

**Agnieszka Orzelska-Stączek**

**AREAS OF COOPERATION OF POLAND  
AND THE HOLY SEE IN THE DIMENSION  
OF TRADITIONAL DIPLOMACY  
AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY**

INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy of the Holy See is focused on the religious mission, the spiritual and moral dimension, while the priority of Polish foreign policy is to defend the interests of the state, in particular its security. The objectives of these two countries cover a certain common area, but focus on different issues. In the sphere of traditional diplomacy their concrete cooperation is restricted to a narrow range of issues relating to the defence of religious freedom and the promotion of values in international politics<sup>1</sup> (e.g. the protection of the rights of Christians in the world). In the case of many issues they are divided by discrepancies, e.g. in the sphere of ecology and how to help the refugees, though, even in these areas we can see some possibilities of cooperation.

A huge untapped potential for cooperation between Poland and the Holy See is in the field of public diplomacy. Religiosity of Poles is a factor distinguishing Poland among other countries and affecting its international posi-

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<sup>1</sup> Foreign Minister W. Waszczykowski underlines the importance of the following values: ‘These values include Roman law, Greek philosophy and Christian ethics, rationalism, common good, and respect for human rights. The protection of these values and tenets of our civilisation will be the sense of our diplomacy’. *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2016 r.* [Information of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the Polish Government’s foreign policy in 2016.] Warszawa, 29 January 2016. Available at: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/ministerstwo/minister/wystapienia/informacja\\_ministra\\_spraw\\_zagranicznych\\_o\\_zadaniach\\_polskiej\\_polityki\\_zagranicznej\\_w\\_2016\\_roku](http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/ministerstwo/minister/wystapienia/informacja_ministra_spraw_zagranicznych_o_zadaniach_polskiej_polityki_zagranicznej_w_2016_roku)

tion. In relations with the Holy See it is an asset, but from the point of view of states promoting other religions or value systems it may be perceived negatively. Among a large part of European elites religiosity is associated with backwardness and a progress hindrance. However, it can be also presented in a positive way – as an element of tradition cultivation, strengthening the identity of the nation, and at the same time opening it up to other cultures. An example may be World Youth Days in 2016 when young people from all over the world will come to Poland. It is a chance to promote the country.

The religious aspect has been absent so far in Polish public diplomacy for several reasons. Firstly, it has been modelled on patterns of public diplomacy of countries which do not have a similar religious potential. Secondly, it has been based on the assumption of strict separation of religious affairs from secular affairs, which in many cases has proved to be difficult due to the strong permeation of both these spheres. Thirdly, according to a part of Polish elites, Catholicism does not carry any positive potential for building the country's image, can even only weaken it. Fourthly, a reasonable question is whether Poland's position is strong enough to deal with a negative reaction of certain elites in the country and abroad in the case of the use of religious aspects in its public diplomacy.

## THE AREA OF TRADITIONAL DIPLOMACY

Diplomatic cooperation of Poland and the Holy See formally dates back to the sixteenth century when the nuncio sent by Pope Julius III was accredited by the king Sigismund II Augustus. For more than five centuries these relations have undergone various phases. In 1945, the Provisional Government of National Unity unilaterally terminated the Concordat of 1925, leading *de facto* to breaking of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See. Their diplomatic relations were resumed only in 1989<sup>2</sup>. For many years,

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<sup>2</sup> The Holy See did not recognize the Provisional Government of National Unity established on 28 June 1945 in Warsaw and maintained diplomatic relations with the Polish government in exile in London until 1958. In July 1974 an agreement establishing permanent working contacts between the government of the People's Republic of Poland and the Holy See was concluded, which was in force till the establishment of full relations in 1989. See more on this topic in: Grajewski, A. 2014. Długa droga do normalizacji. [The long road to normalisation.] In: *25-lecie wznowienia stosunków dyplomatycznych między Stolicą Apostolską a Polską*. [The 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the resumption of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Poland.] Warszawa, pp. 45–50.

relations between the two countries had a special nature due to the fact that a Pole was the pope, and therefore the head of state and the most important diplomat of the Holy See. He enjoyed a unique authority. It was not a coincidence that the first non-communist Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki made his first foreign visit to the Vatican (19–20 October 1989).

During the pontificate of John Paul II Polish politicians often visited the Vatican. The Pope was an active participant of international politics during the Cold War and after its completion. He supported the efforts of Polish authorities to obtain membership in the EU and NATO. In the years 1989–2005 diplomatic relations of Poland and the Holy See were characterised by a large number of meetings. Some of the visits were official and many were unofficial – they were associated with such celebrations as beatifications, canonisations, or the Holy Year Jubilee, the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the pontificate of John Paul II. The Pope visited Poland eight times in total, and each such event apart from a religious dimension had also a strictly diplomatic dimension.

After 2005 diplomatic cooperation between Poland and the Holy See has changed its character – ‘after the death of John Paul II, Poland lost this special relationship with the Vatican, as well as the possibility of discrete impact on international politics’<sup>3</sup>. Representatives of the highest Polish authorities were present at the inaugurations of the pontificates of Pope Benedict XVI and Francis, President Lech Kaczyński made his first foreign visit to the Vatican (26 January 2006), but the national factor which previously connected these two countries disappeared. Pope Benedict XVI visited Poland once, in 2006, and Pope Francis will arrive to Poland in 2016 on the occasion of World Youth Days.

