

‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association

***‘Shoot them.’ Hate speech
in the election campaign in Poland***

Report (July – October 2023)



Warsaw, October 2023

Summary

The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association has published a report entitled '*«Shoot them.» Hate speech in the election campaign in Poland.*' It documents examples of racist and xenophobic statements about minorities, disseminated for political propaganda purposes.

The report records manifestations of hate speech used by politicians, activists, media, and supporters of particular parties during the election campaign, i.e. from July to October. The publication collects examples of entries on social media platforms, video materials and images, interviews and speeches at rallies, taking aim at Ukrainians, Jews, LGBT people, and people with disabilities, as well as migrants and refugees.

- *'Never before has hatred towards other people been used so systematically and on such a scale in an election campaign. A ghoulish place in the political messaging was taken by migrants from African and Asian countries who were identified with threats such as terrorism, sexual crime, and theft,'* said Anna Tatar from the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association. She added, *'It is sad that this type of content was repeated by representatives of all parties.'*

- *'Video materials shared on social media played a particular role in spreading false and harmful image of migrants. Short videos, without any information about when they were recorded, with racist comments, are one of the most common forms of political manipulation,'* said Rafal Pankowski from the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association. *'Such content subsequently generated hateful comments from more and more users,'* he emphasised.

The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association participates in the international project SafeNet (Monitoring and Reporting for Safer Online Environments), in which it monitors and reports content propagating hatred towards minorities to social media platforms. In September and October, out of 55 items reported to Facebook, Twitter and YouTube... none of them were removed. The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, as a Trusted Flagger, sent reports again to each of these platforms, containing detailed information about posts promoting hate. As a result,... 4 such items were removed.

Selected examples of statements documented in the report '*«Shoot them.» Hate speech in the election campaign in Poland*':

- On 2 July Roman Giertych, former leader of far-right Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth) and Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition) candidate in the parliamentary elections, shared a video on Twitter that showed a group of men chased by the police and added his own comment, *'Twenty years from now, due to having allowed hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Muslim countries into Poland, we may witness such scenes on the streets of Warsaw.'*

- On 8 July, Dariusz Matecki, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Szczecin constituency, published a comment on Twitter expressing his appreciation for the far-right militants who on 8 July invaded the Pride Fest festival in Tbilisi (Georgia) organised by the LGBT community.

- On 20 July in Bydgoszcz Dr. Sławomir Ozdyk, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the Sejm elections (lower chamber of the Polish Parliament), presented a xenophobic, even grotesque vision of life in Western European countries. He said, *'The German mainstream media describe what is happening there by saying that entire city districts have been taken over by migrant gangs. Let me repeat, by Arab-Chechen gangs.'*

- On 20 July, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP and its candidate in the Sejm elections in Warsaw suburbs, posted a homophobic entry on Twitter. He declared, *'Condemning homosexuality is one of the European values.'*

- On 26 July, the far right wRealu24 channel on the BanBye platform broadcast a conversation with Dr. Andrzej Zapalowski, Professor at University of Rzeszów and Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the parliamentary elections, made a false statement that *'well over a million Ukrainian citizens live in Poland at the expense of the Polish taxpayer.'*

- On 5 August in Zielona Góra, a huge election banner of MP Łukasz Mejza (unaffiliated, previously associated with the Kukiz'15 movement) appeared, containing xenophobic content. The poster displayed the slogans: *'Accepting migrants – rape and terror,' 'Poland without migrants – safe Poland.'*

- On 17 August, during the parliamentary debate, the Minister of Education and Science Przemysław Czarnek linked the presence of migrants in Western European countries with sexual crimes against women, *'Polish women are safe in Poland, because there are no illegal immigrants. [...] And you don't pay attention to the threat and want them to be raped, like in France or Belgium.'*

- On 6 September, Jacek Cwieka, Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate for the Senate, posted on Twitter that war crimes in Bucha and Irpin [two neighbouring towns in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population] *'were, after all, a hoax.'* He also spoke in defense of the Russian president, *'Today, all the inciters are going insane, because there is no evidence to call Putin a war criminal.'*

- On 7 September, Adam Gbiorczyk, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate for the Senate, published a comment on Twitter in which he questioned the mass extermination in the Nazi camps. He wrote, *'The mere existence of the camps is not evidence of the death of millions, it is only evidence of the existence of the camps.'*

- On 17 September, Dr. Krystyna Pawłowicz, Judge of the Constitutional Tribunal and former Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) MP, posted a comment on Twitter containing a term that dehumanises refugees and migrants (she called them ‘savages’).

In March 2023, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association published the [‘Brown Book’](#) – documentation of racist, xenophobic and homophobic crimes and acts of discrimination in Poland in the years 2020-2023. Over 300 pages describe cases of physical assaults on the basis of skin colour, language, or religion, as well as acts of verbal aggression. In addition, the report documents street demonstrations with slogans inciting hatred, acts of discrimination against minorities, and fascist banners displayed at football stadiums. Examples of hostility towards refugees from Ukraine can also be found therein.

The ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association is an independent anti-racist organization founded in Warsaw in 1996. It has campaigned against antisemitism and xenophobia, for peace, intercultural dialogue and human rights both in Poland and internationally. It has actively participated in international civil society networks, including the Global Alliance Against Digital Hate and Extremism (GAADHE) and the International Network Against Cyber Hate (INACH). It takes part in international projects to counter hate speech, Get The Trolls Out and SafeNet.

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WARSAW. Since the first days of July, street riots in France have been widely commented on in the Polish media (on 27 June, a 17-year-old driver from a Moroccan-Algerian family was shot by a policeman during a security check; the boy died; his death triggered public outrage and violent protests took place across the country). These events were followed by many Islamophobic and dehumanising statements about migrants from African and Asian countries (perceived almost exclusively as dark-skinned Muslims). Politicians from different parties used this topic in their election campaigns. A common point of their media statements was to associate Muslims with danger and to disapprove of their entry into Poland. Here are some selected examples of such statements [original phrasing retained as much as possible– translator’s note]:

[2 July] Former Polish Prime Minister and former President of the European Council Donald Tusk posted a video on Twitter in which he said, *‘We are witnessing shocking scenes of violent riots in France and right now Kaczynski is preparing a document thanks to which even more citizens from countries such as, and I quote, Saudi Arabia, India, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Nigeria, or the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, will come to Poland [...] Why does Kaczynski spit on foreigners and immigrants, while at the same time he wants to let in hundreds of thousands of them, from countries such as these? [...] Poles must regain control of their country and its borders.’* Tusk’s speech was met with many negative reactions. European Parliament Member Janina Ochojska, founder of Polska Akcja Humanitarna (Polish Humanitarian Action), said in an interview with Wirtualna Polska website, *‘Honestly, I would prefer Donald Tusk to talk about migrants in a different way. [...] I think that all politicians should go through a training course on migration, so that they realise who migrants are, what migration is, and that it has existed since the dawn of time. So that they understand that it is also a violation of human rights to use the image of migrants for any negative purposes.’*

Selected comments that appeared in response to Tusk’s video (it has been viewed more than 5.6 million times, as of 26 September 2023):

- *‘How do you want to take away the power of the Jews, Ukrainians, sons of Hitler, and the USA-people over the Polish Nation, and not only over the current territory of Poland?’* (Waldemar Zboralski, a former LGBT community activist, in 2015 he radically changed his worldview and became a supporter of extreme nationalism).

- *‘Stop the Islamisation of Poland!’* (Marta Smolanska, photographer, former employee of Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Institute of National Remembrance).

- *‘A f*cking hypocrite who himself wanted to take in all n*groes from Africa without any checks.’*

- *‘Take in a couple of those bloody immigrants, you have a wife and daughter, then you’ll become a compulsory grandfather very soon :]’*

[2 July] Janusz Korwin-Mikke, member of far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party), posted on Twitter, *‘I don’t understand the French immigrant problem? White heterosexual French men should be given guns – they shall pass an amnesty law and give rewards to anyone who shoots a bandit, robber, thief, or rapist caught red-handed. And it should be announced in Arabic too. There will be peace in one hour.’* Thus, Korwin-Mikke suggested that dark-skinned Muslims were responsible for criminal acts on the streets and that the ‘true’ French people should violently lynch them.

Selected comments that appeared under Korwin-Mikke’s post:

- *'Just soak the bullets in pig's blood and shoot a few. The rest will drop it.'*
- *'Exactly, down with the dirty pigs.'*
- *'No guns are given to slaves.'*
- *'France has officially become a wild African country. There is no rescue. It will only get worse.'*

[2 July] Roman Giertych, former leader of far-right Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth), former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Education, Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Swietokrzyskie Voivodeship constituency, shared a short video on Twitter that showed a group of men chased by the police through city streets at night (a caption posted on the Cerfia channel indicated that the video was recorded *'in Switzerland, near Lausanne'*). Giertych added his own comment, *'Twenty years from now, due to having allowed hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Muslim countries into Poland, we may witness such scenes on the streets of Warsaw.'* Although the video he shared did not explain who the people were, the Koalicja Obywatelska candidate used the footage to associate Muslims with violence.



Giertych's post received, for example, such comments:

- *'But what shall we say now about Ukrainians? [...] You can also call them culturally alien because they are Orthodox. And you can already see that they flock together. You can hear eastern speech more often than the Polish one.'*
- *'And if this is the plan for this year? Letting in 400,000 immigrants mainly from the Middle and Far East will fuel staged riots during marches in support of the opposition, and eventually the introduction of martial law, like in France?'*

[1 July] Rafał Ziemkiewicz, columnist for the weekly magazine *'Do Rzeczy'*, commented on Twitter, *'Whites in France have been protesting for months – to no avail. The coloureds took matters into their own hands and suddenly the oldest daughter of Corinth [i.e. France – translator's note] burns from coast to coast. Oh, the race has degenerated, there is no doubt...'* In this way, Ziemkiewicz linked only the dark-skinned people to acts of violence, incorporating into his statement one of the emblematic terms used in racist doctrine since the second half of the 19th century (*'degeneration of race'*).

