed in legislation by granting privileges to churches and other religious associations (including those listed in the register) with regard to the right to trade in agricultural real estate, drastically restricted by *ustawa z dnia 14 kwietnia 2016 r. o wstrzymaniu sprzedaży nieruchomości Zasobu Własności Rolnej Skarbu Państwa oraz o zmianie niektórych ustaw* [the Act of 14 April 2016 on the Suspension of the Sale of Real Estate belonging to the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury and Amending Certain Acts].<sup>31</sup>

The leadership of the government coalition stopped the initiative developed by politicians of Solidarna Polska to change the statutory definition of criminal offences set out in Articles 195 (obstruction of public performance of a religious act) and 196 (offence against religious feelings) of the Penal Code (Gajos-Kaniewska 2022) included in the civic draft law to amend that Code.<sup>32</sup> The same draft was debated by the Polish Sejm of the tenth term<sup>33</sup> and was rejected after the first reading on 26 April 2024. Despite being promoted in the public space as a draft legislation to “defend Christians”, it envisaged the punishment of actions directed against all religious associations that have obtained legal regulation.

In the administrative practice of the authorities in relation to religious minorities during the period in question, the obligations stipulated by law were generally fulfilled. For example, the provisions on taxation

---

<sup>30</sup> Later renamed as Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland).

<sup>31</sup> *Journal of Laws* of 2016, item 585.

<sup>32</sup> Publication of the Polish Sejm, 9th term, no. 2756, 3 November 2022.

<sup>33</sup> Publication of the Polish Sejm, 10th term, no. 29, 20 November 2023. Cf. Mikowski 2024.

and social insurance for clergy of minority religious communities were respected, their pastoral services in the armed forces, the police (the Orthodox Military Ordinariate and the Evangelical Military Chaplaincy), prisons and hospitals were financed by the state. Financing was provided for the work of the Christian Academy of Theology in Warsaw (ChAT)<sup>34</sup> and the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Warsaw.<sup>35</sup> The so-called regulatory commissions for minority religious communities, i.e. commissions dealing with the issues arising from the seizure of real estate property of religious associations by the state after World War II, operated without interruption. These commissions continue to operate despite the abolition in 2010 of the Property Commission for the Catholic Church.<sup>36</sup>

A building that meets all the expectations of ChAT, built with state funds, was completed in 2018. Furthermore, *ustawa z dnia 8 grudnia 2017 r. o dotacji dla Fundacji Dziedzictwa Kulturowego przeznaczona na uzupełnienie kapitału wieczystego* [the Act of 8 December 2017 on a grant to support the endowment of the Cultural Heritage Foundation]<sup>37</sup> was adopted to provide ongoing funding for the preservation of the Jewish Cemetery on Okopowa Street in Warsaw. Such a government intervention can be seen in two ways: as support for projects nurturing Jewish cultural monuments, including their secular manifestations, or

---

<sup>34</sup> Advantageous changes in this respect were brought about by *ustawa z dnia 27 listopada 2020 r. o zmianie ustawy o Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Warszawie* (Dz.U. z 2020 r. poz. 2374) [the Act of 27 November 2020 amending the Act on the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw, *Journal of Laws* 2020, item 2374].

<sup>35</sup> Note the different legal status of the two educational institutions: ChAT is a public institution of higher education, while the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Warsaw is a church institution of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

<sup>36</sup> The Property Commission was abolished by *ustawa z dnia 16 grudnia 2010 r. o zmianie ustawy o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Katolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Dz.U. z 2011 r. Nr 18 poz. 89) [the Act of 16 December 2010 amending the Act on the relationship between the State and the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, *Journal of Laws* 2011, no. 18 item 89]. See: Walencik 2017, 181–209.

<sup>37</sup> *Journal of Laws* 2017, item 2383.

as support for projects nurturing the legacy of Judaism. However, as the necropolis in question is owned by the Jewish Religious Community in Warsaw, it is a one of minority religious associations that has received a transfer of 100 million PLN, which justifies mentioning this case here.<sup>38</sup>

Ten religious communities representing various religious traditions, including non-Christian ones, were enrolled into the register of churches and other religious associations during the United Right government (2015–2023). This is not significantly fewer than the number of religious communities registered during the previous coalition government (2007–2015), when 14 entities were registered. There was a relatively strong public response to the petition of the Prosecutor General Zbigniew Ziobro to the minister responsible for religious affairs to annul the January 2020 decision to enter the Reformed Catholic Church (RKK) in the register of churches and other religious associations. The Prosecutor General argued that the religious practices of the RKK include celebrating the sacrament of marriage also for same-sex couples, which, in his opinion, violates in particular Article 18 of the Constitution (“Marriage, as a union of a man and a woman, as well as the family, motherhood and parenthood, shall be placed under the protection and care of the Republic of Poland”) [“Wykreślenie z rejestru Reformowanego Kościoła Katolickiego narusza Konstytucję” 2020]. Despite the fact that marriages celebrated in the RKK have no legal effect under Polish law and that religious ceremonies are an internal affair of the church in