Visits of heads of state are only one of the planes of the development of diplomatic relations. In the sphere of traditional diplomacy the main bodies responsible for foreign policy are on the Polish side the president, the prime minister and the government, with the special role of the Foreign Ministry and the parliament, and in the case of the Holy See – the Pope, the Roman Curia, which includes the Secretariat of State of the Holy See with the Secretary at the forefront<sup>4</sup>. In addition to the tasks pertaining to diplomatic relations with state authorities, diplomats of the Holy See perform tasks relating to the Church itself, for example, a nuncio submits to the pope a list of candidates for diocesan and auxiliary bishops. This dual dimension

<sup>3</sup> Strzałka, K. 2007. Stosunki Polski ze Stolicą Apostolską. [Polish relations with the Holy See] *Rocznik Polskiej Polityki Zagranicznej* 2007, p. 127.

<sup>4</sup> Sutor, J. 2012. *Prawo dyplomatyczne i konsularne*. [Diplomatic and consular law.] Warszawa, pp. 115–118, 159–161.

of diplomacy should be emphasised as it clearly distinguishes the Holy See from international activities of secular countries – its activity is expressed in the first place in the spiritual dimension, that is at the plane of relations with local churches and Catholics, and secondly – in the secular dimension, that is in the sphere of traditional diplomatic relations with states<sup>5</sup>.

The basic question, however, concerns not the form, but the area of cooperation between Poland and the Holy See. In the concrete dimension of international affairs this area is narrow, but it deserves attention. For example, during the work on the so-called EU Constitutional Treaty the convergence of views of Poland and the Holy See on the vision of united Europe was clearly visible, particularly in the protection of life, the so-called reproductive rights and reproductive health, the Charter of Fundamental Rights and the definition of the protection of life contained therein, and also in the effort to include the record about the Christian roots in the preamble of this document<sup>6</sup> (this goal has not been achieved). As previously mentioned, security plays a key role in Polish foreign policy. For years, the emphasis has been put on the relations with the EU and NATO, as well as member countries of these organisations. The Holy See does not belong to them, nor is it a member of the United Nations (it has an observer status) and does not comment on many issues concerning the current problems. Under the Lateran Treaty of 1929 it is obliged to maintain neutrality in temporal matters, which means that ‘it will refrain from direct interference in internal affairs concerning national security, the territory or borders of the given state. It will not take part in international interventions of a military or police nature, or in operations aimed at maintaining or restoring peace. This of course does not exclude the fact (...) that the Holy See reserves the right to freely exercise its moral and spiritual mission, which – in some cases – requires taking a moral position on various situations and people’<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> ‘A papal diplomat cares about spiritual matters, which include: matters concerning the Church, human rights, moral problems, universal values. His essential task is to make a contribution to the expansion and implementation of the Gospel message, while protecting the interests not only of the Church but also the state in which he is accredited. Taking care for the development of human and religious values, he serves all citizens of the country. In this way the Church uses more moral than material diplomacy means’. – Cardinal A. Sodano, secretary of state, said in 1998. Cited in: <http://nuncjatura.pl/dzialalnosc/5784.1,index.html>

<sup>6</sup> I would like to thank dr. K. Strzałka for suggestions on this article, especially this passage.

<sup>7</sup> Apostolic Nuncio to Poland, Archbishop Celestino Migliore. 2014. *Organizacja i funkcjonowanie dyplomacji Stolicy Apostolskiej*. [The organization and functioning of

In 2012, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs published the first in the history of Poland long-term foreign policy strategy entitled ‘The priorities of Polish foreign policy in the years 2012–2016’, adopted by the Council of Ministers chaired by Donald Tusk. This document consists of 29 pages. Neither the Holy See, nor the Vatican, nor the pope are mentioned there<sup>8</sup>. Foreign Minister Grzegorz Schetyna’s first speech of 9 November 2014 also did not mention them<sup>9</sup>. Usually, however, speeches of similar importance contained a reference to the Holy See. For example, Foreign Minister Radosław Sikorski in 2014 mentioned that ‘Recently, together with hundreds of thousands of pilgrims we have celebrated in the Vatican the canonisation of John Paul the Great, a teacher of responsibility’<sup>10</sup>, and in 2013. he said: ‘We thank Benedict XVI for continuing the mission of John Paul the Great, for his memorable pilgrimage to Poland in 2006, and for his kind approach towards our country. We congratulate Pope Francis – the first Pontiff from the New World – on his election. We count on further seminal cooperation with the Holy See, also in the area of protecting Christians’ rights around the world’<sup>11</sup>. In his speech in April 2015 G. Schetyna stated that ‘In the spirit of close cooperation with the Holy See, we are supporting preparations for the organisation of World Youth Days in Krakow in July 2016’<sup>12</sup>. Minister

