

‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association

The Brown Book
(2023-2024)



Warsaw, October 2024

INTRODUCTION

Hatred of minorities is a global problem. That is why solidarity with all victims of discrimination and violence is so important.

When the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association began documenting xenophobic acts of aggression and hate speech in Poland of the 1990s, the problem was marginalised and trivialised in public debate.

Thanks to Marcin Kornak's persistence and determination, the '*Brown Book*' became an important document of an unpleasant element of Poland's recent history. In subsequent editions, hundreds and thousands of cases of beatings, insults, threats were described... And yet, this is only the tip of the iceberg, since many similar cases have never been reported. However, the examples presented in the '*Brown Book*' show the scale of intolerance in our country over the last three decades.

Honest confrontation of any social problem requires a frank and open discussion based on solid documentation, such as that included in the '*Brown Book*'.

The work of Marcin Kornak, who died in 2014, is continued thanks to Anna Tatar and the team of 'NEVER AGAIN' Association's volunteers, correspondents, and translators.

The problem of racism and xenophobia is much more widely discussed nowadays, but unfortunately, the phenomenon itself has also been on the rise in recent years. The demonisation of refugees, migrants, and all minorities leads to violence. The '*Brown Book*' serves as a warning.

Rafal Pankowski

THE AGGRESSOR WEARS A BROWN SHIRT. A NEW REPORT BY ‘NEVER AGAIN’ ASSOCIATION

The so-called civic patrols against migrants, brutal assaults on an Azerbaijani student and several Indians at a worker hostel, are just a few examples of racism and xenophobia in Poland from recent weeks. The ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association has published the new ‘*Brown Book*’, which documents some of the attacks on minorities that happened in 2023 and 2024.

Dr. Anna Tatar, who co-authored the report, explains, ‘This escalation of violence comes as no surprise. We have warned countless times that when politicians instigate fear or hostility towards migrants and refugees, street violence will always follow’.

‘NEVER AGAIN’s ‘*Brown Book*’ lists racist and xenophobic physical assaults, acts of discrimination, and desecrations of cemeteries or monuments to the Holocaust. It includes racist incidents committed by football hooligans, too. In addition, the report documents hate speech in the Polish public debate, especially on social media.

Rafal Pankowski, co-founder of the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association, Professor at Warsaw-based Collegium Civitas, and Rotary Peace Fellow at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, says, ‘Hatred towards minorities is a global issue. This is why solidarity with all the victims of discrimination and violence is so important’.

The ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association was founded in 1996 as an independent anti-racist organisation, which runs the ‘*Brown Book*’: ongoing documentation of events with xenophobic and antisemitic context in Poland. Its initiator was the long-time leader of ‘NEVER AGAIN’, Marcin Kornak (born 1968, died 2014).

Between 1 September 2023 and 15 October 2024, the ‘*Brown Book*’ monitoring was supported by the Henryk Wujec Civic Fund.



**Fundusz Obywatelski
im. Henryka Wujca**

In September 2024, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association was awarded the prestigious Ronald Eissens and Suzette Bronkhorst Award for ‘exceptional work in combatting online hate and promoting human rights’.

The incidents described in the new 'Brown Book' by 'NEVER AGAIN' include:

- LODZ. On the night of 25/26 March 2023, a group of a dozen or so people, men and women, attacked two Ukrainians. The aggressors shouted at them, 'We hate you, you are from Ukraine, out back home!' and four thugs brutally beat them: they punched them, knocked them to the ground and kicked them. The Ukrainians were taken to the hospital, one of them had a broken jaw and rib, the other bruised kidneys and a damaged tooth.

- WROCLAW. On 30 June 2023, a teacher from the Philippines was attacked by an unknown woman. The attacker insulted her and threatened her with violence and death. She shouted, 'I f*cking hate you! Because you are all cruel and evil. You transmit various diseases'.

- RACIBORZ. On 15 August 2023, a dark-skinned teenager who had left a kebab shop was insulted and threatened by a passer-by. The man shouted to him, 'You f*cking P*ki, get the f*ck out of here, I'll f*ck you up'.

- PIEKOSZOW. On 21 October 2023, one of the locals, 36-year-old Szczepan B., brutally beat a twelve-year-old boy from Ukraine. 'The perpetrator insulted but also beat, punched, kicked the boy's head and entire body with his legs, causing the child to lose consciousness'.

- WARSAW. On 11 November 2023, the participants of the so-called March of Independence burned flags of the European Union. They also chanted slogans that were racist and xenophobic, 'White honour, white pride', 'White power is and was', 'Poland for Poles', 'There will be a stick for the leftie snout'. Moreover, the demonstrators displayed banners with the Celtic cross, a flag in the colours of the Third Reich, and banner with the slogan 'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'.

- GDANSK. On 2 January 2024, on Owsiana Street, 'unknown perpetrators' destroyed a plaque commemorating the ghetto where Jews from Gdansk and other areas occupied by the Third Reich were held during the World War II.

- WARSAW. On the night of 30 April/1 May 2024, a juvenile perpetrator tried to set fire to the Nozyk Synagogue on Twarda Street. He threw a Molotov cocktail which crashed against the façade near one of the ground floor windows.

- WARSAW. On the night of 24/25 August 2024, a student from Azerbaijan was beaten because of his skin colour. In one of the shops a group of men and a woman flung racist insults at him. The victim reported, 'They said «Poland for Poles», and they called me a «f*cking n*gger». [...] I got hit on the head with something hard [...]. I fell to the ground,

and I think I lost consciousness right away. They started hitting me with their hands and kicking me’.

- NOWY SACZ. On 8 September 2024, at the Jewish cemetery on Rybacka Street, several attackers assaulted a group of Jewish tourists who intended to visit the necropolis. The perpetrators hurled antisemitic slurs and threats at them.

- ZYRARDOW. On 21 September 2024, the town witnessed a far-right march, self-described as a ‘civic patrol’. The protesters chanted, ‘This is Poland!’ ‘This is Zyrardow, this is where we’re walking! We are doing what everybody should!’ Moreover, members of the ‘patrol’ brutally assaulted migrants residing at a local worker hostel. Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians defended themselves with fire extinguishers. As a result, 70 migrants resigned from their work in Zyrardow.

- SZCZECIN. On 7 October 2024, a Ukrainian taxi driver was assaulted due to his nationality by his passenger. The man started to insult the driver, punched him in the face and head, and shouted, ‘Ukrainian tw*t!’

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‘BROWN BOOK 2023-2024’

YEAR 2023

JANUARY

WARSAW. On 2 January, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, a columnist for a weekly right-wing magazine ‘*Do Rzeczy*’, in an interview broadcast on the far-right **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel, commented on the performance of the music band Black Eyed Peas at the New Year’s Eve party in Zakopane organised by the Polish state television **TVP**. The musicians wore rainbow armbands as a gesture of solidarity with LGBT+ people in Poland. To discredit this protest against discrimination, Ziemkiewicz’s statement emphasised the skin colour and the origin of the band members [original phrasing of the interview retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*Whoever comes from the West, he has the right to lecture us. For God’s sake, even some bloody rapper, some Black singer, a disco dancer, and he comes, and he thinks he’s smart, because he’s come to the savages whom he’s going to preach*’. In a similar tone, the host **Oliver Pochwat** commented, ‘*And if we sent Maryla Rodowicz [1] to America to give a concert, she would say, «And in your country you beat up the N*groes»*’, to which Ziemkiewicz replied, ‘*I would like for someone from Poland to remind them who they’re from, and for them to stop lecturing our civilisation, because when we were creating foundations of law and religious tolerance [...], at that time in America there were just some buffaloes on the prairie, and nothing more*’.

[1] Famous Polish singer.

WARSAW. On 3 January, the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** published a post on Twitter in which he expressed his approval of military action against Ukraine. He stated, ‘*But what good is Russia’s moral right, if [...] its propaganda is even worse than its military actions in the war?*’ Furthermore, it was Ukraine that he portrayed as a threat to other countries. This was yet another statement by Korwin-Mikke in line with Putin’s propaganda. Since the outbreak of war on Ukraine, he has been igniting hostility towards refugees, spreading conspiracy theories and false information, and even justifying the invasion. In one interview, he also denied Russian war crimes in Ukraine.

WARSAW. On 3 January, **Jan Bodakowski**, host of the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, mocked the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah [1]. He presented a bizarre argument, kept in an antisemitic tone, and at the same time contemptuous of LGBT people. He stated as follows, ‘*The Hanukkah holiday, recently celebrated by Judaists, is a homophobic holiday, because they worship the Jews [2], who overthrew the Greek dictatorship, which imposed, among other things, the rainbow revolution. [...] And let’s remember this when criticising everyone who lights Hanukkah candles, that this is a very nationalist and homophobic holiday. Hence it is very close to my heart*’.

[1] Commemorating the victorious revolt of the Maccabees and the rededication of the Jerusalem Temple in 165 BCE.

[2] I.e. their ancestors.

WARSAW. On 4 January, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, the regular host **Jan Bodakowski** made a comment tinged with racism. While discussing the situation of refugees from Ukraine on the job market, he declared, *'I will not hide it that I way more prefer white Ukrainian women who are close to us racially and culturally, well-educated people who come from a neighbouring country, than bringing over to Poland some unskilled labour from Asian, African countries, which [...] have a hostile attitude towards our cultural values'*.

WARSAW. On 4 January, on the far-right **wRealu24** channel (broadcast on the **BanBye** platform), the main host of this online TV **Piotr Szlachtowicz** made racist comments aimed at fuelling aversion to Muslims. He stated, *'For many, many years [...] I have been saying that one of the greatest threats described by very smart people is the Islamisation of Europe. [...] Of course, there are different ebbs and flows of these problems. They either get silenced or something else happens, because of COVID or some other reason, but all in all it doesn't change the fact that, for example, as you must have seen at the last World Cup, European football teams didn't look like typical European football teams'*. The arguments for 'anti-Islamisation' were accompanied by racist references to non-white football players in the European teams participating in the World Cup who are not perceived as 'true' Europeans.

In August 2022, YouTube, as part of its cooperation with the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, removed the **wRealu24** channel, which had been promoting hate speech for many years. Despite this, Szlachtowicz broke the rules of the platform and made the broadcast of 4 January 2023 on his own YouTube channel.

The same material, along with a summary, was also posted on a far-right news website **wolnosc.tv**. Comments which appeared under the text were Islamophobic and some of them even called for killings [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'The police should shoot these beasts using LIVE AMMUNITION. This is the only way to bring this mass back to order. A circus like this has happened not only in Berlin, but in other large cities too. It all looks like an organised action (Soros)', 'In just a few years in Poland it will all look similar, we can see p*kis from different parts of the world even in smaller cities'*. Responses to the content of the broadcast also included posts supporting the war against Ukraine, *'I'll add that I keep my fingers crossed for Putin and his army because as he has officially stated he will sort out the globalist scum and will introduce Russkiy Mir [1]'*.

[1] From Russian: *'Russian peace/world'*.

WARSAW. On 4 January, **Rafal Patyra**, presenter of the Polish state television **TVP**, posted a mocking, homophobic comment on Instagram in which he condemned new regulations introduced in figure skating in Canada (aimed at preventing discrimination based on gender identity). Patyra wrote, *'Attention! The Canadian figure skating federation Skate Canada has announced a change to the definition of a «team». And from now on, a pair team no longer has to consist of a man and a woman, but of «skater A» and «skater B», so, for example, two guys lifting each other. Well, the perfect combination of sport and art has just banged its head on the ice. If you can't put the ice to your head, you might actually have to do it the other way round...'* Furthermore, he tagged the comment with a hashtag «No to LGBT». He did not suffer any consequences from TVP (even though according to the rules of journalistic ethics at TVP, *'Journalists should consider social media as a form of public statement, and should remember that*

they represent TVP, and the private comments of journalists known to work with TVP can be considered as supported by TVP,' Section XVI.3).

WARSAW. On 5 January, far-right commentator **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** uploaded a recording mocking LGBT people on his YouTube channel. He stated, *'There is no LGBT community, I repeat, there is no such thing as LGBT community. I don't know about the rest of the world, I suspect that it's not there either, it has been created as a construct of ideology and propaganda, but in Poland it definitely does not exist. There are male and female homosexuals, and there are people affected by a condition called gender dysphoria who are seeking their gender identity, for example through gender change surgeries. And then there is a much larger group of those who, under the influence of various pop culture conditions, have been drawn into something that seems to be gender dysphoria but in reality is an ailment or some problem of another kind [for which there can be] no gender-affirming surgery nor any ideological acceptance of the gender a person thinks they have [...] The important thing is that they are not a community'*. Further on he added, *'But if we agree with the statement that there is a homosexual community [...], then we agree that our public life is drained by the ideology represented by these LGBT organisations'*. In conclusion he stated again, *'There is no LGBT community and no one is entitled to take actions motivated by the ideology he professes in the alleged defence of this community, because it does not exist'*. Continuing his mockery, Ziemkiewicz referred to non-heteronormative sexual orientation as an illness, *'If only homosexuality were treated everywhere as it is in Poland, as a private matter, maybe something funny, maybe a defect of a specific mister...'* Lastly, he spun conspiracy theories in which he described the LGBT community as a totalitarian group supported by multinationals and threatening the 'old' world order, *'All this is done by large corporations, or rather by the plutocracy that manages them – they created this ideology. Please read Harari [1], or Professor [Adam] Wielomski who accurately summarised Harari's teachings. I'm telling you, it's terrible. Marx and Hitler are nothing compared to what they came up with; this idea of creating an ideal communist slave system on a global scale . This is such a group...'*

[1] Juwala Noah Harari: Israeli historian and professor.

WARSAW. On 6 January, an article with racist overtones was published on a **Salon24** website blog run by a user known as **Glos pokolenia 90 (Generation 90's Voice)**. It was entitled 'Europe's demographic marginalisation. What will the future of people of the white race be?' and the author pictured in it a vision of a civilisational fall... due to a declining population of 'white Europeans'. He attributed this, among other reasons, to the 'Muslim culture' and its allegedly hostile intentions. He ranted that if Nigeria *'doesn't split into two [...], the whole country will face imminent Islamisation which can lead to a bloody civil war'*. Using false and racially charged contrast between the 'white Europeans' and the 'immigrants from Africa or Asia', he denied dark-skinned people the right to a European identity. He stated, *'In case of a humanitarian crisis on the Dark Continent, Europe will be flooded by several hundred million immigrants. The white race may one day even be a minority in its own cradle'*. In a peculiar way, he even included a comment on the ongoing war against Ukraine, *'If white women don't start bearing children, which is not likely to happen in the context of the current war in Ukraine, where millions of Ukrainian or Russian women have actually put the handbrake on, the population of white Europeans will decline even faster'*. Making a nostalgic reference to the times of colonialism, *'The nations of Europe once leading the world in the development and expansion of their civilisation will have*

less and less to say in the modern world’, he summarised his racist vision predicting that *‘white-skinned people may be a real rarity in the world in another 100 years’*.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 7 January, at Jasna Gora, Poland’s most important religious shrine, some of the participants of the so-called Patriotic Pilgrimage of Football Fans displayed banners with racist content. The hooligans of **Rakow Czestochowa** had a flag with the words *‘Blood and Honour’* made to resemble the logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour**. These same words (in German *‘Blut und Ehre’*) constituted the motto of the Nazi youth organisation **Hitlerjugend**. Moreover, one of the supporter of the Rakow club displayed a scarf with the slogan *‘Janusz Walus is our role model’* (Walus was sentenced to life imprisonment in South Africa for racially motivated murder in 1993. He never showed any remorse. In November 2022, the court in South Africa decided to release him on parole). The scarf also bore the words *‘White honour, white pride’* (from lyrics of a song performed by the neo-Nazi group called **Konkwista 88**), as well as the sign of the triskelion – a three-pronged swastika (racist symbol coming from South Africa) against the background of Third Reich flag. Also, hooligans of **Zaglebie Sosnowiec** team displayed a characteristic red-and-white banner resembling the logo of Blood and Honour. It contained the slogan *‘It has always been and will be a pure country. White people whom I know will always fight against communism’*. It is a quotation from the song by **Honour**, a Polish music band praising the ideology of national socialism in their lyrics. Some supporters carried scarves with the slogan *‘Death to the enemies of the motherland’*. In contemporary setting, this message constitutes an incentive to aggression based on ideology.



LUBLIN. On 7 January, at a bus stop on Krolewska Street, two men assaulted a Ukrainian woman, her 13-year-old son and her adult pregnant daughter. When the attackers heard that the family was talking in Ukrainian, they shouted abuses, *‘Ukrainian wh*res’*, *‘F*ck Ukrainians’* and *‘Get the hell out of Poland.’* When the boy tried to call the police, they pushed him to the ground and punched his head. They also roughed up the expectant mother, even though she cried that she is pregnant. The mother of the siblings described the incident, *‘I was very scared for her. I shouted for her to run. She has bruises on her body, but luckily the baby is safe. It is sad that none of the people who were nearby reacted’*. Police were called to the scene. They arrested two local men, 31-year-old **Pawel K.** and 26-year-old **Albert Sz.** The spokesperson for the Regional Public Prosecutor’s Office in Lublin Agnieszka Kepka informed, *‘Pawel K. was charged with publicly insulting Ukrainian nationals by addressing them with words commonly regarded as vulgar and derogatory, of known content, because of their national identity. [...] Another charge concerns acting jointly and in concert with the second culprit, also because of the victims’ nationality. In other words, committing violence by beating the Ukrainian nationals’*. The other man, Albert Sz., was also suspected of directing death threats at the Ukrainian woman and her children.

The woman came to Poland with her 13-year-old son in March of 2022, fleeing the war. They settled in Lublin where her daughter had been a student for a few years already.

WARSAW. On 10 January, in an interview broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel, the host **Jan Bodakowski** and his guest **Marek Skalski** [1] perpetuated the antisemitic content of the *'Judeo-communism'* myth [2]. Bodakowski stated that during World War II in the Eastern Borderlands of Poland *'[...] Jews were mainly involved in collaboration with the Soviets, not in defending Poland'*, and *'after World War II, the Russians decided that such a ruling class in the People's Republic of Poland would be people of Jewish origin'*. Referring to the antisemitic repression of March 1968, Bodakowski stated that *'representatives of Judeo-communism were able to go to the West and live in prosperity, when Poles had to sit in the People's Republic of Poland and suffer poverty'*, which was picked up by Skalski who said, *'They weren't really forced, because most of them left Poland voluntarily, they took advantage of the opportunity'*. At the end of these rants full of historical falsifications, Bodakowski added, *'The privileges of the Jewish community before March 1968 had been very significant, but even after 1968 it was not so bad for them'*.