---

<sup>38</sup> The plans for reforming the system of public financing of churches and other religious associations, which had been discussed during the governments of the coalition in power prior to the autumn of 2015, were not undertaken during the United Right government. Cf. discussion of these plans: Zieliński 2017, 95-110. Among the numerous transfers of public resources (e.g. financial grants and agricultural real estate) to religious entities made in 2015–2023 (especially many of them were directed to projects tied to the person of Fr Tadeusz Rydzyk), there were also cases of subsidizing selected minority religious communities other than the above-mentioned one (aid to the Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw). These communities also benefited from the increased spending on the Fundusz Kościelny (Church Fund) of course. Cf. Podlaska 2022.

question as a manifestation of its autonomy (and in principle should not be subject to review by the state), in 2020, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration removed this Church from the register maintained by him. As a result of the judicial review of the decision in question, the Minister's decision to annul the entry in the register was overturned by the Voivodship Administrative Court in October 2022. The court shared the RKK's accurate view that a marriage without civil law effects is a religious rite not subject to review by state authorities due to the principle of respect for the autonomy of religious associations. Consequently, the Reformed Catholic Church remained a religious association with a regulated legal situation ("Reprezentowany przez DZP Reformowany Kościół Katolicki wygrywa spór o rejestrację" 2022).

Changes to the legal status of religious education in public schools proposed by the Minister of National Education, Przemysław Czarnek (Law and Justice party), which were also criticised in some religious minority circles, did not materialise. This is highly probable, *inter alia*, due to the over three decades old practice of regulating statutory matters in this area in a sub-statutory, i.e. ministerial measure (Ordinance of 1992). Contrary to constitutional norms, Minister Czarnek planned to introduce a mechanism to stimulate participation in catechesis in the context of a clearly declining interest in this subject in recent years. Instead of the model set out in the 1992 ordinance, which offered a choice of one of three options ("religion" – "ethics" – "nothing"), the Law and Justice politician sought to make it compulsory for pupils or their parents (custodians) to choose between catechesis and ethics lessons ("Przemysław Czarnek zapowiada obowiązkowe lekcje religii lub etyki" 2021). Ethics, widely perceived as a difficult, demanding subject based on objectified knowledge, was supposed to induce most pupils to choose catechesis (it is widely believed that a passing grade in catechesis does not require as much effort as other school subjects).

Przemysław Czarnek's idea flagrantly violates the provisions of the Constitution concerning religious instruction. The constitutional

provisions are structured in such a way that the freedom to choose school catechesis for some must not entail burdens for those who do not wish to use this freedom. The use of ethics as an instrument to mobilise participation in catechesis is not only unconstitutional, but also based on an unfounded notion of equivalence or similar substantive value of the two subjects. In fact, religious education as a school subject in its dominant form practised in Poland since 1990 is hardly equivalent to ethics, not least because the former covers a lot of content unrelated to ethical issues, does not provide an objectified comparison of different approaches to ethics and is directed towards convincing pupils of one vision of the world only. If, therefore, the ministry of education is in favour of comprehensive ethical education for all pupils, ethics should be made compulsory for all pupils and catechesis should be left a matter of choice for those interested in a religious worldview. The minister behind the idea of a mandatory choice between catechesis and ethics abandoned its implementation in early 2023, which can be attributed not only to an insufficient number of ethics teachers, but also to the rather widespread criticism of this proposal (“Szef MEiN rezygnuje z lex Czarnek i obowiązku wyboru między religią a etyką?” 2023).

In 2016, representatives of religious minorities were alarmed by the Ministry of Defence’s plans to introduce new designs of identification tags (so-called “dog tags”) for soldiers and other persons required to wear them containing data about their religion (for the purposes of e.g. proper burial) [“Nowe nieśmiertelniki dla polskich żołnierzy...” 2016]. Compulsory declaration of religious affiliation on these tags would be a violation of Article 53(7) of Constitution (prohibiting a public authority from requiring anyone to reveal his or her worldview, religious beliefs or confession) and at the same time, among other things, an instrument to segregate or antagonise people required to wear them according to a religious criterion. The project in question was not implemented until 2024, after the governing coalition changed, and only then in a form

that ensures that the provision of religious data by soldiers and other persons covered by the regulation remains voluntary.<sup>39</sup>

The lack of legal changes aggravating the status of minority religious communities and the relatively good treatment of these by the state administration in 2015–2023 do not paint a complete picture of the position of religious minorities during the period under review. As citizens, many representatives of these communities were aware of the consequences of violations of the Constitution and other democracy-threatening actions of state bodies staffed by representatives of the United Right. In particular, actions undermining judicial independence, depriving the Constitutional Tribunal of its core attributes as set out in the Constitution, violations of the principles of good legislation, limiting the rights of the political opposition, restricting civil liberties, displays of aversion to foreigners, national minorities and sexual minorities, creating a draconian anti-abortion law that is an affront to the dignity of women, the intense saturation of public space with the Catholic element (including the ostentatious display of religious symbols in state buildings), the party-dependence of public media, the harassment of independent media, the conflict with the European Union, challenging judgments of the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights, all these phenomena have raised serious concerns about the future of respect for the rules of democracy in Poland, which cannot, in the end, remain without effect on respect for the freedom of conscience and religion of minority communities.