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*the diplomacy of the Holy See.*] Krajowa Szkoła Administracji Publicznej. Warszawa, 28 May 2014. Available at: [http://nuncjatura.pl/nuncjusz/celestino\\_migliore/wystapienia/6133.1,Organizacja\\_i\\_funkcjonowanie\\_dyplomacji\\_Stolicy\\_Apostolskiej.html](http://nuncjatura.pl/nuncjusz/celestino_migliore/wystapienia/6133.1,Organizacja_i_funkcjonowanie_dyplomacji_Stolicy_Apostolskiej.html)

<sup>8</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2012. *Priorytety polskiej polityki zagranicznej w latach 2012–2016*. [The priorities of Polish foreign policy in the years 2012–2016.] Warszawa. Available at: <http://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/aa1c4aec-a52f-45a7-96e5-06658e73bb4e:JCR>

<sup>9</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Schetyna. 2014. *Informacja Rady Ministrów o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w latach 2014–2015*. [Address by the Council of Ministers on the tasks of Polish foreign policy in 2014–2015.] Warszawa, 6 November 2014. Available at: [https://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/minister\\_grzegorz\\_schetyna\\_o\\_prioritetach\\_polskiej\\_dyplomacji](https://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/minister_grzegorz_schetyna_o_prioritetach_polskiej_dyplomacji)

<sup>10</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs R. Sikorski. 2014. *Informacja ministra spraw zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2014 roku*. [Address by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the tasks of Polish foreign policy in 2014.] Warszawa 8 May 2014. Available at: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/informacja\\_ministra\\_spraw\\_zagranicznych\\_o\\_zadaniach\\_polskiej\\_polityki\\_zagranicznej\\_w\\_2014\\_roku](http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/informacja_ministra_spraw_zagranicznych_o_zadaniach_polskiej_polityki_zagranicznej_w_2014_roku)

<sup>11</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs R. Sikorski. 2013. *Informacja ministra spraw zagranicznych o założeniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2013 r.* [Address by the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the goals of Polish foreign policy in 2013.] Warszawa, 20 March 2013. Available at: <http://www.sejm.gov.pl/sejm7.nsf/wypowiedz.xsp?posiedzenie=36&dzien=1&wyp=002>

<sup>12</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs G. Schetyna, *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2015 r.* [Address by the Minister of Foreign

W. Waszczykowski referred to the same event in January 2016, recognizing that ‘The promotion of Poland connected with World Youth Day organised in Kraków will also be an important task for the MFA. We will show Poland as an important and inspiring country that has played a significant role in the history of Christianity and Europe. May the involvement of the Polish state in this event be an element which can be defined in terms of diplomacy of values – defence and promotion of the values of the Latin civilisation, which connects the citizens of our continent. (...) In 2016 we will strengthen Polish historical diplomacy. We will effectively promote the history of our country, nation and state in connection with this year’s celebrations of the 1050<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Baptism of Poland and the upcoming 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of regaining our independence’<sup>13</sup>. Diplomatic cooperation of Poland and the Holy See in 2016 concentrated around these two events – World Youth Days and the celebration of the anniversary of the Baptism of Poland.

Polish foreign policy emphasises the importance of the interests of the state, *raison d’etat*, while moral issues are a priority in the activities of the Holy See. The difficulty is exacerbated by the fact that from the perspective of both countries the assessment of specific international events, even in ethical terms, is sometimes different, e.g., in 2003 John Paul II appealed to stop the US invasion of Iraq, while Poland supported the actions of Americans, recognising them as legitimate. Even today these two countries differ in the assessment of some events – e.g. according to the Polish authorities there has definitely been Russian aggression in Ukraine, while the Holy See avoids defining what is happening there.

Virtually all issue which are of interest to both countries may belong to the areas of their cooperation in a wider dimension. Despite the fact that this cooperation will not take typical forms known from relations with other countries (e.g. the economic exchange or military cooperation), its importance should be appreciated because apart from traditional diplomatic tools, the Holy See has specific means of influencing public opinion – e.g. papal encyclicals and messages are of great importance. News about its international policy rarely hit the headlines (except for official papal visits or exceptional, spectacular achievements, e.g. the contribution to the establishment of dip-

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*Affairs on the goals of Polish foreign policy in 2015.*] Warszawa, 23 April 2015. Available at: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/polityka\\_zagraniczna/priorytety\\_polityki\\_zagr\\_2012\\_2016/expose2/expose\\_2015/expose\\_2015](http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/polityka_zagraniczna/priorytety_polityki_zagr_2012_2016/expose2/expose_2015/expose_2015)

<sup>13</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs W. Waszczykowski, *Informacja Ministra Spraw Zagranicznych o zadaniach polskiej polityki zagranicznej w 2016 r.* [*Information of the Minister of Foreign Affairs on the Polish Government’s foreign policy in 2016.*], op. cit.

lomatic relations between Cuba and the USA). According to the message issued after Pope Francis's meetings with heads of state, currently during these talks such issues as the conflict in Ukraine, the war in Syria, the situation in the Middle East, especially in the Holy Land are discussed.

While during the Cold War, communism was the main barrier to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Poland, today on the way to developing these relationships there are discords arising from different assessments of certain events and phenomena. An axiological dimension should be emphasised – in this sphere Western Europe moves further and further away from its Christian roots, which involves social and political changes. In many areas the countries of Central and Eastern Europe follow these trends, at a rate dependent largely on the results of democratic elections. In simplified terms it can be stated that the views of left-wing parties are more distant from the position of the Holy See than those of right-wing parties. This indirectly translates into the state of cooperation between the authorities of the country with the Holy See.