Under Ziemkiewicz's post, comments such as below have appeared:

- *'Let them accept more savages'* (Karol Słota, councillor in Lubliniec).
- *'They wanted multi-culti, so they have it. Now they are enlightened by the fires.'*
- *'a revolt of these mahogany-skinned people has arisen because French women don't want to marry them, French men do not want to share the fruits of prosperity, and so on.'*

[3 July] Sławomir Ozdyk of Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown) made xenophobic comments relating to the riots in France in a programme

on the far-right wRealu24 channel (broadcast on the BanBye website). Ozdyk used conspiracy theories in which he portrayed migrants as a civilisational threat. In an interview with Piotr Szlachtowicz, he urged, *'Will migration of this type [implied: dangerous – ed.] hit Poland? Of course, it will, if we do not stand up, if we do not say a direct «no». Not a single referendum [...] will protect us. [...] Citizen, defend yourself, defend yourself and your family. No one will do it for you.'* And he went on to rant against migrants, ending with an almost catastrophic vision, *'These are the people who will come, who will not integrate with us, with some exceptions, of course. They won't assimilate, assimilation is out of the question, integration won't happen either. [...] They will create their own ghettos; they will create their own parallel world. Parallel like in Germany, in France, in Sweden [...]. And this parallel world will seek to eliminate us, and they will do so. Because they have replaceability, yes, they give birth to children in great numbers.'*

The following comments appeared under the video:

- *'A normal government would have imposed a state of emergency, given orders to the army and the police to shoot emigrant scum in the head.'*
- *'in Lodz the Bandera pigs have their club [Stepan Bandera was a Ukrainian nationalist from the pre-war and World War II era; his name is a frequent ethnic slur against all Ukrainians in Poland today – translator's note], the n*ggers have their club, the monkeys have their club. [...] so the Poles will have to fight four enemies !!'*
- *'Start shooting at these ducking, smelly Islamic sh*t and pigs. F*ck off smelly Muslims.'*

SZCZECIN. On 8 July, Dariusz Matecki, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Szczecin constituency, chairman of Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland party, current junior coalition partner) in Western Pomerania, and head of Osrodek Monitorowania Antypolonizmu (Anti-Polonism Monitoring Centre), published a comment on Twitter expressing his appreciation for the far-right militants who on 8 July invaded the Pride Fest festival in Tbilisi (Georgia) organised by the LGBT community. Around two thousand demonstrators stormed the festival area, behaved aggressively, shouted insults, destroyed rainbow flags, all of which led to interruption of the event. The organisers of the Pride Fest issued a statement in which they accused the Russian-linked far-right group Alt Info of carrying out the attack. Matecki, sharing a part of the video from the riots, commented on the acts of violence against sexual minorities, *'Georgians break up the LGBT parade [smile emoji]. I observe with appreciation.'*

There were many comments under Matecki's entry inciting homophobic violence [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Let's do it with paederasty in Szczecin. [...] let's stop this perv march towards the next generation.'*
- *'This is just the beginning of how we will chase LGBT people out of Europe!!! Stop the deviants!!!'*
- *'I would shoot them all out.'*



Od Mariam Nikuradze

- *'That's it! Down with the lunatics... Gather twenty of them and plough them up. Because I think they like it.'*

- *'Kudos to Georgians. [...] Now the f*gs want freedom, next it will be paedophiles and zoophiles.'*

LUBLIN. On 11 July, on the anniversary of the Volhynian massacre [perpetrated on Poles in the years 1943-45 and led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (UPA) – translator's note], at the intersection of Gleboka and Raabego streets, during a march organised by Polski Ruch Antywojenny (Polish Anti-War Movement, organisation considered to be pro-Putin), Prof. Ryszard Zajaczkowski, lecturer at the Catholic University of Lublin and member of Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown), uttered words derogatory to the memory of the victims of Nazi camps. In a speech based on conspiracy theories, he declared that *'globalist communism [...] works in different ways. [...] This ideology is supported by puppet politicians who see their greatest political ambition in acting as a kapo over their compatriots'* (*kapo* is a term used to describe a prisoner who served as a Kommando supervisor in a Nazi concentration camp. Many *kapos* were particularly cruel trying to intimidate and terrorise other prisoners).

On 13 July, at a press conference in front of the Lublin City Hall, Konfederacja announced the names of their Sejm candidates (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Lublin constituency, including Prof. Ryszard Zajaczkowski. He made the following comment, *'We do not want to sweep the issue of very large resettlements of Ukrainian citizens to Poland under the carpet.'* In this way, he repeated the conspiracy theory according to which there is a global plan under which Ukrainian refugees would be deliberately 'resettled' in Poland.

WARSAW. On 11 July, MP and former musician Pawel Kukiz, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Opole constituency (no. 1 on the list), spoke on the Media Narodowe platform (National Media; extreme right-wing internet channel of Robert Bakiewicz) in a way displaying a total lack of respect for the memory of the victims of Russian war crimes in Ukraine. Referring to the ethnic cleansing (of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists) in Volhynia in 1943-1945 Kukiz stated, *'It is unacceptable not to confess a mortal sin, and this is what the murder of women and children was. [...] Their Bucha*



[town in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population – translator's note] and similar events have happened, because, among other things, they have not confessed this sin and thus the karma comes back.' This outrageous stance of a Polish MP suggests Ukrainians... themselves would be responsible for Putin's crimes as an alleged punishment for the sins of their ancestors.

The editor-in-chief of Media Narodowe channel is a far-right activist Robert Bakiewicz, former head of Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association), leader of Roty Marszu Niepodleglosci (Rota Independence March Association) [*'rota'* is an archaic word for a small military unit – translator's note], and Straz Narodowa (National Guard Association) subsidised from public funds. He is also Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Radom constituency. In January 2023, the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association published a report on

hate speech on the Media Narodowe YouTube channel. After this publication, the YouTube platform removed Bakiewicz's channel. Media Narodowe continues to publish its materials on Facebook and Twitter.

CHELM. On 13 July, during a press conference in front of the regional branch of the National Electoral Office, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) presented its three candidates for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Chelm-Zamosc constituency. Number one on the candidate list is Witold Tumanowicz – Konfederacja campaign manager and member of the board of Ruch Narodowy (National Movement). For many years he has organised the so-called Independence March in Warsaw (far-right manifestation with hateful slogans and acts of violence). At the end of August, social media users recalled Tumanowicz's speech from April 2014 in which he uttered hateful words about gay people. During a demonstration at Zbawiciela Square in Warsaw, organised in protest against an art installation in form of a rainbow (a symbol of the LGBT community), Tumanowicz shouted to the audience, *'When the National Movement comes to power, we will have a record of not only civil partnerships, but also of individual f*ggots – so that not one of them will have the right to raise a child, to be a school teacher, or even to approach a child. Yes, we will register them!'*

Tumanowicz had previously spoken about the political aspirations of Konfederacja. A few months before the elections, Piotr Stanislaw Wielgucki (AKA Matka Kurka), blogger known for slandering the Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity (the biggest non-governmental charity organisation in Poland) for years, posted a comment on Twitter that could be interpreted as incitement to violence, *'In the autumn, Konfederacja will fend Ukrainians and Jews off'* (20 May 2023). Tumanowicz enthusiastically supported him, *'Finally something sensible on this blog. Yes, it will happen!'* (21 May 2023).

CZESTOCHOWA. On 14 July, Tomasz Stala, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP candidate in the Czestochowa constituency (no. 1 on the list) and owner of the publishing house 3dom (which publishes antisemitic books and reprints of texts written by fascist criminals: Romanian leader of the Iron Guard, organisation responsible for political murders, pogroms, and murders of Jews – Corneliu Codreanu, Belgian SS officer – Leon Degrell, or Adolf Hitler) described his current views as follows, *'I haven't completely changed my views, they were evolving towards a national, fascist, and monarchist direction.'* In addition, he reported that the *'Unabomber Manifesto'*, a collection of writings by Theodore John Kaczynski, American terrorist with Polish roots, had been published by his publishing house. Between 1978 and 1995, Unabomber committed 16 bomb attacks, in which 3 people were killed and 23 injured. For this, he was sentenced to life imprisonment (he died in prison in June 2023). Stala called the bomber's manifesto *'brilliant'* and *'above all anti-lefty.'* The interview with the Konfederacja candidate was conducted by a former Radio Maryja (chauvinist-Catholic media outlet) columnist Stanislaw Krajski and posted on his YouTube channel.

LUBLIN. On 14 July, the Disciplinary Proceedings Representative of the Catholic University of Lublin initiated proceedings regarding the public statements of Prof. Ryszard Zajackowski, lecturer at this university and far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the upcoming parliamentary elections (Lublin constituency). On 10 May in Lublin, during a meeting organised by Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown), prof. Zajackowski made the following comment, *'We face the greatest totalitarianism'*

in history, compared to which the Auschwitz camp could be called a recreation camp.’ Through his speech, he perpetuated the Great Reset conspiracy theory alleging that there is a plan by the world’s elites to seek global control of humanity. Zajaczkowski told the audience, ‘Talking about the Great Reset, there is one problem. Not only do you have to convince people that it is for their good, but you also have to mass exterminate them, because managing the number of people that are currently in the world is difficult. Various depopulation plans are already being discussed openly. The coronavirus action was an introduction to what is to happen in the coming years.’

On 10 July, during a meeting in **OPOLE LUBELSKIE** organised by Glos Obywatelski Powiatu Opolskiego (Civil Voice of the Opole Region Association), Zajaczkowski said, ‘Poles fell victim to three genocides during World War II and shortly after. These were, of course, the German genocide [...], then the Russian genocide [...], and indeed the Ukrainian genocide [...], but there was also the Jewish genocide. I am referring to the actions of the Jews who got involved, especially after the war, but also during the war, for example in the Soviet apparatus of oppression, in the NKVD, and then in the Security Service.’

In the statement published by the Catholic University of Lublin regarding the lecturer, it was emphasised, ‘Prof. Zajaczkowski’s statements go far beyond academic journalism, they show an instrumental use of history, and spread untruths, thus harming the good name of the University.’

RZESZOW. On 14 July, Jacek Cwieka, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate for the Senate in the Rzeszow constituency and head of Tradycyjne Podkarpacie Foundation (Traditional Podkarpacie, whose co-founder is Konfederacja MP Grzegorz Braun, notorious for perpetuating antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theories), posted words of support for Vladimir Putin on Twitter. He shared a post by a US columnist Jackson Hinkle who is recognised as a pro-Kremlin propagandist (for example, in March 2023, he tweeted that ‘Russia is liberating new territories in Ukraine’). In that post, Hinkle shared a picture of the Russian president (standing proudly on a hill, wearing a trekking outfit) along with a caption: ‘Putin wants peace, the Deep State wants war’ (the so-called Deep State is one of the most popular conspiracy theories about the existence of a secret power that rules the United States and the world). Cwieka fully supported this view, writing briefly, ‘That’s the truth...’ and added a finger emoji pointing to Jackson Hinkle’s pro-Putin post.

WARSAW. On 18 July, on the Media Narodowe (National Media) channel (broadcast on Facebook), Robert Bakiewicz, former head of Marsz Niepodleglosci (Independence March Association) and Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice party) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Radom district, accused opposition politicians of being ‘implementers of certain actions that are beneficial to the Federal Republic of Germany and also to various Jewish organisations that are currently looking for another scapegoat [he meant scapegoat – translator’s note] to pay, to pay some reparations for the Second World War.’ Elaborating on the antisemitic theme, Bakiewicz referred to a conspiracy theory ‘revealing’ the alleged anti-Polish Jewish-German deal, ‘Jews are currently in agreement with Germans in the sense that Germans have said that they will not pay any more to Jews, well this scapegoat [he meant scapegoat – translator’s note] [...] today is Poles.’

In January 2023, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association released a report on hate speech on the Media Narodowe channel on YouTube. After this publication, the platform removed Bakiewicz’s channel. Media Narodowe continue to publish their material on Facebook and Twitter.