[1] Extreme right-wing commentator and YouTuber.

[2] Negative stereotype saying that most Jews collaborated with the Soviet Union in introducing communism in Poland.

WARSAW. On 11 January, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel broadcast an interview with **Rafal Kulicki**, 'expert' on the affairs of the British royal family [1]. The conversation took place in connection with the release of Prince Harry's memoir *'Spare'* and concerned his spouse Meghan Markle. Kulicki made a bizarre comment, coloured with racist prejudices, about the origin of the Duchess of Sussex, emphasising her 'non-white' roots. He stated, *'You can't really tell it by her looks, but she is half, how to say elegantly, African. You can't quite see it, because she has more European facial features, but she has mixed ethnicity'*. At the end of the interview with Kulicki, published on the Media Narodowe website, there was the following commentary of another 'expert' [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'the mother of Princess Diana, Frances Shand Kydd, was Jewish – she was born Frances Ruth Burke Roche. Officially, Diana was the daughter of Earl Spencer and Frances Shand Kydd, but sources claim that it was the Jew James Goldsmith who had a long-standing affair with Frances at the time when Diana was conceived. [...] There is a striking resemblance between Princess Diana and Goldsmith's three children, Zak, Ben and Jemima Goldsmith. And the moral of the story? Starting with William, those Brits will have a Jewish king. So, HOSANNA! It's so heart-warming to see those k*kes quarrel among themselves. [...] EWWW!'*

[1] Kulicki is also head of a marginal group named **Kolo Monarchistyczne (Monarchist Circle)**. He was **Konfederacja's (Confederation party's)** candidate in the 2019 general elections in Lublin constituency (he received 537 votes, i.e. 0,09 % of support).

WARSAW. On 11 January, the far-right YouTube channel **Media Narodowe (National Media)** broadcast an interview with **Ewa Kurek PhD**, history graduate from the Catholic University of Lublin, book author, known for her appearances on **TVP** (state-owned news channel) and Christian-nationalist **Radio Maryja** station. Extracts were also posted on the Facebook profile of **Media Narodowe**, where the subject matter of the interview was described as follows, *'Dr. Ewa Kurek talks about the leftie Jewish fringe and their attacks on Poland which obscure the actions of the majority of religious Jews with whom one can talk constructively and who have a clear opinion of that milieu: «they want to make money on the Holocaust»'*. The video contained text boxes at the bottom and the top of the screen which together formed a contemptuous suggestion

of a conspiracy: *'Poles are being defiled by the greedy Jewish fringe.'* These antisemitic threads also resounded in the comments made by Kurek herself. She recommended a book published by **Bollinari**, publishing house associated with *'Gazeta Warszawska'*, weekly magazine known for promoting antisemitic contents. The magazine is known to have described the anti-Jewish pogrom in Jedwabne [1] as a *'leftie lie'*. It has also published texts which *'revealed real names'* of people active in politics and culture, intending to *'unmask'* their Jewish origins. Referring to the book, Kurek stated, *'And this is the voice of the Jews which cannot be heard, but we hear the lefties [...]. This is a milieu that wants to profit from the Holocaust, from the Shoah. [Jan Tomasz] Gross wanted to profit from the Holocaust'*. Thus, she repeated false accusations against Jews who allegedly seek to profit financially from the Holocaust.

Comments which appeared below the conversation with Kurek on the Facebook page of Media Narodowe were also antisemitic [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'Poland !!!Instead of throwing them the f*ck out ... the country has too many of them!!!Alien to Poland since 1989 !!President is a Jew!!! [...] They are the descendants of Bandera!!?And the rest!!Aliens !!! JewUkraAntiGov Non Polish!!! [...] Out of Poland??? Killers!!!!Out!!'* or *'Such a deal with the Jews: they'll stop lying about us, and then we stop telling the truth about them'*.

[1] It was perpetrated by the Polish population of the town in presence of German occupying forces in 1941.

WARSAW. On 12 January, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel, the host **Jan Bodakowski** and his interlocutor **Piotr Barelkowski** [1] slandered Jerzy Owskiak and the activities of Wielka Orkiestra Swiatecznej Pomocy (Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity [2]) in an hour-long broadcast.

In the accusations and insults thrown at Owskiak, Barelkowski... referred to the period of the Third Reich, *'The form of the event of the Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity refers directly to the Nazi Winterhilfe. This was an action organised around Christmas time, which was supposed to help soldiers at the front, collect money for medical aid, for some warm socks for the Nazis fighting on the Eastern Front. The money was collected there in the same way [...]. You have to be blind not to see the analogy, that Mr. Jerzy Owskiak obviously used the very form of the event from Hitler's Winterhilfe or was inspired by it'*. Bodakowski reacted to these words, but in a way that strengthened their offensive meaning, *'whether he [Owskiak] used [the Nazi model] – I wouldn't go that far. Maybe he didn't know it, maybe he just did it that way, but it's also peculiar that he just somehow did it that way, just like those German National Socialists'*. In the next part of the broadcast, Barelkowski repeated his slander against Owskiak, *'In Winterhilfe, children were just collecting money to help the Nazi army'*.

In addition, on the air of Media Narodowe, Barelkowski denied Owskiak's social activities in the 1980s which were promoting democratic values and alternative culture among young people. He put forward the following conspiracy theory on this subject, *'Collaboration with the state of the People's Republic of Poland, collaboration with the establishment of the time and acting for their benefit, these are the roots of Mr. Jerzy Owskiak. [...] He served the authorities to somehow organise these young people, to somehow keep them in a box, so that they would not be so dangerous for the system. [...] Let's say it in capital letters that Mr. Jerzy Owskiak was part of the operation of the secret services'*.

In the course of the conversation, Bodakowski attacked Owskiak also because of the interview he gave to the *'NEVER AGAIN'* magazine in 2000. It was devoted, among other things, to the issue of national chauvinism and violence, especially by skinheads, against minorities. Bodakowski

insultingly described the magazine published by the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association as ‘*pseudo-anti-fascist*’.

In June 2022, Barelkowski was fired from Radio Poznan in connection with his interview with **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** (far-right **Konfederacja – Confederation** party Member of Parliament), who denied Russian war crimes in Ukraine and praised **Putin** on air. Barelkowski did not react to these statements. The radio station informed about his dismissal because he ‘*did not maintain journalistic professionalism*’.

[1] Employee of Media Narodowe responsible for the development and distribution of channel’s content.

[2] The biggest, non-governmental, non-profit, charity organisation in Poland, known for promoting such values as peace and respect for minorities.

KRAKOW. On 15 January, a lecture entitled ‘Ukrainian national chauvinism – a serious threat to Poland and Poles’ was broadcast on **eMisjaTv** – a pro-Russian, nationalist YouTube channel. It was delivered by **Lucyna Kulinska PhD**, long-time lecturer at the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow and far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party candidate in the 2019 European Parliament and Polish general elections. In her speech, Kulinska falsely accused Ukrainians of hostile intentions and a desire for war, ‘*The ideology of ethnic hatred and occupation [...] will lead to conflict not only with Russia, but also with other neighbours*’, which will result in ‘*the annexation by Ukraine of all «historical Ukrainian ethnic lands», in inverted commas, not excluding parts of today’s Poland. [...] By what methods this could be realised, we know from the past all too well*’.

Kulinska’s lecture took place on 14 January in Krakow at the **Symposium** Hotel as part of a ‘geopolitical debate’ entitled ‘Are we in danger?’, which was organised, among others, by **Watahy Glosu Obywatelskiego (Hordes of Civil Voice)**, an extreme right-wing group of **Andrzej Poneta** opposing vaccination against infectious diseases. In addition, Prof. **Andrzej Zapalowski** and **Piotr Szlachtowicz** [1] who are involved in spreading of anti-Ukrainian propaganda, were participants of this conference.

Anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments, some of which incited violence, were posted on eMisjaTV channel under the video [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland*’, ‘*Poles have become second-class citizens in Poland and Ukrainians are treated as the new «Chosen Nation»*’, ‘*It will be difficult to rid Poland of this mob*’, ‘**kry [2] out of our Motherland!!!*’ ‘*Ukrainians should go back to their own country, out. It’s Poland here and not Ukraine*’, ‘*HAIL GREAT POLAND FROM LABA RIVER TO KYIV!*’ ‘*You have to beat up the collaborators (shabbos goys) so that others become afraid to follow the orders of the Jew-globalists!*’ and ‘*Stop helping Zelenski the Jew, the enemy*’.

[1] From **wRealuz4** internet TV, known for promoting hate speech.

[2] A Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians.

KATOWICE. On 17 January, a lecture by **Witold Listowski**, chair of the right-wing **Patriotyczny Związek Organizacji Kresowych i Kombatanckich (Patriotic Union of Borderland and Combatant Organisations)**, was broadcast on **eMisjaTv**, a pro-Russian, nationalist YouTube channel. In his speech entitled ‘We will not weigh our words’, Listowski made comments inciting resentment towards refugees from Ukraine. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*Look, they are coming to Poland to take money. [...] We must not distribute money to the Ukrainian group ideologically alien to us*’. He also boasted that during a

street protest in Wrocław he carried a banner *'which read: «Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland». Well, we were taken in by the police after all! [...] Listen, it comes to the point where we can't even show a truly Polish banner in our country'*.

Listowski gave a lecture on 16 January in Katowice, during a conference organised by **Klub 'Myśli Polskiej'** [1] and the far-right **Patria** association (founded in July 2022).

Many anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments were posted as a response to Listowski's speech [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]: *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland', 'POLAND FOR POLES', 'UKRAINE FIGHTS FOR BANDERA!!!!' 'We have a Ukrainian as president, so it won't get better. Ukraine, get out', 'I work as a security guard, I have dealt with this Ukrainian mob', 'We have no alternative anymore, Ukraine took Poland over with not a single shot fired', 'The Sejm [2] is full of parasites you can't count them and what's worse they feed on us'.*

[1] **'Polish Thought' Club**: a group bringing together readers of the *'Polish Thought'* nationalist weekly.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

KATOWICE. On 17 January, pro-Russian, nationalist YouTube channel **eMisjaTv** broadcast a lecture by **Leszek Sykulski PhD**, university lecturer and founder of **Polski Ruch Antywojenny (Polish Anti-War Movement)** whose message is considered in line with Putin's propaganda. During his speech, Sykulski used references to the ethnic cleansing campaign against Poles in Volhynia during 1943-44, and portrayed contemporary Ukrainians, especially war refugees, as a threat to Poland. He stated, *'We see today another dangerous process. It is a process that we can call an organised resettlement action. [...] And today, the fact is that «The Red Viburnum in the Meadow» [1] is sung at Jasna Góra Monastery [2] [...]. This is spitting on the graves of these victims! And this must be stopped! Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland! Stop the Americanisation of Poland! This is not our war!'*

Sykulski's lecture took place on 16 January in Katowice and was organised by **Klub 'Myśli Polskiej'** [3] and the far-right **Patria** association (founded in July 2022).

[1] Ukrainian folk song.

[2] One of the largest Marian sanctuaries in Poland.

[3] **'Polish Thought' Club**: a group bringing together the readers of the *'Polish Thought'* nationalist weekly.

KRAKOW. On 18 January, the **Polonia Christiana (Pch24.pl)** website run by **Stowarzyszenie Kultury Chrześcijańskiej im. ks. Piotra Skargi** [1] published an article entitled 'Inclusive education – a destructive step back from special schooling and levelling down' by **Hanna Dobrowolska**. In this text, the author disapproved of the concept of inclusive education, i.e., education that considers different needs of pupils; this approach is to help them to participate fully in society, and argued against integrating *'normal children'* and *'pupils with all types of disfunctions, and those not adjusted to society'*. Expressions such as *'destructive inclusion', 'the steamroller of inclusion',* and sneers at non-discriminatory language also appeared in the article, *'[problems] of an «included» pupil with special educational needs, formerly respectfully called a «special care» pupil'*. Moreover, Dobrowolska quoted a letter from *'a teacher from northern Mazovia region'* who demanded answers to the question *'By what right is the Polish taxpayer's money being wasted?' on high school education for 'mentally handicapped students'* (elsewhere she added, *'I will write like that instead of a «pupil with mental handicap»'*). Disdainful comments towards people with disabilities appeared under the article, e.g.: *'[My son] has a person with a*

disability certificate in his class, he was supposed to learn empathy, he has developed neurosis [...] he is disgusted by [her] appearance and behaviour.'

[1] **Father Piotr Skarga Association for Christian Culture**: a fundamentalist organisation known for its anti-LGBT statements.

WARSAW. On 20 January, in a programme broadcast by **TV Republika** (far-right TV and YouTube channel), Prof. **Krzysztof Jasiewicz** expressed a bizarre statement about the possibility of partition of Ukraine, which was in line with Putin's propaganda stances. Talking about the history of the eastern lands belonging to inter-war Poland he added, *'At this moment, one can say, some problems of a political nature appear, because, for example, I do not remember, the name escapes me now, but a representative of the Great Ukraine party said outright that Poland should be given back its South-Eastern Borderlands'*. The party mentioned by Jasiewicz is, in fact, a marginal group created in 2005 and combining animosity towards migrants with a pro-Russian stance and support for separatists in eastern Ukraine.

The statement made by Jasiewicz was echoed in anti-Ukrainian comments posted under the recording on the TV Republika YouTube channel, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'They could give Lviv back to Poland, but without Ukrainians', 'Those savages from the Wild Fields [1], who now amount to 10 million here [...] I would dig a wide ditch along their way to Europe and I would plant sharpened poles there'*.

Jasiewicz also invoked the antisemitic conspiracy theory about the part played by Jews in the creation of the Bolshevik party, *'There is a theory that it was only Jews who built that state [USSR]'*, but he emphasised that *'within the Central Committee [of the Communist party] there were 44 nationalities present.'* In 2013, Jasiewicz was dismissed from the post of Head of the Research Group for Analysis of East European Issues within the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences, in connection with an interview for the mainstream *'Focus Historia Ekstra'* monthly which contained antisemitic statements putting the blame for the Holocaust on Jews.

[1] Historical term used to describe the steppe north of the Black Sea and the Azov Sea.

WARSAW. On 21 January, a march was organised by the pro-Putin group **Rodacy Kamraci (Comrades Compatriots)** founded by **Wojciech Olszanski**. In August 2022 Olszanski was sentenced by the Warsaw-Mokotow District Court to six months' imprisonment for public incitement to murder. Moreover, in September 2022, he was sentenced to two years of restriction of liberty with an order to perform community service for publicly insulting people of Jewish nationality.

Participants of the march chanted anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic slogans. They included: *'No to Ukropolin [1]'*, *'No to Banderas [2]'*, and *'Banderstadt [3]'*. The demonstrators also committed violence against the social activist Katarzyna Konstantin, known as Babcia Kasia (Granny Kasia). They took away her anti-fascist banner and hurled insults at her. One of the women pushed her and knocked her to the ground. In addition, during the march, a representative of Rodacy Kamraci group repeated in his speech the conspiracy theory that there would be *'an integration of the territories of western Ukraine with Poland. [...] This will be the final stage of the process of introducing in Poland a new state, Ukropolin'*. Even though slogans inciting hatred were spread during the demonstration, the city authorities did not cancel the gathering.

[1] A conspiracy theory that Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians and Jews.

[2] **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. In Poland today, the term ‘Bandera’ or ‘banderowiec’ is frequently used as an ethnic slur against all Ukrainians.

[3] Insultingly about Ukraine.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 27 January, a post was published on the Facebook page of **3dom** [1] that amounted to a mockery of the International Holocaust Remembrance Day observed on the anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz camp. This post was to promote books by **Dariusz Ratajczak**, author who in 2001 was found guilty in a court of law of committing the crime of the so-called Auschwitz lie. In the book entitled *‘Tematy niebezpieczne’* (*‘Dangerous Topics’*) Ratajczak denied the murder of Jews in the gas chambers of Auschwitz. He wrote, *‘Zyklon B was used in the camps for disinfection, not for murdering people’*, and further, *‘Stories of surviving prisoners that they allegedly saw people being gassed are worthless’*. In his publication, he also quoted and approved the opinions of other Holocaust deniers, for example that the rooms presented as gas chambers in Auschwitz allegedly could not have been used to kill people because their doors were not sealed. In reaction to Ratajczak’s book, the Disciplinary Committee of the University of Opole removed him from this University in 2000. In addition, the adjudicating committee banned him from working as an academic teacher for a period of three years. The Facebook page of the 3dom publishing house (owned by **Tomasz Stala**) published a link to an offer with a bundle of books by Ratajczak (*‘Dangerous Topics’*, *‘More Dangerous Topics’*, *‘Deadly Dangerous Topics’*), as well as images of the covers of these publications and the information, *‘Today we observe the International Holocaust Remembrance Day. On this occasion, we recommend a proper reading!’* In this way, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz was used... to promote the reissue of books denying the Holocaust.

[1] Publishing house which, among other things, sells books with antisemitic content.

KRAKOW. On 27 January, in the Regional Court building, the far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** destroyed a Christmas tree set up by judges from the Iustitia and Themis associations. The tree was decorated with baubles with Ukrainian flags, European Union flags, and the inscription *‘LGBT’* in rainbow colours. Braun took the Christmas tree and dragged it through the courthouse hallways, destroying decorations and shattering glass. Ultimately, he threw the tree into a rubbish bin on the street and commented on his own behaviour, *‘I restored the state of seriousness and normality’*. The police were called to the scene. On the same day, an investigation was launched at the Krakow-Srodmiemie Wschod District Public Prosecutor’s Office into the offense of the ‘destruction or damage to property belonging to another person’. Braun's behavior was condemned, among others, by the judge Waldemar Zurek, *‘This Christmas tree [...] was decorated with symbols of Poland and Ukraine, which is important to us in times of war abroad. The colours of the tree were white-red and yellow-blue. It has been desecrated. The accusations that we are insulting the symbol of Christmas are also absurd. For us, it is a symbol of important social issues’*.