## PUBLIC DIPLOMACY – AN UNTAPPED AREA OF COOPERATION

The concept of 'public diplomacy' gained popularity in the nineties of the twentieth century, although it appeared much earlier. Among many attempts to define this concept it is worth noting the works of prof. B. Ociepka who defines public diplomacy as 'a bilateral, dialogue form of political international communication, addressed to the audience abroad, realised through the media and through direct channels. Its goal is to shape or promote a positive image of the country, society abroad, to shape positive attitudes to the addresser'<sup>14</sup>. Public diplomacy is one of the tools of soft power, defined as the opposite of military and economic power, and based on the ideological and cultural potential of the state<sup>15</sup>. In the scientific literature the area of public diplomacy as a rule does not include religious aspects. In studies of

<sup>14</sup> Ociepka, B. 2008. Dyplomacja publiczna jako forma komunikowania. [Public diplomacy as a form of communication.] In: Ociepka, B. ed. *Dyplomacja publiczna*. [Public diplomacy.] Wrocław, p. 12. See also Ziętek, A. 2010. Dyplomacja publiczna Polski. [Public diplomacy of Poland.] *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, vol. 17, no. 1, pp. 65–83.

<sup>15</sup> Ociepka, B. 2012. Nowa dyplomacja publiczna – perspektywa teorii stosunków międzynarodowych i komunikowania politycznego. [New public diplomacy – the perspective of the theory of international relations and political communication.] *Przegląd*

soft power this element is also omitted, and in many rankings of the size of soft power of individual states the Holy See is not taken into account at all.

According to the definition of the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 'Public diplomacy pursued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs consists of a set of strategic, conceptual, analytical, coordinating and executive actions seeking to impact social attitudes and public opinion abroad and thereby to secure the principal interests of the Republic of Poland across the globe. This is done by using tools and methods from outside the realm of traditional diplomacy, essentially confined to intergovernmental relations. The primary aim of public diplomacy is to foster understanding and support for the national interest and policies of the Polish government. Supplementing traditional diplomacy, it is targeted at foreign institutions, organisations and societies'<sup>16</sup>.

Polish public diplomacy covers many areas whose activities are coordinated by the Department of Public and Cultural Diplomacy. The report of the Foreign Ministry entitled 'New dimensions of diplomacy. Public diplomacy – 2013–2014' refers to activities in the following areas:

- economic diplomacy
- cultural diplomacy
- historical diplomacy
- scientific diplomacy and promoting the Polish language
- sports diplomacy
- in the dimension of local government and civil public diplomacy

Public diplomacy understood in this way does not take into account the fact that in the case of Poland the religious aspect plays a very huge role in shaping the image of the country and society abroad. Undoubtedly, a large percentage of Catholics among Poles is important for Polish relations with the Holy See. According to the statistical yearbook it is 87% (33.5 million people), and according to the Public Opinion Research Centre (CBOS) it amounts to 93%<sup>17</sup> and therefore in the EU it is lower only than in Malta.

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*Strategiczny*, vol. 1, p. 130; Nye, J.S. 2007. *Soft Power. Jak osiągnąć sukces w polityce światowej*. [Soft power: the means to success in world politics.] Warszawa.

<sup>16</sup> Available at: [https://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/polityka\\_zagraniczna/dyplomacja\\_publiczna/czym\\_jest\\_dp/czym\\_jest\\_dp](https://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/polityka_zagraniczna/dyplomacja_publiczna/czym_jest_dp/czym_jest_dp)

<sup>17</sup> *Rocznik Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej 2015*. [The Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland 2015.] Warszawa 2015, p. 196; Public Opinion Research Centre Report Report. 2012. *Zmiany w zakresie wiary i religijności Polaków po śmierci Jana Pawła II*. [Changes in the faith and religiosity of Poles after the death of John Paul II.] April 2012. Available at: <http://PublicOpinionResearchCentreReport.pl/SPISKOM>.

Worldwide, the number of Catholics amounts to about 1.2 milliard – most of them live in Central and South America. In Europe their share declines steadily. Against this background, religiosity is a factor distinguishing Poles – in this group declarations of faith are almost universal, and a large part of citizens regularly participate in religious practices. ‘Celebration of the most important religious holidays is invariably primarily religious in nature – the participation in religious ceremonies of Lent and Easter and Christmas and nurturing of the tradition are still quite common. In this respect, the secularising processes taking place in Poland is much slower than in Western European countries’<sup>18</sup>. The large share of Catholics among Poles probably influenced the decision of Pope Francis on the selection of Kraków as the venue for World Youth Days in 2016. Pope John Paul II introduced this form of meeting of young people in 1985, and since then they have been organised every few years in a different country. A record number of young Catholics – as many as 3.7 million gathered at the recent World Youth Days in Rio de Janeiro. According to estimates, about 2 million pilgrims can come to Poland. It will be therefore much more than 600 thousand foreign fans who came to the European Championships UEFA Euro 2012 in Poland. It is worth recalling that this sporting event belonged to the priorities of Polish public diplomacy in 2012.

