

# “NEVER AGAIN” MAGAZINE

## Nº. 22, 2016 – SUMMARY

Front cover

### **Marcin Kornak 1968-2014**

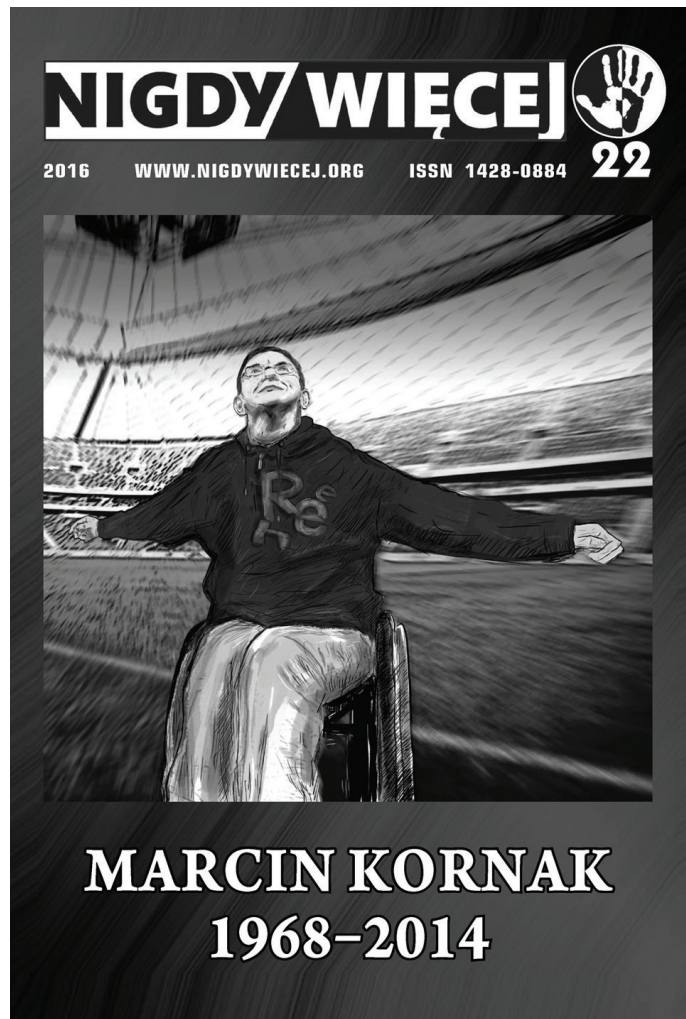
graphic design  
by Witold Popiel

Editorial by **Marcin Kornak**,  
**Rafał Pankowski**

The new issue of the Never Again magazine is a non-commercial edition, available free of charge at [www.nigdywiecej.org](http://www.nigdywiecej.org). A substantial part of the issue contains articles commemorating late Marcin Kornak (1968–2014), an anti-discrimination activist, poet and journalist, founder of the Anti-Nazi Group (1992), the Never Again Association (1996) and the editor-in-chief of the Never Again magazine. The issue had been partly prepared by Kornak himself before his death in March 2014. The front cover, designed by Witold Popiel, depicts Marcin Kornak.

In the editorial, Rafał Pankowski writes:

The contemporary world, Europe and Poland need individuals such as Marcin Kornak. Marcin was a wise, good, tolerant and brave person. He was also exceptionally hard-working and determined, friendly and free of any fanaticism. His passing away brings pain and desolation, especially to his closest friends – those who stood by him during the last years and days of his life. This issue of the magazine founded by Marcin is first and foremost our tribute to his commemoration.



Opening page provides three quotes  
from Marcin Kornak:

“The most important thing is to react; not to comply with aggression and harassment of others. Nobody will replace us in this task, because it is us who bear responsibility for our reality. Let us not complain about bad things, but rather let us do something about those things! No more fascism, racism, discrimination, persecutions! No more indifference!”

“There will never be our compliance with fascism, racism and anti-Semitism. There will be no compliance with violation of law. If we let the social margin function, this margin will no longer be marginal and it will dominate us.”

“Is the world without barriers possible? I am not as naive as to believe so, because the reality consists of nice and unpleasant elements. I dream about Poland or the world, in which the latter are marginalized and everyone has a clear attitude towards them, and believes that some things are clearly bad and should be avoided. ‘The Republic of Friends’ – that would be great. The issue contains five sections”.

**SECTION I, titled *In Memoriam*:  
Marcin Kornak is a collection of obituaries,  
condolence texts and memoirs.**

***Condolence letters sent to the Never Again  
Association after Marcin Kornak’s death  
(Wybrane kondolencje nadesłane  
po śmierci Marcina Kornaka), pp. 4-9***

Pages 4 to 9 present condolence letters sent to the Never Again Association after Marcin Kornak’s death. These include letters from Aleksander Kwaśniewski (former president of the Republic of Poland), Radosław Sikorski (former Minister of Foreign Affairs), literature professor Michał Głowiński, Polish Ombudsman Adam Bodnar, Warsaw city mayor Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, the government’s plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment, Agnieszka Kozłowska-Rajewicz, senator Marek Borowski, father Michał Czajkowski, as well as representatives of the Association of Jewish Veterans and Victims of World War II, Union of German Social-Cultural Associations in Poland, Polish Humanitarian Action, the Canadian Polish-Jewish Heritage Foundation, Children of the Holocaust Association, Wrocław University’s European Studies Department, the Society of Christians and Jews, the eFKA Women’s Foundation, the British band Chumbawamba, the Football Against Racism in Europe, the Centre for Access to Football in Europe.

***Marcin would have a lot brilliant things to say  
today (Dziś Marcin miałby wiele mądrych słów do  
powiedzenia), pp. 9-10***

Anna Tatar interview with Robert Biedroń, an LGBT activist and the city mayor of Słupsk.

***He saw no barriers (Nie widział barier)  
by Ignacy Dudkiewicz, pp 12-14***

“*He saw no barriers*” is a memoir on Kornak’s work. The author describes him as activist, hard-working, an erudite, a ‘no-barrier’ tolerant person, a visionary, and an insightful observer of reality. Photograph on page 13 shows two co-founders of the Never Again Association, Rafał Pankowski and Marcin Kornak, in the Presidential Palace on the occasion of awarding Kornak the Order of Polonia Restituta Officer’s Cross on June 4th 2011.