BYDGOSZCZ. On 20 July, during a press conference by the monument of Casimir the Great (King of Poland in 14th century) Konfederacja (Confederation party) presented its first three from the

list of candidates for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Bydgoszcz constituency. Among them was Dr. Slawomir Ozdyk, member of Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown), owner of a security company in Berlin, and commentator in the far-right media. During the conference, he presented a xenophobic, even grotesque vision of life



in Western European countries. He said, *'It cannot be that mass, uncontrolled immigration sweeps through our country. [...] Look at what is happening in Western Europe: in Germany swimming pools have to be closed. [...] The German mainstream media describe what is happening there by saying that entire city districts have been taken over by migrant gangs. Let me repeat, by Arab-Chechen gangs, to be precise, if we are talking about Berlin. Ladies and gentlemen, look at what is happening in Sweden: a day without a shooting, a day without an explosion is a day wasted. Do we really want to cause a culture war in Poland?'*

A recording from the conference was published on Grzegorz Braun's profile on YouTube. In reaction to this material, xenophobic and antisemitic comments appeared [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Immigration has already covered us and the lazy guys are still entering as if it was their own place, uncontrolled, there are no borders in Poland, there is no Poland... not anymore. Dydazyd [implied: 'Polish president Duda, the Jew'] sold our Poland.'*
- *'STOP the Ukrainisation of Poland.'*
- *'F*[ck the] immig[rants].'*
- *'and it's already starting here – yesterday I took a walk through Katowice, there are a lot of Turks and other nationalities, Ukrainians shouting so damn loud that you can hear them everywhere. All kebabs [referring to people – translator's note], is this stupid Polish society asleep?'*
- *'Poland for Poles!!!'*
- *'Mr. Ozdyk: freedom first and foremost, because these Jewish scoundrels are taking away our freedom piece by piece under the pretext of security.'*

WARSAW. On 20 July, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP and its candidate in the Sejm elections (lower chamber of the Polish Parliament) in Warsaw suburbs, posted a homophobic entry on Twitter. He declared, *'Condemning homosexuality is one of the European values.'* He was referring to his own statement made on 29 March on Radio Poznan in which he said, *'Of the great leaders, only His Excellency Vladimir Putin defends European values.'* Furthermore, on 6 July, Korwin-Mikke expressed his appreciation for the regulations which have been in force in Uganda since May 2023, when its President signed a bill introducing some of the world's strictest regulations against LGBT people, including death penalty. Korwin-Mikke stated, *'The Holy Scripture commands that homosexuals be punished with death. Despite this, Christian Europe has for 2000 years followed the principle: «You don't talk, we don't bother you». Now this deal has been broken, and yuck! the «gays» have come to the*

surface. However, for every action there is a reaction, and Uganda has responded' (over 614,800 views within three months). On 22 July, Korwin-Mikke appears to have equated homosexuality with bestiality and accused gays themselves of violence against them. He stated, *'Why have I NEVER heard of a zoophile being beaten? Because zoophiles (but also p**fters!!), unlike, yuck!, «gays», do not scandalise people by talking about their erotic preferences!'* In the same post he used a term that could be considered an approval of the crime of paedophilia, *'What does rape have to do with mild paedophilia?! It's like comparing setting a house on fire to lighting a cigarette.'* According to an article on the Oko.press website, in 2001 Korwin-Mikke wrote on his blog, *'Mild paedophilia is not socially harmful.'*

CZESTOCHOWA. On 21 July, Tomasz Stala, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the Czestochowa constituency (no. 1 on the list) and owner of the 3dom publishing house, boasted in an interview with Stanisław Krajski that he had published the writings of Corneliu Codreanu, the leader of the Iron Guard, a fascist group active in Romania between 1927 and 1941, infamous for its particularly brutal anti-Jewish pogroms. Stala advertised the publication with the words, *'This is our gift for our fascist clients.'* He also emphasised his admiration for Codreanu, *'A religious person, yet politically active and uncompromising. Certainly, worth remembering, and his spiritual reflections are a relief in this rotten world around us.'*

In an interview posted on Krajski's (a long-time Radio Maryja commentator, a Catholic-nationalist radio station) YouTube channel, Stala attacked Lidl company, which he described as *'an American-German-Jewish group.'* He also stated that economic policy (13.29) *'should be liberal, but liberal for Poles. The topic of Ukrainisation – we could go on for 24 hours about how Poles are mistreated in their own country'* (Konfederacja is running a Stop the Ukrainisation campaign condemning aid for Ukrainian refugees).

While promoting his own candidacy for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), Stala also brought an antisemitic conspiracy theory into the conversation: *'I think I represent quite interesting ideas, in line with the views of many Poles disappointed with the Brussels-Washington-Moscow-Tel-Aviv leadership.'*

WARSAW. On 26 July, the far right wRealuz4 channel on the BanBye platform broadcast a conversation with Dr. Andrzej Zapalowski, Professor at University of Rzeszow and Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Krosno constituency (no. 1 on the list). The conversation was filled with anti-Ukrainian threads and Zapalowski made a false statement that *'well over a million Ukrainian citizens live in Poland at the expense of the Polish taxpayer.'* He then somewhat bizarrely opposed the right of Ukrainians staying in Poland to maintain their national identity. He stated, *'There is no mention at all in Poland of any assimilation of these people as Polish citizens. No programmes have been launched whilst there are actions to do just the opposite – to consolidate and reinforce their Ukrainian identity.'* In the interview hosted by Piotr Szlachtowicz, he repeated accusations against Ukraine well known from Putin's propaganda, *'Without a clear solution to the issue of Nazism in western Ukraine [...] there will be no full Polish-Ukrainian cooperation and this problem will be a permanent destabiliser.'* Furthermore, Zapalowski accused internal Ukrainian refugees who moved to Lviv of having *'Banderised'* the city [Stepan Bandera was the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which collaborated with Nazi Germany; the OUN led an ethnic cleansing

campaign against Poles in Volhynia during 1943-44 – translator’s note]. His sentiments were echoed by Szachtowicz, *‘And today’s Ukraine means – as you have said – Nazism.’*

Antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian entries appeared under the video [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘To all Ukrainians who came to Poland after the outbreak of the war, we say GET THE HELL OUT!!!!’*

- *‘Jews who organised the Holocaust don’t care about Jews murdered in Ukraine.’*

- *‘Ukraine are savages. [...] let’s not turn savages into a nation.’*

- *‘I don’t give a sh*t what Ukrainian scum want, get the hell out you bandits and murderers of Poles.’*

- *‘Ukrainian scum get the hell out back to Ukraine, you f*cking Ukrainian c*nts I hate Ukrainians, out.’*

AUGUST 2023

WARSAW. On 2 August, in a Radio Wnet programme (also published on YouTube), Marek Jakubiak, a brewer and former MP, in his capacity as the general secretary of the Kukiz’15 party, made statements full of stereotypes expressing aversion toward Ukrainians and Jews. Speaking about the alleged lack of gratitude of Ukrainians for help from Poland during the Russian invasion, he also mentioned a supposed lack of Jewish gratitude (criticising Poles’ assistance to people of other nationalities, both during the Holocaust and today), *‘Here, Madam Editor, right away I am reminded of the attitude of Poles towards Jews during World War II. Thousands of Poles gave their lives to save Jews and we see how Jews thank us today! The exact same thing may happen with Ukrainians, and who knows, maybe it’s already happening. We welcomed millions of Ukrainians, opening our hearts, showing our Polishness, because this is a trait of our nation – for yours and ours... [‘For our freedom and yours’ was a motto used in the November Uprising (1830-1831) of Poles against Tsarist Russia – translator’s note] this is our curse, emotions over interests, that’s what I would call it, these emotions over interests always end the same. And Ukrainians – it is clear that they are starting to move in the direction of money, not emotions.’*

The following anti-Ukrainian comments appeared under the YouTube broadcast [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Don’t let Ukraine win, then 500,000 ugly [misspelled Polish ethnic slur for Ukrainians – translator’s note] trained in battle and hatred will come to Poland, they can butcher anyone’.*

- *‘STOP the Ukrainisation of Poland!’*

OPOLE. On 5 August, Bartosz Nowak, chairman of far-right Korona Mlodych in Opole (Youth Crown, youth wing of Grzegorz Braun’s Konfederacja Korony Polskiej – Confederation of the Polish Crown), enthusiastically referenced on Twitter the so-called ‘Confederate five’, i.e. the slogan: *‘We do not want Jews, homosexuals, abortion, taxes, or the European Union’* (a quote from Slawomir Mentzen, who, as Konfederacja – coalition of parties MEP candidate, he used in the European Parliament election campaign, on 25 March 2019 in Krakow). Nowak shared an image showing three Konfederacja leaders: S. Mentzen, Robert Winnicki, and G. Braun displaying this slogan on a banner, and commenting on this material in the form of the hashtag *‘#Takchcemyzyc’* (*‘#WeWantToLiveLikeThis’*).

It was one of many entries in which a youth representative of Konfederacja promoted hateful content. Here are other examples of material he posted on Twitter in August:

- [3 August] Shared an image with the question: *‘What do you think about Francoist concentration camps and white terror?’* to which he replied, *‘They were needed in order to annihilate the communists.’*
- [4 August] *‘At first, people didn’t like our slogan #StopUkrainisationOfPoland, but it turned out, we were right again!’*
- [8 August] *‘And where is the bad behaviour? #IamProudofBeingWhite’* (comment to the entry: *‘For many Poles, racism is no longer a reason to be ashamed’*).
- [8 August] *‘On this profile we support: 1. Anti-Zionism. 2. Anti-Judaism. 3. Gen **Franco** 4. Polish imperialism 5. Mr. @GrzegorzBraun MP.’*
- [12 August] *‘Bravo to the President of Uganda’* (in connection with the position of Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni on the persecution of LGBT people; at the end of May 2023, he signed a bill introducing one of the strictest anti-LGBT laws in the world, which included the death penalty).
- [14 August] *‘I would like to remind you that Satan is hiding behind the rainbow paedophiles. #Stoplgbt.’*
- [15 August] *‘On today’s anniversary, Poland won against Jewish Freemasonry (the Bolsheviks), thanks to the soldiers fighting against this plague, we managed to protect our independence for 6 years’* – he also shared a propaganda poster from the times of the Polish-Bolshevik War (1919-1921) which included a drawing depicting a stereotypical, demonic Jew with the inscription: *‘Jewish paws again? No, never!’*
- [16 August] *‘I would like to present to you today my greatest advantages. I am: 1. Extremely homophobic 2. Extremely Biphobic 3. Extremely Transphobic 4. Extremely anti-Zionist 5. I support General Francisco franco behamonde [sic].’*
- [26 August] *‘The sin of Sodom is a cry to heaven for vengeance. #NoToPerverts.’*

On Instagram, in turn, Nowak posted an entry in which he questioned Russian war crimes committed in Ukraine and accused... Ukrainians of these crimes, *‘I would just like to remind you that Bucha [a town in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population – translator’s note] is one of the most Russian cities in Ukraine and I don’t understand why they would commit such a massacre there, further proof that Ukrainians committed the carnage in Bucha will be the fact that the victim in the photo is wearing a white band, which is what Russians wear. Ukrainians wear blue ones. #ItWasUkrainianCrimeInBucha’* (22 September 2022).



Bartosz Nowak had an active role in Konfederacja’s election campaign: he participated in and invited to election meetings, encouraged people to vote for specific candidates from this organisation, and also shared content published on far-right accounts. His Twitter profile has a background image of General Franco as a crusader. Daily more than 20 posts appeared on his account (his own comments and shares). He posted, among other things, a photo of himself with Grzegorz Braun and captioned it, *‘A photo with the greatest authority and the best MP of this term, in other words, IX @GrzegorzBraun.’* Nowak was wearing

a T-shirt with the name of Konfederacja Wolnosc i Niepodleglosc (Confederation Freedom and Independence party) (26 August).

ZIELONA GORA. On 5 August, in the city centre, on the facade of the former printing house at Wojska Polskiego Street, a huge election banner of MP Lukasz Mejza (unaffiliated, previously associated with the Kukiz'15 movement) appeared, containing xenophobic content. The poster displayed the slogans: *'Accepting migrants – rape and terror,' 'Poland without migrants – safe Poland.'* The intervention regarding the banner was undertaken by activists from Zielona Gora's Civil Society group. While they were recording a video to document what was on the poster, the building owner decided to remove it. This was on the same day that the poster had been installed on the facade.