On 17 July, by decision of the Provincial Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw, the proceedings along with the application to waive the immunity of the Konfederacja MP were taken over by the Regional Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw. On 13 December 2023, the Minister for Justice Prof. Adam Bodnar asked the National Public Prosecutor's Office for information on all proceedings in connection with the incidents involving Braun. He emphasised, *'In fact, MP Braun has collected a lot of such cases. We may have the impression that there was a kind of tacit consent to these various acts, since they were not prosecuted in a serious manner'*.

Braun uploaded the recording of the incident in the court on his YouTube profile (over 253,000 views within 10 months). Hateful comments appeared under the video [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'It's a shame that Ukrainians have taken over all of Poland. Everything is for them and about them. Disgrace. Bravo Mr. Braun'*.

- *'Down with the Banderites [1]'*.

- *'Here you go, the rainbow plague has spread across such a Catholic country, we Poles say to it: out!!!'*

- *'This court is rather unserious if they turn a Christmas tree into an advertisement for PAEDERASTS'*.

- *'This is someone. Such actions must be announced in advance. A thousand hands would have f..ed up more'*.

[1] Referring to **Stepan Bandera**, a Ukrainian nationalist leader in the 20th century; in practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today.

LEGNICA. On 28 January, the Liegnitz.pl page on Facebook, dedicated to the history of the pre-war town of Legnica, a town in Lower Silesia, shared information about *'unknown perpetrators'* having made antisemitic inscriptions on the monument of Samuel Benjamin Ruffer (1757-1827), the founder of the textile industry in this town. They wrote *'F*ck Jews with axes'* and painted the swastika. 'Somebody' also devastated a stone dedicated to the city councillor Erich Schneider (1835-1896), to whom Legnica owes the creation of green areas. Among his merits was the creation of a park in the southern suburb of the town with horse riding paths, marked out in 1877. The swastika symbols appeared on Schneider's monument, as well as in many other spots in town.

LODZ. On 29 January, **Lucyna Kulinska PhD** [1] gave an interview on **eMisjaTv**, a pro-Russian, nationalist YouTube channel. She made comments with anti-Ukrainian content. Mentioning historical events, she incited hostility towards contemporary Ukrainians. Based on false generalisations, she argued, *'The ethos of today's Ukraine is built on the same monstrous ideology that led to this [i.e. Volhynia [2]] crime'*. Later in the speech, referring to Ukrainian refugees, Kulinska added, *'[...] these people from western Ukraine who ended up in Poland, at this moment they are the people who had already been affected in one way or another by the bug of banderism [3]'*.

Anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments appeared under the material, some of them inciting violence [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]: *'I don't care about Ukrainians, nor do I care about apologies, out to your country, *kry!!! [4]'*, *'Poland is slowly becoming a Jewish colony'*, *'It should be the duty of every Polish man to spit in the face of these kh*khols [5]'*, *'Mrs Lucyna, it is the Jewish occupation government, not the Polish government,*

*because we don't have one', 'Just when we lose everything country family and roof over our heads I guess that is what these Jewish sons of b*tches want...' 'Not all lives matter'.*

[1] Long-time lecturer at the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow, who ran in the 2019 European Parliament and Polish general elections as a **Konfederacja – Confederation** party candidate.

[2] Referring to the ethnic cleansing of Poles by Ukrainians in Volhynia in 1943-1944.

[3] **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.

[4] Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians.

[5] Russian ethnic slur against Ukrainians.

WARSAW. On 29 January, **Maciej Rowinski**, sports commentator of the right-wing portal **wPolityce.pl**, posted a message on Twitter which contained an insult with an antisemitic overtone. Responding to a poll by Dr. Seweryn Dmowski from the Faculty of Political Science and International Studies of Warsaw University, concerning those soccer clubs which are not liked, Rowinski spelt the name of Widzew Lodz as 'Zydzew'. This word, using the similar sounding/looking 'Zyd' ('Jew'), is a popular invective in the football hooligans community. For 13 years (1995-2008) Rowinski had worked in the sports section of the 'Zycie Warszawy' daily, for many years he was the speaker and editor of various publications at horse racing events at the Warsaw Sluzewiec Racecourse. He was also connected with the 'Nasza Legia' sport magazine and the 'Fakt' daily.

WARSAW. On 29 January, the authorities of the Department of History of Warsaw University and the Students' Council of the Department of History issued statements in connection with an antisemitic incident which took place on campus. According to the information, someone had written lyrics of a song which ridiculed the victims of World War II concentration camps on the door of one of the toilets. In the statements, the lecturers and students emphasized, *'The community of our Department is unanimous in condemning attitudes, actions, and views of antisemitic character, as well as the lack of respect for human suffering. These are unbecoming not only to a Warsaw University student, but to any decent human being.'*

WARSAW. On 30 January, popular writer **Jacek Piekara** in his Twitter post denied the link between Nazi ideology and the crimes committed by the German Reich during World War II, and called the US Ambassador to Poland Marek Brzezinski 'son of a b*tch'. This happened in connection with Brzezinski's visit to the Schindler's Factory museum in Krakow together with Douglas Emhoff, the husband of the US Vice President Kamala Harris. Ambassador Brzezinski wrote on social media about his visit on the occasion of the Holocaust Remembrance Day, *'We visited Schindler's Factory – a museum showing life in Krakow during the Nazi occupation. It is an important lesson about preserving humanity in a horrific period of history.'* Piekara commented, *'There was no «Nazi occupation», just like there was no state called Nazistan. There was German occupation and the criminal, genocidal state called the German Reich. And whoever doesn't understand this is a denier. Or in plain language: son of a b*tch...'* (full word was included in the original).

Piekara's post sparked further offensive comments against M. Brzezinski, calling for his removal from Poland due to the use of the historically justified term 'Nazi', e.g. [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'The Brzezinskis have been associated with think tanks financed by Germany for years. Pro-Germanness will continue regardless of their positions held at any given time. Zbigniew did not do a good job in the upbringing of his children', 'What is this*

moron doing in Poland? Can't the Ministry of Foreign Affairs demand a replacement?' 'The ambassador is either uneducated (which I doubt) or he plays for the same team as the moneylenders from the Holocaust Industry who want to turn Poles into Nazis. Considering that Douglas Emhoff is a high-ranking Jew, I'd go with option 2'.

Piekara is the author of 49 popular fantasy novels and former editor of computer games magazines, his Twitter profile (often expressing far-right views) has over 50,000 followers. His post on Mr. Brzezinski received over 600 likes in just a few hours.

WARSAW. On 31 January, Radoslaw Sikorski, Koalicja Obywatelska [1] Member of European Parliament, former Minister, and former Speaker of the Sejm [2], tweeted an anonymous antisemitic letter he had received. It contained insults and threats against him, *'[...] F*cking Hitler, traitor, f*cking Jew. Don't spit on Poland. Poles will make you pay, you b*stard!'*

[1] Civic Coalition: major coalition of liberal parties, in opposition to the government at the time.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

FEBRUARY 2023

WARSAW. On 1 February, on the far-right **wRealu24** channel (broadcast on the **BanBye** platform), **Marcin Rola** made anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments about the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda. Criticising Poland's involvement in helping Ukraine, Rola stated, *'Duda, or Dudenko, expressly confirmed how he feels over there. He is an excellent Ukrainian politician, it's a pity that I can't tell if he is a Pole. Maybe he is, maybe he was born a Pole, but from what he shows, evidently he doesn't really feel like one. [...] If someone insults and pukes on their own country, calling it Polin, I will honestly say that it is disgusting'*. The word 'Polin' in Hebrew means Poland. Rola was probably referring to the speech made by the President on 1 December 2021, when during the Hanukkah candle lighting ceremony at the Presidential Palace he said, *'This is Polin, this is a place for all of us, a place where we want to continue living together in the spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding, and respect'*.

WARSAW. On 2 February, **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, columnist for the far-right magazine *'Najwyższy Czas!' ('High Time!')* and former **Radio Maryja** [1] collaborator, uploaded an interview with **Krzysztof Balinski**, former Polish Ambassador to Syria, on his YouTube channel. It was entitled 'Poland is already paying off claims'. Both men repeated conspiracy theories about alleged Jewish financial claims against Poland. Michalkiewicz claimed that German authorities had acknowledged that *'the period of German penance was over'* and that such declaration *'created a completely new situation for Jews [...] well, it is necessary to provide another way of making money from the Holocaust'*. Following this statement, Balinski accused Jews of hostile intentions, *'Jews will help Germans. For example, in regaining property in the Western lands [of Poland] and so on'*. Michalkiewicz concluded, *'I think the danger is much greater'*.

Antisemitic comments were made under the video, some of them praising the Holocaust and inciting violence and calling for murder [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'Adolf, thank you for the final solution'*, *'Monuments should be built to Hitler, he foresaw the actions of his brothers'* *'Everything that these disgusting Jews possessed had been gained by deceit and fraud. I would be glad to send them a lead bullet'*, *'In my time, this Jewish museum in Warsaw would have been burned and spat on at the very beginning of its existence'*, *'This nation should be kept in a restricted area'*, *'Let's de-Jew Poland'*, *'Jews spreading all over the world – it is the worst of all plagues'*, *'The Jewish nation is a source of stench, war, hunger,*

*destruction, and poverty’, ‘Jews are a disgrace to humanity – shameless, deceitful, hypocritical’, ‘A kick in the *ss..., that’s what k*kes should get’.*

[1] Catholic-nationalist radio station with a long track record of antisemitic statements.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 3 February, at the headquarters of **3dom** publishing house which, among other things, sells books with antisemitic content, a meeting was held to celebrate the creation of **Polski Ruch Antywojenny (Polish Anti-War Movement)**. The organisation was founded by **Leszek Sykulski** and **Sebastian Piton**, who were both present. They read out a declaration which contained the following statements, *‘We do not accept that public money be given away, to provide social welfare to Ukrainian citizens, or to organise resettlements on the territory of Poland’*. This was a reference to a conspiracy theory popular among the extreme right, according to which the war against Ukraine was launched as a result of a secret plot to relocate the Ukrainian population to Poland. The name **Polski Ruch Antywojenny** cynically refers to a message of peace, but, in fact, the real message promoted by the leaders of the group is considered to be in line with Putin’s propaganda. The founders of the organisation condemn the aid provided to Ukraine and promote the slogan *‘Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’*, which was included in the ideological declaration of the group posted on the website.



Leszek Sykulski is an academic teacher. In 2019, he met in Moscow with **Alexander Dugin**, Russian far-right ideologue who publicly called for the killing of Ukrainians. Sykulski, in a report published on Facebook, called him a *‘thinker’*. On 27 April 2022, Sykulski interviewed the Russian Ambassador to Poland, **Sergei Andreyev**, who argued that Putin launched a *‘special military operation’* because Ukraine had allegedly been planning an attack on Russia. On 28 April 2022 Sykulski shared this conversation on his YouTube channel.

The second founder of **Polski Ruch Antywojenny** is Sebastian Piton, known for organising a movement of COVID-19 epidemic deniers and promoting activities harmful to health. He publicly made racist comments and threats: in 2015, during a protest against helping refugees, he shouted, *‘Let them know that they will not leave Koscielisko [1] alive. Let the information spread that Podhale [2] is xenophobic’*.

During the meeting in Czestochowa, supporters of Sykulski and Piton also spoke. Some of their statements were antisemitic [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]. One of the men said, *‘For centuries Slavic nations have been a thorn in the flesh of the Western expansion, mainly of the Vatican, then Anglo-Saxon, and all this mainly due to the arrangements by what we call the world’s Zionism [...] The goals of the Jewish civilisation, which is a parasitic civilisation’* (until 1.09.45) and Sykulski confirmed, *‘I understand these questions’*. He then added, *‘I take it that the creation of Polski Ruch Antywojenny has become the primary goal of the nationalist movement, but the real one, not of this Jewish movement of Winnicki or Bosak [3]’*.

[1] Village in Tatra County in Southern Poland.

[2] Tatra region in southern Poland.

[3] Names of leaders of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party).

POZNAN. On 3 February, the Regional Court of Poznan-Stare Miasto found Fr. **Michal Woznicki** guilty of the crimes of insulting Jews on grounds of their nationality and inciting hatred on the basis of national differences, and sentenced him to six months of restriction of liberty and community service of 30 hours a month. On 31 October 2021, during a broadcast of the Holy Mass on YouTube, Fr. Woznicki gave a sermon in which he said, *'We must realise that Jews around the world have assumed the role of a leech, a tick, a body that invades the host's body and swells up causing death of the host, and then transfers to the next one'*. Further on, he declared, *'Jewish perfidiousness... only the devil's is greater'*, and he hurled various accusations against Jews, intertwined with homophobic threads, *'Jews, you've got what you deserve! That a small child, instead of putting his hands up to God [...], will turn on its cell phone and see [...] a guy with a guy, or a woman with a woman. It is you who have done that, Jews, and continue doing!'* He also insulted Piotr Zytnicki, *'Gazeta Wyborcza'* journalist, whom he described as *'A f*g in service to Jews, a pervert, someone should give him a good swinging'*. Mr Zytnicki had written a series of articles describing the conflict in the Salesian congregation revolving around Fr. Woznicki and quoting his hateful sermons broadcast online.

During the court hearing which took place on 24 January 2023, the priest delivered an antisemitic tirade. Addressing the judge, he stated that Jews were *'responsible for the [COVID-19] epidemic'*. Smoothly transitioning between one conspiracy theory and another, he attacked Stowarzyszenie Otwarta Rzeczpospolita (Open Republic Association), *'I was hoping to see in court the members of the organisation that filed the indictment against me, organisation hiding under the name of Otwarta Rzeczpospolita, I was going to ask them if they were Poles, if they had been baptised, or if they are Jews'*.

On 4 February, during another mass, Woznicki, commenting on the court judgement, threatened the Judge Lukasz Kalawski with death, *'The rope is already waiting for him. It's just a matter of when and on which tree'*.

In August 2018, Woznicki was expelled from the Salesian Order and subjected to a suspension *a divinis*: it forbids exercising acts of the power of orders which he obtained in the Salesian Order. However, Fr. Woznicki has not been removed from the priesthood.

WARSAW. On 3 February, the far-right **TV Republika** channel broadcast a programme in which the regular commentator **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** used derogatory words with racist undertones about refugees at the border between Poland and Belarus. He also formulated false accusations against Hanna Machinska PhD, former Deputy Ombudsman [1]. Ziemkiewicz stated, *'We now know why Mr. Ombudsman got rid of this lady [Machinska], because she concocted some stories about Poles committing genocide on these various Ahmeds sent in by Lukashenka'*. In fact, Machinska never used the word *'genocide'* with regard to the situation along the Polish-Belarusian border.

[1] She was dismissed from the post in December 2022. Civil society organisations, among them the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, protested against this dismissal.

WARSAW. On 3 February, an article entitled *'Demography in Poland: Kosher «democracy» is the death of the nation'* was published on the **Nacjonalista.pl** website, associated with the neo-fascist party **Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland)**. The text contained antisemitic conspiracy theories, including the following statements, *'Kosher «democracy», i.e. a system established in the West after 1945, and in Poland after 1989 [...]. The power belongs to mafia lodges, and various lobbies, and this results in subordination to foreign centres. The regime*

has achieved a remarkable «success» in depopulation. [...] Out of 305,000 children born here, 15,000 are foreigners (a 50% increase), and so the statistics for Poles are even worse. A multicultural Polin is now on the horizon'. The article made vague accusations against Jews who had allegedly taken over the democratic system of the country and conspired to reduce the fertility rate in Poland while increasing the number of immigrants. At the end of this phantasmagorical vision, there was a reference to 'Polin' (in Hebrew the word means Poland), i.e. Poland currently controlled by Jews.

The comments made below the article praised **Hitler** and National Socialism [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'The Nazis had real education and culture. Everywhere promotion of racial purity and having many children, but above all, the ideal of heroic self-sacrifice for one's Folk. [...] now it's interracial sex everywhere [...] Under Hitler, officially, all this kosher filth of porn or contraception was fought like the worst plague, burning of pornographic books was organised, and so on, and so forth. What was being eradicated under Hitler, today is ubiquitously promoted'*. Another commentator alleged that *'3 institutions are responsible for the current upbringing, i.e. the formation, or rather deformation of the youth (starting with the most responsible) 1. Jewish (dis)information and «entertainment» media 2. «school» infested with Jews 3. Post-Council [1] infestation with Jews. Without solving these 3 problems, there is no chance of saving Aryan humanity!'*

[1] Referring to the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church in 1965.

KRAKOW. On 7 February, Malopolskie Voivodeship Education Superintendent **Barbara Nowak** tweeted a comment with racist undertones. Expressing her support for the Minister for Education Przemyslaw Czarnek, she emphasised the white colour of his skin as one of his attributes, *'Minister Czarnek is not from your bubble. He is a white man, a Catholic, he guards Poland against destructive neo-Marxist ideologies'*. On the same day, Czarnek gave a speech in the Sejm [1], in which he spoke positively about the issue of multi-million subsidies for the purchase of real estate that had been awarded by the Ministry of Education and Science to (extreme) right-wing NGOs and foundations.

Superintendent Nowak's post was met with criticism, for example from Prof. Maciej Duszczyk, Chairman of the University Council of the University of Gdansk, who wrote, *'From now on, you can say and write without any problem that she is a racist. But why does such a person have an impact on the education of our children!'*

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

WARSAW. On 7 February, on **Radio Wnet**, **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** Member of Parliament **Krzysztof Bosak** [1] postulated limiting the rights of refugees from war-torn Ukraine seeking shelter in Poland, and called for discrimination against Ukrainians. He stated, *'Rights equal with those of Polish citizens – in terms of welfare and material rights of immigrants from Ukraine, or all persons with a Ukrainian passport who have recently entered Poland, regardless from which direction they have entered, be it from the East or the West – this is a bad change. This shouldn't be happening'*. In this context, he also disseminated disinformation about the alleged privilege of Ukrainians at the expense of Poles, *'Privileges for people with foreign passports at Polish universities [...] should not take place, this is a bad change'*. The interview with Bosak was published on the Radio Wnet YouTube channel and was given a title that further

strengthened the xenophobic overtones of the MP's statement, *'Bosak: More bonuses for Ukrainians than Poles is a bad change. There is a need for equality in this respect'*.

[1] Presidential candidate in 2020 elections.