***Marcin had paved the way (Marcin Kornak przecierał  
szlak) by Agnieszka Wiśniewska, Michał Tabaczyński,  
editors of the Niepełnosprawni, Przemysław Wilczyński,  
Paweł Dunin-Wąsowicz, pp. 15-18***

Contain five reprinted obituaries: by Agnieszka Wiśniewska (“Marcin had paved the way”) from the Krytyka Polityczna portal; by Michał Tabaczyński

from the Bydgoski Informator Kulturalny, focusing on Marcin Kornak's role in his home town of Bydgoszcz; by editors of the Niepełnosprawni website, focusing on presenting Kornak both as an antiracist activist and as an example of a person with disabilities who set an example with his civil society involvement (Kornak was awarded "Man Beyond Barriers" prize by the Integration Friends Association in 2012); by Przemysław Wilczyński of the liberal Catholic weekly Tygodnik Powszechny; and by Paweł Dunin-Wąsowicz of the artistic journal Lampa. Photograph on page 15 shows Kornak with The Order Polonia Restituta. Photo on page 17 shows Kornak at the "Man Beyond Barriers" ceremony.

**Marcin Kornak – founder and chairman of the Never Again Association (Marcin Kornak – założyciel i prezes Stowarzyszenia „NIGDY WIĘCEJ”) by Anna Tatar, pp. 19-22**

"*Marcin Kornak – founder and chairman of the Never Again Association*" – in an extensive memoir containing detailed biographic information on Kornak's activism from a perspective of a member of the Never Again Association. The article is a reprint from the Res Humana journal. Photograph on page 20 shows Kornak being honoured with the Polonia Restituta Order by the president Bronisław Komorowski. Photo on page 21 shows Kornak giving the Brown Book to the Prime Minister Donald Tusk in June 2011.

**The world thought 'never again' (The world thought 'never again') by Witold Liliental, pp. 23-25**

"*The world thought 'never again'*" is a personal memoir reprinted from the Canadian Gazeta daily.

**Each human life... (Każde życie ludzkie...), p. 25**

"*Each human life*" piece presents a quote from Kornak, reprinted from I. Filus's article "African's smile" in Gazeta Paryska.

**To the memory of Marcin (Pamięci Marcina) by Anna Tatar, pp. 26-27**

"*To the memory of Marcin*", contains six poems. Picture on page 26 is a drawing by Witold Popiel inspired by Bulat Okudzhava's song The Last Trolley Bus.

**The more examples Marcin pointed to, the more necessary it was to shout (Im więcej Marcin miał przykładów, tym głośniej trzeba było krzyżeć) by Urszula Prussak-Dąbrowa, pp. 28-29**

"*The more examples Marcin pointed to, the more necessary it was to shout*", is a memoir by radio journalist on Kornak's inspiration in understanding the problem of racism and nationalism in Poland. Photo on page 28 shows Kornak at the Newsweek's "Social Activist of 2011" ceremony.

**To the memory of Marcin Kornak (Pamięci Marcina Kornaka) by Głos Nauczycielski, p. 29**

"*To the memory of Marcin Kornak*" is a reprint from the Głos Nauczycielski, a paper of the Polish Teachers' Union.

**One day I found extraordinary publication (Którego dnia natrafiłem na niezwykle wydawnictwo) by Witold Popiel, p. 30**

"*One day I found extraordinary publication*", presents the author's reflection on co-operation with Marcin Kornak within the framework of the Never Again magazine. Drawing on page 30 by Witold Popiel depicts Kornak with the logo of the Music Against Racism campaign.

**Marcin answered immediately (Marcin odpowiedział natychmiast) by Małgorzata Matecka, p. 31**

"*Marcin answered immediately*" by Małgorzata Matecka, is a memoir by an educator about co-operation with Kornak and his inspiration for the author's anti-discrimination work with youth.

**A man of renaissance on a path of a fighter: my memory of Marcin Kornak (Człowiek renesansu na drodze wojownika... Moje wspomnienie o Marcinie Kornaku) by Michał Friedrich, pp. 31-32**

"*A man of renaissance on a path of a fighter: my memory of Marcin Kornak*" presents diverse aspects of Kornak's personality as remembered by the author: "Poet. Songwriter. Antifascist. Activist for people with disabilities. Publicist. Expert and collector of alternative music. Multiplicity of Marcin's involvements allows thinking about him as a man of renaissance. But to give a somewhat fuller picture, one has to mention another, very significant of his features. That was his courage."

**...deserves flesh-and-blood words (...zasługuje na słowa z krwi i kości) by Sławek Pakos, p. 33**

"*...deserves flesh-and-blood words*" is a short memory of co-operation through Music Against Racism campaign. Drawing by Witold Popiel.

**Suffering sharpens one's senses (Cierpienie wyostrza zmysły) by Anna Milczarek, p. 34**

"*Suffering sharpens one's senses*" is a personal memoir of co-operation and friendship with Kornak. The title refers to Kornak's own words in relation to his disability and life-attitude. Drawing by Witold Popiel.

**Marcin... (Marcinie...) by Bartek Gutowski, p. 35**

"*Marcin...*" is a personal memoir by a former collaborator of the Never Again Association. Photo of Marcin Kornak.

**In the beginning there was Eden (Na początku był Eden) by Arkadiusz Arcimowicz, pp. 36-37**

"*In the beginning there was Eden*" is an account of anti-fascist co-operation. The title refers to Kornak's penname as songwriter – "Martin Eden." Page 37 contains also a small note signed "LS – translator": "He had been changing our reality, but above all I will not forget how much he has changed my life." Drawing by Witold Popiel.

**Marcin Kornak's contacts with Jewish community (Kontakty Marcina Kornaka ze społecznością żydowską) by Piotr Piluk, pp. 38-39**

"*Marcin Kornak's contacts with Jewish community*" is an account on Kornak's collaboration with the Stowo Żydowskie (Jewish Word) monthly and with the Social-Cultural Society of Jews in Poland. Picture on page 38 shows front cover of the April 2014 issue of the Słowo Żydowskie commemorating Marcin Kornak.