WARSAW. On 11 August, in a TV Republika broadcast (also published on YouTube), far-right propagandist Rafal Ziemkiewicz spoke disdainful words expressing hostility towards refugees, and also falsely presented the views of human rights defenders and the opposition. Ziemkiewicz declared, *'It is a gift to the ruling camp that by taking the position of lefty political correctness, i.e. that every coloured person is better than a white one, and refugees welcome, come here from all over the world [...], we must welcome everyone, it is obviously suicidal on the part of the opposition.'*

The following comments appeared under the recording on YouTube (over 190,000 views in two months) [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Giertych will faint in the presence of the police like that BLM n*gro'* [mocking the death of George Floyd, Black American, killed in 2020 by a policeman in the USA – ed.].
- *'But we must also remember about the physical extermination of all the lie-media's motherf*ckers'* [calls to kill journalists – ed.].

WARSAW. On 11 August, in an interview broadcast on the YouTube channel of the 'Fakt' daily, the far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP Krzysztof Bosak incited fear of migrants, comparing them to threats like sexual crime and theft. Without providing any reliable data, Bosak created a hysterical image of migrants and presented a false vision of life in Western European countries, *'The government has begun to hide crime statistics showing the nationality of the perpetrators. [...] In every country widely open to immigration, especially that from foreign cultural circles, the situation is changing [...]. For example, in Warsaw, the sense of security – when it comes to using car transport – has disappeared, especially when it comes to women and some night journeys home, because we had and still have the threat of sexual crimes committed largely by immigrants, and we have a wave of thefts. If we follow the same path as the Western countries, that is, we open our borders wide and treat ourselves to decades of settling of people from any part of the world, whilst demanding nothing from them and idealising their culture, then we will be in the same situation as the Western world. There, the native inhabitants, descendants of citizens who had built these countries, can no longer feel safe in metro stations, on the streets, or when going to a cafe or a store. They have to watch their backs, they have to carefully leave the pavement to give way to newcomers who have a very simple and clear way of life. They simply impose their rules on others. For example: if they believe that dogs are haram [in Arabic culture this term denotes what is prohibited or contrary to Islamic law – translator's note], then there should be no dogs in their districts.'*

Hateful comments appeared under this YouTube broadcast, some of them with anti-Ukrainian overtones: *'This aid for *kry [Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians – translator's role] will wreak vengeance on the Polish nation'* and *'Stop handing out money, what kind of a government is this? How can they treat newcomers better than us? People work for years and receive low pensions, while a refugee can work for 1 day and receive the minimum national pension. Poland has been robbed and sold.'*

GDYNIA. On 14 August, Konrad Niznik, Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), member of the Supreme Council of Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown), posted on Facebook and Twitter an entry expressing appreciation for the interwar antisemitic texts published by Fr. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe (1894-1941). Kolbe published, among others, the magazines *'Rycerz Niepokalanej'* (*'Knight of the Immaculata'*) and *'Maly Dziennik'* (*'Little Daily'*) in which Jews were accused of striving to take over the world and acting to the detriment of Poland, and in which their forced emigration, Ghetto benches, as well as discrimination in sports and social life were supported. In 1938, in *'Maly Dziennik'*, Kolbe argued, *'Jewry has harmed and continues to harm us all the time, it is eating into the body of the nation like a cancer.'* Recalling the figure of the friar on social media, Niznik commented on his journalism, *'He spoke the truth about Freemasonry and Jews.'*

WARSAW. On 14 August, Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP Krzysztof Bosak made a comment on Twitter in which he outlined a vision of Ukraine as a country threatening Poland. One of the reasons for this situation would be... manifestations of equal rights for LGBT people. Bosak argued, *'The post-war Ukraine will be not only a political, economic, and historical problem for Poland, but also an ideological one. If the situation does not change, we will be caught in a leftist embrace from the East and the West.'* The words of the Konfederacja MP were a comment to the Twitter entry (published on the same day) by Maciej Pieczynski from the radical-right weekly *'Do Rzeczy'*, who recommended his own article sarcastically titled *'In rainbow Ukraine'* (no. 33/2023). He expressed regret that Ukraine was *'becoming «rainbow»'* and *'LGBT soldiers proudly talk about their orientation.'*

WARSAW. On 15 August and in the following days, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) supporters published many hateful comments online about Wojtek Sawicki, an activist for the rights of people with disabilities. It was a reaction to his critical entry towards Slawomir Mentzen, the Konfederacja leader who, characterising the assumptions of his own political formation on Twitter, asserted that *'everyone is the master of their own fate.'* Sawicki (who is impacted by a rare genetic disease leading to complete muscle atrophy) responded to this statement, *'Gee, this idealistic gibberish again, try to be the master of your fate with Duchenne Muscular Dystrophy, when you can't move a finger.'* In response, Mentzen's supporters posted the following comments, among others:

- *'How much I hate the way that disableds feel sorry for their fate all the time...'*
- *'This guy weaponises his disease to support socialists and the left.'*
- *'How's the tube? Is it still working?'* (Sawicki breathes through a respirator)
- *'Off to your grave, you monster.'*
- *'You are an expert in spreading venom, defeatism, and f*cking self-pity.'*
- *'Well, that's sh*t. You're a loser and Konfa [Konfederacja] doesn't give a single f*ck about you.'*

WARSAW. On 17 August, during the parliamentary debate on the national referendum (ordered for 15 October, the day of the parliamentary elections), the Minister of Education and Science Przemyslaw Czarnek made a xenophobic comment about migrants. He referred to one of the questions planned in the referendum: *'Do you support the admission of thousands of illegal immigrants from the Middle East and Africa, in accordance with the forced relocation mechanism imposed by the European bureaucracy?'* In a manipulative way, Czarnek linked the presence of migrants in Western European countries with sexual crimes against women. Without referring to proper data, he presented them as an alleged physical threat. He shouted from the parliamentary rostrum, *'Polish women are safe in Poland, because there are no illegal immigrants. In Poland, women are respected in Christian culture. And you don't pay attention to the threat and want them to be raped, like in France or Belgium.'*

SZCZECIN. On 20 August, Dariusz Matecki, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice) MP candidate in the Szczecin constituency, chairman of Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland party, current junior coalition partner) in Western Pomerania and head of Osrodek Monitorowania Antypolonizmu (Anti-Polonism Monitoring Centre) posted a video on Twitter showing three boys communicating in German, but without any information about where, when and under what circumstances it was recorded. He then added a bizarre, racist comment to the video. The film showed a half-minute incident between a white and a dark-skinned boy, the reasons for which were not disclosed, and the moment when the latter hits the former. Matecki commented on this video, *'The future of indigenous Europeans on their own continent?'*

There were many racist comments under Matecki's entry, inciting violence, including threats against the children visible in the video [original spelling]:

- *'That f*cking ch*mp that attacked that boy should be dead by now.'*
- *'I would beat the crap out of these idiots so that their p*ki mother wouldn't recognise them.'*
- *'aggressive monkeys must be shot with live ammunition.'*
- *'That's why I say aim fire at these sons of b*tches and then throw them into a ditch!!!! F*cking p*kis!!!!'*
- *'F*cking afro b*stard! Who let this garbage in here anyway? Those Brussels wh*res should be hanged.'*
- *'For disposal. Immediately.'*
- *'Monkeys' place is in the zoo or in africa, what does the [European] union not understand? If I were that white boy's father, I would tear those monkeys to pieces.'*
- *'We pray that Hitler returns from Argentina.'*
- *'Why don't they drown them when they arrive by sea??? There would be peace. I'd break the p*ki's bones.'*
- *'Even when they are in the civilised world, savages remain savages.'*

The comments also included some anti-Ukrainian content, for example:

- *'This is how *kry [Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians] in Poland will behave towards native Poles.'*
- *'In Poland, our kids will get this shit from little *kry [Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians].'*

WARSAW. On 22 August, Konfederacja Korony Polskiej Grzegorza Brauna (Confederation of the Polish Crown led by MP Grzegorz Braun) published an open letter to the President of the Republic of Poland and the Mayor of Warsaw which contained a demand that was offensive both to refugees from Ukraine and to a significant part of Polish society involved in helping Ukrainians.

The letter contained the following: *'As Konfederacja Korony Polskiej, we state that we do not give our civic consent to the organisation of celebrations on the occasion of the «Ukrainian Independence Day» in Warsaw on 24 August 2023. There are no moral grounds for the above-mentioned celebrations to take place.'* Additionally, in the letter, Konfederacja's representatives argued to stop displaying blue-and-yellow flags in public spaces (as a gesture of solidarity with Ukrainian neighbours), *'[...] there are moral reasons why such a holiday should NOT be celebrated in Poland. Let's take the example of Singapore (one of the richest countries in the world), where publicly displaying a flag of a foreign country is punishable by a fine or imprisonment of up to 6 months.'* MP Braun himself has repeatedly demanded the removal of Ukrainian flags from the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) or city offices, referring to threads close to Putin's propaganda. For example, on 6 July, during a speech in parliament, he demanded that *'the session be postponed until the flags of a foreign country that hang on this building are removed, and in the context of the anti-Polish policy of the Kyiv regime, these flags insult the memory of the murdered and the living [manipulative reference to the ethnic cleansing of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists in Volhynia in 1943-1944 - ed.]'*

Braun's speech was published on the YouTube channel of Wirtualna Polska [mainstream website] (over 249,000 views within three months), and anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments appeared under the material [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Down with the Ukrainian flags. [...] This is Poland!!!'*
- *'Either we now put pressure on the arrogant Ukrainians or never, Mr. Duda [president of Poland – ed.]'*
- *'Way to go!!! Commie Jews [antisemitic stereotype of Jews as communist traitors – translator's note] have gone too far'*
- *'This is a nation that can repay for help and care with an axe'*
- *'Get out with those flags. They murdered us systemically with pitchforks... Out out out'*
- *'Kh*khly [Russian ethnic slur for Ukrainians – translator's note] go home!'*
- *'*kry [Polish ethnic slur for Ukrainians] go home. To Little Russia. Out!'*
- *'This is not Ukropolin!' [the word means Poland in Hebrew; according to the conspiracy theory, Polin is Poland appropriated by Jews – translator's note].*

WARSAW. On 22 August, in a conversation on the Goniec YouTube channel, Krzysztof Bosak, Konfederacja's MP (Confederation, far-right coalition of libertarian nationalists and monarchists) and its candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Podlaskie Voivodeship constituency (no. 1 on the list), to the question of the host Mikolaj Dowejka, *'What is the place of Poland in the world?'* he began to answer off- topic, promoting a vision of a state that would be ethnically homogenous and would exclude *'alien elements'*. He ranted, *'If we ultimately become a country, as it is now planned by Morawiecki's government, and what Tusk's government had wanted to do earlier, full of immigrants, multiethnic, drowning in internal conflicts, we will be a weak state.'* In response to the question, *'What fate are you preparing for Polish women?'* Bosak continued his xenophobic tirade, *'A good one. [...] peace, harmony, security resulting also from limiting immigration from alien cultural circles that create threats, either in passenger transport or in swimming pools [...]. In Germany and France, women are afraid to go out onto the streets.'* Also later in the programme, the Konfederacja MP repeated anti-Western content, presenting a caricatural image of Western European countries, *'At the moment in Western universities the political correctness is beginning to resemble the level of enslavement that was present in Soviet*

Russia.’