WARSAW. On 7 February, **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** [1] uploaded an interview with **Krzysztof Balinski**, former Polish Ambassador to Syria, on his YouTube channel. They both accused Jews of allegedly manipulating the memory of the Holocaust for financial purposes. Michalkiewicz stated, *'I call your attention to the fact that Jews are alert to the monopoly on martyrology. [...] The monopoly on martyrology is held by Jews. They do not want to share it with anybody [...] because massive profits are drawn from this monopoly'*. Balinski elaborated on Michalkiewicz's argument, questioning the historical truth about the Jedwabne massacre [2], *'We know that Jedwabne lie is a foundation of accusations that Poland participated in the Holocaust, that Poles participated in the Holocaust, and thus: you are guilty, and therefore you should pay'*. Antisemitic comments were made under the interview, *'We must defend ourselves from Jews!'* *'The Jewish lobby is not only influential in the USA, they OWN the USA as the Fed'*, *'I am not an anti-Semite because I have nothing against Arabs or Palestinians. I'm anti-Judaic because I ama very good observer ;-)'*, *'For Jews, money is the purpose of their existence'*, and *'pasoZydy* [3]'.

[1] Columnist known for promoting antisemitic content for the far-right magazine *'Najwyższy Czas!'* (*'High Time!'*), author of such books as *'Antisemitism? – a beautiful idea!'* or *'Nazis and Shabes Goy'*.

[2] Perpetrated on the Jewish population of the town by the Polish inhabitants, in presence of German occupying forces in 1941.

[3] With contempt about Jews, comparing them to parasites.

WARSAW. On 9 February, the Delfina Krasicka Gallery hosted a meeting with **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, commentator for the right-wing **TV Republika** channel, during which he made a contemptuous statement about Jewish culture and outstanding Poles of Jewish origin. In an interview conducted by **Wiktor Swietlik**, Ziemkiewicz stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'[...] The Polin Museum used to make such campaigns, showing Lesmian, Tuwim, Korczak [1] and others: you have something of me. How many Jews is this... Cool, and what Jewish thing have these Jews, excuse me, introduced into Polishness, apart from their own talents? Nothing! They abandoned the rekel to escape into Polishness, which was more attractive even in captivity'*. At that point, Swietlik interrupted with an off-topic remark laced with homophobia, *'This is an old issue with American shelves in gay and rainbow bookstores where Socrates and Plato could be found'*. On 11 February, a video with this discussion was uploaded on the TV Republika YouTube channel.

[1] All three of Jewish origin; Boleslaw Lesmian and Julian Tuwim were writers, poets, and translators, Janusz Korczak was a pedagogue and educator; they have had an immense impact on Polish culture.

KRAKOW. On 10 February, during the second division football match between **Wisla Krakow** and Resovia Rzeszow, hooligans of the host club (who came from a neighbouring city of Slomniki) displayed football scarves with racist content, including a Celtic cross, a symbol used by international fascist groups to stand for so-called white power.



WARSAW. On 11 February, **Konfederacja (Confederation,** far-right party) Member of Parliament **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** posted a message on Twitter in which he supported the military aggression of Putin's Russia against Ukraine. At the same time, he made derogatory remarks about sexual minorities and mocked actions undertaken against the COVID-19 pandemic. He wrote [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'Can you REALLY not see that countries that MOST DESPERATELY attack Russia are those with the most developed LGBTQZ ideology, with the biggest CoViD hysteria, and in the forefront of NWO, that is the New World Order, while Russia is fighting to save the Old, Tried Values; yes – even wars!!'*

BIELSKO-BIALA. On the night of 11/12 February, a wave of hateful comments appeared on the internet after the opening of a Polish-Ukrainian Dobrego Dnia café (Have a good day café) on Mickiewicza Street. Piotr Platek of Friends of Bielsko-Biala and Podbeskidzie Society, the initiator of the café's opening, reported, *'We have received dozens of negative reviews of our company from people who have never visited us. We are accused of [...] Ukrainising Poland'*. Here are examples of such comments, *'Pure slime, I hope you will quickly close this sh*thole and go back to your country'*, *'This is Poland, not Ukraine. Do such things in your country'*, and *'I advise you to avoid this nationalist Ukrainian café'*. The cafe was created to be a place for Polish-Ukrainian integration. Refugee Ukrainian women from Bierdiansk and Kyiv worked there.

HAJNOWKA. On 12 February, on the Polish-Belarusian border, two activists of Podlaskie Ochotnicze Pogotowie Humanitarne [1] Piotr Czaban and Katarzyna Mazurkiewicz-Bylok found the body of a 28-year-old woman from Ethiopia. As one journalist reported, neither the police nor the border guards intervened and nobody had helped her.

Grupa Granica (Border Group), which brings together activists helping refugees and migrants, said that the woman had entered Poland on 3 February, along with six other people. Three of them were immediately taken back to Belarus, and the remaining four stayed on the Polish side. During the night, the woman felt bad and began to lose consciousness. Two of her companions went to Hajnowka for help. *'They knocked on both the Othodox church and the court doors, and finally a night watchman working in one of the production plants called the police, who in turn called the Border Guard. Companions of the deceased said that they were begging the officers for help. According to their account, representatives of both services declared that they would help the woman. However, they never reached her, instead they took the remaining migrants to Belarus. After a few days, the boy who had stayed with the girl was also taken to the other side of the fence'*, Grupa Granica reported. According to the activists *'Everything indicates that if the services – in accordance with the Polish law – had helped the dying woman, she could have been still alive. We strongly demand that the circumstances of the death be investigated and that the officers of both the Border Guard and the police be held accountable. According to Grupa Granica's account, not only did they not take rescue measures, but also they illegally deported to Belarus people seeking help for their companion'*. Grupa Granica activists also appealed, *'We demand an end to the deadly policy that*



instrumentalises people who seek security and legitimises violence and deportations. Everything must be done to prevent further cases of torture and death. We do not agree with state-induced violence and inhumane treatment of migrants’.

Piotr Czaban submitted a notification to the County Police Headquarters in Hajnowka that the Polish services failed to fulfil their obligations. The investigation into the death of the woman was initiated by the Ombudsman who requested explanations from the commander of the Podlaskie Border Guard Unit and the commander of the County Police in Hajnowka.

The deceased woman was Mahlet Kassa. With the consent of her family, Piotr Czaban posted her photo online.

According to UN estimates, 9 million people in Ethiopia need food aid, and up to 1,200 people die of hunger every day. The country is ravaged by armed conflicts and civil war.

In mid-May, Grupa Granica informed that at least 44 people had died as a result of the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border.

[1] Podlaskie Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Organisation which provides assistance to immigrants in border zones.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On 12 February, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and **Odra Opole**, hooligans of both teams displayed banners promoting hatred. ‘Fans’ of Odra displayed a flag in the stands with a red and white logo resembling a logo of the neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour** (the name Blood and Honour was taken from a **Hitlerjugend** motto). In turn, hooligans of Podbeskidzie displayed a banner inciting ideological violence – it contained a slogan ‘*Good night left side*’, popular among neo-fascist groups, as well as a graphic depicting a man kicking a man lying on the ground.



WARSAW. On 12 February, **Arkadiusz Karbowskiak**, named in the right-wing press the ‘creator of the Museum of the Accursed Soldiers’ [1], presented a shocking vision of the history of World War II referring with sympathy to the actions of Nazi Germany on the Eastern Front. In a series of posts on Twitter he announced, ‘*I never criticised Hitler for killing communists, nor for the attack on the USSR [...] The defeat of the USSR required applying means not only of a military nature, but also of a political one. [...] And one also needs to be able to enforce the inevitable policy of exploitation*’. Karbowskiak for years now has been publicly relativising Nazi crimes, among others in the neo-fascist periodical ‘**Szczerbiec**’, where he has undermined the legitimacy of the Nuremberg Tribunal, and on social media, where he has repeatedly expressed sympathies with Nazi collaborators and volunteers in the multi-ethnic **SS** military formations.

[1] So-called ‘Accursed Soldiers’ is a name given to a group of anti-communist guerrilla which operated in Poland after 1945.

WARSAW. On 14 February, in the building of the Agora publishing house, activists of **Młodzież Wszechpolska** [1] disrupted a meeting with an outstanding Ukrainian poet and essayist Oksana Zabuzhko. They shouted, ‘*There can be no agreement to promotion of banderism in Poland!*’ ‘*Banderites are murderers*’, and ‘*Bandera is your role model*’ [2]. They also displayed a banner with the latter slogan. They were led out by security.

Again, on 7 March, in the Raczynski Library in **POZNAN**, several representatives of Młodzież Wszechpolska disrupted a debate with Oksana Zabuzhko, held as part of a series of events under the title ‘The Culture of Poznan for Ukraine – One Year after the Outbreak of the War’. They chanted slogans of nationalist nature, among others ‘*Poland is us, not Bandera and his dogs!*’ The police were called to the scene. They checked the ID’s of the aggressive men. The management of the Library decided to cancel the meeting and it was later held online. Since the beginning of the war against Ukraine, the extreme right uses manipulation to exploit the crimes of 1943-45 to incite hate against contemporary Ukrainians.

[1] **All- Polish Youth**, far-right group dating back to pre-war antisemitic incidents.

[2] **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.

WROCLAW. On 16 February, local media reported that slogans promoting hatred against sexual minorities appeared on the walls of buildings in the Szczepin neighbourhood: ‘*LGBT is evil*’, ‘*LGBT is blasphemy*’. Some of the inscriptions also had anti-Ukrainian content: ‘*Pole, don’t be stupid, don’t get killed in the war for the Banderites [1] and the USA*’. Acts of devastation have intensified since January 2023. One of the residents has repeatedly reported the inscriptions to the housing association and the Wroclaw Centre for Social Development – as a result of this intervention, they were removed.

[1] Referring to **Stepan Bandera**, Ukrainian nationalist leader in the 20th century; in practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today.

WARSAW. On 20 February, **Krzysztof Wyszowski**, member of the Council of the Institute of National Remembrance, made a derogatory, homophobic post on his Twitter profile, concerning the Ambassador of the United States of America to Poland, Mark Brzezinski. Commenting on a photo of the US President Joe Biden who travelled by train from Kiev to Przemysl, Wyszowski stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*Some time ago, the old Brzezinski was the advisor. The young one is simply a flunkey dealing with LGBTQI+=~*’. With this commentary, referring to the person of Zbigniew Brzezinski, the father of the Ambassador and former National Security Advisor to US President Carter, Wyszowski in a contemptuous way condemned the involvement of Mark Brzezinski in activities supporting the LGBT community in Poland. Krzysztof Wyszowski was an activist of the anti-Communist opposition in the so-called Polish People’s Republic. He is known for his offensive statements posted on the internet. For example, on 10 October 2021, Wyszowski made a post on Twitter in which he equated Wanda Traczyk-Stawska and Anna Przedpelska-Trzeciakowska, women who took active part in the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, with the Nazi henchman Oskar Dirlewanger, responsible for war crimes.

WARSAW. On 20 February, on **wRealu24** channel (broadcast on the **BanBye** platform), its editor-in-chief **Marcin Rola** spoke abusively about Oksana Zabuzhko, Ukrainian writer, poet and essayist, who in her works touches on topics related to the self-identification of Ukrainians, the problems of post-colonialism and feminism. Rola praised the breaking up of her author meetings by members of **Młodzież Wszechpolska** [1] [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*I would like to thank the girls and boys from Młodzież Wszechpolska for a beautiful action at Agora headquarters [2] [...], the whole Zabuzhko thing, that is, radically anti-*

Polish writer, a disgusting woman, if I were in power, the first thing I would do would be to put her in the clink! This disgusting anti-Polish old bat in the clink! And then, possibly, I would negotiate with Ukraine what we'd get in return if we let her go. That's it! A terrible, disgusting anti-Polish old bat!

[1] **All-Polish Youth**, a far-right organisation.

[2] On 14 February in Warsaw.

SZCZECIN. On 24 February, **Dariusz Matecki**, chairman of **Solidarna Polska (United Poland party)** in the Western Pomeranian region and Szczecin city councillor posted a tweet with an antisemitic message. On the anniversary of the judicial murder of Gen. August Emil Fieldorf by the communist authorities on 24 February 1953, Matecki expressed in his post the following demand, *'To this day we have not heard any apology from Israel for murders of our Polish elite'*. In this way he referred to the ideological myth which accuses Jews of responsibility for hostile activities of communists against Poland.

WARSAW. On 24 February, during the top flight football meeting between **Legia Warsaw** and Widzew Lodz, the capital's hooligans committed antisemitic offences. They addressed Lodz fans chanting *'Go back to Israel'*. Some of the Legia 'fans' were also wearing T-shirts with a slogan *'F*ck Zydzew'*. Among hooligans, antisemitic slurs are considered particularly offensive. Furthermore, during the match, 'supporters' of the capital's club displayed a banner inciting ideological violence. It was located in a central spot in the stands, a so-called 'nest', from where a team's support is organised. The banner bore a slogan used by neo-fascist movements: *'Good night left side'* and a graphic depicting a man kicking his opponent.



BIELSKO-BIALA. On 25 February, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and GKS Tychy, local hooligans displayed a banner inciting ideological violence in a so-called 'nest' (a place in the stands where team's support is organised). It featured a graphic depicting a man kicking a man lying on the ground and the slogan *'Good night left side'*, used by far-right groups.

WROCLAW. On 26 February, two days after the anniversary of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, during the top-flight football match between **Slask Wroclaw** and Lech Poznan hooligans of the local club hung out a banner on the fencing around the playing field which displayed a crossed out Ukrainian coat-of-arms. On 1 March, the League Committee imposed a fine of 15,000 PLN on the Slask club.

LUBIN. On 27 February, during the top flight football match **Zaglebie Lubin – Miedz Legnica** (a local derby of Lower Silesia), hooligans of both clubs raised anti-Roma slogans. So called 'fans' of the local team chanted *'You are gypsies, the entire Poland knows about that you ride in caravans, f*ck, f*ck Miedzianka'* and *'Miedzianka Gypsy'* (Legnica has been home to members of many nationalities and ethnic groups, including Roma, for centuries. During the second half of the 1940s and in the 1950s, many Roma families travelled through the city, but few remained permanently. From the late 1960s onwards, the size of the Roma community was just over a

hundred people, and today it is between three and four hundred. Despite the Roma community being so small, the club Miedz Legnica is identified by hooligans as ‘Gypsies’, and the term is used as a slur in stadiums). Hooligans of Zaglebie Lublin are also known for their anti-Roma hate speech. During a match against Zaglebie, they called the club’s supporters ‘Gypsies’.

DYTMAROW. On 28 February, in this village located in the Prudnik county, one of the residents shouted xenophobic insults at her neighbour, a 74-year-old Polish woman from Ukraine. The aggressor shouted, *‘Go the f*ck back to Ukraine’*, when the victim was walking along the pavement near her property. The woman reported a suspected crime to the County Police Headquarters in Prudnik and the District Public Prosecutor Office in Prudnik. In this letter, she emphasised, *‘I spent 50 years of my life in Lviv, my hometown, where I was born, where I lived and worked. I am Polish and I feel Polish. I have been living in my homeland, Poland, for 24 years, and I have never had a situation that someone would attack me in such a way in a public place and would direct such words at me, violating my personal dignity. Ms. XX [redacted] showed an attitude of hatred and hostility towards me, because she knows that I came to Poland from Ukraine’*.

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MIELEC. On 3 March, during the top flight football match between Stal Mielec and **Piast Gliwice**, ‘fans’ of the visiting team hung out a flag on a pitch fence with a symbol resembling a Totenkopf, i.e. the symbol found on uniforms of special **SS** units members (**SS-Totenkopfverbände**) who did guard duty in Nazi concentration camps.

BELCHATOW. On 5 March, during the second division football match between Skra Czestochowa and **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala**, hooligans of the visiting club, affiliated with the far right group **Narodowe Podbeskidzie (National Podbeskidzie)**, displayed a banner inciting ideological violence. It featured a slogan ‘*Good night left side*’ (popular among neo-fascist



movements) and a distinctive graphic depicting an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground. This banner was also displayed by Podbeskidzie ‘fans’ in a so-called ‘nest’ (a place in the stands where team’s support is organised) during matches against, for example, Stal Rzeszow (2 April), Chojniczanka Chojnice (16 April) and Wisla Krakow (20 May).

LUBLIN. On 5 March, during the third division match between **Motor Lublin** and **GKS Jastrzebie** (Jastrzebie Zdroj), local hooligans hung out a huge banner on a pitch fence bearing an **SS** motto: ‘*Our honour is loyalty*’ (original: ‘*Meine Ehre heißt Treue*’). In turn, GKS ‘fans’ displayed a flag with a racist content. It bore an inscription: ‘*White skin, red blood*’.



GORZOW WLKP. On 9 March, on the boulevard near the Lubuski Bridge, four attackers brutally beat up a young man with a disability. They hit him all over his body and kicked him in the head. They recorded the attack with a mobile phone and later fled. The police were called to the scene. The victim had extensive facial injuries. As he reported, he was attacked by several people he knew. He had been beaten by them already twice that day. Inspector Grzegorz Jaroszewicz, spokesman of the Gorzow Police, reported that police officers detained four people suspected of committing these assaults: three adult men and a 16-year-old. The family court decided to place the teenager in a youth detention centre for three months, and the three others were temporarily arrested for three months at the request of the Public Prosecutor’s Office.

CHORZOW. On 10 March, during the second division football match between **Chojniczanka Chojnice** and Ruch Chorzow, local hooligans hung out a banner on a fence around a pitch, which displayed a (partially covered) Nazi symbol. It was a distinctive skull called Totenkopf, which was found on uniforms of Nazi concentration camp guards.

WARSAW. On 10 March, in a broadcast of the right-wing **TV Republika** channel, its regular commentator **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** mocked the death of George Floyd [1] and the Black Lives Matter anti-racism movement. Ziemkiewicz falsified the description of this event [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*There was a Mr. Floyd, a petty thief, whom a policeman strangled a bit in accordance with the procedures, and because he was high, he died during this strangulation*’. In addition, in the course of his arguments about crime in the USA, Ziemkiewicz made a manipulative statement, ‘*It’s mostly the Black people who murder*’ (this is not confirmed in the statistics provided by the FBI). He also added another bizarre comment in which he attributed the responsibility for the killings of Black people to... the Black Lives Matter movement, ‘*[Black people] also murder mostly Blacks, because these are those gang fights in the neighbourhoods, so the BLM slogan produced the effect that more Blacks are murdered in America*’ The interview was also broadcast on the **TV Republika** YouTube channel.