It was not an isolated opinion that the attacks directed by representatives of the United Right against non-religious minorities would in time expand, to a greater or lesser extent, to non-Catholic faiths. This opinion was reinforced by statements coming from people in power creating an anti-Muslim (cf. e.g. “Bodnar skarży do sądu spot PiS:

---

<sup>39</sup> *Rozporządzenie Ministra Obrony Narodowej z dnia 1 marca 2024 r. w sprawie kart i tabliczek tożsamości*, Dz.U. z 2024 r. poz. 358 [Ordinance of the Minister of Defence of 1 March 2024 on identity cards and tags, *Journal of Laws* 2024, item 358].

antyuchodźczy i antymuzułmański character” 2018) and anti-Semitic (cf. e.g. Czuchnowski 2023) climate and, as the leader of the Law and Justice party Jarosław Kaczyński did, proclaiming the supremacy of the Catholic worldview: “The Church has been and is the proclaimer of the only universally known system of values in Poland, outside of it we have only nihilism, which we reject” (“J. Kaczyński: Poza Kościołem jest tylko nihilizm, który wszystko niszczy” 2019).

## **5. Conclusions**

It is difficult to give a definite answer to the question about the legal situation of religious minorities in Poland posed in the title of this paper. Do these communities enjoy equal rights as the largest confession in the country, i.e. the Catholic Church, or do they enjoy equal rights among one another? Is it justified to speak of systemic, fundamental discrimination against these entities, or are cases of discrimination a partial or marginal phenomenon?

For a long time from 1989 onwards, the public authorities of Poland made many efforts to shape the legal status of religious minorities according to the standards accepted in established democratic states. They did so in the context of the aspiration of the Catholic Church to become the ideological leader of Polish society, defining the dominant way of life in it, which they either supported or at least did not strongly oppose. Both the legislation on churches and other religious associations of 1989–1997 and the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997 introduced high standards of protection for minority denominations unknown in the earlier history of the state. The religious activities of non-Catholic religious communities enjoyed freedoms typical of liberal states during this period. In many respects, minority religious communities could not obtain benefits from the state comparable to those received by the majority church, and this was most often for obvious reasons caused by their demographic status (e.g. the scale of financial transfers, the right to establish chaplaincies in state

institutions). However, in the basic spheres of functioning, minority religious associations that have obtained legal regulation were not subject to discrimination, had equal access to goods offered by the state as the Catholic Church (e.g. social and health insurance for clergy, taxation of clergy, taxation of religious legal entities, access of their members to public positions, the right to conduct religious instruction in kindergartens and public schools, the right to establish cemeteries, the right to burial in Catholic cemeteries in towns without a municipal cemetery). Inequalities also exist between larger and smaller non-Catholic religious organisations, most frequently due to significant differences in the number of members or their level of establishment in Polish society, or the expectations of the religious association itself with regard to goods provided by the state (in the latter respect, see, for example, the case of Jehovah's Witnesses, who do not expect to have their chaplains in public institutions). Probably the only case of legal discrimination that absolutely deserves to be protested against is the fact that the state has not granted religious associations entered in the register and the three communities subject to the pre-war particular denominational acts the right to perform the religious form of civil marriage.

The strengthening of the Catholic Church's position in the public space by the state authorities over the years, which reached its climax between 2015 and 2023, must have caused, at least among some of the faithful of minority faiths, a feeling of marginalisation, of being relegated to the background of public life. The same was felt to no lesser extent by not affiliated or non-religious citizens. A particular area of discrimination against non-Catholics was public education, where the United Right government pursued a policy of saturating the educational process with ideology in the spirit of strict Catholicism. Such actions, which were to a huge extent extra-legal in nature, were one of the significant manifestations of the erosion of the democratic rule of law.