World Youth Days undoubtedly also fit into the objectives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the sphere of building the image of Poland in the world. It is worthwhile to pay attention to the actions of Irish diplomacy, which effectively promotes 17 March as St. Patrick’s Day, the patron saint of Ireland, recalling that in the fifth century he converted the country to Christianity. This day is celebrated as a global festival of Irish culture, heritage, creativity and openness to the world. In the case of Poland, image research shows that St. John Paul II remains one of the most recognizable Poles in the world. His cult affects the expansion of knowledge about Poland and the Holy See. Although the Polish pope is noticed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it is difficult to find any information about other Polish saints, especially St. Faustina, in the materials of the Ministry. Her figure is widely present in the media and in popular culture in many countries, particularly in the Phil-

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POL/2012/K\_049\_12.PDF, p. 25.; CSO. 2015. O liczbie katolików na świecie: *Rocznik Statystyki Międzynarodowej 2015*. [The number of Catholics in the world: *the International Yearbook of Statistics 2015*.] Warszawa, p. 45. Available at: <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/roczniki-statystyczne/roczniki-statystyczne/rocznik-statystyki-miedzynarodowej-2015,10,3.html>

<sup>18</sup> Public Opinion Research Centre Report Report, op. cit., p. 25.

ippines, which surprises even some Poles going there. Her 'Diary' has been translated into dozens of languages. Łagiewniki – the place of St. Faustina's worship – is visited annually by more than 2 million pilgrims, many from abroad. In Poland there are many other places visited by pilgrims who on this occasion use tourist services and increase their knowledge about Poland. Poles' devotion to the Catholic religion is expressed in various forms – you can mention the power of tradition nurtured by immigrants, the role of the Polish Catholic Mission in different parts of the world, the commitment to religious practices of Polish tourists abroad, etc., but this broad topic deserves a separate analysis.

The Foreign Ministry report on public diplomacy rightly noted that 'the image of Poles around the world and the prevalent stereotypes depend to a large extent on how the Polish diaspora, Polish ethnic groups, Polish minorities and even individuals are perceived in their places of residence – what they represent by social status, their political influence and their prestige'<sup>19</sup>. To Poles active abroad we can undoubtedly include clergymen and missionaries. Currently in 97 countries (mainly in Africa and Latin America) there are more than two thousand missionaries from Poland. These are priests (including 21 bishops), and religious brothers, sisters, as well as approximately 50 lay missionaries<sup>20</sup>. Since 1991, at the missionary stations 10 Poles have been killed, among them two missionaries in Peru, beatified in December 2015. The daily operations of hundreds of Catholic clergymen remains widely unknown. On the other hand, scandals which sometimes occurs with the participation of the clergymen are widely publicised – it also has a major impact on shaping the image of Poland and the Holy See.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs report entitled 'New ways of diplomacy. Public diplomacy report 2013–2014' almost completely ignores the religious aspect in public diplomacy. The report emphasised the activity of Polish Institutes operating in various countries, the activities of the network of Regional Centres of the International Debate (in each of the 16 provincial cities), cooperation with non-governmental organisations, the media, etc. Much space was devoted to Polish-Jewish relations and the role of Jan Karski in connection with the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birth. Especially noteworthy are interesting initiatives in the field of promotion of the Polish economy, for example, the Polish product of the year, the campaign 'eat

<sup>19</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2012. *Dyplomacja publiczna 2012*. [Public diplomacy 2012.] Warszawa, p. 30.

<sup>20</sup> Data from the website: [http://episkopat.pl/kosciol/kosciol\\_w\\_swiecie/duszpasterstwa\\_polonijne/0.1,index.html](http://episkopat.pl/kosciol/kosciol_w_swiecie/duszpasterstwa_polonijne/0.1,index.html)

apples', etc. In principle this document does not refer to the religious sphere except for the following passages. We learn that 'in 2014, the Polish Embassy in London organised a study visit to Poland for 15 Jewish community representatives. The four-day trip was a combination of religious pilgrimage to the country of ancestors, a study of modern Polish-Jewish relations, and political objectives. The list of visitors consisted of politicians, journalists and rabbis from major synagogues in London'<sup>21</sup>. The report mentions the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs financed a Polish-Russian conference on cooperation between Roman-Catholic Church and Russian Orthodox Church. It also refers to the work of Polish scientists who restored priceless medieval paintings in the churches of northern Lebanon over the course of 10 years. There is no reference to Christianity in the report for 2013–2014. It is worth noting that in the public diplomacy report of 2012 the word Christian appears once and Catholic three times.

It is worth consideration, especially given that the above-mentioned report of 2014 refers to the year in which the canonisation of John Paul II took place. Besides religious dimension this event had also a political, diplomatic and social dimension. More than 60 national delegations from 54 countries, including 19 heads of state and 24 prime ministers took part in the canonisation ceremony. Delegations of Anglican and Orthodox churches, representatives of the Islamic and Jewish community from around the world were present. Some called this ceremony the 'canonisation of the century', because for the first time two popes (the current and the retired one) took part in it, and the canonisation involved two Popes – John XXIII and John Paul II. Because of this millions of pilgrims came to Rome, gathered in front of large outdoor screens in various places around the world or used other forms of media broadcast. It can be said that the event fitted into the assumptions of public diplomacy specified by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in particular into 'a broad spectrum of information and communication activities aimed at shaping the positive image of Poland among foreigners, promoting improved and objective knowledge and understanding of Poland and its history, as well as the contribution of Poland and Polish citizens in European and global development, strengthening Poland's prestige as a global actor'<sup>22</sup>.