[1] Black American killed by a police officer in Minneapolis, Minnesota on 25 May 2020.

[2] In 2021, the police officer Derek Chauvin was sentenced to 22,5 years in jail for the ‘second degree intentional homicide’.

GDANSK. On the night of 11/12 March, two juvenile perpetrators painted a swastika on the wall of the synagogue in Gdansk-Wrzeszcz. Three ‘K’ letters, which stand for **Ku-Klux-Klan**, also appeared on the façade. The incident was reported to the police. In connection with it, a local 15-year-old was arrested. The second culprit suspected of the devastation, a 14-year-old boy, turned himself in. Evidence collected in the case has been handed over to the Family Court. In a press release Michal Semet, presiding member of the Jewish Religious Community in Gdansk, commented, ‘*In the synagogue we carry out educational and cultural activities. We make sure*

that this place is open also to fugitives from Ukraine, not only those who are Jewish [...] Painting of such graffiti seems to be a small act but has a very painful dimension – as if we wanted to forget about what had happened. It is an encouragement to hate and aggression’.

POLAND. On 12 March, Igor Isaev, journalist from Ukraine, posted on Twitter an announcement of a conversation with Anna Tatar PhD from the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association about anti-Ukrainian hatred on the internet. Numerous xenophobic comments were made under this post, containing insults and threats against Isaev. Here are selected examples of such content [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘Does it say somewhere that you have to love the Ukrainian strays?’ ‘If you don’t like it in Poland, go back to Ukraine and fight for your country, you f*cking f*ggot’, ‘Get out of the magnificent Republic of Poland. [...] Get the hell out the manor, you f*cking Ukrainian bumpkin!!!’ ‘What hate, what are you talking about, you Bandera trash [2]’, ‘you can even talk to the spirit of the late **Adolf Hitler**’, and ‘You’re lucky that it’s only on the internet for now. Otherwise, the guy who spat on you would have f*cking beaten you’.

[1] It was broadcast on the Reset Obywatelski (Civil Reset) channel on YouTube.

[2] Referring to **Stepan Bandera**, leader of the **Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)**; in practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today.

WARSAW. On 16 March, an interview with **Wojciech Sumlinski** [1] was published on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** Facebook page. In this interview, Sumlinski propagated an antisemitic conspiracy theory according to which Jews have been slandering Poland for decades. He stated, ‘The majority of these attacks come from Jewish circles, and this is not antisemitism, these are facts. [...] It started after World War II, when Stalin wanted to denigrate Poland in the eyes of the West. [...] It was then that Poles began to be portrayed as anti-Semites’.

Under the video many antisemitic comments were posted, some of them including incitement to violence, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]: ‘Jews are a vindictive, vile nation. The world would be completely different if it wasn’t for these lunatics’, ‘When will we finally put an end to this viper tribe?!’ ‘It’s true that for Jews it’s never enough, and they take so much cash from us. Shame’, ‘They are always insatiable and always under a false flag’, ‘All lined with one circumcised d...’ ‘Since the dawn of time they have been scheming, they are not interested in human – only in cash, the scum’, and ‘That is the so-called viper tribe’.

In January 2023, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association published a report on hate speech on the Media Narodowe YouTube channel. After this publication, in February, YouTube removed Bakiewicz’s channel due to violation of terms. The National Media continues to publish its materials on Facebook.

[1] Director of the film ‘**Return to Jedwabne**’ and co-author of books under the same title in which he questioned the responsibility of Poles for the anti-Jewish pogrom in Jedwabne in 1941.

WARSAW. On 17 March, weekly right-wing magazine ‘**Do Rzeczy**’ published on their website an interview with **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, former columnist of **Radio Maryja** [1], which contained statements with antisemitic overtones, ‘[...] the smear campaign against John Paul II is aimed at sawing off even this ersatz of nobility of the Polish nation, to deprive it of its defensive capabilities, before Jewish organisations start fighting again for their claims’. In addition, during the conversation, Michalkiewicz stated that the discussion on the actions taken by the Pope

regarding the problem of paedophilia in the Catholic Church *'is a campaign launched in Poland by two centres. The first is the judenrad of «Gazeta Wyborcza» [2], and the second centre is TVN, i.e. the Jewish television for Poles'. [3]* Following the public outcry, the *'Do Rzeczy'* portal removed the quote about the 'judenrad', but the first quoted statement remained unchanged.

On 18 March, Prof. Rafal Pankowski, co-founder of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, sent a letter to the Media Ethics Council (Rada Etyki Mediow, REM). Here is an excerpt from the response sent by REM, *'The removal of these phrases from the secondary version of the interview does not change the fact that, presented in the original version, they reached readers in Poland and around the world, and their antisemitic meaning was obvious. They expressed the belief that journalistic materials concerning John Paul II – a report by TVN and press articles in «Gazeta Wyborcza» (the media referred to in this interview as «Jewish») – were part of a conspiracy aimed at supporting the Jewish community in the fight for its claims. The Media Ethics Council find that in the criticised interview for the dorzeczy.pl portal, Mr. Michalkiewicz violated the principles of honesty, respect, and tolerance set out in the Media Ethics Charter, and the editor-in-chief and publisher of the portal, apart from these two rules, also violated the principle of priority of the recipient's well-being'*.

[1] Catholic-nationalist radio station.

[2] He meant Judenrat, i.e. the Jewish Council, a substitute for Jewish self-government in the occupied Poland. Judenrats were established on the order of the Nazis from November 1939.

[3] Both *'Gazeta Wyborcza'*, Polish liberal daily, and TVN, American-owned liberal TV station, are considered by Michalkiewicz a part of Jewish-American lobby active in Poland.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 18 March, during the top flight football match between **Rakow Czestochowa** and Cracovia Krakow, local hooligans displayed a distinctive red and white banner on a fence surrounding a pitch, resembling a logo of the international neo-Nazi group **Blood and Honour** (this was the **Hitlerjugend** motto). The words *'Blood and Honour'* also appeared on a flag displayed by Rakow 'fans'.

KATOWICE. On 18 March, during the second division match **GKS Katowice – Resovia Rzeszow**, hooligans of the **JKS Jaroslaw** club (the fifth division, Podkarpacie group), friends of fans from Katowice, displayed a banner inciting ideological violence on a fence around a pitch. It featured a slogan *'Good night left side'*, popular among far-right groups, as well as a distinctive graphic depicting a man punching another man lying on the ground. Resovia's hooligans, on the other hand, displayed a banner bearing the **Hitlerjugend** motto of *'Blood and Honour'* (*'Blut und Ehre'*).



LODZ. On 19 March, during the top flight football match between **Widzew Lodz** and **Lech Poznan**, hooligans of the visiting club wore balaclavas bearing an acronym 'SZK', meaning 'Death to Zydzew b*tch [an insult used by football hooligans, aimed at Widzew Lodz which is a play on the Polish word for a Jew = Zyd]'. In turn, Lodz 'fans' (who were in a so-called 'nest' – a place in the stands where team's support is organised) displayed scarves with a Celtic cross, considered one of the most popular racist symbols.



WARSAW. On 23 March and in the following days, posts calling for the killing of people belonging to sexual minorities appeared on Twitter [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], '*Burn those villains in the crematorium*', '*You have to shoot it, or a bedlam, a closed one!!!*' '*Open the hunting season for this thing and the problem will disappear within a month*', '*I would kick this LGBT in their f*g *ssholes, because I'm losing it when I see it*', and '*LBGT ideological environment is a breeding ground for paedophiles*'. These comments were made in response to a contemptuous post about LGBT+ people by **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, columnist of the right-wing weekly '**Do Rzeczy**'. Commenting on a short video in which a drag queen [1] dances in the presence of a child, Ziemkiewicz wrote, '*They just want to be able to visit each other in hospitals...*' The video depicting drag queens as a supposed danger to children is often distributed by the far right.

 [1] Person who creates a stage character and during stage performances dresses and behaves like a person of the opposite sex, often in a provocative or exaggerated manner.

JANIKOW. On 24 March, the Olawa Forestry Management announced in a press release that 'unknown perpetrators' had destroyed the wall of the shooting range of the former Krupp factory military training ground near Jelcz-Laskowice, on whose construction prisoners of the Fünfteichen camp [1] worked. On 18 March, activists of the Local History Scouts Association cleaned the walls of the training ground of the inscriptions and symbols with which they were covered. A few days later, someone sprayed over the shooting range wall again. The Olawa Forestry Management offered a reward for identifying the perpetrators of the devastation and appealed, '*Apart from the fact that the shooting facility is a proof of the military history of this region, it is also a facility during the construction of which prisoners of the Fünfteichen concentration camp lost their health and lives [...]. So maybe if not respect for the work of others, then at least the memory of war victims will stop someone from further acts of vandalism*'.

 [1] Sub-camp of the Gross-Rosen Nazi concentration and extermination camp.

PRAGUE (CZECH REPUBLIC). On 24 March, a racist incident occurred during a European Championship qualifying match between Czech and Polish national teams. Hooligans from Ruda Slaska displayed a banner with a Celtic cross – a symbol of so-called white race supremacy, used by far-right groups around the world. On 10 May, UEFA's Control, Ethics and Disciplinary Body sanctioned the Polish Football Association with a €10,000 fine for the 'fans'



racist behaviour and ordered a partial stadium closure during the next home match, with a two-year suspension.

LODZ. On the night of 25/26 March, in the Reymont Park, a group of a dozen or so people, men and women, attacked two Ukrainians who were passing nearby. The aggressors shouted at them, *'We hate you, you are from Ukraine, out back home!'* and after a short while four thugs brutally beat them: they punched them, knocked them to the ground and kicked them. When the attackers left, the injured men (brothers) managed to reach their apartment, where they were helped by their roommates. The Ukrainians were taken to the hospital, one of them had a broken jaw and rib, the other bruised kidneys and a damaged tooth. The police were notified of the incident. Four suspects were detained: three men were charged with participating in a beating, and the fourth, a minor, was to be tried in a family court. The attacked brothers had been living and working in Lodz for five years.

OLSZTYN. On 26 March, during the third division football match between **Stomil Olsztyn** and **Motor Lublin**, some hooligans of the visiting team displayed scarves with a Celtic cross (signifying support for the supremacy of the so-called white race). The distinctive red and white scarves resembled a logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour** (the name was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto: *'Blood and Honour'*). Some Stomil 'fans' also had scarves with a Celtic cross.



WOLKA PELKINSKA. On 26 March, during the fifth division match (Subcarpathian group) between Wolczanka Wolka Pelkiska - **JKS Jaroslaw**, hooligans of the visiting team hung out a banner on a fence surrounding a pitch with the Celtic cross, symbolising a so-called supremacy of the white race.



WARSAW. On 27 March, **Katarzyna Sokolowska**, head of **Fundacja Wolyn Pamiętamy** (Volhynia Remembered Foundation, known for promoting hostility towards Ukrainians), posted an image on Twitter including a quote from **Lucyna Kulinska PhD** [1], included in the reissue of the poem ‘Haidamaky’ by Taras Shevchenko [2]. The quote read, *‘Unfortunately, the Ukrainian folk culture, marked by the haidamaka myth, was invariably permeated with the spirit of savagery, hatred and slaughter. Despite three centuries of contact with the Western civilisation, it has not lost its steppe-like, Asian character, both in dress and in behaviour. Cumans, Circassians, Tatars have left their genetic mark, and along with it a tendency toward boundless cruelty and violence’* [3]. Both Sokolowska, active especially in social media and at street demonstrations, and Kulinska, regular commentator on far-right YouTube channels and participant in such debates, refer to history in a manipulative way to present contemporary Ukrainians, primarily war refugees, as people capable of cruelty and threatening Poland.



[1] Long-time lecturer at the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow, **Konfederacja – Confederation** party candidate in the 2019 elections to the European Parliament and the 2019 Polish general elections.

[2] Foremost Ukrainian poet of the 19th century and a major figure of the Ukrainian national revival.

[3] Haidamaky (plural of haidamaka) were Ukrainian paramilitary groups during the times of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, fighting mainly Polish nobility.

WARSAW. On 27 March, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association was informed of harassment suffered for several months by a boy of Ukrainian origin from another boy, a resident of Brodno. His mother reported that her son had been told at the playground that *‘Ukrainians have no right to use the swings’* and that the swings were *‘only for Polish children’*. She tried to speak to the aggressive boy’s mother about the incidents but was met with a xenophobic response. The Polish woman shouted that they should *‘go back to Ukraine’* and also threatened to *‘make [their] life here unbearable’*. These incidents were reported to the police in August 2022. In a message to the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association, the mother of the harassed boy reported that on 26 March 2023 a similar situation occurred again. *‘The Polish child was aggressive and shouted that Ukrainians should not be here using swings, that we are stupid and that we should go back to Ukraine’*. When she tried to intervene, the mother of the aggressive boy shouted to her again that they should go back to Ukraine. The aggrieved woman went with the child to the police station on Chodecka Street, *‘where the officer on duty refused to submit a new report, saying that the case had been already opened and he would not submit a new one’*.

WARSAW. On 30 March, **Marcin Rola**, founder of the far-right **wRealu24** channel, posted aggressive statements on Twitter about the Minister for Health Adam Niedzielski with anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic overtones. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible - translator’s note], *‘[...] One Niedzielski dared say on one of the Canadian TV channels that the war in Ukraine is our war. This is TREASON, BETRAYAL OF THE POLISH NATIONAL INTEREST’*

and *BETRAYAL OF THE POLISH RAISON D'ETAT!*' And further, turning directly to the Minister, '«Pray» to Lucifer that Poles never take power in your polin, because the fate of such anti-Polish traitors [like you] will be miserable!' By publishing these threats, Rola perpetuated the antisemitic conspiracy theory according to which Jews rule Poland (referred to by the Hebrew word 'Polin', here deliberately written in lower case as a sign of contempt).

The wRealu24 channel was removed by YouTube in August 2022 for violating its terms of service. The deletion of the channel was preceded by the publication of a report by the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association regarding the promotion of hatred in programmes broadcast via this medium.

WARSAW. On 30 March, in a debate with the Minister Lukasz Schreiber, broadcast on the YouTube channel of the '*Super Express*' daily newspaper, the far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **Krzysztof Bosak** expressed support for xenophobic slogans such as '*Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland*'. Schreiber quoted Konfederacja activists condemning solidarity with the refugees from Ukraine and spreading disinformation, for example, '*We cannot treat our country as a shelter for everyone in the world. In the end, it turns out that a Polish citizen in Poland is the last in line*', and '*We have information from our people from Rzeszow. Gypsies from Ukraine come, they falsely register themselves as refugees*', to which Bosak replied, '*Exactly, that's exactly what happened*'. When Schreiber quoted another xenophobic slogan of Konfederacja: '*This is Poland, not Ukropol*' [1], Bosak also referred to these words with approval, '*It's worth reminding you that*'. Bosak, without referring to any data, also claimed that refugees from Ukraine were responsible for the alleged increase in crime rates in Poland, and added, '*You are turning Poland into a multinational country, this is your huge fault*'. Contrary to the facts, Bosak also accused the European Union countries of '*starting the war with Libya*' [2], and the wars in the former Yugoslavia [3].

[1] The conspiracy theory name for Poland seized by Ukraine.

[2] Events leading to the fall of the Gaddafi regime which happened as a result of the revolution.

[3] Which were caused by Serbian and Croatian nationalists.

WARSAW. On 30 March and in the following days, a number of antisemitic comments were made on the internet in reaction to the news of the death of Prof. Pawel Spiewak (1951-2023), long-time director of the Jewish Historical Institute, university lecturer and Member of Polish Parliament. Here are selected examples of such tweets [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- '*One y*d less*'.

- '*A model example of a scab who hates Poles. May the earth be heavy on him! Go to hell!*'

- '*One Pole-eater less. I don't feel sorry for him at all for spitting on and insulting Poland and Poles, maybe God will finally do something about you, you parasite-k*ke*'.

- '*We don't feel sorry for the anti-Polish Jew*'.

- '*F*ck off, you Jew*'.

- '*One more! One more!*'

- '*Judeo-Communist*'.

A post insulting the memory of the deceased professor was also published by **Bartłomiej Kurzeja**, co-creator of the so-called **Telewizja Narodowa** (privately-owned **National Television**), known for participating in antisemitic events [1], '*Pawel Spiewak, a hideous anti-*

Polish bastard, director of the Jewish Historical Institute, an institute that distorts the truth. The co-creator of the lie about Jedwabne will no longer slander us. Bzydula [2] came for him and took him away' (Twitter, 31 March).

[1] In 2020 he was convicted for inciting hatred.

[2] Primitive word game: identifying what is ugly with what is Jewish. The concept of 'ugly woman' has been used by Kurzeja for years to express contempt for Jews.

APRIL 2023

GDANSK. On 1 April, during the top flight football match between **Lechia Gdansk** and Slask Wroclaw, hooligans of the home team displayed a homophobic banner several metres high on a fence around a pitch. It bore an inscription: *'LGBT sodomites, faggots and pedophiles – hands off John Paul II'*, as well as a crossed out word *'LGBT'*. There was no reaction to the incident from the club authorities, a referee, a Polish Football Association observer, or the police during the



match. European Parliament Member, Robert Biedron, sent a letter to the Polish Football Association concerning the incident. It read: *'Referring to homosexual people with pejorative words («sodomites», «faggots») and linking them to sexual crimes committed against children is an incitement to hatred and violence against this group of people'*. Biedron also added: *'I ask to take appropriate steps to punish those responsible for displaying the banner, as well as the organisers who took no action to remove the banner from the stadium'*.

LUBLIN. On 1 April, during the third division football match between **Motor Lublin** and Slask II Wroclaw, hooligans of the host club hung out a banner on a fence around a pitch bearing an SS motto: *'Our honour is loyalty'* (original: *'Meine Ehre heißt Treue'*).



WARSAW. On 2 April on TVN (TV station) during the broadcast of the final World Cup ski jumping competition in Planica, Slovenia **Magdalena Palasz** (gold medalist at the first Polish summer ski jumping championships in 2014), guesting in the studio as an expert, made a xenophobic comment. Speaking about the decision of the Japanese judge, who was the only one among five arbiters who did not grant the maximum score for style to two athletes from Slovenia and Austria, Palasz said: *'Maybe this Japanese judge gave 19.5 and not 20, because his eyes are so narrow'*. In her next broadcast, the commentator apologised for her words.