After 35 years of building a democratic state in Poland and 20 years of the Poland's membership in the European Union, Polish society is

characterised by profound political, moral, cultural, ideological and religious diversity, and increasingly also by national and linguistic diversity (an influx of foreigners not seen for many decades). The far-reaching homogeneity typical of the period of the People's Republic of Poland should be regarded as a matter of the past, which is significantly reflected in the declining influence of the Catholic Church, which, however, still retains a considerable size and not insignificant power. In the light of these realities, the legislation on freedom of conscience and religion must be revised, in particular with regard to respecting the principle of worldview impartiality in state education and in the activities of other public institutions, with regard to the public financing of religious associations and with regard to respecting the autonomy of the individual in the field of medical procedures (*in vitro* treatment, abortion, gender reassignment). In all these issues, the question of the state's respect for the freedoms and rights of minority groups will remain topical.

## Literature

### Legal measures

#### Parliamentary acts and acts of equal force

Konstytucja Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 2 kwietnia 1997 r., Dz. U. z 1997 r. Nr 78, poz. 483, z 2001 r. Nr 28, poz. 319, z 2006 r. Nr 200, poz. 1471, z 2009 r., Nr 114, poz. 946 [Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 2 April 1997, Journal of Laws of 1997, No. 78, item 483, of 2001, No. 28, item 319, of 2006. No. 200, item 1471, of 2009, No. 114, item 946].

Rozporządzenie Prezydenta Rzeczypospolitej z dnia 22 marca 1928 r. o stosunku Państwa do Wschodniego Kościoła Staroobrzędowego, nie posiadającego hierarchji duchownej, Dz.U. z 1928 r. Nr 38 poz. 363 [Ordinance of the President of the Republic of 22 March 1928 on the relation of the State to the Eastern Old Rite Church with no clerical hierarchy, Journal of Laws 1928, No. 38, item. 363].

- Ustawa z dnia 21 kwietnia 1936 r. o stosunku Państwa do Muzułmańskiego Związku Religijnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz. U. z 1936 r. Nr 30, poz. 240, z 1945 r. Nr 48, poz. 271 i 273 [Act of 21 April 1936 on the relation of the State to the Muslim Religious Association in the Republic of Poland, Journal of Laws 1936, No. 30, item 240, 1945, No. 48, items 271 and 273].
- Ustawa z dnia 21 kwietnia 1936 r. o stosunku Państwa do Karaimskiego Związku Religijnego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz. U. z 1936 r. poz. 241 oraz z 1945 r. poz. 271 i 273 [Act of 21 April 1936 on the relation of the State to the Karaite Religious Association in the Republic of Poland, Journal of Laws 1936, item 241, and 1945, items 271 and 273].
- Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Katolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 1966 [Act of 17 May 1989 on the relation of the State to the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws of 2023, item 1966].
- Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o gwarancjach wolności sumienia i wyznania, t.j. Dz.U. z 2023 r., poz. 265 [the Act of 17 May 1989 on Guarantees of Freedom of Conscience and Religion, Consolidated text: Journal of Laws of 2023, item 265].
- Ustawa z dnia 17 maja 1989 r. o ubezpieczeniu społecznym duchownych, Dz.U. z 1989 r. Nr 29 poz. 156 [the Act of 17 May 1989 on the Social Insurance of the Clergy, Journal of Laws of 1989, No. 29, item 156].
- Ustawa z dnia 4 lipca 1991 r. o stosunku Państwa do Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 544 [Act of 4 July 1991 on the relation of the State to the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church, consolidated text: Journal of Laws of 2023, item 544].

- Ustawa z dnia 7 września 1991 r. o systemie oświaty, t.j. Dz.U. z 2024 r. poz. 750 [the Act of 7 September 1991 on the Education System, consolidated text: Journal of Laws of 2024, item 750].
- Ustawa z dnia 13 maja 1994 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 509 [Act of 13 May 1994 on the relation of the State to the Evangelical-Augsburg Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2023, item 509].
- Ustawa z dnia 13 maja 1994 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Reformowanego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2015 r. poz. 483 [Act of 13 May 1994 on the relation of the State to the Evangelical-Reformed Church in Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2015, item 483].
- Ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Methodystycznego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 85 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the Evangelical-Methodist Church in Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2023, item 85],
- Ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Chrześcijan Baptystów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 1874 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the Church of Christians Baptists in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2023, item 1874],
- Ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Adwentystów Dnia Siódmego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2022 r. poz. 2616 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the Church of Seventh-Day Adventists in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2022, item 2616].
- Ustawa z dnia 30 czerwca 1995 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Polskokatolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 51 [Act of 30 June 1995 on the relation of the State to the