Hateful comments appeared under the interview, for example: *‘Finally Poland for Poles,’* including some that praised violence: *‘When will Braun [one of Konfederacja’s leaders – translator’s note] finally whip the rainbow [people = LGBT people – ed.]?’*

WARSAW. On 24 August, on Radio Zet (mainstream radio station), the far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP Krzysztof Bosak spoke mockingly about refugees and migrants from African and Asian countries who had lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea while trying to get to Europe (according to the Statista website, almost thirty thousand people have drowned in the Mediterranean Sea since 2014). He stated, *‘The language of the European Union is that legal and safe immigration is better than illegal, because if it is illegal, someone might travel on a dinghy and then drown, whereas if it is legal, then everyone will survive. But if we follow this approach, providing comfort and safety to immigrants who are illegal, we will end up as a country flooded with a stream of people from Africa and Asia reaching tens, if not hundreds of millions.’* Bosak also repeated false information about the alleged growing threat from immigrants in countries such as France, Great Britain, and Germany. Without referring to any data, he shared the following bizarre, xenophobic vision, *‘It has already happened: women decide not to go out on the streets in French or German cities after dark, and sometimes even during the day.’*

WARSAW. In the second half of August, in connection with the world premiere of Agnieszka Holland's film *‘The Green Border’* (at the Venice Film Festival on 5 September) devoted to the refugee crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border, extreme nationalist circles initiated a hate campaign against the director. In aggressive statements, she was most often accused of *‘betraying Poland,’* and her Polish identity was denied (she was called a Jew, a German, *‘anti-Polish trash,’* or a *‘German-Jewish sc*mbag’*). The offensive comments also included an entry by Dr. Krystyna Pawłowicz [notorious for controversial statements – translator’s note], Judge of the Constitutional Tribunal and former Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) MP. She addressed Agnieszka Holland in the following words, *‘Your thoughtless, fake, irresponsible, shameful scoundrel movie is putting Poles against their defenders! [meaning the Border Guard – translator’s note] [...] You are sick with hatred towards Poland’* (Twitter, 27 August, over 2,200 likes in one month). Pawłowicz described the film *‘The Green Border’* with a word derived from the term *‘gadzinowka’* (*‘scoundrel-like’*), which during World War II was used to describe the press in the service of the Nazi occupiers.

In reaction to Pawłowicz’s entry, the following comments appeared [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Shave, take her passport and out with her.’*

- *‘F*cking scum, get the f*ck out of Poland.’*

- *‘This is some real anti-Polish dung.’*

- *‘The Jewish rat.’*

- *‘A characteristic feature of Jews... Sh*tting in one's own nest, especially if that nest is Poland. [...] That's what Holland is.’*

- *‘Holland should be given an award and free screenings in the so-called Middle East countries!!!! If some p*kis or monkeys see this, they won't come out of fear!!!!’*

WARSAW. On 27 August, in a programme on Polsat News (TV station), Konfederacja (Confederation party) MP Dobromir Sosnierz made a comment mocking the centuries-long persecution of Jews due to accusations of the so-called ritual murder, which have led to bloody pogroms (the rumour about the kidnapping of a boy in order to make matzah was also the trigger of the Kielce pogrom of 1946). During the broadcast hosted by Bogdan Rymanowski, the topic of a shocking comment published by Konfederacja candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Konin constituency, Natalia Jablonska, was brought up, where she... condemned the ban on the slaughter of dogs for meat. Regarding the regulations introduced in 1986, she stated in a discussion on Facebook, *'And unnecessarily. Meat is meat.'* Her words were widely criticised, and Sosnierz complained about it in the following way: *'Entries by politicians who suggest that dogs are eaten in Konfederacja... How is this different from the propaganda from a few centuries ago that Jews eat Christian children?'* The MP also expressed his full support for Jablonska: on 23 August, in a programme broadcast on the *'Super Express'* daily website, he commented on her position, *'I also think that a dog is in no way better than a cow. It's just our habit. [...] I don't see any moral difference between a dog and a cow [...]. My private statement is the same: I believe that there is no reason for such regulations [a ban on dog slaughter] to exist.'*

Polsat News (TV station), Konfederacja



Sosnierz has repeatedly spoken against the establishment of laws protecting animals. For example, at a demonstration in 2011 in Katowice, in support of industrial animal farming for fur, he spoke, *'Animals are just machines made of meat'* and *'Animals do not feel pain because there is no internal observer living inside them who could feel this pain.'* Sosnierz made similar statements in later years, *'Giving rights to animals is a symptom of anti-civilisation,'* *'Animal life has no moral value, only utilitarian one'* and *'I had a dog once, but not anymore. I found it rather unhygienic'* [sic!].

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WARSAW. On 29 August, the leaders of Trzecia Droga (The Third Way, coalition of Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL) – Polish People's Party and Polska 2050 – Poland 2050 party) presented their candidates in the Senate elections as part of the democratic opposition's agreement called the Senate Pact. Malgorzata Zych received a nomination from PSL and was to run in Stalowa Wola constituency in Podkarpacie. She is a former Konfederacja (far-right Confederation party) activist: she was its MP candidate in 2019, and she was also the leader of Klub Konfederacji (Confederation Club) in Tarnobrzeg. The media recalled her collaboration with MP Grzegorz Braun (known for antisemitic incidents) and her anti-Ukrainian speeches. Among other things, in



October 2022 in Tarnobrzeg, she organised a press conference under Konfederacja's action slogan *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland.'* The action was based on a conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians. She also published entries on Twitter in which she criticised the decision to fly the Ukrainian flag on the Sejm building (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) as a gesture of solidarity with the war-torn country. When two Polish flags were flying there again, Zych commented, *'Normality has returned to the Sejm,'* (15 August) and *'I don't think they will dare to equate the Polish and Ukrainian flags again'* (16 August).

On 29 August, in an interview for Wirtualna Polska portal, Malgorzata Zych refused to answer the question whether Vladimir Putin is a war criminal. She declared that she *'doesn't know anything about big politics'* and that such a question *'is pointless.'* On 1 September, Zych lost her nomination for the Senate elections and was removed from the list of candidates. On 2 September, she posted a statement on Twitter in which she apologised to (!) Vladimir Putin. She wrote: *'[...] it is not consistent with the values of a democratic state of law and Christian values to currently call the President of Russia, Vladimir Putin, a «war criminal», because so far, no verdict has been issued by the International Criminal Court, before which he is accused of illegal deportations of children from the Ukrainian occupied territories to Russia. [...] Therefore, in order to have a clear conscience, I apologise to the Russian President Vladimir Putin for calling him a «war criminal» in my statement on 30 August.'*

WARSAW. On 29 August, on RMF FM radio (mainstream station), the co-chairman of far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) Krzysztof Bosak expressed support for Tomasz Stala – the party's candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Czestochowa constituency (no. 1 on the list), the owner of the 3dom publishing house known for publishing books with antisemitic content. The interviewer Piotr Salak referred to a book published by 3dom: *'Adolf Hitler. Face to face.'* The journalist asked Bosak whether Stala, who published a book *'with quotes from Hitler'*, was *'okay'* as a candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), to which the MP replied, *'I think it is a very interesting book. I recommend reading it to everyone.'* He also expressed a bizarre opinion that *'Hitler had extremely similar views to the contemporary left.'* In response to the question whether Konfederacja's candidates promote homophobic views, Bosak denied the very existence of the problem of homophobia, i.e. hatred towards LGBT+ people, or Islamophobia, i.e. hatred towards Muslims, *'For me, the term [homophobia] is taken from the left-wing dictionary. [...] In an ideological sense, this is an invention of the left, aimed at stigmatising anyone who has conservative views. [...] Similarly to the term Islamophobia: it exists so that we don't argue with some of the ideas of Sharia.'*

SEPTEMBER 2023

WARSAW. On 1 September, MP Janusz Korwin-Mikke, the far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the parliamentary elections (Warsaw suburbs), published a comment on Twitter in which he condemned the fact that Poland had not joined the group of countries collaborating with Germany during World War II. He stated, *'On 1 September 1939, the Third Reich attacked the Second Polish Republic, which – foolishly – listened to the English instead of (like Slovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Italy) joining the attack by the Reich and Japan on the USSR, and enabled the Germans to enjoy a «stroll» through Poland.'* Moreover, he wrote, *'Sixty thousand people died in the «September» campaign, but we*

are unable to present the accusations to the Pilsudski people [Jozef, 1867-1935, First Marshal of Poland – translator’s note] responsible for the September catastrophe. Meanwhile, in times of peace, due to the actions of Mr. Adam Niedzielski [former Minister of Health – ed.] approximately 170 thousand people died. We can hold him accountable and punish him – along with those who supported his criminal ideas in the Sejm [lower chamber of Polish Parliament – translator’s note].’ Thus, in his bizarre entry, Korwin-Mikke equated the fight against the Nazis with the sanitary rules introduced for the duration of the epidemic (and he ridiculed both).

VELLETRI (ITALY). In September, Roman Giertych, former head of the far-right Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth), former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of National Education, Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship constituency, posted a number of videos, images, and messages on Twitter about the so-called ‘visa scandal’, which contained dislike and contempt for migrants. The ‘visa scandal’ is currently under investigation and no official data has been released. It is understood that in a number of countries on different continents (esp. Africa and Asia) Polish visas were ‘sold’ to individuals by third-party organisations on behalf of Polish state. Those individuals might have not undergone any screening procedures, and one example used widely by the media is a ‘fake Bollywood troupe’ with no real links to show business. The only state official so far recognised by the government to be connected in any capacity to this scandal is Piotr Wawrzyk, Deputy Foreign Minister, now dismissed.

Here are examples of Giertych’s comments:

[8 September] *‘In 2022, 32 rapes and harassments in taxis were reported in Poland. Which means that approx. 300 such incidents took place, because usually only 10% of such crimes are reported. The #StraganyZwizami [#SellingVisas] allowed thousands of people into Poland without any control.’* The post insinuated (unsupported by any data) that migrants would be guilty of sexual violence, including rape. The tweet was viewed more than 64,300 times, was liked by almost 1,200 users. and shared by 385 (as of 27 September).

[15 September] Giertych shared an image containing an expressive photo of a shouting dark-skinned, bearded man, and a caption, allegedly the man’s words: *‘Only PiS!!! [Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc – Law and Justice governing party – translator’s note] Our way to Europe!!!’* Giertych captioned the image, *‘Hi pisowcy! [addressing Law and Justice Party members – ed.]. Some kind words to you regarding #AferaWizowa [#VisaScandal].’* The tweet has been viewed more than 69,100 times, liked by more than 2,100 users, and followed by 467 (as of 27 September).

[18 September] Giertych’s post: *‘Wawrzyk’s visa buyers are already on their way to Poland. Not surprisingly, in Wieruszow the Poles have said ‘enough’ [referring to the results of a pre-election poll – ed.] #AferaWizowaPiS [#PiSVisaScandal]’* together with a video (posted on the RadioGenua profile which publishes content inciting hatred against refugees and migrants, as well as material with pro-Russian overtones) which depicted street riots involving dark-skinned people (without any precise information about the circumstances of the events). In this way, migrants were associated with aggression. The tweet has been viewed more than 46,400 times (as of 27 September).

[20 September] The post: *‘#AferaWizowaPiS [#PiSVisaScandal]. We’re chatting here, while the next Bollywood crew is on its way’* along with a meme image showing dozens of dark-skinned people travelling on the roof of an extremely crowded truck. A poster depicting Piotr Wawrzyk, the dismissed Deputy Foreign Minister, was pasted on the bumper of this vehicle. This mocking

footage, shared by Giertych, exaggerated the number of alleged migrants heading to Poland and created a sense of anxiety. The tweet was viewed more than 119,400 times, liked by more than 5,200 users, and shared by 979 (as of 27 September).

Xenophobic comments appeared under Giertych's posts [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], including:

- *'Engineers from the Emperor of Europe Testa Rossa are f*ucking coming from Germany to plunder and rape'* ('engineers' is a popular term for dark-skinned migrants, used to mock and deny their education and skills).