**I met a truly great man (Poznałem człowieka naprawdę wielkiego formatu) by Staszek with family, pp. 39-40**

"*I met a truly great man*" in its opening paragraph reads: "It's fascinating how unexpected life can be... I, ex-skinhead, ex-fascist, remember my friend, late Marcin Kornak, a legendary activist for equality, respect and tolerance." The text discusses the author's cooperation with Kornak, including their reflexive exchange on transformations of the far Right in Poland from violent and overt neo-Nazi subculture to nationalist politics and "soft" image of extremism.

**My encounters with Marcin (Moje spotkania z Marcinem) by Rafał Maszkowski, pp. 40-41**

"*My encounters with Marcin*" is a memoir about collaboration in analyzing and monitoring far-right media and publications. The author also presents personal features of Kornak: ability to listen, modesty and spiritual strength. Photographs show Marcin Kornak during a meeting of the Never Again Association in 2012.

**He spoke about difficult issues  
(Mówił o rzeczach trudnych)  
by Łukasz Chwalisz, p. 41**

"He spoke about difficult issues" commemorates inspirations of Kornak for the author's anti-fascist activism: "He acted consistently, arguing that the neo-fascist movements cannot be belittled. That helped him win. Such an attitude of Marcin Kornak was a great support for my anti-fascist activity. (...) Marcin never rejected even the craziest of ideas. He was willing to take up new subjects, to give advice."

**He reached hearts of many people  
(Wdarł się w serca wielu ludzi) by Piotrek, p. 42**

"He reached hearts of many people" talks about friendship and social activism as the connection between Marcin Kornak and people who were involved in contact with him.

**Music, comic books and sport...  
(Muzyka, komiksy i sport...)**

**by Arkadiusz Zacheja, pp. 42-43**

"Music, comic books and sport..." highlights major areas of co-operation of the author with Kornak as well as personal impressions. Picture on page 42 shows Thorgal, a character from one of Kornak's favourite comic book series.

**"M.K." (a song)  
by Joanna Naranowicz, p. 43**

"M.K." is a song written by Joanna Naranowicz and performed by the Kulturka band. The song commemorates Marcin Kornak.

**The power of music (Siła muzyki)  
by Katarzyna Skrzypiec, pp. 44-46**

"The power of music" is an extensive account of the Music Against Racism campaign initiated in 1997 by Marcin Kornak and the Never Again Association. Pictures show the logo of Music Against Racism campaign, the Never Again Association activists at the "Woodstock Station" Festival in 2014, and the Kulturka band live.

**Marcin was my inspiration (Marcin był moją  
inspiracją) by Ewelina, p. 47**

"Marcin was my inspiration" is a memoir by an activist of the Anti-Nazi Group in Białystok.

**Coherence of attitude and views (Koherentność  
postawy i poglądów) by Adrian Ławeczko  
and Devoted to the cause (Oddany sprawie)  
by Przemysław Prekiel, He had a vision of Poland  
as a friendlier place for 'others'**

**(Miał wizję Polski jako miejsca lepszego  
dla «innych») by Marcelina Burdziak, Persistency  
in striving for the world free of racism**

**(Upór w dążeniu do świata bez rasizmu)  
by Michał Sydorko,**

**He approached everyone individually  
(Do każdego podchodził indywidualnie)**

**by Bartosz Mamak,**

**Each question was a challenge for me (Każde  
pytanie było dla mnie wyzwaniem) by Kamil  
Mamak, My memories of Marcin Kornak  
(Moje wspomnienia o Marcinie Kornaku)  
by Krzysztof Kasiński, pp. 47-49**

"Coherence of attitude and views" and "Devoted to the cause", "He had a vision of Poland as a friendlier place for 'others'", "Persistency in striving for the world free of racism", "He approached everyone individually", "Each question was a challenge for me", "My memories of Marcin Kornak"

are other memoirs by Kornak's collaborators, some of whom never had met him personally yet recalled him as inspiring and supportive in social campaigning or publishing activity. Photograph on page 48 shows the meeting of the Never Again Association's volunteers in 2012.

**The Republic of Friends (Rzeczpospolita przyjaciół)  
by Piotr Jamczyński, p. 50**

"The Republic of Friends", remembers Kornak through his quote from 2012 on the need to work out clear principles on how to see evils of discrimination in society (see above).

**The 'Never Again' is Marcin Kornak  
(„NIGDY WIĘCEJ” to Marcin Kornak)  
by Rafał Pankowski, p. 50**

"The 'Never Again' is Marcin Kornak" is the author's 2014 note in the Gazeta Wyborcza on Kornak's leadership in founding the Anti-Nazi Group, the Never Again Association and the Never Again magazine.

**Dear Marcin, we won (Panie Marcinie, wygraliśmy)  
by Joanna Klimowicz, pp. 51-53**

"Dear Marcin, we won" is a memoir by a journalist of Gazeta Wyborcza from Białystok and recalls Kornak's collaboration with journalists writing about the problem of racism and the far Right. Photo on page 51 shows president Komorowski with football scarf of the "Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums" campaign. Picture on page 52: Poster of the "Let's Kick Racism Out of Białystok".

**Quotes (Cytaty) by rock musicians Krzysztof  
"Grabaj" Grabowski and Arkadiusz  
"Aretzky" Ślesicki, p. 53**

Quotes by rock musicians supporting anti-racist activity of the Never Again Association and of Marcin Kornak.

**Great respect and grateful memory of Marcin  
Kornak (Wielki szacunek i wdzięczna pamięć o  
Marcinie Kornaku) by Adam Michnik, pp. 54-56**

"Great respect and grateful memory of Marcin Kornak" is an article by the editor-in-chief of Gazeta Wyborcza and a long-time democratic oppositionist against communist authorities. The author sets the work of Kornak and the Never Again Association's activism against the broader background of democracy and authoritarian threats of nationalism and anti-Semitism. Photograph on page 54 shows Michnik with a copy of the Never Again magazine. Photograph on page 56 shows Michnik and Rafał Pankowski of the Never Again Association.

**He drew on his own abilities (Czerpał  
z własnych możliwości), pp. 57-58**

Anna Tatar interview with Piotr Pawłowski, the president of the Friends of Integration Association and of the Integration Foundation. Photo on page 57 shows Kornak and Pawłowski during the "Man Beyond Barriers" award ceremony in 2012.