- Polish-Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2023, item 51].
- Ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do gmin wyznaniowych żydowskich w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2014 r. poz. 1798 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Jewish religious communities in Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2014, item 1798].
- Ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Katolickiego Mariawitów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 8 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Catholic Mariavite Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2023, item 8].
- Ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Starokatolickiego Mariawitów w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2023 r. poz. 47 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Old Catholic Mariavite Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2023, item 47].
- Ustawa z dnia 20 lutego 1997 r. o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Zielonoświątkowego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, t.j. Dz. U. z 2015 r. poz. 13 [Act of 20 February 1997 on the relation of the State to the Pentecostal Church in the Republic of Poland, consolidated text: Journal of Laws 2015, item 13].
- Ustawa z dnia 16 grudnia 2010 r. o zmianie ustawy o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Katolickiego w Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Dz.U. z 2011 r. Nr 18 poz. 89 [the Act of 16 December 2010 amending the Act on the relationship between the State and the Catholic Church in the Republic of Poland, Journal of Laws 2011, no. 18 item 89].
- Ustawa z dnia 13 maja 2011 r. o finansowaniu Prawosławnego Seminarium Duchownego w Warszawie z budżetu państwa, Dz.U. z 2011 r. Nr 144 poz. 849 [the Act of 13 May 2011 on the financing of

the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Warsaw from the state budget, *Journal of Laws* 2011. No. 144, item 849].

Ustawa z dnia 14 kwietnia 2016 r. o wstrzymaniu sprzedaży nieruchomości Zasobu Własności Rolnej Skarbu Państwa oraz o zmianie niektórych ustaw, *Dz.U. z 2016 r., poz. 585* [the Act of 14 April 2016 on the Suspension of the Sale of Real Estate belonging to the Agricultural Property Stock of the State Treasury and Amending Certain Acts, *Journal of Laws* of 2016, item 585].

Ustawa z dnia 8 grudnia 2017 r. o dotacji dla Fundacji Dziedzictwa Kulturowego przeznaczonej na uzupełnienie kapitału wieczystego, *Dz.U. z 2017 r. poz. 2383* [the Act of 8 December 2017 on a grant to support the endowment of the Cultural Heritage Foundation, *Journal of Laws* 2017, item 2383].

Ustawa z dnia 9 sierpnia 2019 r. o narodowym spisie powszechnym ludności i mieszkań w 2021 r., t.j. *Dz. U. z 2021 r. poz. 1143* [the Act of 9 August 2019 on the National Population and Housing Census in 2021, consolidated text: *Journal of Laws* of 2021, item 1143].

Ustawa z dnia 27 listopada 2020 r. o zmianie ustawy o Chrześcijańskiej Akademii Teologicznej w Warszawie, *Dz.U. z 2020 r. poz. 2374* [the Act of 27 November 2020 amending the Act on the Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw, *Journal of Laws* 2020, item 2374].

### **International law**

Konkordat między Stolicą Apostolską i Rzeczpospolitą Polską, podpisany w Warszawie dnia 28 lipca 1993 r., *Dz.U. z 1998 r. nr 51 poz. 318* [Concordat between the Holy See and the Republic of Poland, signed in Warsaw on 28 July 1993, *Journal of Laws* 1998, no. 51, item 318].

### **Delegated legislation**

Rozporządzenie Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z dnia 14 kwietnia 1992 r. w sprawie warunków i sposobu organizowania nauki religii w publicznych przedszkolach i szkołach, t.j. *Dz.U. z 2020 r. poz. 983*

[ordinance of the Minister of National Education of 14 April 1992 on the conditions and manner of organising religious instruction in public kindergartens and schools, consolidated text: Journal of Laws of 2020, item 983].

Rozporządzenie Ministra Obrony Narodowej z dnia 1 marca 2024 r. w sprawie kart i tabliczek tożsamości, Dz.U. z 2024 r. poz. 358 [Ordinance of the Minister of Defence of 1 March 2024 on identity cards and tags, Journal of Laws 2024, item 358].

### **Scholarly publications**

Abramowicz, Aneta M. 2021. "Wolność religijna w czasie pandemii koronawirusa. Ocena rozwiązań polskich." *Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego* 24: 255–278.

Borecki, Paweł. 2013. *Prawo wyznaniowe w świetle Konstytucji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z 1997 r.*. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy Elipsa.

Borecki, Paweł. 2015. „Przedwojenne ustawodawstwo wyznaniowe we współczesnym polskim systemie prawnym.” In *Aktualne problemy wolności myśli, sumienia i religii*. Ed. Piotr Stanisz et. al., 21–39. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

Brzozowski, Wojciech. 2012. "Przedwojenne ustawodawstwo wyznaniowe a Konstytucja RP z 1997 r." *Przegląd Legislacyjny* 1: 11–24.

Brzozowski, Wojciech. 2015. "Ubój rytualny a Konstytucja RP" In *Aktualne problemy wolności myśli, sumienia i religii*. Ed. Piotr Stanisz et al., 41–52. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.

Czarny, Piotr. 2016. "Art. 35. [Prawa mniejszości narodowych]." In *Konstytucja RP. Tom 1: Komentarz art. 1–86*. Ed. Marek Safjan, Leszek Bosek, 900–901, Warszawa: C.H. Beck.

Czohara, Andrzej, and Tadeusz J. Zieliński. 2012. *Ustawa o stosunku Państwa do gmin wyznaniowych żydowskich w Polsce. Komentarz*. Warszawa: WoltersKluwer.