- *'In Slubice, Lubuskie Voivodesip, there are plenty of them wandering around at night. I'm afraid to go out myself. Indian people, some Black people, Colombians, and the devil knows who else. PiS* [referring to Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc – Law and Justice governing party's involvement – translator's note] *multi-culti.'*

- *'After all, back in 2014 you PO freaks* [addressing Platforma Obywatelska – Civil Platform party supporters – ed.] *wanted these invaders from Africa and Asia.'*

RZESZOW. On 6 September, Jacek Cwieka, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate for the Senate in the Rzeszow constituency, posted on Twitter that war crimes in Bucha and Irpin [two neighbouring towns in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population] *'were, after all, a hoax.'* He also spoke in defense of the Russian president, *'Today, all the inciters are going insane, because there is no evidence to call Putin a war criminal.'* His post was a commentary on the article *'Genocide in Ukraine? The UN: We don't have enough evidence'* published by the weekly right-wing magazine *'Do Rzeczy.'* On 4 September, the United Nations reported that *'at this stage'* it does not recognise crimes in Ukraine as genocide. Thus, contrary to what Cwieka stated, the UN did not question the authenticity of the crimes in Ukraine but commented on their legal recognition.

Anti-Ukrainian comments supporting his statement appeared under Cwieka's:

- *'From the very beginning it was clear that those murdered in Bucha were victims of the Banderites'* [referring to the so-called 'Stepan Bandera's people' from Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); in practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today],

- *'because it was the Banderites who destroyed their own people. end of story',*

- *'Bucha was a set-up. There is plenty of info on this on the Internet.'*

WARSAW. On 6 September, on Radio RMF FM (mainstream station), Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice) MP Marek Suski spoke highly of Robert Bakiewicz, PiS candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Radom constituency. Bakiewicz is the former leader of Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association) and the editor-in-chief of the Media Narodowe (National Media) channel that was removed by YouTube due to hate speech. The host of the programme, Tomasz Terlikowski, asked Suski to comment on Bakiewicz's antisemitic statements, for example: *'PiS has been crawling in front of the Jews,'* to which the MP mockingly replied, *'There's no evidence of me crawling anywhere.'* Further commenting on Bakiewicz's words, Terlikowski emphasised, *'This statement is completely inconsistent with the stance presented by Lech Kaczynski [1949-2010, former president of Poland].'* Suski commented on this, *'It is not in line with the PiS stance, because we do not deal with such matters, we are neither pro-Semitic nor antisemitic.'* And when the host asked, *'Should Robert Bakiewicz apologise for these words?'* the MP... went on a tirade against immigrants. He

argued, *'Maybe he should [apologise], I don't know... [...] I wish him well, because I wish Poland well, and when it comes to our party, only PiS can guarantee that Poland will be sovereign, that it won't have various refugees, immigrants and all those... here...'* Suski continued to repeat his false message about migrants, lacing his comments with xenophobia, *'They don't want to work, they come for the dole, they commit robberies, rapes, and so on [...]. They want to force us to accept people who – half of them are illiterate – do not want to work, are completely alien to our culture, commit rapes, robberies, run people over with trucks, and we absolutely do not want such people.'*

LESZNO. On 7 September, Adam Gbiorczyk, an activist of far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) and its candidate for the Senate in the constituency of Leszno, Rawicz, Gostyn, and Koscian, published a comment on Twitter in which he questioned the mass extermination in the Nazi camps. He wrote, *'The mere existence of the camps is not evidence of the death of millions, it is only evidence of the existence of the camps. But that's not the point, it's just that it's a taboo subject, and for some reason can be talked about either in one particular way or not at all. And we, in Konfederacja, like to break taboo.'* In this way Gbiorczyk expressed his support for the words of Tomasz Stala, Konfederacja's candidate in the parliamentary election in the Czestochowa constituency and owner of the 3dom publishing house, who also publicly undermined historical truth about extermination camps.



PIOTRKOW TRYBUNALSKI. On 8 September, Anita Sowinska MP, Lewica (The Left party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Piotrkow Trybunalski constituency, posted a comment with xenophobic overtones on Twitter. Referring to the so-called 'visa scandal', she wrote, *'PiS [Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc – Law and Justice party] is conducting a hybrid war with the EU, bringing in hundreds of thousands of immigrants, without any procedures, from countries submerged in terrorism.'* In doing so, Sowinska reproduced a false and damaging image of migrants from African and Asian countries, associating them with terrorists, and classifying them as a hostile element being part of an alleged hybrid war led by Poland. Further reinforcing the negative message about migrants, Sowinska added, *'This is the fifth column of the European Union.'* The term 'fifth column' dates back to the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939 and refers to activities of an internal enemy, sabotage and subversions within a country. The term was used to describe groups of saboteurs operating on the side of the Third Reich during World War II. In 1967, Wladyslaw Gomulka (the first secretary of the Communist Party and leader of post-war Poland in 1947-1948, and again in 1956-1970) called the Jews living in Poland the 'fifth column' (he allowed outbursts of antisemitic political campaign in 1967-1968). It is not clear whether Sowinska directed the 'fifth column' at migrants within the EU or at Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc, but the use of the term during an election campaign contributes to degradation of political debate standards.

WARSAW. On 8 September, a campaign ad with a xenophobic undertone was published on Platforma Obywatelska's (PO; Civic Platform, main opposition party) social media profiles. It referred to media reports regarding the so-called 'visa scandal.' The thirty-second ad began with the words: *'It is official now. The PiS [Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc – Law and Justice] government invited 250 thousand immigrants from Asia and Africa to Poland'* (a number not supported by any explicit data). Images used in the ad evoked negative emotions towards migrants and refugees. They depicted mainly dark-skinned bearded men sitting by the fire in devastated facilities, wrapped in blankets



while waiting for food distribution, staying in camp tents, or simply walking in the darkness. A mood of terror dominated the film, inspiring fear of strangers.

PO's ad was met with a lot of criticism. For example, Lewica (The Left party) MP Dr. Maciej Gdula, posted on Twitter, *'Thanks to all PO members who did not share this video further. It refers to the worst propaganda patterns of TVP [Polish state TV – ed.]. [...] We need to create a rational integration policy, instead of scaring people with migrants.'* In turn, Tomasz Lipinski, former councillor in Poznan, posted a comment, *'Aren't they people? Do their children not have the right to a decent life? Have you consulted Janina Ochojska about this ad?'* [Janina Ochojska is a Polish MEP, humanitarian, and activist – ed.].

WARSAW. On 8 September, Stanislaw Tyszka, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Slupsk constituency, criticised on Twitter the support given to refugees from Ukraine, and tried to stir up negative emotions towards migrants (*'foreigners'*) by portraying them as an economic threat. He stated, *'All political parties, apart from Konfederacja, support extensive social benefits for foreigners, primarily Ukrainian citizens.'* And further he hysterically urged, *'Ask the politicians during the campaign why they are giving away the Poles' money so easily.'* His words were met with criticism on social media. One internet user posted a response, *'Ukrainians in Poland pay more taxes than they collect benefits. Do you want to deny foreign benefits to Poles abroad too?'*

WARSAW. On 9 September, Telewizja Republika (a far-right TV channel) broadcast a conversation referring to the beatification of the Ulma family, murdered in 1944 by the Nazis together with the Jews they were hiding. The participants of the programme maintained a tone of dislike for Jews. The host Adrian Stankowski bizarrely declared, *'There is this sort of narrative that Poles did nothing else during the Second World War but were blackmailing and hunting Jews in the streets, why is that?'* In turn, Marek Jakubiak, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Warsaw constituency, accused Jews of being allegedly ungrateful, *'The only country that does not have a tree in the Yad Vashem garden is Poland. This is the behaviour of Jews towards Poles!'* (in fact, there are 6863 trees in the Garden of the Righteous Among Nations commemorating Poles who saved Jews). In addition, during the broadcast, Bogdan Rzonca, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc MEP, questioned the existence of antisemitism in history, and questioned freedom of speech and

scientific research using some conspiracy theories, *'We have always been a tolerant country over the centuries. [Raising the Ulma family to the altars – ed.] will be a moment to shut the mouths of such writers, such historians as [Jan Tomasz] Gross [sociologist, political scientist, and historian, author of the book 'Neighbours. The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne'], as [Jan] Grabowski [historian, cofounder of the Polish Centre for Holocaust Research of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences], so that they do not lie. [Mouths] Of fake journalists who for years have been blaming Poland for antisemitism of various kinds because this was useful for other activities, [...] to simply destroy Poland, many such fake politicians, Polish anti-patriots benefited from this.'* In another statement, Marek Jakubiak attributed hypocrisy and bad intentions to Jews, *'It makes my blood boil that there is no sabre to this! Maybe the IPN [Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Institute of National Remembrance] law should be brought back, after all it was the Jewish circles who didn't want to allow it, precisely so that Grabowski would confabulate, so that the professor [presumably Prof. Barbara Engelking, attacked by radical right in Poland for her research on Polish-Jewish relationships during World War II – ed.] would invent something, and so on [...]. We simply have to be a strong nation, we can't be spat on.'* Jakubiak thus called for reinstatement of the 2018 law on the Institute of National Remembrance, which has sparked protests in Poland and around the world as a threat to freedom of speech and research on the Holocaust.

The programme appeared also on the YouTube channel of TV Republika and was entitled 'Only pigs go to the cinema! Around Holland's film.' The slogan *'Only pigs go to the cinema'* was used by the Polish underground resistance in occupied Poland during World War II – visits to the cinema were then considered an act of collaboration with the Nazis. It was cynically used by the editorial staff of TV Republika as an encouragement to boycott Agnieszka Holland's film *'Green Border'*, devoted to the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border.

There were many hateful comments under this material, for example:

- *'If Jews were to help Poles, no Pole would survive.'*
- *'Holland, out to Zion!'*
- *'When it comes to spitting, it's the Ukrainians who are spitting on us for now.'*

SZCZECIN. On 10 September, Dariusz Matecki, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Szczecin constituency, chairman of Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland party, current junior coalition partner) in Western Pomerania, and head of Ośrodek Monitorowania Antypolonizmu (Anti-Polonism Monitoring Centre), posted a comment on Twitter in which he attacked Agnieszka Holland, the director of the film *'The Green Border'* (presenting the situation of refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border). Matecki wrote, *'Agnieszka Holland is one of the most extreme, disgusting examples of anti-Polonism.'*



Dariusz Matecki ✓

@DariuszMatecki

Agnieszka Holland to jeden z najbardziej skrajnych, obrzydliwych przykładów antypolonizmu.