The promotional documents prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed an inexpressive picture of Poland, combining economic success, rich

<sup>21</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2014. *Nowe wymiary dyplomacji. Dyplomacja publiczna – raport 2013–2014*. [New ways of diplomacy. Public diplomacy report 2013–2014.] Warszawa, p. 70.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

history, tradition, etc. The report entitled ‘Opinion survey. Determination of the image which Poland should promote abroad’ prepared at the request of the Foreign Ministry pointed to the fact that the problem was not so much the image of Poland but the lack thereof. With regard to the religious sphere, according to the authors, ‘from the perspective of the West until recently Poland has been seen as a dull, gray, gloomy and backward country with strong traditionalism and influence of the Catholic Church’<sup>23</sup> and ‘in the minds of Britons there is a stereotype of Poland as a country affected by corruption, bureaucratic, with low-economic growth and significant influence of the Catholic Church’<sup>24</sup>. The authors recognised prof. W. Olins’s words as a good summary of the analysis of brand promotion of Poland and of what is still to be done: ‘I would like to tell the story of a country. (...). After years of military dictatorship and a devastating civil war it was poor and distant from the rest. Additionally, it remained under a huge, development inhibiting influence of the Catholic Church and the extreme right. And now a riddle: what country is it? It is Spain from the seventies, before any process of re-branding started there, that is, conscious work on changing the image. (...) Now Spain can be proud of world-known brands such as Zara, Repsol, Telefonica, has recognizable politicians, José Maria Aznar and Javier Solana, as well as people of culture, Pedro Almodóvar and Santiago Calatrava. Strong points of Spain have been diagnosed and the bull has been taken by the horns. And Poland has to do the same’<sup>25</sup>. In May 2014 a promotional campaign prepared at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs realised by Saatchi & Saatchi began under the slogan ‘Poland. Spring into’ (the slogan by Wally Olins)<sup>26</sup>. Its budget amounted to more than 8 million PLN. The aim of the campaign was to strengthen the position of Poland in the world, its competitiveness and to attract investors and tourists. The slogan which was

<sup>23</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2013. *Badanie opinii. Określenie wizerunku, który Polska powinna promować za granicą. Raport Końcowy*. [Opinion survey. Determination of the image which Poland should promote abroad. Final report.] – a project executed at the request of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Konsorcjum Laboratorium Badań Społecznych sp. z o.o. and Mands Badania Rynku i opinii. Warszawa, November 2013, p. 14.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 18.

<sup>25</sup> Wally, O. 2012. Teraz jest czas na Polskę. [Now it is time for Poland.] In: *Patriotyzm: między dumą a odpowiedzialnością*. [Patriotism: between pride and responsibility.] *Zeszyty Instytutu*. Warszawa: Instytut Obywatelski, cited in: *Badanie opinii...*, [Opinion survey...], op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> Available at: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/polska\\_\\_spring\\_into\\_\\_kampania\\_wizerunkowa\\_przyciaga\\_uwage\\_polakow\\_i\\_obcokrajowcow](http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/wiadomosci/polska__spring_into__kampania_wizerunkowa_przyciaga_uwage_polakow_i_obcokrajowcow)

supposed to be fascinating and intriguing, proved to be too difficult to understand, and in the opinion of many recipients incomprehensible. At the same time it initiated a stormy debate over the shape of the next action promoting Poland. The question about what image best serves its interests returned.

The Polish authorities' approach to public diplomacy changed after the takeover of power by the Peace and Justice (PiS) in 2015. The rules of the tender entitled 'Cooperation in the field of public diplomacy 2016' announced on 5 November 2015 for projects in the area of public diplomacy realised in 2016 originally contained such rules, as in previous years, namely: concerning the promotion of Polish contribution to building of a new order in Europe after 1989; promotion of its international efforts in aid of democratisation, intercultural dialogue and strengthening civil society; promotion of creative industries, the development of Polish cities and learning the Polish language<sup>27</sup>. The projects were to be aimed at, among others, the development of contacts between societies of Poland and partner countries, conducive to, among others, the development of economic cooperation; support for the development of civil society and democratisation processes, in particular in the countries covered by the European Neighbourhood Policy; interest in and gaining understanding for the Polish point of view and overcoming stereotypes in historical and intercultural dialogue; strengthening the positive image of Poland, including countering negative stereotypes<sup>28</sup>.