Heemstra, Marius. 2009. "How Rome's administration of the Fiscus Judaicus accelerated the parting of the ways between Judaism and Christianity." Thesis fully internal (DIV), University of Groningen.

- Leszczyński, Paweł A. 2011. "Nowelizacja ustawy o stosunku Państwa do Kościoła Ewangelicko-Augsburskiego na podstawie art. 25 ust. 5 Konstytucji RP – wewnątrzkościelne prace studyjne w 2002 roku oraz aktualne propozycje zmian." *Studia z Prawa Wyznaniowego* 14: 283–311.
- Leszczyński, Paweł A. 2012. *Regulacja stosunków między państwem a nierzymskokatolickimi kościołami i innymi związkami wyznaniowymi określona w art. 25 ust. 5 Konstytucji RP*. Gorzów Wielkopolski: Państwowa Wyższa Szkoła Zawodowa w Gorzowie Wielkopolskim.
- Mezglewski, Artur, i Henryk Misztal, Piotr Stanisław. 2011. *Prawo wyznaniowe*. 3<sup>rd</sup>. edition. Warszawa: C.H. Beck.
- Pawłowska, Danuta. 2024. "Oficjalnie: 371 tys. Ukraińców zarejestrowanych w Polsce to mężczyźni w wieku poborowym." *Biqdata.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://biqdata.wyborcza.pl/biqdata/7,159116,30930415,oficjalnie-371-tys-ukraincow-w-polsce-to-mezczyzni-w-wieku.html>.
- Pietrzak, Michał. 1999. "Przełom w polskim ustawodawstwie wyznaniowym." In Michał Pietrzak, *Demokratyczne, świeckie państwo prawne*, 161–202. Warszawa: Liber.
- Walencik, Dariusz. 2017. "Regulacja spraw majątkowych związków wyznaniowych realizacją zasady ich równouprawnienia?" *Przegląd Prawa Wyznaniowego* 9: 181–209.
- Zieliński, Tadeusz J. 2012. "Rozciągnięcie prawa procedowania wyznaniowej formy zawarcia małżeństwa cywilnego na wspólnoty religijne wpisane do rejestru (propozycja *de lege ferenda*)." *Przegląd Prawa Wyznaniowego* 4: 169–176.
- Zieliński, Tadeusz J. 2017. "Asygnata podatkowa na związki wyznaniowe – uwagi o projekcie ustawy przygotowanym przez administrację rządową w 2013 r." *Przegląd Prawa Wyznaniowego* 9: 95–110.

Zieliński, Tadeusz J. 2023. "Merytoryczne i legislacyjne uwagi do rozporządzenia Ministra Edukacji Narodowej z 1992 r. dotyczącego nauczania religii i etyki." *Studia z Teorii Wychowania* 4 (45): 69–90.

### Other publications

"Bodnar skarży do sądu spot PiS: antyuchodźczy i antymuzułmański charakter." 2018. *rp.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://www.rp.pl/prawo-karne/art9528511-bodnar-skarzy-do-sadu-spot-pis-antyuchodzczy-i-antymuzulmanski-charakter>.

Czuchnowski, Wojciech. 2023. "«Nienawistny atak». Naukowcy solidarni z prof. Barbarą Engelking." *wyborcza.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://wyborcza.pl/7,75398,29704165,nienawistny-atak-naukowcy-solidarni-z-prof-barbara-engelking.html>.

Gajos-Kaniewska, Dorota. 2022. "Więzenie za sztydzenie z Kościoła. Ziobryści chcą zmienić Kodeks karny." *rp.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.30. <https://www.rp.pl/prawo-karne/art36081501-wiezienie-za-szydzenie-z-kosciola-ziobrysci-chca-zmienic-kodeks-karny>.

"Ilu Polaków wierzy? Ilu deklaruje, że jest katolikami? Co z innymi wyznaniem? Dane Narodowego Spisu Powszechnego [How many Poles believe? How many declare themselves to be Catholics? What about other faiths? National Census data]" 2023. *tvn24.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.30. <https://tvn24.pl/polska/spis-powszechny-2021-wiara-przynalencosc-do-wyznania-religijnego-ilu-katolikow-zyje-w-polsce-ile-innych-wyznan-ilu-niewiezacych-st7366704>.

"J. Kaczyński: Poza Kościołem jest tylko nihilizm, który wszystko niszczy." 2019. *radiomaryja.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://www.radiomaryja.pl/informacje/j-kaczynski-pozza-kosciolem-jest-tylko-nihilizm-ktory-wszystko-niszczy/>.

Mikowski, Mateusz. 2024. "Wraca pomysł ziobrystów. Więzenie za lzenie Kościoła." 2024. *rp.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.30. <https://www.rp.pl/prawo-karne/>

art40178801-wraca-pomysl-ziobrystow-wiezienie-za-lzenie-kosciola.