**Never again? (Nigdy więcej?)  
by Adam Szostkiewicz, pp. 59-60**

"Never again?" is an article about international challenges of racism and xenophobia. The author is one of the leading journalists of the Polityka weekly. Photograph on page 59 shows Marcin Kornak with a former president of the Republic of Poland, Lech Wałęsa holding a copy of the Never Again magazine.

**Brown reality, or a few words on social acceptance  
of discrimination (Brunatna rzeczywistość – czyli  
słów kilka o społecznym przyzwoleniu  
na dyskryminację) by Anna Grodzka  
and Sylwia Rapicka, pp. 61-63**

"Brown reality, or a few words on social acceptance of discrimination" is a reflection on the Never Again Association's Brown Book project set against the broader background of intolerance and political aggression in Poland.

Anna Grodzka is a former member of Polish parliament and an advocate of the rights of transgender persons. Drawing on page 61 by Witold Popiel. Photographs on pages 62-63 show Adam Bodnar, Polish ombudsman, and Nils Muižnieks, Council of Europe's Human Rights Commissioner, each of them holding a copy of the Never Again magazine.

***Marcin was the best of friends: to Marcin and to my Mother (Marcin najlepszym przyjacielem był. Dla Marcina i mojej Mamy)***  
by Michał Szweda, pp. 64-66

"*Marcin was the best of friends: to Marcin and to my Mother*" is an obituary to Marcin Kornak and to the author's mother who died in 2015. Photograph on page 65 shows Marcin Kornak and Ewa Szweda (author's mother) and reads: "Two corresponding and virtual friends, co-founders of the Never Again magazine. Honoured be their memory!" Photograph on page 66 shows Marcin Kornak with his friends-collaborators of the Never Again Association taken in Warsaw in 2005. On page 66 there is also an obituary notice on passing away of Ewa Szweda.

***In memoriam of recently passed supporters of the Never Again Association (Pamiętamy), p. 67***

Journalist and Swedish culture researcher Krystyna Ylva Johansson (1936-2015), anti-Nazi resistance fighter, historian and politician Władysław Bartoszewski (1922-2015), music journalist Robert Leszczyński (1967-2015) and reporter and journalism scholar Wojciech Giełżyński (1930-2015).

***Zbyszek. I will remember him with his camera (Zbyszek. Zapamiętam go z aparatem)***  
by Anna Tatar, p. 68

"*Zbyszek. I will remember him with his camera*", commemorates late Zbigniew Krzywicki (1948-2015), a journalist and local government politician from Białystok.

**SECTION II, Studies and articles.**

***'Human sea' and tolerance (Ludzkie morze i tolerancja)***  
by cultural anthropologist Wojciech Józef Burszta, pp. 69-72

"*'Human sea' and tolerance*" is an analysis based on Michael Walzer's notion of tolerance. The author discusses contemporary migrations, social attitudes and variants of state regimes' approaches to protection of the rights of migrants. Drawing on page 70 by Witold Popiel.

***Immigrants, Europe and Poland (Imigranci, Europa i Polska)*** by political scientist and former democratic opposition participant Aleksander Smolar, pp. 73-75

"*Immigrants, Europe and Poland*", discusses some problems of xenophobia and racism in the context of contemporary humanitarian crisis, refugees and society's attitudes in Poland. Drawing on page 74 by Witold Popiel.

***Hatred disease (Choroba na nienawiść)***  
by literature scholar, publisher and writer Marcin Czerwiński, pp. 76-77

"*Hatred disease*" reflects on contemporary anti-immigrant resentments in Poland. The author poses a question "why Poles are so strongly opposed to Strangers or simply Others, if they are almost invisible in this country" and says that "as sociological research shows, the reason for such a strong opposition or even hostility, lies precisely in the fact that there are so few Strangers in the society". The author calls for openness to "the myth of a tolerant, open and multi-national Republic (...) the myth of the society that never was. (...) And all of us can benefit from this myth. We as a community of which we, as Poles, will be proud at last." Picture on page 76 shows a nationalist sticker of Lech Poznań football fans displayed before a match in Lithuania in 2013.

***Cultures develop only when they enrich each other (Cultures develop only when they enrich each other), pp. 78-79***

Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska interview with Leon Tarasewicz (born 1957), with Byelorussian-Polish painter and professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw. Photo on page 79 shows Leon Tarasewicz.

***Let us learn about religions in order to love them (Poznajmy religie, by je pokochać) by theology and history scholar Stanisław Obirek, pp. 80-85***

"*Let us learn about religions in order to love them*". The author makes a case for inter-faith dialogue and argues about positive sides religious pluralism: "The multiplicity of religions has been part of humanity's condition for ages. (...) Contacts between tribes were something natural, and so this diversity was not a problem." Photographs: page 81 – Raimon Pannikar, proponent of Catholic-Hindu dialogue; page 82 (top) – Peter C. Phan, a Catholic theologian; page 82 (bottom) – a Jesuit Jacques Dupuis; page 83 (top) – Swami Vivekananda; page 83 (bottom) – rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel; page 84 – pope John Paul II in Rome synagogue.

***50 years ago (50 lat temu) by father Michał Czajkowski, pp. 86-87***

"50 years ago" discusses Christian-Jewish dialogue in the context of the Second Vatican Council and its 1965 Declaration on non-Christian religions.

***How to make peace not war (Jak pokój, nie wojnę czynić) by Catholic journalist Jan Turnau, pp. 88-89***

"*How to make peace not war*" is a reflection on ethics of non-violence based on readings of the Gospels. Drawings on page 89 by Witold Popiel.

***"Never Again" („Nigdy Więcej”) by social science scholar Jolanta Ambrosewicz-Jacobs, pp. 90-92***

"*Never Again*", highlights some conclusions from educational projects and research on youth in the context of countering stereotypes and prejudice. The author emphasises the role of respectful commemoration of the Holocaust victims in educating new generations. Photo on page 91: a monument to the memory of Holocaust victims in Treblinka. Photo on page 92: a monument in the former concentration camp Dachau.

***Dmowski and national-Catholic anti-Semitism (Dmowski i antysemityzm narodowo-katolicki)***  
by sociologist Ireneusz Krzemiński, pp. 93-98

"*Dmowski and national-Catholic anti-Semitism*", presents some conclusions from Polish research on anti-Semitism. Tables and charts in the article show survey data from 1992, 2002 and 2012.