On 4 December 2015 the substantive scope and the deadline for submission of bids in that tender was changed. In the rules, a new, sixth point appeared as follows: 'The promotion of Polish contribution to the development of civilisation and culture of Europe in the context of the 1050<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Baptism of Poland and World Youth Days 2016, including in particular Christian identity and a system of democracy, freedom, solidarity and tolerance shaped over the centuries on its basis. The aim of this priority should be the construction of a positive image of Polish history as a country which: brought its own original contribution to the history of Europe thanks to a strong identity and promoting the Latin civilisation based on Christian values; developed the concept of freedom and solidarity, becoming an example for other nations of Central and Eastern Europe; promotes the values

<sup>27</sup> The notice about the initiation of the grant procedure of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, acting pursuant to the Act of 27 August 2009 on public finances, Dz. U. of 2013, item 885 as amended. Available at: [http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/ministerstwo/konkursyministra/konkurs\\_na\\_realizacje\\_zadania\\_publicznego\\_\\_wspolpraca\\_w\\_dziedzinie\\_dyplomacji\\_publicznej\\_2016\\_](http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/ministerstwo/konkursyministra/konkurs_na_realizacje_zadania_publicznego__wspolpraca_w_dziedzinie_dyplomacji_publicznej_2016_)

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*.

underlying its identity in relations with other countries and in international politics'<sup>29</sup>.

As a result of the competition of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pertaining to public diplomacy, which was adjudicated on 26 February 2016, 36 projects received grants totalling 3.99 million PLN. Sums exceeding 150 thousand PLN were granted to projects of, among others, the ArtAnimacje Association, India Games Poland, the Romincka Forest Foundation, the Polish Scouting Association, the Polish Association of International Studies, etc. The largest sum – 200 thousand PLN – was awarded to the Catholic foundation 'Lux Veritatis' for the project 'To make the memory about them last' (commemorating Poles who rescued Jews during the war), and among the winners there were also the Pontifical University of John Paul II (74.4 thousand PLN) and the Roman Catholic Parish of Our Lady Benefactor of Christians in Warsaw (79.9 thousand PLN). This has sparked strong criticism of some media. There have been allegations of informal links between the ruling party and the Catholic institutions. This is part of the heated debate on the role of the Catholic Church in the Polish political life ongoing for many years, which also affects the Polish relations with the Holy See.

## SUMMARY

Diplomacy of the Holy See has a long and rich tradition, uses the centuries-old attainment of the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy. It clearly defines its goals in international politics, placing an emphasis on the moral and religious dimension. On the other hand, Polish diplomacy is developing, but it is burdened with difficult historical experiences – especially the years of partitions and heritage of the Polish People's Republic. In Poland there is still no scientific institution specialising in the training of diplomats. It affects the problems encountered, e.g. when trying to improve Polish public diplomacy.

Defining the importance of religion in Polish foreign policy is of great importance for the determination of the prospects of diplomatic cooperation of Poland with the Holy See. On the one hand, in many countries, religion has been almost completely eliminated from the diplomatic sphere, but on the other hand, for some countries it has become an important part of their

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<sup>29</sup> Available at: [http://www.ms.gov.pl/pl/ministerstwo/konkursyministra/zmiana\\_zakresu\\_merytorycznego\\_oraz\\_terminu\\_skladania\\_ofert\\_w\\_konkursie\\_wspolpraca\\_w\\_dziedzynie\\_dyplomacji\\_publicznej\\_2016\\_](http://www.ms.gov.pl/pl/ministerstwo/konkursyministra/zmiana_zakresu_merytorycznego_oraz_terminu_skladania_ofert_w_konkursie_wspolpraca_w_dziedzynie_dyplomacji_publicznej_2016_)

international activity, e.g. the Russian president is perceived in some circles even as a defender of Christians. In Poland, after each successive parliamentary elections we can expect a change in the approach to the religious sphere. An exemplification of such a change is an attempt to establish cooperation between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Catholic institutions within Polish public diplomacy, initiated at the turn of the years 2015 and 2016.

World Youth Days are a unique opportunity for the development of cooperation between Poland and the Holy See in the dimension of traditional and public diplomacy. The influence of the Holy See on international politics is difficult to measure – it does not have military or economic power, but is based on instruments classified as soft power. Regardless of its specific character it remains a major participant of international politics. Poland can have excellent relations with the Holy See, at the same time strengthen its position in the EU, despite the fact that the teaching of the Catholic Church in many areas is contrary to the views of influential part of European elites.

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## AREAS OF COOPERATION OF POLAND AND THE HOLY SEE IN THE DIMENSION OF TRADITIONAL DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

### Summary

In the realm of traditional diplomacy, cooperation of Poland and the Holy See is limited to a narrow range of issues relating to the defence of religious freedom and the promotion of values in international politics (e.g. the protection of the rights of Christians in the world). In the case of many issues they are divided by discrepancies, e.g. in the sphere of ecology and how to help the refugees. A huge untapped potential for cooperation between Poland and the Holy See is in the field of public diplomacy. Religiosity of Poles is a factor distinguishing Poland among other countries and affecting its international position. In relations with the Holy See it is an asset, but from the point of view of states promoting other religions or value systems it may be perceived negatively. In public diplomacy conducted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the religious aspect was absent until the end of 2015, but after the takeover of power by the PiS the role of Christian identity in the sphere of building the image of the country was stressed. In this context, World Youth Days in 2016 in Kraków will be a particular opportunity to promote the country. Defining the importance of religion in Polish foreign policy is of great importance for the determination of the prospects of diplomatic cooperation of Poland with the Holy See. On the one hand, in many countries, religion has been almost completely eliminated from the diplomatic sphere, but on the other hand, for some countries it has become an important part of their international activity (e.g. the Russian president is perceived in some circles even as a defender of Christians). In Poland, after each successive parliamentary elections we can expect a change in the approach to the religious sphere. An attempt to establish cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Catholic institutions within Polish public diplomacy, initiated at the turn of the years 2015 and 2016, causes some controversy. This is part of the heated debate on the role of the Catholic Church in the Polish political life ongoing for many years, which also affects the Polish relations with the Holy See.