“Nowe nieśmiertelniki dla polskich żołnierzy. Będą zawierać informację o wyznaniu.” 2016. *wprost.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://www.wprost.pl/kraj/10026678/nowe-niesmiertelniki-dla-polskich-zolnierzy-beda-zawierac-informacje-o-wyznaniu.html>.

Podlaska, Anna. 2022. “Fundusz Kościelny puchnie. W dekadę urosł ponad dwukrotnie.” *newsweek.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.29. <https://www.newsweek.pl/polska/spoleczenstwo/fundusz-koscielny-2023-rekordowo-wysokie-finansowanie-z-budzetu/4n4qrrf>.

“Przemysław Czarnek zapowiada obowiązkowe lekcje religii lub etyki.” 2021. *klubjagiellonski.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.15. <https://klubjagiellonski.pl/2021/04/23/przemyslaw-czarnek-zapowiada-obowiazkowe-lekcje-religii-lub-etyki/>.

“Rejestr kościołów i innych związków wyznaniowych.” N.d. *gov.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.10. <https://www.gov.pl/web/mswia/rejestr-kosciolow-i-innych-zwiazkow-wyznaniowych>.

“Reprezentowany przez DZP Reformowany Kościół Katolicki wygrywa spór o rejestrację.” 2022. *dzp.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://www.dzp.pl/dzp-doradza/352-reprezentowany-przez-dzp-reformowany-kosciol-katolicki-wygrywa-spor-o-rejestracje>.

“Szef MEiN rezygnuje z lex Czarnek i obowiązku wyboru między religią a etyką?” 2023. *glos.pl*. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://glos.pl/szef-mein-rezygnuje-z-lex-czarnek-i-obowiazku-wyboru-miedzy-religia-a-etyka>.

“Tabl. 5. Ludność według przynależności do wyznania religijnego w 2021 r.” 2024. *stat.gov.pl*. Accessed 2024.04.30. <https://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/nsp-2021/nsp-2021-wyniki-ostateczne/tablice-z-ostatecznymi-danymi-w-zakresie-przynaloznosci-narodowo-etnicznej-jezyka-uzywanego-w-domu-oraz-przynaloznosci-do-wyznania-religijnego,10,1.html>.

- “Tabl. 42. Ludność Polski według kategorii wyznania i rodzaju deklarowanej przynależności wyznaniowej w 2011 roku [Table 42. Population of Poland by denomination and type of declared religious affiliation in 2011].” 2015. stat.gov.pl. Accessed 2024.04.30. <https://stat.gov.pl/spisy-powszechne/nsp-2011/nsp-2011-wyniki/struktura-narodowo-etniczna-jezykowa-i-wyznaniowa-ludnosci-polski-nsp-2011,22,1.html>.
- “Wykreślenie z rejestru Reformowanego Kościoła Katolickiego narusza Konstytucję.” 2020. bip.brpo.gov.pl. Accessed 2024.05.01. <https://bip.brpo.gov.pl/pl/content/rpo-wykreślenie-związku-wyznaniowego-z-rejestru-narusza-konstytucje>.

CHRZEŚCIJAŃSKA AKADEMIA TEOLOGICZNA  
w WARSZAWIE

---

Rok LXVI

Zeszyt 3

# ROCZNIK TEOLOGICZNY

[E-WYDANIE]

WARSZAWA 2024

## **REDAGUJE KOLEGIUM**

dr hab. Jakub Sławik, prof. ucz. – redaktor naczelny

dr hab. Jerzy Ostapczuk, prof. ucz. – zastępca redaktora naczelnego

prof. dr hab. Tadeusz J. Zieliński

dr hab. Borys Przedpełski, prof. ucz.

dr hab. Jerzy Sojka, prof. ucz. – sekretarz redakcji

## **MIĘDZYNARODOWA RADA NAUKOWA**

JE metropolita prof. dr hab. Sawa (Michał Hrycuniak), ChAT

abp prof. dr hab. Jerzy Pańkowski, ChAT

bp prof. ucz. dr hab. Marcin Hintz, ChAT

prof. dr hab. Atanolij Aleksiejew, Państwowy Uniwersytet w Petersburgu

prof. dr Marcello Garzaniti, Uniwersytet we Florencji

prof. dr hab. Michael Meyer-Blanck, Uniwersytet w Bonn

prof. dr hab. Antoni Mironowicz, Uniwersytet w Białymstoku

prof. dr hab. Wiesław Przyczyna, Uniwersytet Papieski Jana Pawła II w Krakowie

prof. dr hab. Eugeniusz Sakowicz, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego  
w Warszawie

prof. dr hab. Tadeusz Stegner, Uniwersytet Gdański

prof. dr Urs von Arx, Uniwersytet w Bernie

prof. dr hab. Piotr Wilczek, Uniwersytet Warszawski

Redakcja językowa – Kalina Wojciechowska  
Korekta tekstów angielskich – Karen Wasilewska  
Skład komputerowy – Jerzy Sojka