***Popular narratives on killing, hunting and saving (Ludowe narracje o zabijaniu, polowaniu i ratowaniu) by historian Alina Cała, pp. 99-103***

"*Popular narratives on killing, hunting and saving*" by historian Alina Cała, discusses the problem of difference between "official" collective memory and private memories in relation to Poles attitudes toward Jews during WWII. The author quotes oral histories recorded in 1980s. Photographs on page 100 show Jewish houses and a synagogue in Przeworsk before 1939. Photo on page 101 shows deportation of the Przeworsk Jews to concentration camp in Pełkinie. Photograph on page 102 shows Edward Taraszkiewicz, a member of a post-World War II anti-Communist resistance group responsible for anti-Jewish violence.

***Economic struggle or anti-Semitism (Walka gospodarcza czy antysemityzm) by historian Szymon Rudnicki, pp. 104-109***

"*Economic struggle or anti-Semitism*", problematises contemporary claims of right-wing publicists and some historians, that the pre-WWII attitudes towards Jews were motivated purely by "economic struggle." The author draws on sources from 1920s and 1930s to present anti-Semitic motivations of political nationalists and prominent Catholic circles. "Anti-

Semitism was, and still is, a pervasive phenomenon. Jews were accused of all evils of the existing reality. One can certainly study particular elements of this phenomenon, including economic struggle's role in popularity of anti-Semitism, but we cannot forget about the broader picture." Picture on page 105 shows a front page of the Falanga paper – a nationalist outlet from 1930s. Photo on page 107: father Kruszyński, rector of the Catholic University of Lublin in the period of 1925-1933.

***Warsaw commemorates the Righteous (Warszawa upamiętnia Sprawiedliwych)*** by literature scholar and Holocaust studies researcher Jacek Leociak, pp. 110-111

"*Warsaw commemorates the Righteous*" by literature scholar and Holocaust studies researcher Jacek Leociak, is a critical reflection on contemporary commemoration of the Poles helping the Jews during WWII. The author argues that: "The desire to commemorate, in its extreme form, goes against the common sense and moderation, and first of all, against the sense of justice. (...) It is astonishing how often stories of helping are entangled with stories of denouncing, blackmailing and hunting – not only the Jews but also those who tried to rescue them. It is impossible to move beyond this paradox. Discourse of help has two faces." Photos on pages 110-111 show monuments in Warsaw commemorating Jan Karski, Żegota (Council for the Aid to Jews) and German chancellor Willy Brandt.

***Indifference is the worst thing (Najgorsza jest obojętność)*** by Witold Liliental, pp. 112-113

"*Indifference is the worst thing*" is a reflection on tolerance and on indifference to intolerance. The author writes: "We know that in each nation there are intolerant bigots and we have to, after all, tolerate their existence. But should we tolerate indifference towards their acts and slogans? Their deeds are disgraceful, but our indifference to evil is even worse." Picture on page 113 shows an anti-Semitic leaflet distributed near Polish church in Phoenix, Arizona.

***Let the Blacks be black (Niech się Murzyni murzynią)*** by sociologist Anna Zawadzka, pp. 114-115

"*Let the Blacks be black*" (Niech się Murzyni murzynią) by sociologist Anna Zawadzka, is an analysis of racial stereotypes and their internalisation by members of minority groups in racist society. The article takes inspiration from the Jean Genet's 1959 play *The Blacks*, premiered in Polish by the Polski Theatre in Bydgoszcz in January 2015. Pictures on pages 114-115 show scenes from the play *Murzyni* ('The Blacks') in the Polski Theatre in Bydgoszcz.

***Różewicz and the Holocaust (Różewicz i Holocaust)*** by Małgorzata Różewicz, pp. 116-118

"*Różewicz and the Holocaust*" presents the poem "Gold" by Tadeusz Różewicz (1921-2014). The article's author argues that the poem is "the bravest reflection on the Holocaust in world literature." Photo on page 116 shows the poet Tadeusz Różewicz.

***The Holocaust of Roma: has it really been forgotten? (Holokaust Romów. Czy rzeczywiście zapomniany?)*** by cultural anthropologist Joanna Talewicz-Kwiatkowska, pp. 119-122

"*The Holocaust of Roma: has it really been forgotten?*" presents some facts concerning history of Roma in Europe, including their persecution from discrimination in the 15th century to Nazi genocide in 1940s. In the later part of the article the author contextualises commemoration of Romani victims of Nazi persecutions, highlights some educational efforts for remembrance and discusses problems that Romani survivors have claiming compensation. Photo on page 120 shows a ceremony during the International Day of Remembrance of Roma and Sinti Destruction in 2015. Photo on page 121: Berlin monument commemorating Sinti and Roma.

***Against anti-Semitism and national illusions. Contributions of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (Przeciw antysemityzmowi i narodowym iluzjom. Przypadki Jana Baudouina de Courtenay)*** by historian Grzegorz Krzywiec, pp. 123-124

"*Against anti-Semitism and national illusions. Contributions of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay*" presents some facts from biography of the Polish linguist Baudouin de Courtenay (1845-1929), in particular his involvement as publicist in fighting against anti-Semitism. The article presents his contributions as a significant yet underrated part of Poland's liberal-progressive tradition. Photo on page 123: Jan Baudouin de Courtenay.

***During the wartime everything is allowed... (W czasie wojny wszystko jest dozwolone...)*** by Jakub Wesołowski, pp. 124-127

"*During the wartime everything is allowed...*" discusses anti-Semitism prevalent in Polish society before and during WWII. The substantial part of the article highlights wartime mission of Jan Karski to document and reveal genocide of the Jews to the world. Drawings on pages 125-126 by Tomasz Bohajedyn.

***A reply by the Prime Minister's plenipotentiary on the World War II Museum (Odpowiedź pełnomocnika prezesa Rady Ministrów ds. Muzeum II Wojny Światowej)*** by Paweł Machcewicz

A reply by the Prime Minister's plenipotentiary on the World War II Museum concerning parliamentary query on the soldiers of the Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces). The document, dated 10 October 2012, explains historical contexts of World War II resistance movement. The author argues that the major part of the resistance tradition to commemorate should be the Polish Underground State and its Home Army, while the National Armed Forces, while contributing to the struggle for independence, should not be treated as a part of the Polish Underground State for their overt anti-democratic, nationalistic and anti-Semitic tendencies. The author of the document, Paweł Machcewicz, a prominent scholar of modern Polish history, refers to a number of sources and opinions by other historians.