## OBSZARY WSPÓLPRACY POLSKI I STOLICY APOSTOLSKIEJ W WYMIARZE DYPLOMACJI TRADYCYJNEJ I DYPLOMACJI PUBLICZNEJ

### Streszczenie

W sferze tradycyjnej dyplomacji współpraca Polski i Stolicy Apostolskiej jest ograniczona do wąskiego zakresu spraw dotyczących obrony wolności religijnej i promocji wartości w polityce międzynarodowej (np. ochrona praw chrześcijan na świecie). W wielu kwestiach dzielą je rozbieżności, np. w sferze ekologii i sposobu pomocy uchodźcom. Duży niewykorzystany potencjał współpracy między Polską a Stolicą Apostolską tkwi w sferze dyplomacji publicznej. Religijność Polaków jest czynnikiem wyróżniającym Polskę wśród innych państw i wpływa na jej pozycję międzynarodową. W relacjach ze Stolicą Apostolską jest to atut, ale z punktu widzenia państw promujących inne religie lub systemy wartości może być postrzegane negatywnie. W dyplomacji publicznej prowadzonej przez MSZ aspekt religijny był do końca 2015 r. nieobecny, ale po przejęciu władzy przez PiS podkreślono rolę chrześcijańskiej tożsamości w sferze budowania wizerunku kraju. W tym kontekście szczególną okazją do promocji kraju będą Światowe Dni Młodzieży w 2016 r. w Krakowie. Dla określenia perspektyw współpracy dyplomatycznej Polski ze Stolicą Apostolską duże znaczenie ma zdefiniowanie znaczenia religii w polskiej polityce zagranicznej. Z jednej strony w wielu krajach religia została wręcz całkowicie wyeliminowana ze sfery dyplomatycznej, ale z drugiej dla niektórych państw stała się ważnym elementem ich aktywności międzynarodowej (np. prezydent Rosji stał się postrzegany w niektórych kręgach wręcz jako obrońca chrześcijan). W Polsce po każdych kolejnych wyborach parlamentarnych można oczekiwać poważnych zmian w podejściu do sfery religijnej. Próba nawiązania współpracy MSZ z instytucjami katolickimi w ramach polskiej dyplomacji publicznej, zapoczątkowana na przełomie lat 2015 i 2016, wywołuje pewne kontrowersje. Wpisuje się to w burzliwą debatę na temat roli Kościoła katolickiego w polskim życiu politycznym, toczącą się od wielu lat, co wpływa również na relacje Polski ze Stolicą Apostolską.

## СФЕРЫ СОТРУДНИЧЕСТВА МЕЖДУ ПОЛЬШЕЙ И ВАТИКАНОМ ПОД УГЛОМ ТРАДИЦИОННОЙ И ПУБЛИЧНОЙ ДИПЛОМАТИИ

### Резюме

В сфере традиционной демократии сотрудничество Польши и Ватикана ограничено узкими рамками вопросов, которые касаются защиты религиозной свободы и пропаганды ценностей в международной политике (к примеру, защита прав христиан во всём мире). По многим вопросам их разделяют разногласия, как, например, в области экологии или формы помощи беженцам. Огромный незадействованный потенциал сотрудничества между Польшей и Ватиканом лежит в сфере публичной дипломатии. Религиозность поляков является фактором, отличающим Польшу от других государств, и определяющим её международную позицию. С точки зрения взаимоотношений с Ватиканом это является преимуществом, однако с точки зрения государств, пропагандирующих другие религии или системы ценностей, это может быть воспринято негативно. В публичной дипломатии, которой придерживалось польское внешнеполитическое ведомство (МИД), религиозный аспект до конца 2005 года отсутствовал, однако после прихода к власти PiS (Право и Справедливость) акцентируется роль христианского самосознания в области формирования имиджа страны. В этом контексте особенную возможность для продвижения страны представляют Всемирные Дни Молодёжи, которые будут проходить в 2016 году в Кракове. Для обозначения перспектив дипломатического сотрудничества Польши с Ватиканом большое значение имеет определение места вопроса о религии в польской внешней политике. С одной стороны, во многих государствах религия была почти полностью элиминирована из дипломатической сферы, а, с другой стороны, для некоторых государств она становится важным элементом их международной активности (например, президент России воспринимается в определённых кругах ни много ни мало как защитник христиан). В Польше после каждых очередных выборов в Парламент можно ожидать серьёзных изменений в подходе к религиозному вопросу. Попытка завязать сотрудничество между МИД и католическими институтами в рамках польской публичной дипломатии, берущая своё начало на рубеже 2015 и 2016 годов, воспринимается неоднозначно. Это является элементом жарких дебатов о роли Католической церкви в политической жизни Польши, которые продолжаются на протяжении многих лет, что отражается также на взаимоотношениях между Польшей и Ватиканом.