BWHEBB, BWHEBL, BWTRANS [Hebrew]; BWGRKL, BWGRKN, and BWGRKI [Greek]  
PostScript® Type 1 and TrueType fonts Copyright ©1994-2013 BibleWorks, LLC.  
All rights reserved. These Biblical Greek and Hebrew fonts are used with permission  
and are from BibleWorks ([www.bibleworks.com](http://www.bibleworks.com))

eISSN: 2956-5685

**Wydawnictwo Naukowe ChAT**  
ul. Broniewskiego 48, 01-771 Warszawa, tel. +48 22 635-68-55  
Objętość ark. wyd.: 11,8.

## SPIS TREŚCI

### ARTYKUŁY

BORYS PRZEDPELSKI, MIROSLAW MICHALSKI, <i>Życie i dokonania arcybiskupa Jana Marii Michała Kowalskiego (1871-1942)</i> .....	435
IVAN NIKULIN, <i>Dziedzictwo wydawnicze Polskiego Autokefalicznego Kościoła Prawosławnego w II Rzeczypospolitej — stan dotychczasowej wiedzy i perspektywy badawcze</i> .....	519
JERZY SOJKA, „ <i>Leuenberg Agreement</i> ” and <i>Polish Evangelical Churches</i> .....	535
*JERZY SOJKA, „ <i>Konkordia leuenberska</i> ” a <i>polskie Kościoły ewangeliczne</i> .....	*95
ABP JERZY PAŃKOWSKI, <i>Różnice i podobieństwa w rycie pontyfikalnych nabożeństw w słowiańskiej i greckiej tradycji liturgicznej. Wybrane przykłady</i> .....	561
TADEUSZ J. ZIELIŃSKI, <i>Equal before the law or discriminated? The legal status of religious minorities in Poland</i> .....	589
WOJCIECH GIZICKI, KRZYSZTOF BANASIUK, <i>Patriotic and Religious Attitudes among a Select Group of Poland’s Territorial Defense Force Soldiers</i> .....	627
Wykaz autorów .....	643

\*Teksty oznaczone gwiazdką zawarte są wyłącznie w E-Wydaniu.

## Contents

### ARTICLES

BORYS PRZEDPELSKI, MIROSLAW MICHALSKI, <i>Life and accomplishments of the archbishop Jan Maria Michal Kowalski (1871-1942)</i> .....	435
IVAN NIKULIN, <i>The publishing heritage of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the Second Polish Republic — the state of knowledge and research perspectives</i> .....	519
JERZY SOJKA, „ <i>Leuenberg Agreement</i> ” and Polish Evangelical Churches .....	535
*JERZY SOJKA, „ <i>Leuenberg Agreement</i> ” and Polish Evangelical Churches (polish version) .....	*95
ABP JERZY PAŃKOWSKI, <i>Similarities and Differences in the Rite of Pontifical Services in the Slavic and Greek liturgical traditions. Sample selections</i> .....	561
TADEUSZ J. ZIELIŃSKI, <i>Equal before the law or discriminated? The legal status of religious minorities in Poland</i> .....	589
WOJCIECH GIZICKI, KRZYSZTOF BANASIUK, <i>Patriotic and Religious Attitudes among a Select Group of Poland’s Territorial Defense Force Soldiers</i> .....	627
List of authors .....	643

\*Texts marked with an asterisk are available only in the E-Edition.

## **Wykaz autorów**

**Borys Przedpelski**, b.przedpelski@chat.edu.pl, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie, ul. Broniewskiego 48, 01-771 Warszawa

**Mirosław Michalski**, m.michalski@chat.edu.pl, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie, ul. Broniewskiego 48, 01-771 Warszawa

**Ivan Nikulin**, nikulinjan@gmail.com, ul. Pułaskiego 36, 15-338 Białystok

**Jerzy Sojka**, j.sojka@chat.edu.pl, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie, ul. Broniewskiego 48, 01-771 Warszawa

**Abp Jerzy Pańkowski**, j.pankowski@chat.edu.pl, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie, ul. Broniewskiego 48, 01-771 Warszawa

**Tadeusz J. Zieliński**, t.zielinski@chat.edu.pl, Chrześcijańska Akademia Teologiczna w Warszawie, ul. Broniewskiego 48, 01-771 Warszawa

**Wojciech Gizicki**, wgizicki@kul.pl, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, Al. Raławickie 14, 20-950 Lublin

**Krzysztof Banasiuk**, krzysztofbanasiuk@o2.pl, Parafia Ducha Świętego w Siedlcach, ul. Brzeska 37, 08-110 Siedlce