WARSAW. On 2 April, Radoslaw Sikorski, Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition) Member of the European Parliament and former Speaker of the Sejm [1], posted on Twitter a letter containing threats and chauvinist insults, which he had received by mail. The unknown sender wrote

[original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘We know everything about you, you bastard, and your family [...]. We also know about your parents – your origins. We live close to you, b*tch. [...] Out of Poland and to Putin, that’s where you belong, not in Poland. Wait a little longer, the same thing awaits you and your entire family, your children, etc. as what happened to Fr. Popieluszko [2]. Enough of this slander of Poland and real Poles. [...] if you don’t like pure Poles, out of Poland. The fact that you have Polish citizenship does not mean that you are real Poles’.*

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[2] Jerzy Popieluszko – Polish priest killed by the communist secret police in 1984.

RZESZOW. On 3 April, during the second division football match between **Resovia Rzeszow** and GKS Tychy, local ‘fans’ displayed an abusive, homophobic banner on a fence around a pitch. It bore an inscription: *‘LGBT sodomites, faggots and pedophiles – hands off John Paul II’.* It has not been made public whether football authorities have taken any action regarding the incident. The authorities of Rzeszow club have not publicly taken any position on the banner being an offence against minorities.



WARSAW. On 5 April, the Sejm [1] celebrated the anniversary of the founding of **Liga Narodowa** [2], organised by far-right **Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)** and **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)**. On this occasion, **Rafał Ziemkiewicz**, columnist for **TV Republika** and the *‘Do Rzeczy’* weekly, notorious supporter of the extreme right, appeared as a speaker. In the Sejm building, talking about the allegedly fundamental Polish-Jewish conflict, he said the following, *‘We can be proud of the kind of antisemitism that the Polish national movement had created [stormy applause – ed.]. [...] It was a contradiction of interests, the indescribable hypocrisy of the left, which promotes and honours the hatred of the worker towards the manufacturer, but only as long as the worker is a Pole and the manufacturer is a Jew, or a banker; then it turns out that this is antisemitism and it is not allowed, and that’s how it was in Poland [applause – ed.]. This Polish-Jewish clash was one of the clashes where the emerging Polish nation had to bite the bullet, as they say today. [...] we had different interests than Jews’.*

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[2] The **National League** established by **Roman Dmowski**, which remained active between 1893-1928 and became the basis for the functioning of **Narodowa Demokracja (National Democracy)** – Polish nationalist political faction of the interwar period. Dmowski was the key figure of the nationalist movement of the time.

GLIWICE. On 6 April, during the second division football match between **Ruch Chorzow** and **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala**, ‘fans’ of the visiting club displayed a banner inciting ideological violence in a so-called ‘nest’ (place in the stands where team’s support is organised). It featured a distinctive graphic depicting a man kicking another man lying on the ground. In addition, the banner bore a slogan *‘Good night left side’*, popular with far-right groups. In turn, some of **Ruch Chorzow** hooligans



displayed scarves with a Celtic cross (signifying a so-called supremacy of the so-called white race), as well as an eagle resembling an emblem of the Third Reich.

WARSAW. On 6 April, on **Konfederacja's** (**Confederation** party) YouTube channel, its Member of Parliament **Krzysztof Bosak**, in a conversation with his party colleague **Slawomir Mentzen**, entitled 'Bosak & Mentzen – Konfederacja is breaking through the system!', spread xenophobic insinuations about the rise in crime caused by people of non-Polish nationality, allegedly concealed by the Polish police. Spreading disinformation and prejudice, Bosak argued, *'I am not suggesting that the entire rise in theft is due to people of other nationalities, but there may be some correlation between the sudden influx of lots of people from other countries and the rise in crime. We won't find out what this correlation is because the government, just like in the most politically correct countries of Western Europe, has taken away our right to find out what is happening in our own country'*.



PRUCHNIK. On 7 April, Good Friday, local media reported that a ritual called the hanging of Judas [1], with antisemitic overtones, once again took place in the city. One of the residents hung on an electric pole a huge straw effigy with sidelocks, resembling the image of a stereotypical, caricatured Jew. It bore the inscription 'Judas 2023'. The effigy was removed by employees of the Pruchnik City and Commune Office.



In 2019, residents gathered in crowds on the streets and performed the 'judgment of Judas' ritual. An effigy resembling a Jew was dragged through the city, beaten with sticks and kicked – mainly by children. At the river it was set on fire and thrown into the water. The events in Pruchnik were widely commented on in the media in Poland and abroad. The World Jewish Congress condemned them, expressing outrage at the *'openly antisemitic demonstration'*.

[1] Variants of the 'judgement of Judas' ritual, including hanging and burning of the effigy, are a worldwide tradition of Christian folk celebrations in the time near Easter. They may sometimes turn into antisemitic events, where the effigy is decorated with elements based on stereotypical image of a Jew.

WARSAW. The Polish-Israeli government agreement regarding the Israeli youth visits to Poland sparked critical voices, including a public comment by Prof. Michal Bilewicz, head of the Centre for Research on Prejudice at the Faculty of Psychology of the University of Warsaw and member of the Polish Jewish community. On 10 April, he wrote in his Twitter post that *'the Likud government recommended that Israeli youth visit places commemorating Kurash aka Ogien'* [1]. The spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs **Lukasz Jasina** responded to this comment in a dismissive and insinuating manner, *'There, there. I know that you would prefer to show only Polish crimes, but this is not the only view of reality'*. Reactions to Bilewicz's opinion included

also numerous abusive and antisemitic comments and threats, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- ‘As a Jew, you’re stupid, and you understand f*ck all of the Poles around you. You have shown, my friend, that you don’t give a sh*t about the suffering and death of Polish children, because they are not Jewish children, and you can’t make money on them. Well, you shmontses [sic!], P*lacks don’t accept such African savagery’.
- ‘Spitting in your face would be an ennoblement for you’.
- ‘Bilewicz, you’re a piece of sh*t. I think eventually someone will beat the f*ck out of you, it’s just a matter of time, I guess’.
- ‘You Jewish wh*re’.
- ‘You sh*thead, write about your idol Chaim Romkowski from the Lodz ghetto. Jewish pedophile, pervert, rapist, friend of **Himmler**. Can you find the rubric?’
- ‘the Jew dehumanises the victims of Polish children, how significant for this nation’.
- ‘It is surprising that the government gives such an impudent Jew millions of zlotys for unnecessary research’.

[1] The nickname means ‘Fire’. He was one of the so-called ‘Accursed soldiers’ – name given to anti-communist guerrilla which operated in Poland after 1945, and includes, among others, ethnonationalist groups.

GDANSK. On 12 April, during the PlusLiga volleyball match (play-offs) Trefl Gdansk – Jastrzebski Wegiel, one of the ‘fans’ hurled xenophobic insults at a player of the visiting team, Yuri Gladyr, who comes from Ukraine (he received Polish citizenship in 2013). The man in the stands behaved aggressively and sought a physical confrontation with the volleyball player. Security guards intervened and escorted the hooligan outside. In a press statement, Gladyr described the incident as follows: ‘I was standing in my zone and a guy from the stands started insulting me. You such, and such, you Banderite [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 – ed.]. It is a shame that such situations happen, especially in these times. Everyone knows that I am from Ukraine, an ongoing war is over there’.

WARSAW. On 12 April, right-wing propagandist **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he perpetuated conspiracy theories about alleged Jewish claims against Poland. There were also pro-Putin statements in his speech. ‘Jews were supposed to devour us – they are just now swallowing us, and what about Putin? [...] Putin so far has not done anything bad to us, while the Jews have. Preparations in form of Act 447 [1] [...] the American Congress, [...] when it passes a bill, it is to execute it afterwards. And what is this law all about? That the United States have taken steps to ensure that Poland fulfils these Jewish claims [...]. This would mean that Poles in their own country will become third-class citizens. Because we will have Jewish gentry, the second category will be collaborators, and the rest will be the third category’. Furthermore, during the broadcast, Michalkiewicz referred to TVN (one of the biggest privately-owned TV stations in Poland) as a ‘Jewish television for Poles’.



Stanislaw Michalkiewicz has been giving antisemitic speeches publicly for many years. He is a co-founder of **Unia Polityki Realnej (Real Politics Union)**, far-right party), a columnist for a far-right magazine *‘Najwyższy Czas!’ (‘High Time!’)*, a former associate of **Radio Maryja**, a Catholic-nationalist radio station with a long track record of antisemitic statements, and an author of such books as *‘Antisemitism? – a beautiful idea!’* or *‘Nazis and Shabes Goy!’*.

[1] So-called Act 447: the Justice for Holocaust Survivors Act, which was passed in 2018 in the US and is falsely portrayed by supporters of the far right as an order for Poland to pay the alleged ‘Jewish claims’.

POZNAN. On 14 April, during the top flight match between Warta Poznan and **Slask Wroclaw**, visiting hooligans hung out a banner on a fence surrounding a pitch, resembling a **Blood and Honour** logo (an international neo-Nazi organisation). It bore an inscription: *‘Be proud of who you are. The sign of the eagle, the symbol of power, guides us’*, a quote from a song by a neo-Nazi rock band **Honour**.



SOSNOWIEC. On 15 April, during the second division football match between **Zaglebie Sosnowiec** and Ruch Chorzow, hooligans of the host club displayed a distinctive red and white banner on the fence surrounding the pitch, which resembled the logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour** (the name was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto). The flag bore a quote from a song by the rock band **Honour** (which expressed support for the ideology of the Third Reich in its music): *‘There has always been a pure country here and it will stay that way forever. The white people I know will always fight communism’*.



WARSAW. On 15 April, **TV Republika’s** [1] columnist **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** posted a vulgar tweet inciting violence against refugees who seek shelter on the Polish-Belarusian border, *‘I’m starting to fear that pushbacks alone are not enough. Before being pushed back to Lukashenko, every invader should be beaten so f*cking much that he doesn’t even want to think about another attempt’*. Ziemkiewicz’s post led to the appearance of other comments inciting violence, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]: *‘beat the Saracens and see if it swells evenly’*, *‘Electric taser to the balls, probably none of them will come back’*, *‘Oh come on, why torture. Don’t have live ammunition?’* *‘Shoot them and the activists with live ammunition’*. To the call-out of one of the commentators, *‘It would be better to deal with Grupa Granica [2]’* Ziemkiewicz added, *‘They too, of course [should be beaten up]’*. Some comments under Ziemkiewicz’s post also incited hatred and violence against refugees from Ukraine, *‘Millions of invaders entered without any problems through the open border with Ukraine’*, *‘Before being pushed back to Zelenskiy, every invader should be beaten so f*cking much that he doesn’t even want to think about another attempt’*. Ziemkiewicz’s scandalous post also sparked numerous critical comments by Twitter users expressing outrage, for example: *‘Do you encourage people to commit crimes and aggression against fellow humans?’*, or *‘It’s such a good*

thing that I'm a Catholic. Since the morning I haven't felt the need to beat anyone up, blow someone up, or hurt anyone in any other way'.

Kamil Syller, lawyer and activist involved in helping refugees on the border with Belarus, submitted a notification to the Regional Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw regarding the post of the TV Republika's columnist. He wrote on Twitter, *'Ziemkiewicz's tweets are not just any tweets. Public incitement to serious or moderate bodily harm is a criminal offence (summary offence)'*. The Public Prosecutor's Office refused to initiate an investigation into this case *'due to the finding that this act did not satisfy the criteria for an unlawful act'*.

[1] **Republic TV**, right-wing TV and YouTube channel.

[2] Border Group – non-governmental initiative helping refugees.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 16 April, during the top flight football match between **Rakow Czestochowa** and Widzew Lodz, local hooligans chanted antisemitic slogans against the Lodz team. They shouted insults like *'Jewish dog'*, and just after the end of the match they yelled *'Go back to Israel!'*

GDANSK. On 20 April, in Wrzeszcz near Galeria Baltycka, two attackers brutally beat a man with an intellectual disability who was also without a home. They beat him on the face and stomach, hit him with their fists, elbows and head. One of them shouted, *'Does it hurt? Great'*, he also ordered the tortured man to expose himself to further blows, *'Stand up!'* *'Stand normally!'* At one point, to a contemptuous question from one of the thugs, the attacked man replied, *'Because I'm an idiot'*. The attack was recorded on a mobile phone by a 16-year-old girl, friend of both attackers. She also kept an eye on anyone approaching. The recording was published on the internet.

All three perpetrators of the attack were hiding in a squat on Slowackiego Street. They were detained by the police. Prosecutor Grazyna Wawryniuk from the Regional Public Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk announced, *'The charges against the 21- and 22-year-old involve beating the injured party and acting jointly and in concert with the minor. The victim suffered injuries to the head, face and chest, which qualifies as bodily injury lasting over seven days. This is a hooligan act. Additionally, the 22-year-old was charged with compelling others to act in an involuntary manner (coercion), i.e. in this case, to not inform the police about the case. This is also a hooligan act'*. The court decided to temporarily arrest the two men. In the case of the minor, it turned out that she was wanted on an open warrant and so the family court issued a decision to place her in a youth educational centre.

WARSAW. Between 20 and 23 April at the Royal Castle during the Catholic Publishers' Fair, organised under the patronage of the President of the Republic of Poland, one of the exhibitors was the Warsaw-based **Capital** publishing house which has antisemitic books in its offer. It publishes and distributes, among others, texts by the far-right activist **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** [1], as well as **Marian Miszalski** [2], associated with the far-right fortnightly *'Najwyższy Czas!'* (*'High time!'*) founded by **Janusz Korwin-Mikke**.

During the fair, an interview with Michalkiewicz and Miszalski was recorded. It was conducted by **Jaroslaw Kornas**, known for his shows on **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**) and **wRealu24** channels [3]. The interview was released on 28 April on Stanislaw Michalkiewicz's YouTube channel. It included comments with antisemitic overtones. According to Miszalski, *'Jewish racism is one of the strongest and most aggressive racisms in the modern*

world'. He also promoted a conspiracy theory about an alleged desire by Jews to take over power in Poland, 'As far as Judeopolonia is concerned, you are right, of course, this is, one might say, the fifth attempt to create such a state in which the Jews would be a privileged minority with a decisive influence on Polish life'. In addition, Miszalski spoke abusively about the activities of the Anti-Defamation League [4]. According to him, 'the so-called Jewish Anti-Defamation League [...] is engaged in denouncing those citizens [...] whose views do not please the Jewish racists'. Michalkiewicz continued the American thread with a scornful reference to the Holocaust. He stated that 'President Biden has just proclaimed a fight against antisemitism in the United States, whatever that means. I don't know what forms it will take, will they send anti-Semites to the gas chambers [...]?'

[1] 'Germans, Jews, and volksdeutsches', 'A Republic of Judases, or a slalom between volkslists', 'Judascism - trading the sovereignty'.

[2] '«Louts and Jews» in today's Poland' and 'Hidden war, silent capitulation? Polish policy towards Jewish racism'.

[3] Both have been blocked by YouTube for violating their terms of service.

[4] ADL, the oldest Jewish organisation in the USA, whose aim is to fight hatred and prejudice against Jews.

OSTROW WLKP. On 21-22 April, as part of the city's spring cleaning campaign, the local archiBUNT association, in cooperation with the City Hall, painted over racist and fascist slogans and symbols on walls in several places in the city. 'Ostrow is covered with them. Wherever we go, we encounter symbolism that makes our city seem hostile to ideals such as friendship, goodness, acceptance, peace... [...] Moreover, we have made murals in the city drawing attention to the problem of the existence of groups of vandals and neo-Nazis in Ostrow', the organisation's activists emphasised. One of the anti-racist murals, created on the walls of the Primary School No. 9, was destroyed shortly after its completion. It featured an image of Martin Luther King Jr. [1] and his words, 'I have decided to stick to love...Hate is too great a burden to bear'. This content was painted over, and two new elements appeared: a Celtic cross, international symbol of white supremacy, and a three-pointed swastika (the so-called triskelion), which was used in South Africa by the neo-Nazi organization **Afrikaner Resistance Movement**, striving to maintain apartheid. Mayor of the city Beata Klimek condemned the destruction of the mural, 'The incident has already been reported to the police. I will emphasise once again what I often say - in Ostrow Wielkopolski there is no place for hate speech and the destruction of our city'.



[1] 1929-1968, legendary African-American Baptist church pastor, activist for the abolition of discrimination against African Americans, winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.

JERUSALEM (ISRAEL). On 22 April, during a football match between Hapoel Jerusalem and Hapoel Beer Sheva, a Polish player of the visiting team, **Patryk Klimala**, made a gesture similar to a Nazi salute towards Israeli fans after scoring a goal. His behaviour was widely commented and condemned in the media. The player published a statement on Instagram in which he claimed that his gesture was not related to the Third Reich-era salute: *‘As a Pole who respects the history of both countries, I would never even think of performing a Nazi salute. Living in Poland, I have visited the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp and I am fully aware of the importance of the history of Jewish heritage. After my goal I just wanted to greet our fans. It was certainly nothing more than that. I apologise if anyone took it the wrong way’.*



Patryk Klimala played for the Polish youth national football team (U-19, U-20, U-21) between 2016 and 2020.

ZIELONA GORA. On 24 April, **Radio Zachod** [1] broadcast a programme involving the audience during which antisemitic claims were made. In the broadcast trailer, the host **Janusz Mlynski** attacked Prof. Barbara Engelking for her critical statements about the attitudes of Poles towards the Jewish population during the Nazi occupation [2] and described them as *‘anti-Polish content, [the interview] falsified history, blamed Poles for the extermination of Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto’*. Listeners calling the radio questioned the truth about the anti-Jewish pogrom in Jedwabne in 1941, *‘Jedwabne is a lie sanctioned by President Kwasniewski [3] and our institutions. [...] It is not the fault of Poles, it was not of Poles’ doing’*; they also repeated the antisemitic myth of the so-called Judeo-communism, *‘Tens of thousands of Poles were deported to Siberia, denounced by Jews’*, to which the host responded with approval, *‘I would like to add to your statement that many Jews noticed what you were talking about’*. Moreover, the participants of the program on Radio Zachod accused Jews of collaboration and complicity in the Holocaust: according to one of the callers, it was the *‘Jewish Gestapo’* together with the Germans that brought Jews from Otwock to the Warsaw Ghetto. During the broadcast, the audience also blamed Jews for the antisemitic actions of their Polish neighbours, *‘These blackmailers came to be because, for example, a Jewish baker or butcher did not give a piece of bread or a piece of cold meat to a Pole, to a child, but preferred to throw it to the dogs or burn it, and that is why there was such hatred towards Jews, and that’s why they handed over Jews to the Germans’*.