In response to his comment, hateful entries appeared [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘What is this woman still doing in Poland...?’*
- *‘Take her Polish citizenship away.’*
- *‘Judeo-communism is the worst thing for Poland.’*
- *‘And what will you do to her when they, the Jews, rule our poor Poland?’*
- *‘Thanks to the lesbian daughter, let's hope the Holland family will stop slandering Poland.’*

RADOM. On 11 September, Robert Bakiewicz, nationalist activist, former head of Marsz Niepodleglosci (Independence March Association) and Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice party) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Radom district, posted an offensive entry about Agnieszka Holland on Twitter, using bizarre references to the times of the Third Reich. He stated, *‘Agnieszka Holland’s «The Green Border» is a production on the same level of propaganda as the Nazi «Return» from 1941. In addition, both anti-Polish productions were awarded in Venice.’*

Here is an example of a comment that appeared in response to Bakiewicz's words: *‘This fake director who is attacking Poland should be deprived of her POLISH CITIZENSHIP.’*

RZESZOW. On 12 September, in an interview with Interia (mainstream website), Karolina Pikula, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the constituency of Rzeszow and Tarnobrzeg, refused to call Vladimir Putin a war criminal. This was a question posed during an interview with Jakub Szczepanski, who also wanted to know: *‘What do you think of the Russian president?’* as well as *‘Have you seen pictures from Bucha?’* [a town in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population]. Pikula answered, *‘Military actions should be judged only after they are over.’* During the rest of the conversation, the Konfederacja candidate approvingly referred to the content of the xenophobic slogan *‘Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’* (in September 2022, she co-organised a protest in Rzeszow under this a slogan). *‘As Konfederacja Korony Polskiej [Polish Crown Conferderation Party, whose leader is MP Grzegorz Braun – ed.], one year ago we already took to the streets with awareness-raising actions and the slogan «Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland».* *It remains relevant [...]. We want Poland to be Polish,’* she said. In addition, she criticised the support given to refugees from Ukraine by claiming, *‘We all contribute to the other country’s existence.’* During the interview, references were made to an antisemitic conspiracy theory. *‘Certainly Polish-Jewish history is being falsified. [...] Jews are undoubtedly rich people who are able to look after their own interests – in contrast to the so-called Polish political elite.’* the Konfederacja candidate stated.

WARSAW. On 16 September, Joachim Brudziński, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice) MEP and the party's campaign manager, tweeted a video entitled 'Europe 1936-2023', expressing admiration for the Europe of 1936 (presented through idyllic scenes of only white families spending time on the beach) and fear of the Europe of 2023 (snapshots showing crowds of dark-skinned, shouting, violent men, as well as street prayers of Muslims chanting 'Allahu Akbar'). Even the LGBT theme was present – one snapshot showed the Stockholm Pride Parade, with Swedish army soldiers in uniforms and with rainbow emblems visible in the foreground, among the participants. Referring to the video, Brudziński wrote, *'Poland in 2023 still resembles, thank God, the Europe of 1936* [‘thumb up’ emoji]. *But we must remember that on 15 October we will decide whether Polish cities will start to resemble the cities of Western Europe. By electing Tusk, you are electing the forced relocation of illegal migrants. Tusk=Lampedusa* [Donald Tusk – former Prime Minister of Poland and former President of the European Council; currently serving as leader of Platforma Obywatelska – Civic Platform, biggest opposition party in Poland].’ The video shared by Brudziński had originally been published on RadioGenoa channel that propagates content inciting hatred against refugees and migrants, as well as pro-Russian articles.



Many commentators have pointed out to Brudziński that the post expresses admiration for a particularly dark period of European history: *'1936: Hitler, Stalin, Mussolini in power. Racism flourishes, half of the continent is made up of criminal regimes. Poland will disappear from the map in a moment'* (Adrian Zandberg, Lewica Razem – Left Together MP); *'Quite a reference point. 1936 is already the rule of Adolf Hitler in Germany and the policy of pure race. In Poland, it is a time of growing nationalist and antisemitic moods'* (Lukasz Kachnowicz, former priest, LGBT ally), or *'Yes. Europe 1936. On one side, there is Hitler. Three years of Dachau [concentration camp], the Night of the Long Knives in Germany. Jews chased out, among others, to Poland. On the other side, 20 million victims of famine in Ukraine under Stalin. In Spain, a bloody civil war begins'* (user Tomasz).

RADOM. On 17 September, during an election meeting with candidates of far-right Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość (Confederacy for Freedom and Independence), the MP Grzegorz Braun uttered words insulting the memory of the Auschwitz Nazi camp victims. Spinning a conspiratorial vision of reality he declared, *'There is no freedom or security without property. A Pole needs to be at his home, on his own, otherwise this Pole will either be a slave, or chosen ones will have the opportunity to be promoted to slave guards. It will be the peak of a Pole's career to be able to beat another Pole with a stick, just like in some concentration camp. It's a concentration camp now, a nice one, right, Auschwitz with Netflix installed in each barrack, but this is the future.'* The video was posted on Braun's YouTube channel.

WARSAW. On 17 September, Dr. Krystyna Pawłowicz, Judge of the Constitutional Tribunal and former Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice) MP, posted a comment on Twitter containing a term that dehumanises refugees and migrants (she called them ‘savages’). She wrote, *‘Italy is a victim of the immigration policies of GERMANY and FRANCE. They have been attacked by savages invited by these countries. France is not allowing them to enter from Italy. [...] It would be the same with Poland.’*

Under Pawłowicz’s post, some racist comments appeared:

- *‘It wouldn’t be the same with Poland, it is the same. We can see how they help us with the savages on the border with Belarus.’*

- *‘No – Italy is a victim of the US foreign policy which eliminated Gaddafi, who had been sending all those from Niger, Chad, etc. back to the desert.’*

OTWOCK. On 19 September, during an unlawful detention by the police, Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform) MP Kinga Gajewska, standing inside a police car before its doors closed, shouted to her supporters, *‘250,000 immigrants!’* Gajewska did not shout, for example, *‘Human rights!’* or *‘Down with corruption!’* but chose a xenophobic slogan referring to the so-called ‘visa scandal’, using an overestimated number of the alleged hundreds of thousands of immigrants recently brought to Poland (apart from a large group of Ukrainian refugees). Independent media, including OKO.press website, have already explained that this figure is not credible, but it is being used in a campaign to incite hostility towards people of non-Polish origin. Later the same day, a xenophobic comment was posted on Twitter by Platforma Obywatelska leader Donald Tusk, *‘Police detains Kinga Gajewska who is informing Otwock residents of 250,000 migrants let in by Prawo i Sprawiedliwość [Law and Justice party].’*

WARSAW. On 19 September, Lewica (Left party) PM Anna-Maria Zukońska gave an interview to the radical right-wing Radio Wnet, known for presenting xenophobic content. A recording of the interview was published on Radio Wnet’s YouTube channel with a title *‘Anna M. Zukońska: Most migrants must be sent away from Europe.’* The ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association asked whether she accepted such summary of her views. Zukońska replied, *‘I will be intervening. This is not a quotation from my speech.’* The title of the interview on the YouTube channel was then modified to *‘Anna M. Zukońska: Some migrants must be sent away from Europe’* (the title on the Radio Wnet website remained unchanged). The recording was preceded by a photo of A.-M. Zukońska and the caption *‘The Left does not want migrants?’*



Zukońska replied, *‘I will be intervening. This is not a quotation from my speech.’* The title of the interview on the YouTube channel was then modified to *‘Anna M. Zukońska: Some migrants must be sent away from Europe’* (the title on the Radio Wnet website remained unchanged). The recording was preceded by a photo of A.-M. Zukońska and the caption *‘The Left does not want migrants?’*

Comments spreading fear of migrants (identified with Muslims) appeared under the interview material, for example:

- *‘This is not a migration of peoples. This is HIJRAH [emigration of Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD – translator’s note], ISLAMIC CONQUEST THROUGH SETTLEMENT’.*

- *‘the migrants’ goal is to implant their own culture in the continent of Europe, which will pay a high price for its naivety!’*

LUBLIN. On 20 September, Minister of Education and Science Przemysław Czarnek [known for his radical-right statements – translator’s note], Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Lublin Voivodeship constituency (no. 1 on the list), posted on Twitter an aggressive statement against Agnieszka Holland, excluding her from the national community. In the context of the film ‘*The Green Border*’ (about refugees on the border of Poland and Belarus), he wrote, ‘*Mrs. #Holland, we, the Poles, say to you and your political helpers today: for slandering Polish services, Polish army, for spitting on the Polish State: YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO CALL YOURSELVES POLES!*’ Under his entry (133.1 thousand views within two weeks), for example, this extremely nationalist comment about A. Holland was made, ‘*Well done. We need to keep this pathology away from affecting Poland and Poles.*’

POLAND. In the second half of September, in connection with the hate campaign concerning Agnieszka Holland’s film ‘*The Green Border*’ (devoted to the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border), a number of incidents involving representatives of the extreme right took place in cinemas and in front of cinemas in many cities. On 22 September, in **BIALYSTOK**, at the Helios cinema in the Alfa shopping mall, a premiere screening was disturbed by far-right Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth) supporters together with Sebastian Łukasiewicz, deputy speaker of the Podlaskie Voivodeship, member of Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland party, current junior coalition partner), and Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Podlaskie Voivodeship constituency. As Agnieszka Holland was walking down the corridor towards the cinema hall, a group of demonstrators behaved aggressively, a scuffle broke out and security guards intervened. Footage of the incident appeared on the Młodzież Wszechpolska’s Twitter profile. In response to it, hostile comments were made about Ms Holland, some inciting violence [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- ‘*Super, MW [=Młodzież Wszechpolska – ed.], bravo, this is how you have to talk straight in the face of this anti-Polish Jewish woman.*’
- ‘*they are afraid of Poles!! just like of those living near the border! that’s why she shot the film in a forest near Warsaw:) after all, the locals would ***** her.*’
- ‘*you can beautifully see the terror in her eyes. Now she will know that she is not welcome in our country. You can see that the patience of Poles has run out.*’
- ‘*This film should be burnt, just like some books were burnt in the 1930s.*’

Incidents also occurred during a protest organised by Młodzież Wszechpolska on 21 September in **KRAKOW**, in front of the Pod Baranami cinema on the Main Square. Demonstrators called Holland’s work ‘*anti-Polish propaganda*,’ compared the director to Joseph Goebbels (the propaganda minister of the Third Reich), chanted, ‘*Only pigs sit in cinemas*,’ ‘*Poland is a country for Poles*,’ ‘*Take a N*gro to bed*,’ and urged to boycott the film. [The slogan ‘*Only pigs go to the cinema*’ was used by the Polish underground resistance in occupied Poland during World War II – visits to the cinema were then considered an act of collaboration with the Nazis – translator’s note.]

A demonstration by extreme nationalists took place also on 21 September, in front of the Kinoteka cinema in **WARSAW**. Representatives of Młodzież Wszechpolska chanted, ‘*Only pigs sit in*



cinemas!’ and displayed a banner with this inscription. The gathering was also attended by Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party) candidates for the Sejm: Aleksander Kowalinski (one of the Warsaw constituencies) and Michał Nieznanski (another Warsaw constituency; manager of Krzysztof Bosak’s parliamentary office). Members of Młodzież Wszechpolska again protested in front of the Kinoteka cinema on 26 September, during a special screening of

‘*The Green Border*,’ followed by a meeting with the film’s director and the actors. They chanted the same slogan, ‘*Only pigs sit in the cinema!*’

In turn, on 22 September in **RADOM**, members of Młodzież Wszechpolska assaulted people leaving cinemas, insulted them, and handed out leaflets slandering Agnieszka Holland. They also put up posters on the city streets containing veiled threats against the viewers of ‘*The Green Border*’: ‘*Only pigs sit in the cinema! Ear tagging will start in the coming days.*’



Also on 22 September in Radom, far-right activist Robert Bakiewicz, former head of Marsz Niepodległości (March of Independence Association) and Prawo i Sprawiedliwość candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Radom constituency, held a press conference in front of a cinema at the Mazovian Centre for Contemporary Art Elektrownia. He described Agnieszka Holland’s film as a ‘*lampoon*’ and claimed that it contained ‘*disinformation intended to weaken Poles internally.*’ Furthermore, he demanded a ban on the screening of ‘*The Green Border*’: ‘*We do not agree to its screening in this institution, as well as in any other institution in Poland.*’

WARSAW. On 22 September, Prof. Henryk Domanski, former director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, joined the slanderous campaign against Agnieszka Holland, director of the film ‘*The Green Border*,’ accusing her of alleged lies and attributing to her an anti-Polish attitude and dishonesty. In his statement made on the right-wing internet platform Wpolityce.pl entitled ‘Prof. Domanski about «The Green Border»: Platforma [Platforma Obywatelska – Civic Platform, main opposition party – translator’s note] is the main instigator of the activities of Ms. Agnieszka Holland’, Domanski claimed, ‘[Holland] depicts phenomena which never took place, thus inconsistent with facts and simply untrue. As though she had some motive in directing this film in such a way, as to present a view of the Polish community as one that differs from the Western standards, considering the degree of openness, tolerance, democracy, and all things which are connected with positive traits. This means, to portray Poland in a bad light.’ He then added, ‘A doubt also arises that no one knows why she did this. It could be said that [...] she does not identify herself with the Polish state and community.’ For years Domanski was associated with leftist views (among others, as a long-time

collaborator of 'Res Humana', periodical published by the Association of Lay Culture), but after 2015 he became one of the main personalities of right-wing propaganda.