***Individual has a decisive role to play (Jednostka odgrywa decydującą rolę)*** by Staffan Herrström, pp. 130-131

"*Individual has a decisive role to play*" briefly tells a story of Raoul Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat who helped in saving lives of Jews in 1944, and argues for significance of Wallenberg's example in today's context of policy towards refugees. The author of the text was Sweden's ambassador to Poland in 2011-2015. Photo on page 130 shows Raoul Wallenberg. Drawing on page 131 by Witold Popiel.

***Swing dancing prohibited (Tańczenie swingu zabronione)*** by Michał Fijka and Anna Tatar, pp. 132-135

"*Swing dancing prohibited*" is a part of an unfinished article by Marcin Kornak on youth subculture in Hitler's Germany resisting Nazism through jazz music. Picture on page 132 shows cover of the CD-set *Swinging Tanzen Verboten*; photos on page 133 show composer Michael Jary and instrumentalist Kurt Widmann. Photo on page 134 shows "Swing dancing prohibited" sign from the times of Nazism. The text is accompanied by a short article by Julia Wizowska (page 135) titled "Short history of swing in the Third Reich."

***On social inequalities and racism (O nierównościach społecznych i rasizmie)*** by Barbara Nowacka, p. 136

"*On social inequalities and racism*" is an essay arguing, in the contemporary socio-political context, that "social inequalities are one of the best documented, yet the most ignored, causes of anti-minority prejudice."

***Polish woman, love the Arab!*  
(*Polko, pokochaj Araba!*)  
by Jaś Kapela, pp. 137-138**

"*Polish woman, love the Arab!*" highlights the problem of islamophobia in contemporary Poland. The author argues that the source of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim prejudice is not merely social media activism but also mainstream media discourse, including liberal journalists and commentators. Photo on page 138: a TV show from January 2015.

***Our faces, or an art of packaging (Nasze twarze, czyli... sztuka opakowania)* by Krzysztof Skiba  
(a popular rock musician and TV presenter),  
pp. 139-140**

"*Our faces, or an art of packaging*" discusses the issue of the far Right's public relations strategies to gain trust among less extreme electorate. Photo on page 140 (top) shows nationalist politician Krzysztof Bosak in TV show "Dancing with stars", and another photo shows electoral poster of Marian Kowalski, nationalist politician running in 2015 presidential elections.

***Your cathedrals, your stadiums (written before elections) – Wasze katedry, wasze stadiony (pisane przed wyborami)* by Jarosław Ważny, pp. 141-142**

"*Your cathedrals, your stadiums (written before elections)*" is a reflection on political influence of the nationalist right and how it should be countered by antifascist groups. Drawing on page 141 by Witold Popiel.

***My truth is the truest (Moje najmojsze)* by Sylwia Chutnik  
(a writer and feminist activist), pp. 142-143**

"*My truth is the truest*" is a reflection on dialogue, tolerance and ambivalences of social perception of "normality". Drawing on page 143 by Witold Popiel.

***Grandfather from an elevator (Dziadek z windy)*  
by literature scholar Michał Głowiński, pp. 144-145**

"*Grandfather from an elevator*" is a critical discussion on the book *Resortowe dzieci. Media (Departmental children in the media)* by right-wing authors Dorota Kania, Jerzy Targalski and Maciej Marosz. The book itself, in a witch-hunt mode, traced roots of some contemporary journalists in their families' previous status within communist establishment. The author argues: "If I was to characterise (...) the book (...) I would call it an obtrusive, multi-way galvanising of lustration discourse (...) data manipulation, rhetoric of accusation magnified by one-sidedness, primitivism and extreme simplifications, and also a striking ignorance concerning the history of communist Poland." Picture on page 145 shows front cover of the book.

***Externalization of evil, and hate speech in discourse on Jedwabne (Eksternalizacja zła i mowa nienawiści w dyskursie o Jedwabnem)*  
by Dorota Bednarczyk, pp. 146-148**

"*Externalization of evil, and hate speech in discourse on Jedwabne*" is an analysis of public debate on historical accounts of the 1941 anti-Jewish pogrom in the town of Jedwabne. The author refers to opinion polls as well as Polish press discourse of early 2000s. Photo on page 147 shows monument commemorating Jews murdered in Jedwabne.

***The film Pokłosie as a catalyst of another discussion on events in Jedwabne in 1941: a discussion in cyber-space (Film „Pokłosie” jako katalizator kolejnej dyskusji o wydarzeniach z Jedwabnego z 1941 roku. Dyskusja w przestrzeni wirtualnej)* by Kamil Nowak, pp. 149-151**

"*The film Pokłosie as a catalyst of another discussion on events in Jedwabne in 1941: a discussion in cyber-space*" presents analysis of comments following the release of Władysław Pasikowski's 2012 movie *Aftermath*. The film depicted the problem of the changes of historical memory among descendants of pre-World War II Polish families involved in wartime anti-Jewish pogroms. The article is an excerpt from the author's MA thesis. Photo on page 150 shows a scene from the film *Aftermath*.

***'Better red than free': on nationalists defending communism („Better red than free”, czyli o narodowcach – obrońcach „komuny”)* by Tomasz Kenar, pp. 152-154**

"*'Better red than free': on nationalists defending communism*" discusses involvement of nationalist circles in supporting politics of the Polish party-state authorities during communism, including anti-opposition measures at the time of martial law in early 1980s. The author poses a question about instrumentalisation of "anti-communism" in contemporary politics. In a concluding paragraph he writes: "if anti-communist [democratic] opposition was a thorn in state-supporting nationalists' side, and in their view the Soviet Union was the only power able to stop 'Jewish-Trotskyist plot', i.e. that of the democratic opposition, then why do we talk about anti-communism? The answer probably lies in the fact that nationalists inherently support the stronger against the weaker. During the People's Republic they supported 'commies' against the growing opposition, and in the Third Republic they 'fight against' these 'commies' (...) in the name of maintaining the ruling order. And we can easily presume that if the [contemporary] National Movement reached for power, they would create a nationalist-style Stalinism. There's no doubt that anticommunism of today's nationalists is only a mask, behind which there is obsessive anti-Semitism, chauvinism and intolerance towards anyone who thinks differently." Photo on page 152 shows Jędrzej Giertych (1903-1992), a major nationalist ideologue; photo on page 153 shows a banner with Celtic cross at the 2013 commemoration of anti-communist underground fighters.