[1] Regional station of the national Polish Radio.

[2] They were made in an interview on the mainstream TVN24 on 19 April – anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

[3] Aleksander Kwasniewski, president of Poland between 1995-2005.

WARSAW. On 26 April, on **TV Republika** [1], Prof. **Henryk Domanski**, former director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences (IFiS PAN), made defamatory comments about Prof. Barbara Engelking, head of the Polish Centre for Holocaust Research of IFiS PAN. He declared, *‘She is trying to prove at all costs that Poles participated in the crime against Jews. [...] These types of opinions are given by people who do not identify themselves as Poles. [...] If someone says something like that [like Barbara Engelking], then he is not Polish’*. Domanski had been associated with left-wing views for many years (he had

collaborated, among others, with the journal of the Secular Culture Society ‘*Res Humana*’), and after 2015 he became one of the leading figures of radical right-wing media.

On 19 April, on the anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, in an interview with Monika Olejnik on TVN24 [2] Prof. Engelking talked about the attitudes of Poles towards the Jewish population during the Nazi occupation and the modern falsification of history for propaganda purposes. In response to her words, many hateful statements were made by representatives of the highest state authorities and supporters of the far right.

The conversation with Domanski was also published on the TV Republika’s YouTube channel. Under this material, antisemitic comments were made against Prof. Engelking and Monika Olejnik, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- ‘*Deprive people like Mrs «Professor» of Polish citizenship and expel them to Russia or Germany with immediate effect*’.

- ‘*Both ladies are worth each other – they probably have the same origins – hence the hatred – what are they doing here?*’

- ‘*Is there anyone else who doesn’t understand why Jews for centuries have been expelled from all countries?*’

[1] **Republic TV**, right-wing TV and YouTube channel.

[2] Mainstream, American-owned liberal news channel.

MAY 2023

BRZESKO. On 3 May, during the fifth division football match (Malopolska group) Okocimski KS Brzesko – **Unia Oswiecim**, hooligans of the visiting club hung out a banner with a Celtic cross (a racist symbol) on a fence surrounding a pitch.



WARSAW. On 4 May, far-right columnist **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** uploaded a video containing antisemitic comments on his YouTube channel. He stated the following about ‘*Gazeta Wyborcza*’ [1] [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*When it turned out that sh*tting on John Paul II was beneficial to the politically hated Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc [Law and Justice party], the Judenrat [2] of «Gazeta Wyborcza», which simply cannot stand living without sh*tting on someone, started sh*tting on the Polish nation*’. Furthermore, Michalkiewicz made a derogatory statement about the Jedwabne pogrom, ‘*Anna Bikont [3] discovered that those there who murdered Jews in Jedwabne were happy about their lives*’. Continuing this discrediting argument, Michalkiewicz referred to the myth of the so-called Judeo-Communism, ‘*Those Jews who murdered Poles in the Stalinist times were also satisfied with their lives*’.

[1] Polish nationwide liberal daily.

[2] Judenrat – Jewish Council, a substitute for a Jewish self-governing institution in occupied Poland. Judenrats were appointed by the Nazis from the November 1939.

[3] Journalist and reporter, author of the book ‘*My z Jedwabnego*’ (‘*We, from Jedwabne*’).

TARNOBRZEG. On 6 May, during the third division football match between Siarka Tarnobrzeg



and **Motor Lublin**, hooligans of the visiting team hung out a huge banner on a fence around a pitch, bearing an **SS** motto: ‘*Our honour is loyalty*’ (original: ‘*Meine Ehre heißt Treue*’). Police officers present at the stadium did not react. Motor’s

hooligans have been displaying such banners in stadiums with complete impunity for many years.

WARSAW. On 9 May, extreme-right pro-Putin activists committed a violent act in a restaurant on Belwederska Street. A group of eight men celebrated the Victory Day, traditionally celebrated in Russia on 9 May, commemorating the anniversary of the end of World War II. One of the restaurant guests reported, ‘*It bothered us that they were cursing Ukraine and insulting Ukrainians. They raised toasts and sang songs in honour of Stalin. I reacted. [...] I received a lot of insults, the least vulgar of which was «Banderites, get the hell out» [1]. We got up and started fighting. [...] One of the men punched my wife in the face as hard as he could*’. Police and ambulance were called to the scene. The attackers’ identity was established by the officers. The injured woman filed a private indictment regarding the assault with the District Court for Warsaw-Mokotow.

[1] 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.

WARSAW. On 11 May, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, a columnist of the right-wing weekly ‘**Do Rzeczy**’, posted a tweet in which he expressed his satisfaction that Poland was ranked last among the European Union countries in the ILGA-Europe 2023 ranking which examines the level of equality of LGBT+ persons. Ziemkiewicz shared an article entitled ‘Poland again the most homophobic country in the European Union’ and commented on it, ‘*I consider it a reason to be proud*’. Many critical comments appeared under Ziemkiewicz’s post. For example, Krzysztof Madel, Jesuit priest and philosopher, wrote, ‘*Do you also understand that this state of affairs means more suicides of teenagers and young people?*’

KRAKOW. Between 11-16 May, activists of the groups **Ruch 16 Postulatow (16 Demands Movement)** and **Malopolski Bunt (Lesser Poland Rebellion)** [1] organised xenophobic protests at the Adam Mickiewicz monument in the Main Square. They also physically blocked access to it to Ukrainians, who had been meeting there since the outbreak of war to publicly express solidarity with the victims of Putin's aggression. During the demonstration, far-right activists shouted *'Poland only for Poles'* and promoted conspiracy theories downplaying the scale of the war in Ukraine. They also recorded a group of Ukrainians singing the Polish anthem in front of the Cloth Hall and uploaded the video on YouTube along with mocking comments. Moreover, in connection with the anti-Ukrainian protests, a statement was shared on the websites and social media pages of Ruch 16 Postulatow and Malopolski Bunt, with the calls *'Let's stop the occupation [...] of Krakow by foreigners! Let's stop the progressing Ukrainisation of our country'*.



[1] Both are known for denying the existence of the COVID-19 pandemic and opposing compulsory vaccination of children.

LUBLIN. On 12 May, in the Café Lulu pub located in the Old Town Square, the **Mara** band performed a song titled **'National Socialism'** by the neo-Nazi band, **Honor**. The song contains, among others, the words, *'Do not turn back once you have chosen the path / Do not abandon faith in the pride of the white race / Just like Adolf Hitler, destroy the Jewish class / Let the strength return that will last!'*



The concert participants sang this song together with the vocalist, and some also made a gesture of the Nazi salute. The next day, the owners of the pub published a statement on this matter, *'Café Lulu firmly and categorically condemns the content that could be heard from the stage during the concert. We declare that we have never engaged in politics or ideology, always promoting equality and tolerance. We are disgusted by the national-socialist content that came from the stage. Nothing like this should have happened. We spit on this content'*. In turn, the musicians of the band Mara made a post on Facebook in which they tried to convince that *'the controversial cover song [...] was performed as a joke [...] we distance ourselves from the views expressed in the lyrics'*. In June 2023, the Regional Public Prosecutor's Office in Lublin initiated an investigation into public propagation of fascism by Mara band.

WROCLAW. On the evening of 13 May, on Metalowcy Street, a group of masked assailants once again attacked the Grassroots Social and Cultural Center (OCSK) Postoj. The perpetrators destroyed the facade, broke windows, and released a toxic substance inside. They painted a swastika on the wall of the building. The OCSK 'Postoj' collective reported on the attack on social

media, *'We were attacked by fascists for organising pro-refugee and equality events. The worst thing is that the people who were inside got poisoned and the building was contaminated and required many weeks of renovation work'*. According to the people operating in the collective, the police ignored the call and the officers did not arrive at the scene. In a press statement, members of the OCSK 'Postoj' commented bitterly, *'This is yet another situation showing that law enforcement agencies at the least ignore fascists who use political violence that threatens human life and health. [...] The only thing we have is solidarity, neighbourhood self-defence, and mutual help'*.

KRAKOW. On 13-14 May, in the building of the Sokol Polish Gymnastic Society on Pilsudskiego Street, the so-called Krakow Good Book Fair was organised by the publishing house of the radical right-wing activist and commentator **Witold Gadowski**. It was attended by propagandists known for publishing antisemitic content, including **Ewa Kurek PhD** [1], **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** [2], **Wojciech Sumlinski**, and **Jerzy Robert Nowak**. Ewa Kurek was also a speaker and in her speech she questioned the truth about the crime in Jedwabne. She declared that *'Jews and various lefties are writing nonsense'* about the 1941 pogrom, while *'[Jan Tomasz] Gross's entire book [...] was one big lie'*. She considered this action to be part of the *'pedagogy of shame'* that she believed to be practiced by *'Jews and communists'*. She continued, *'I always tell Jews one thing: I have been dealing with World War II for years, I have never heard of a single Jew risking his life or giving his life for a Pole'*.

In turn, **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** in his speech combined the ever-popular in far-right circles scepticism towards knowledge about climate change with the antisemitic conspiracy theory built around alleged Jewish claims against Poland [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'The European Union has introduced the obligation to execute climate neutrality in buildings [...]. Most Polish citizens will not be able to afford it. As a result, fines will be imposed [...] and the current property owners will be auctioned. [...] A living slave is worth not five marks here, but five thousand marks, or even more. So why kill him? You just need to tax him. And in this way, conditions may be created for the implementation of Act No. 447 [4]. For this we need it, that is, not us, but the older and wiser people [5], and for this they need a war with climate'*.

On 25 May, Michalkiewicz uploaded a video on his YouTube channel containing fragments of these speeches.

[1] History graduate from the Catholic University of Lublin, author of books, known for her participation in **Radio Maryja** programmes, i.e. Catholic-nationalist radio station with a long record of antisemitic statements.

[2] Columnist of the far-right bi-weekly *'Najwyższy Czas!' ('High Time!')*, author of such books as *'Protocols of the Elders of Covid'* or *'Antisemitism? - A beautiful idea!'*.

[3] Massacre of Jewish inhabitants of Jedwabne perpetrated by the Polish population of the town in presence of German occupying forces in 1941.

[4] Reference to the so-called American Act No. 447, which in Poland is used as a pretext to promote antisemitic content.

[5] Term popular in far-right circles used as a proxy for Jewry.

WARSAW. On 15 May, **Katarzyna Szadkowska**, volunteer assistant to **Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party)** Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** [1], uploaded a video on Twitter expressing her approval for racist violence. It contained part of a conversation presented as a dialogue between Szadkowska and a voice of another woman who was asking questions. To the words *'So is Poland for Poles?'* Szadkowska replied, *'Europe for white people'*,

and when a question was asked, *‘What about the rest?’* then Braun’s assistant said, *‘To the bag, and throw the bag into the lake’*. To the next question *‘Are you serious?’* Szadkowska replied affirmatively, *‘Well, don’t you agree?’*

In addition, Szadkowska captioned the video on Twitter (previously uploaded on TikTok) as follows: *‘What I think about giving everything away to migrants from Ukraine. Poland was and will be only for us Poles! PS. We will never allow Poland to be turned into Ukro-Polin!’* Thus, she reproduced antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theories according to which Poland would be seized by Ukrainians and Jews (Polin in Hebrew means Poland). She also used the hashtag *‘#StopUkrainizacjiPolski’* (*‘Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’*) which is the slogan of an initiative carried out by Braun and Konfederacja since July 2022. Within a few months of the outbreak of the war against Ukraine, the hashtag became one of the most popular slogans inciting hostility towards refugees.

Szadkowska is the deputy head of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej** [2] in the Plock district, member of the board of the Mazovian district of the **Wolnosc i Godnosc (Freedom and Dignity) Independent Trade Union** [3], leader of Konfederacja Club in Gliniojeck and, as she herself says, *‘soldier of the Polish Army’*.

[1] Infamous for his antisemitic statements.

[2] **Confederation of the Polish Crown** – Grzegorz Braun’s party, which is part of Konfederacja together with the far-right **Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)** and **Nowa Nadzieja (New Hope)**, i.e. the former **KORWIN** party.

[3] Group associated with Konfederacja known for supporting the Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland initiative.

WARSAW. On 19 May, far-right columnist **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** promoted an anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theory in a video uploaded on his YouTube channel. In response to a question from a listener about *‘variants of Poland’s development’*, Michalkiewicz came up with the following vision, *‘Poland will be liquidated [...], that is, it will be annexed to Ukraine and it will be some kind of completely different state in which Ukrainians will play the role of the leading party’*.

Later in the video, Michalkiewicz repeated the myth of ‘Judeo-Communism’ and the alleged aspiration of Jews to rule the world. He stated, *‘I would see the origins of communism precisely in the rabbis [...], not only because [...] the inventor of communism as we know it was Karl Marx, who was from a rabbinical family, but because communism is an excellent way of capturing and preserving the dominance of the minority over the majority’*.

KRAKOW. On 20 May, the day of the Equality March (Pride), representatives of far-right **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)** organised a protest in the Main Square, during which they insulted LGBT people. One of the activists of this organisation called the audience, *‘We invite you to wipe your shoes with a rainbow rag!’* Demonstrators trampled on flags symbolising the LGBT community, set them on fire, and posed for photos with the remains of the banners. They also displayed a banner with the slogan *‘Młodzież Wszechpolska against LGBT’*. Moreover, when the participants of the Equality March reached the Main Square, supporters of the far right chanted



at them, *'The march of degeneration is coming, it is starting to insult normal people'* and sought physical confrontation. They were surrounded by a police cordon.

RZESZOW. On 20 May, during the second division football match between Stal Rzeszow and **GKS Katowice**, hooligans of the visiting team committed homophobic incidents on their way to the stadium. As they crossed the Narutowicz Bridge (painted in rainbow colours) over the Wislok River, they chanted *'White seagull, sign of the faggot!'* (a seagull is an element of the coat of arms of Stal). In addition, 'fans' of the Katowice team hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch inciting ideological violence. It featured a popular neo-fascist slogan *'Good night left side'* and a distinctive graphic depicting an attacker striking a man lying on the ground.

TURIN (ITALY). On 20 May, during the men's volleyball Champions League final match between **Grupa Azoty ZAKSA Kedzierzyn-Kozle** and Jastrzebski Wegiel, hooligans of the Kedzierzyn club displayed a banner with racist content. It bore a Celtic cross, an international sign supporting the so-called white race supremacy.

SANOK. On 21 May, during a regional division football match (Krosno group) between **Ekoball Sanok** and **Czarni 1910 Jaslo** some 'fans' of the host club were wearing T-shirts with racist content. They bore a slogan *'Death to a Gypsy b*tch'* aimed at the opposing team (anti-Roma slurs are the most popular among hooligans). In turn, Black Jaslo 'supporters' hung out a banner on a pitch fence with a Celtic cross (used in many countries by neo-fascist groups).



WARSAW. On 20 May, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, columnist for the right-wing **TV Republika** channel and the *'Do Rzeczy'* weekly, posted an insulting xenophobic tweet against the Ukrainian Ambassador to Poland, Vasyl Zvarych. In response to the Ambassador's statement regarding the difficult Polish-Ukrainian history, he wrote, *'You know what? F*ck off, kh*khol'* (originally not censored). The word 'kh*khol' is a Russian ethnic slur referring to Ukrainians. Bartosz Wielinski, political scientist and journalist for liberal daily *'Gazeta Wyborcza'*, in an article on inciting anti-Ukrainian sentiments for political purposes, said the following about Ziemkiewicz's statement, *'So far, I've only heard something like that from Russian propagandists'*. Ziemkiewicz deleted his tweet, but the derogatory phrase he used was replicated by his many followers on social media, directing insults at representatives of the Ukrainian community in Poland. The creator of the blog *'Ukrainiec w Polsce'* (*'Ukrainian in Poland'*) Igor Isaev, announced that legal action would be taken against Ziemkiewicz.

This is not the first time Ziemkiewicz has publicly used offensive terms against representatives of other nationalities, for example in 2018 – also on Twitter – he called Jews 'scabs'. 'Parch', the Polish word for a 'scab', is a scornful term used to refer to Jews since at least the nineteenth century.

WARSAW. On 27 May, during the top flight football match between Legia Warszawa and **Slask**



Wroclaw, hooligans of the visiting club displayed a characteristic red and white banner, which was stylised on the logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour** (*'Blood and Honour'* was **Hitlerjugend** motto). It read: *'Be proud of who you are. The sign of the eagle, a symbol of power, guides us'*, which is a quotation from a song by a music band **Honour** (in their songs they praise the National Socialist ideology).

WARSAW. In May, in Ursynow neighbourhood, a group of teenagers several times attacked people without housing who were staying in the area of Kazura Hill. Two girls and four boys threw stones and sharp objects towards their camp. One of the injured men reported, *'The last time the teenagers attacked us was on 28 May. It was getting dark, it was after 8 PM. Suddenly I heard the plastics start to clatter as stones were thrown. The sh*thead teens came within a few or a dozen meters from us. They threw stones, glass bottles, cans, anything they could get their hands on! When we went out to meet them, everyone started laughing and ran towards the hill'*. The *'Brown Book'* of the *'NEVER AGAIN'* Association records cases of violence against people without housing which has ideological grounds and is motivated by contempt. The perpetrators of the attack consider these people to be a *'defective element'* of society.

WARSAW. On 30 May, at the headquarters of the German Historical Institute at Al. Ujazdowskie, **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** disrupted the

lecture of Prof. Jan Grabowski entitled *'Polish (growing) problem with the history of the Holocaust'*. During the lecture, Braun moved towards the lecturer, shouting *'Enough of this!'* and ripped out the microphone from the stand, which he smashed against the lectern, and knocked over the loudspeaker. The policemen called to the scene... refrained from intervening.



In the presence of the officers, Braun also insulted the director of the German Historical Institute, Prof. Milos Reznik, *'Out! Get out of Poland! Get out of Warsaw, provocateur'*. The lecture was not resumed. Jan Grabowski is a professor of history at the University of Ottawa and a member of the Royal Society of Canada. He is the author, co-author, and editor of over 20 books, and his research focuses on the history of the Holocaust in Poland. In a statement for the media, he commented on the incident with Braun, *'It felt like Poland in the 1930s. Nothing like this has ever happened to me'*.