WARSAW. On 23 September, Dominik Tarczynski, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party) European Parliament Member, posted content on Twitter in which he spread contempt and fear of refugees and migrants . He published a video (without any information on when or where it was recorded) showing Black people crowded on a boat with a caption: *'Lampedusa. Another thousand women and children yesterday. #BezpiecznaPolska [#SafePoland].'* Lampedusa is an Italian island in the Mediterranean Sea that is reached by people from the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa trying to enter European Union territories. More than 28,000 people have drowned in the Mediterranean since 2014. Tarczynski's post (62,900 views as of 29 September) was followed by a number of racist comments, including calls for the murder of migrants [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Sink it.'*
- *'Introduce sanitary shooting.'*
- *'Those inner tubes can stay, the rest to be disposed of without segregation!!!'*
- *'More criminals. Where are the sharks when you need them?'*
- *'Plague, typhoon.'*
- *'Going breeding to cultivate their genes, because there are too few of them and too many of the white ones, that's how the satanic antichrist sees it.'*
- *'Let the Germans introduce controls on the border with Poland. We should also slowly prepare for a reverse movement. Otherwise, we will soon have Zimbabwe on the banks of the Vistula river.'*



OCTOBER 2023

WARSAW. On 1 October, Prof. Henryk Domanski, former director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, joined the xenophobic pre-election campaign against migrants and refugees. In an interview for the right-wing internet platform Wpolityce.pl, he incited the feeling of fear of people on non-Polish descent by saying, among other things, *'The average Pole thinks about security in the context of defending our borders against illegal migration and influx of people who have different customs. Since Poles see such scenes in Western and Mediterranean countries, they are afraid that this may happen again also in Poland. This is a strong message also to the undecided voters who may want to vote for a party which guarantees the feeling of safety. At least Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice party) will tend to that.'* For years Domanski had been associated with leftist views (among others, as a long-time collaborator of 'Res Humana', periodical published by the Association of Lay Culture), but after 2015 he became one of the main personalities of right-wing propaganda.

WARSAW. On 1 October, in the mainstream Radio ZET programme ‘7th Day of the Week’, Dobromir Sosnierz MP, Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Ostrołęka-Siedlce constituency, expressed support for the use of violence against refugees, including women and children, trying to enter European countries. He referred to the ‘ridiculous policy of fishing illegal migrants out of the Mediterranean Sea,’ and declared that at the sight of a boat he would shoot ‘in the air or even not in the air. It depends on how the intruder reacts. I would shoot where I need to shoot.’ The host Andrzej Stankiewicz asked him, ‘Would you have ordered the shooting at the immigrants behind that fence on the border with Belarus?’ to which Sosnierz answered without hesitation, ‘If it is necessary, yes. If it is necessary, not excluding shooting.’ And when the programme host turned to him with the question, ‘Would you shoot women and children too?’ the Konfederacja member said, ‘And why should women be excluded... There is gender equality. If a woman breaks the law, she should be treated like a man.’



Sosnierz’s statement was greeted with enthusiasm by Konfederacja’s leaders. Krzysztof Bosak, Konfederacja’s MP and candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Białystok constituency (no. 1 on the list), posted a comment on Twitter, ‘Good man, Dobromir! Borders should be guarded not with a blanket and a thermos for the invaders, but with a gun ready to shoot if someone does not follow the orders.’

Under Bosak’s post, there were many other voices supporting the shooting of migrants, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- ‘Invaders and smugglers should be killed.’
- ‘And shoot in the back.’
- ‘Bravo, f*cking smash them with a truncheon when the gun is jammed.’
- ‘Sink and that’s it.’
- ‘I’m all for it. If the guards shot straight away there would be no need to build a wall because they would be afraid.’
- ‘10 years in prison for women and shooting the immigrants!’

In turn, Witold Tumanowicz, Konfederacja’s campaign manager and its candidate for the Sejm in the Chelm constituency, in an interview with mainstream Onet website, referred to Sosnierz’s statements about shooting at migrants, ‘Border defence is not Versailles. Force is required here.’

WROCLAW. On 9 October, Krzysztof Tuduj, far-right Konfederacja (Confederation party) member of parliament and its candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Wroclaw constituency (no. 1 on the list), published a post on Twitter disapproving of the placing of an Israeli flag at the entrance to the Polish Senate as a gesture of solidarity with victims of terrorist attacks of Hamas. Tuduj posted a photo of the flag with a caption, ‘Israeli flag displayed in front of the main entrance to the Senate. No words. Maybe you can help to comment?’ In response antisemitic comments were made [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

 Krzysztof Tuduj
@TudujKrzysztof

Flaga Izraela wystawiona przed główny wejściem do senatu. Brak słów. Może pomożecie skomentować?



11:15 AM · 9 paź 2023 · 258,3 tys. Wyświetlenia

- ‘f*ck the pejs’ [‘pejs’ means ‘sidelock’ and is used as an antisemitic slur; thus, in this context it refers to Jews – translator’s note].

- ‘We have a knesejm in Poland, so the flag is also in order’ [‘knesejm’ is combination of two words: ‘Knesset’ (Israeli parliament) + ‘Sejm’ (lower chamber of Polish Parliament); repeating the conspiracy theory that Jews would rule in Poland].

- ‘Is it still Poland or is it Isra-lin?’

- ‘After all, 90% cent of these people are converted Jews.’

- ‘By the look of Morawiecki you know he’s a Jew.’

- ‘Is it still Poland?’

In four days, Tuduj’s post received more than 2,000 likes and was forwarded almost 300 times.

WARSAW. On 10 October, appearing on the ‘*Guest of Radio Zet*’ show hosted by Bogdan Rymanowski, Krzysztof Bosak, Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party) MP and its candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Bialystok constituency (no. 1 on the list), carried on a xenophobic narrative aimed against refugees from war-torn Ukraine, ‘*as the only ones, we say «zero dole to Ukrainians», while the remaining parties chose such political correctness that one state has to pay for the upkeep of two nations. There still has to be some order somewhere.*’ He then continued, ‘*I am against mass immigration to Poland, each such immigration in excessively high numbers becomes a threat and a burden to the community, destabilising social and economic life.*’ Asked for specific examples, he concentrated on alleged threat posed by Ukrainian children, ‘*More than one child of foreign nationality in a group or a school class already creates a problem and I hear that in some schools this has become a fact, that it’s beginning to be like close to half, or even majority of foreign children in some classes...*’ When Rymanowski asked him to name at least one such school, Bosak was unable to do so. He also protested against store signs and commercials in Ukrainian language, as well as against the assurance to refugees to be serviced in the Ukrainian language in institutions.

When asked about his stance on the issue of terrorist attacks by Hamas in Israel, the Konfederacja MP answered, ‘*Not to take any sides in this conflict.*’ At the same time, he criticised gestures of solidarity with Israel made by the Speaker of the Senate and the President of the Polish Republic, emphasising, ‘*We have been insulted by leaders of that state, as a country and as a nation*’. Bosak

also condemned the President Andrzej Duda for having mentioned ‘*some friendship*’ with Israel, and stated emphatically, ‘*This is not our war, Mr. Editor*’.

Under the material on YouTube, racist and anti-Ukrainian comments were made, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- ‘*We do not need any savages neither from far-off wild tribes nor from UPA-carrion !!!!!*’ [UPA is the acronym for the Ukrainian Insurrection Army, active during World War II and responsible for the Volhynian massacre of Poles in 1940s – ed.]

- ‘*I would be happy to see inscriptions in the language of our enemies, the Ukrainians, disappear from elementary schools, swimming pools, and public offices!!!!*’

- ‘*Poland for Poles.*’

WARSAW. On 10 October, Krzysztof Bosak, Konfederacja (Confederation party) member of parliament and its candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Podlasie Voivodeship constituency (no. 1 on the list), speaking in the programme ‘International Report’ broadcast by the mainstream Onet portal, was asked by Witold Jurasz about the activity of Konfederacja MPs (Grzegorz Braun, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Artur Dziambor, Robert Winnicki, and Konrad Berkowicz) who during a manifestation in 2022 appeared against the backdrop of a banner with the words ‘Vaccination makes you free’ which was designed to resemble the sign above the gate of the former Auschwitz concentration camp ‘Arbeit macht frei’ (‘Work makes you free’). Bosak did not condemn the behaviour of co-members of his party and described them as ‘usual manifestation behaviour.’ He also added, ‘Let’s not exaggerate, let’s not allow ourselves to be subjected to political correctness’. When later in the conversation Jurasz asked if Auschwitz was something that could be joked about, Bosak confirmed, ‘It’s distasteful, but yes, it could.’ Moreover, in the course of the interview, the subject of terrorist attacks in Israel was brought up. According to Konfederacja MP, Hamas, which carried out the massacre of civilian population, could be called both a terrorist organisation, as well as... a ‘national liberation movement.’

KALISZ. On 11 October, during an electoral meeting in the hall of the Rehabilitation and Recreation Sports Centre, Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice party) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Katowice constituency (no. 1 on the list), made claims with Islamophobic overtones, using the attack of Hamas on Israel. He stirred up fear against refugees by spinning this dehumanising vision, ‘The Israeli-Palestinian conflict will result in tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of Muslim migrants marching towards Europe, as they did a few years ago. You will see these marches of Islamic young men who have women’s rights for nothing. [...] Among these illegal immigrants there will be [...] people like Islamic militants, those came there this time, Islamic terrorists. [...] Great waves of illegal immigration entering Sweden, France, Germany, destroy the peace of those cities. Let’s not allow this to happen!’



WARSAW. On 11 October, in the radio show ‘Morning, 9 past Seven’ hosted by Anna Czytowska (broadcast in a network of Catholic radio stations and published on YouTube), Marek Jakubiak, brewer and former MP, general secretary of the Kukiz’15 party, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS;

Law and Justice party) candidate for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in one of the Warsaw constituencies, was asked about his stance on the attack on Israel by Hamas (which occurred in the beginning of October). In response, he disseminated false information that allegedly the military equipment of the terrorists came from Ukraine (which is one of the themes of Putin's propaganda). He added, *'President Zelenskiy probably has a greater problem on his hands than we think,'* and he encouraged the redirection of military aid by the United States from Ukraine to the Middle East (*'I would do that'*). During the radio show, Jakubiak again expressed his dislike of Israel, *'Israel revealed its respect for Poland through Polish-Jewish relations.'* Throughout the interview, he did not in any way express sympathy with the victims of the terrorist attack against the population of Israel.