***The spectre of Russia, or national mythologies of Poles and Russians (Widmo Rosji albo o mitologiach narodowych Polaków i Rosjan)*  
by Izabela Głowacka, pp. 154-158**

"*The spectre of Russia, or national mythologies of Poles and Russians*" is a historical analysis of Polish-Russian relations and persistence of anti-Russian stereotypes in Poland. Pictures show Polish cultural depictions of Russians: Jan Matejko painting of 1892 (page 155), a scene from Kazimierz Dejmek's famous 1968 theatrical work of *Dziady* (page 156, top), a scene from Jerzy Hoffman's film *Battle of Warsaw 1920* (page 156, bottom), and a devastated Warsaw monument commemorating Soviet soldiers (page 157, photograph from 2013).

***Russian goy in inter-war Warsaw (Rosyjski goj w międzywojennej Warszawie)*  
by Piotr Mitzner, pp. 159-161**

"*Russian goy in inter-war Warsaw*" is an article about Dmitry Filosofov (1872-1940), a Russian literary critic and political émigré living in Warsaw in 1920s and 1930s. The article highlights particularly Filosofov's involvement in countering pre-war anti-Semitism. In 2015, the author published two volumes of Filosofov's selected writings.

***Arise, Vast Country (Wstawaj, Strana Ogromnaja)*  
by Grzegorz Ślubowski, pp. 162-163**

"*Arise, Vast Country*" discusses manipulative discourse of anti-fascism in contemporary politics of Russian nationalism. The article's title is taken from an opening line of the "Sacred War" – famous Soviet patriotic song of the World War II.

***East of Eden (Na wschód od Edenu)*  
by Jon Philips, pp. 163-165**

"*East of Eden*" discusses the use and instrumentalization of Orthodox Christianity by white-nationalist groups in the United States, and their supportive position on Putin's regime. The article also problematises ambivalent attitudes of the Orthodox church authorities in Russia towards interpretation of this religion by American converts rooted in white supremacist ideology. Photo on page 164 shows violent attack by a member of the Young Traditionalists on a participant of an anti-rape demonstration in Bloomington, Indiana in 2014. The text is a reprint from *Intelligence Report*.

***Blue Mongolia: the forgotten terror (Blue Mongolia: the forgotten terror)* by Gustaf Görfelt, pp. 166-168**

"*Blue Mongolia: the forgotten terror*" presents historical contexts of the Khukh Mongol (Blue Mongolia) movement founded by Roman von Ungern-

Sternberg in early 1920s, and its legacy among contemporary neo-fascists in Russia, Germany and Mongolia. The text is a reprint from Swedish anti-fascist magazine Expo.

**On 'Orientalism' (Wokół Orientalizmu)  
by Zbigniew Michalczyk, pp. 169-172**

"On 'Orientalism'" is a reflection on historical and contemporary anti-Arab and anti-Muslim prejudice as seen via critical analysis presented by Edward Said in his famous book.

**Between a fest and Nazis' gathering – Viking Festival in Wolin (Pomiędzy festynem a złotem nazistów – Festiwal Wikingów w Wolinie)  
by Bartosz Nowak, pp. 173-174**

"Between a fest and Nazis' gathering – Viking Festival in Wolin" discusses the presence of neo-Nazi and racist ideologies in historical-reenactment events. The author shares reflections from a field trip to the 2015 Viking Festival in north-west Poland. Pictures show the presence of folk symbols used by the far Right.

**After all, I prefer to be insulted (Już wolę, żeby mnie obrażać) by journalist Dawid Warszawski, pp. 175-177**

"After all, I prefer to be insulted" is a reflection following the terrorist attacks on Charlie Hebdo and a defence of free speech. The article is a shortened version of the author's speech at the 2015 International Conference "Europe and challenges of the 21st century: boundaries of freedom."

**Demon of Death – a letter from Paris (Demon Śmierci – list z Paryża)  
by Bernard Dreano, pp. 177-178**

"Demon of Death – a letter from Paris" is a reflection on terrorist attacks in France and their effect on the growing divisions in society. Reprint from OpenDemocracy.net. Drawings on pages 177-178 by Tomasz Bohajedy.

**SECTION III, From the history  
of the Never Again Association**

**Extraordinary early day motion in the House of Commons (Niezwykła rezolucja w Izbie Gmin), p. 180**

"Extraordinary early day motion in the House of Commons" – a document from June 2012 showing concern by a group of members of the British Parliament with possible threats of racism during Euro 2012. The Never Again Association was listed in the document as an example of anti-racist organizations, which the MPs supported.

**English and Polish people together against racism (Anglicy i Polacy razem przeciwko rasizmowi), p. 181**

"English and Polish people together against racism" – a note on joint action by Polish and English football fans before Poland-England match in October 2012.

**Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums campaign gains momentum (Kampania „Wykopmy Rasizm ze Stadionów” nabiera tempa), pp. 181-182**

"Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums campaign gains momentum" – a note on new activities by the Never Again Association during the 2013 spring round of Polish football league.

**Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums in Spring („Wykopmy Rasizm ze Stadionów” na wiosnę), pp. 182-183**

"Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums in Spring" – a note on antiracist

activities during the International Action Week Against Racism in March 2013.

**Racism and violence – the growing danger! (Rasizm i przemoc – rosnące zagrożenie!), p. 183**

"Racism and violence – the growing danger!" – a note on the Brown Book 2011-2012, quoting some incidents reported in the publications, and comments by the Never Again Association activists.

**Racism against music! (Rasizm przeciwko muzyce!) by Marcin Kornak, pp. 184-185**

"Racism against music!" – on attacks by the far right militants on concerts and people involved in the Music Against Racism campaign in 2011-2012. Photos on pages 184-185 show musicians supporting the antiracist campaign.

**The Never Again Association at the Kensington Palace ceremony (Ceremonia w Pałacu Kensington z udziałem „NIGDY WIĘCEJ”), p. 186**

"The Never Again Association at the Kensington Palace ceremony" – in March 2015 the Never Again Association together with football player Samuel Eto'o and the FARE network were awarded the European Medal of Tolerance. The ceremony took place in the Kensington Palace in London.

**Beginning the new year with the ratified convention on fight against racism (W Nowy Rok z ratyfikowaną Konwencją o walce z rasizmem), p. 187**

"Beginning the new year with the ratified convention on fight against racism" – in 2015 the Polish authorities ratified the Council of Europe's Convention on cybercrime with additional protocol on countering racism (the document was signed already in 2003). The Never Again Association had been involved in campaigning and petitioning supported by the then minister of foreign affairs, Radosław Sikorski. In 2013 a query was submitted by a member of parliament, Robert Biedroń, and in 2014 president Komorowski signed laws on ratification of the two documents, voted earlier by both chambers.

**Małgorzata Matecka received Irena Sendler Award (Małgorzata Matecka laureatką Nagrody im. Ireny Sendlerowej), pp. 187-188**

"Małgorzata Matecka received Irena Sendler Award" – a collaborator of the Never Again Association, Małgorzata Matecka, was awarded by the Children of the Holocaust Association and Civic Education Centre Foundation for her educational activity among children and youth, including the "Equal and Different" Regional Festival of Youth Bands and literary competition "Youth Remembers."

**Journalists against racism – distinguished in the parliament (Dziennikarze przeciwko rasizmowi – docenieni w Sejmie), pp. 188-189**

"Journalists against racism – distinguished in the parliament" – in March 2014, at a ceremony held in the Polish parliament, several journalists were awarded for their contributions to highlighting the problem of racism in sport. The competition "No to Racism in Sport" was organized by the Never Again Association, Parliamentary Committee on Sport and Tourism, Polish Olympic Committee, the Ombudsman's Office and European Commission.

**'Holy war' with anti-Semitism at stadiums („Święta wojna” z antysemityzmem na stadionach) by Maciej Kozłowski, pp. 189-190**

"Holy war' with anti-Semitism at stadiums" is a note on the *Naród Wybrany* – Cracovia Pany book by Maciej Kozłowski (historian, journalist and diplomat) on multicultural history of Polish sport. The book was published by the Never Again Association.

**Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums – effective struggle against racism („Wykopmy Rasizm ze Stadionów” – skuteczna walka z rasizmem) by Jacek Purski, pp. 190-191**

“Let's Kick Racism Out of Stadiums – effective struggle against racism” is an outline of the problem of racism in sport and presentation of the campaign started by the Never Again Association in 1996.

**Three documents from 2013 concerning monitoring of hate crime and hate speech presented in the Never Again Association's Brown Book. (Interpelacja w sprawie „Brunatnej Księgi 2010-2012”), pp. 192-193**

“Three documents from 2013 concerning monitoring of hate crime and hate speech presented in the Never Again Association's Brown Book.” 1) Parliamentary query by Robert Biedroń to the Prime Minister on prospects of countering racism and xenophobia. 2) Reply to the query by the undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, outlining legal framework and governmental activities with particular focus on police training to identify and counteract hate crime. 3) Parliamentary query by Robert Biedroń on ratification the Convention on cybercrime and additional protocol on countering racism.

**The Brown Book – reactions („Brunatna Księga 2011-2012” – reakcje), pp. 194-203**

“The Brown Book – reactions” is a selection of press interviews and articles concerning the major publication by the Never Again Association, i.e. The Brown Book. The reprints are from such mainstream outlets as naTemat.pl, Gazeta Wyborcza and Newsweek and were initially published in February and March 2013. The reprints include an interview with Marcin Kornak (pages 194-197).

**The language of hostility (Język wrogości) by Dorota Nieznalska, pp. 204-206**

“The language of hostility” is a reflection by a well-known modern artist on the problem of violence in public life. Photographs on pages 204-206 show anti-Semitic, xenophobic and neo-fascist graffiti in Poland.

**Artist-city, or de-construction of violence: on Dorota Nieznalska's exhibition ‘City as event: re-construction of violence’ (Miasto – artystka albo de-konstrukcja przemocy) by Michał Bieniek, pp. 207-209**

“Artist-city, or de-construction of violence: on Dorota Nieznalska's exhibition ‘City as event: re-construction of violence’ is a review of the exhibition. The author points to the fact that Nieznalska herself has been a target of nationalist groups for her earlier artistic activity. Two photographs on page 208 show items from the exhibition: aestheticized hard-cover copies of the Brown Book.

**SECTION IV, Antifascist's Library (Biblioteka antyfaszysty – recenzje)**

“Antifascist's Library” presents reviews of recent books and films. These include Maciej Kozłowski's book on the multicultural history of Polish sport, Rafał Pankowski's The Populist Radical Right in Poland, Marcin Kaćki's journalist story of racism and neo-nazism in the city of Białystok, books on World War II and the Holocaust, Ukraine and Polish-Ukrainian relations, Mirosława Papierzyńska-Turek's book on Polish state policy towards Orthodox Church during the interwar period, Danuta Waniek's study on nationalist movement in Poland, Marcin Wójcik's book on the Radio Maryja – a Catholic fundamentalist media outlet known for promoting nationalism and xenophobic prejudice, a number of English and German books on the far Right, as well as two movies: 12 Years a Slave and Hannah Arendt. The list of reviewers includes: Witold Liliental, Artur Fortuna, Jean-Yves Camus, Kamila Wasilewska-Kaczmarczyk, Katarzyna Sztop-Rutkowska, Michał Friedrich, Anna Mach, Leszek Ścioch, Jarosław Prystasz, Natalia Kertyczak, Rafał Maszkowski, Przemysław Prekiel, Małgorzata Matecka, Tomasz Kenar, Krzysztof Kasiński and Anna Milczarek.

**SECTION V, The Brown Book (Katalog Wypadków – Brunatna Księga)**

A register of racist, xenophobic, homophobic and other hate crime or discriminatory incidents, including those committed by members or supporters of organized far right. The monitoring catalogue published in the 22nd issue of the Never Again magazine presents descriptions of incidents registered between March 2014 and June 2016, including the racist reactions to migration crisis from September 2015 on, and far-right manifestations in the context of October 2015 parliamentary elections in Poland and the subsequent political tensions. Photographs illustrate some of the incidents.

**“NEVER AGAIN” Association / Stowarzyszenie „NIGDY WIĘCEJ”**

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