On 17 August, at the request of Lewica (the Left) MP Krzysztof Smiszek PhD, the Sejm [1] Ethics Committee reprimanded Braun. It found that *'the behaviour of MP Grzegorz Braun and the xenophobic slogans he spread violate the principle of caring for the good name of the Sejm, and also demonstrate a lack of respect for the dignity of other people'*.

The German Historical Institute notified the Public Prosecutor's Office about Braun's attack, which initiated an investigation into the destruction of property and violation of home peace. However, the proceedings had not been completed before 15 October (the day of the Polish

general elections), and when Braun regained his parliamentary mandate, the proceedings were suspended.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

JUNE 2023

POLAND. On 1 June and in the following weeks, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association received several thousand insults and violent threats sent in response to a statement in which it criticised the participation of a football referee, Szymon Marciniak, in an event organised by the leader of the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party), **Slawomir Mentzen**. He is a politician known for the slogan ‘*We stand against Jews, homosexuals, abortion, taxes, and the European Union*’. Mentzen had promoted his event using the image of Marciniak: he announced on Twitter that Marciniak would attend and make a speech, and the text was accompanied by a photo of the referee in a FIFA outfit (post from 28 May). In addition, the poster announcing the event featured a photo of Marciniak (again in a FIFA referee outfit) and the name of the event (‘Everest’). It took place on 29 May in Katowice.



In a statement published online, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association appealed to Marciniak to distance himself from far-right activities. It was emphasised that the presence of the referee at an event organised by Mentzen was ‘*incompatible with the basic values of fair play, such as equality and respect*’.

The matter was also considered by UEFA, which received an explanation and an apology from the referee in connection with his participation in the meeting organised by the leader of Konfederacja. Marciniak stated, ‘*I had no knowledge that it was associated with Polish extreme-right movement. Had I been aware of this fact, I would have categorically declined the invitation. It is important to understand that the values promoted by this movement are entirely contrary to my personal beliefs and the principles I strive to uphold in my life. I am deeply remorseful for any impression that my participation may have contradicted those principles*’.

Contrary to false information disseminated by some media, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association did not report the referee Marciniak’s case to UEFA. However, a campaign of hate was unleashed against the organisation, for which the circles associated with **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)**, a far-right group) and Mentzen were largely responsible.

Here are examples of hateful messages that have been received by the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association:

- ‘*F*cking informers. May others finish you off*,’
- ‘*F*cking fascists, I hope someone kills you one day for this, snitches*,’
- ‘*Scum like you disgust me*,’
- ‘*You are some c*nts. I won’t call you humans because it’s an insult to this species*,’
- ‘*I really, really hope you all die in some bus/plane accident*,’
- ‘*I hope your editorial office (or whatever it is) burns down*,’

- *'Every gobsh*te from the NEVER AGAIN Association should be rounded up in the street and beaten up',*
- *'I hope you c*nts die [...]. And in the streets, that someone takes care of you!!!!',*
- *'For Szymon, you c*nts should die, leftie rags',*
- *'Leftie dipsh*ts',*
- *'The whole nation f*cking hates you, rags',*
- *'We will do everything to end your existence and the clown who came up with this idea will never have a normal life again',*
- *'I'm disgusted by scum like you. That's all there is to it and you can snitch on me. With sincere contempt',*
- *'Only the f*cking anti-Polish red scum is capable of such manipulation. F*ck you in the a*s and let karma kill you on the street',*
- *'People will literally hunt you if Marciniak loses refereeing because of you',*
- *'People like in this organisation will no longer need help of specialists. We just have to finish you off',*
- *'The hools will not forgive you... I don't want to advise what you should do',*
- *'Informers, worst human roundworms. You are finished, you snitches',*
- *'Real dumbf*cks if someone from this sh*t was my neighbour, I'd beat them the f*ck up',*
- *'Get the f*ck out of Poland, f*cking swindlers',*
- *'Kick sh*t like you out of Poland',*
- *'F*cking anti-Polish scum, you are only good at reporting on Poles, communist pigs',*
- *'F*ck you in the ass, wh*res',*
- *'May karma get you, you snitching c*nts, and if not, the coming wrath of the Nation',*
- *'You're just a piece of sh*t and you should be f*cking kicked out of the stadiums',*
- *'Anti-Polish c*nts',*
- *'Nazi Kapos',*
- *'May you die, you f*cking leftie c*nts',*
- *'Out of Poland, Putin's rags',*
- *'Are you aware that if Marciniak is removed because of you - no one who belongs to your association will be able to go out safely? And it's not about some imaginary crooked worldview, but hools will send you to hospitals',*
- *'Pankowski... You'd better start hiding because you may need a forced leave in the hospital. Guys on several forums are already looking for your data'.*

A letter expressing support for the activities of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association was published by numerous non-governmental organisations. It emphasized, 'We are pleased that despite the attack on the «NEVER AGAIN» Association, its action turned out to be effective, and the referee Szymon Marciniak dissociated himself from supporting any racist and xenophobic views. Thus, in the Polish public debate, in which the limits of acceptable statements are moving into increasingly dangerous directions, a strong emphasis has appeared which reminded of the values, principles, and responsibility that public figures should follow. We would like to thank the «NEVER AGAIN» Association for the courage and determination in pursuing its statutory objectives'.

JELENIA GORA. On 3 June, during a playoff match qualifying to the fourth division (group III, Lower Silesia) between **Karkonosze Jelenia Gora** and Slowianin Woliborz, some hooligans of

the local club wore T-shirts with a symbol called Totenkopf (a characteristic skull with crossed bones; it was used on uniforms of guards in Nazi concentration camps) and a Celtic cross (expressing support for the supremacy of the so-called white race). In addition, Karkonosze ‘fans’ displayed a **Confederate** flag on their T-shirts (it was used in the US Civil War of 1861-1865, and is nowadays considered an expression of support for racial discrimination).



WARSAW. On 3 June, at the Foksal Press Centre of the Polish Journalists Association, an event took place promoting the book of the creator of the far-right internet television **wRealu24** and might-have-been 2023 **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate for the Sejm [1] **Marcin Rola** entitled *‘Indoctrination – Behind the scenes’*. During the three-hour meeting, numerous antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian statements were made. **Wojciech Sumlinski** [2] spoke about Prof. Jan Grabowski, historian of the Holocaust [3], *‘A coward, a Jewish liar and a coward’*. Sumlinski also attacked the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association, declaring, *‘You have to know that such organisations do not operate in a vacuum, they get the funds from somewhere, someone finances it, someone is behind it. Let’s not call it leftism in general, because it’s so fuzzy, it’s as if we called them Nazis. Not Nazis, just Germans. Not lefties, just Jews. You need to know that it looks exactly like that’*. Marcin Rola, on the other hand, denied the COVID-19 epidemic and the veracity of the Russian invasion of Ukraine, mentioning the *‘pseudo-pandemic and the so-called War in Ukraine’*. **Karolina Pikula**, activist of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)** who hosted the meeting, promoted the xenophobic slogan *‘Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’*, used by far right representatives to attack war refugees from Ukraine. She stated, *‘«Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland» is the slogan which we use in the streets, led by our president, Grzegorz Braun [4]’*. As an example to follow, she pointed to *‘Sedziszow Malopolski, where, among others, the Polish association Wolne Podkarpacie [Free Podkarpacie], they chased away from Sedziszow a Ukrainian war museum that was to be built in the Podkarpacie region.’* [5] **Lucyna Kulinska**, historian known for preaching anti-Ukrainian content, also went on a rant attacking refugees as allegedly threatening Polishness, *‘Ukrainians love Germans and have always loved Germans. And when they are in our country in such numbers, this threat becomes real. At the moment, in Krakow, where there are already over 200,000 Ukrainians, we are only wondering whether we will become a Deutsche Stadt or a Ukrainian city [...], because Ukrainians will have no scruples in reclaiming lands’*. She also added, *‘people in the East of Poland already feel deeply oppressed by the multiplicity and inability to assimilate those people who came there. So we have a risk that our state [...] will simply cease to exist’*.

[1] lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[2] Far-right commentator and author promoting conspiracy theories.

[3] Jan Grabowski is a professor of history at the University of Ottawa and a member of the Royal Society of Canada. His research focuses on the history of the Holocaust in Poland.

[4] MP notorious for antisemitic statements and actions.

[5] The Museum of Victory over Despotism would house Russian military equipment destroyed in the ongoing war in Ukraine.

WARSAW. On 5 June, in a broadcast on his YouTube channel, **Wojciech Sumlinski** [1] expressed support for the physical assault launched by **Grzegorz Braun**, far-right **Konfederacja**

(**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament, during the lecture of Prof. Jan Grabowski on Polish remembrance of the Holocaust at the headquarters of the Warsaw-based German Historical Institute. Sumlinski referred to this event, *'I am full of respect for what Grzegorz Braun did [...]. I am not surprised by Grzegorz Braun's outrage and that he also reacted physically here'*. Moreover, during his programme Sumlinski suggested that *'a commission be established to investigate Jewish influences in Poland'*. He invoked a conspiracy theory according to which Ukrainians and Jews together would seize Poland. He went on, *'They are preparing for us nothing but Ukropolin [2] [...] We have this threat that those in power, under pressure from the Americans, are dragging us into: a Polish-Ukrainian federation. [...] These two elements: Polin or Ukropolin, is «to be or not to be» for our state'*.

Sumlinski's conspiracy arguments also included false accusations against the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, which criticised the participation of football referee Szymon Marciniak in an event organised by **Slawomir Mentzen**, one of Konfederacja's leaders. During the broadcast, Sumlinski repeated false statements on this subject, *'rogue denunciation of a Polish referee'* [3]. Sumlinski's channel had been previously blocked by YouTube for spreading disinformation and antisemitic content.

[1] Commentator promoting antisemitism and conspiracy theories.

[2] The word 'Polin' in Hebrew means Poland.

[3] In fact, the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association had not sent any 'denunciation' to UEFA regarding Marciniak.

ZABRZE. On 5 June, the Zachor Association for the Rescue of Zabrze's Jewish Cemetery reported that 'unknown perpetrators' had devastated this necropolis. They knocked over twenty-six monuments, seriously damaging eight of them. Activists described the destruction, *'The monument to the most distinguished Jewish family of Zabrze, of Max Böhm, was completely destroyed. The oldest matzevah placed on the grave of Helena Schüller's child from 1871 was torn out of the ground and knocked over. Children's monuments suffered the most damage. [...] The cemetery survived the difficult times of the Third Reich, the Holocaust, and post-war times, but in the 21st century it is being destroyed by vandals. Unfortunately, the Jews of Zabrze have no peace even after death'*.

On 6 June, the Zachor Association reported that the cemetery was devastated for the second time. The perpetrators knocked over or uprooted another twenty-seven historic 19th-century monuments.



The police detained four men suspected of destroying the necropolis, two of them faced charges. Wojciech Czapczynski from the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Zabrze said, *'Two people will be held accountable not only for desecrating graves, but also for devastation of historical monuments. We filed a motion in court for their temporary arrest. However, the court did not consider it, they have not been detained'*.

The Jewish cemetery in Zabrze was established in 1871. Over 700 tombstones have survived to this day, including family tombs, a fragment of a fence and old trees. The necropolis is registered as a historical monument.

SIERADZ. On 9 June, the fourth division football club Warta Sieradz published a statement in which it *'categorically distances itself from the views expressed by the coach **Przemysław Cecherz** on Twitter'*. On the same day, one of the websites published an article about Cecherz's abusive entries, in which he attacked people belonging to minorities. The content posted by him on Twitter (he created an account in January 2022) was antisemitic, homophobic, and xenophobic. Here are selected examples of such comments [original phrasing retained below as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Jews are one of the nations with the worst character'*.

- *'This is not a parliamentary intervention. This is the intervention of an offended Pole. If every true, proud Pole was spat in the face by a Jew, the reaction should be even more severe'* (Cecherz expressed support for the physical attack by Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** from far-right **Konfederacja – Confederation** party during Prof. Jan Grabowski's lecture on the Polish memory of the Holocaust on the premises of the German Historical Institute on 30 May 2023).

- *'No, there are no f*ggots in Konfederacja. P**fters don't like this party'*,

- *'cheeky f*g'* (about Robert Biedron – Member of the European Parliament and founder of the Polish NGO Campaign Against Homophobia),

- *'Pseudo-man with a dog muzzle on his face, stripped almost naked, with a feather stuck up his *ss, demands dignity? He can only demand some tolerance or mercy, but not dignity'* (comment on the photo from the Wrocław Equality March – Pride posted by Member of Parliament Krzysztof Smiszek from Lewica – Left party),

- *'Our left-wing activists Biedron and Smiszek are supposed to go there and explain that this is not allowed. They just don't know if they need return tickets'* (Cecherz's comment on the news about the introduction of death penalty for homosexuality in Uganda. He mentioned MEP R. Biedron and Polish MP K. Smiszek, because they are gay),

- *'Are you on perversions and deviations again? Don't you have any other problems? For me, you can f*ck even a spruce with a hollow, but let normal people live their lives without your preferences'* (comment under MP Smiszek's entry),

On 26 June, the management board of Warta Sieradz announced that the club had decided not to extend the contract with the coach Przemysław Cecherz.

WARSAW. On 11 June, on the YouTube channel of the far-right activist and columnist **Stanisław Michalkiewicz**, a Q&A programme was released. One of his followers asked, *'Should politicians [...] demonstrate their origins and [...], for example, their family connections with profiteers [1] before taking office? See his excellency Mateusz Morawiecki [2], whom the highly venerable Anna Maria Zukowska vel Zydowska ['Jewish'] revealed to us as a non-goy. See gentlemen Kurski, especially Mr Jarosław Kurski [...], the future chief of the kosher newspaper for Poles [3], replacing the über-Jew Mr Adam Michnik'*. In response, Michalkiewicz further reinforced the antisemitic tone of the question by putting forward a conspiracy theory about an alleged Jewish drive to take over Poland and the world, *'Unfortunately, in our situation, ethnic origin becomes increasingly important. Not only in our situation, anyway. Well, we see what is happening in the United States. There, although President Biden is even supposedly a Catholic [...], he is surrounded by Jews in such a way that [...] without them he doesn't know whether it's day or night'*.

Numerous comments with antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian overtones were made under this video [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

-‘Zelenski is a Jew and Duda is a Ukrainian. Together they are working out Poland and Ukraine’.
 -‘I think we are in for something worse than «Ukro-Pol», namely «Ukro-Polin» [4]’.
 -‘No Jew will tell me that he is terribly worried about Ukraine losing Donbas or Crimea. The international Jew has zero empathy and worries only about his own interests’.
 - ‘Giving Jewish spouses to dummy politicians in Poland has a long tradition driven by security services. This is how the kosher have for decades been controlling the correctness of the political courses of this boat called Poland’.
 Two months later, the broadcast had almost 51,500 views.

 [1] Meaning Jews.

[2] Then Prime Minister of Poland.

[3] Antisemitic term for ‘Gazeta Wyborcza’, mainstream liberal daily, used by the extreme right.

[4] A conspiracy theory that Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians and Jews. The word ‘Polin’ in Hebrew means ‘Poland’.

WARSAW. On 12 June, a Polish woman Anastasia Rubinska, employed at a local hotel, went missing on the Greek island of Kos. On 18 June her body was found. A 32-year-old Bangladeshi national suspected of the woman's kidnapping and murder was arrested. The information about the man's origin triggered many racist and Islamophobic comments on the Polish internet. Here are examples of such tweets [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:
 - ‘Probably some f*cking n*gro with an IQ level of a stool killed her...’
 - ‘P*kis get the f*ck out’.
 - ‘statistically, 8 out of 10 murders in Western Europe are committed by Blacks or P*kis. 9 out of 10 rapes and other sexual assaults’.
 - ‘rapes and murders of women by Muslims represent over 90% in the UK, and, for example, in Sweden, Pakistani and B*ngla are on the top this honourable list’.
 - ‘Slobs from Bangladesh and far Asia are multiplying like rats. Like rats! That is, exponentially. Does anyone think what will happen in 20 or 50 years’ time when they spread like vermin?’
 - ‘No normal woman would go for a drink alone, or even more so with a P*ki slob’.
 - ‘F*cking Black P*ki monkeys, you read again and again what they f*cking do, and in Romini [sic!] Italy what [...] the n*ggers did was also a coincidence’.
 - ‘Punishment for screwing around with P*kis’.

WARSAW. On the evening of 17 June, an unidentified man attacked a group of teenagers on a tram. They were participants of the Equality Parade (Pride) and were carrying rainbow flags (symbol of the LGBT community). The attacker, dressed in a sweatshirt with Legia Warszawa emblems, hurled insults and spat at them. A 15-year-old boy stood up to defend the young people. ‘They looked even younger than me. I addressed him [the aggressive passenger]. Then he noticed that I also had a rainbow hairband, and so he directed his anger at me. He called me a «f*cking f*ggot» and said that «we put c*cks into our *sses»’, he reported. At the bus stop on Marszalkowska Street, the attacker pushed the boy out of the tram. Luckily, nothing happened to him. Together with the tram driver, he managed to call the police officers who were standing near the intersection of Marszalkowska and Swietokrzyska streets. The injured boy reported, ‘The policeman told the man to apologise to me and shake my hand in agreement. I refused to shake his hand. I said I wanted him to suffer the consequences. [The officer] accused me of participating in the Equality Parade, but tolerating only those who agree with me [...]. I heard

from the police officer that I was only concerned with publicity. He said he did not see a violation of my integrity here’.

On 19 June, the boy filed a complaint at the Warsaw Police Headquarters against the officer’s behaviour. He also sent a letter to the Ombudsman Marcin Wiacek PhD, who on 30 June asked the Metropolitan Police Chief for an explanation of the case.

For several years, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association has been drawing attention to xenophobic and homophobic assaults occurring on public transport. In 2019, during a meeting with representatives of the Warsaw City Hall and the Public Transport Authority, the Association proposed free training sessions on how to respond to incidents motivated by hatred. The initiative, however, was not met with interest of the authorities.

WARSAW. On 19 June, on the YouTube channel of the ‘Fakt’ daily, **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **Krzysztof Bosak**, in a conversation with Agnieszka Burzynska, incited fear of refugees, referring to the European Union’s proposal to admit 2,000 people to Poland. Clearly agitated, he waved his hands and pontificated, *‘If we agree to give even half a nail, twenty years later we won’t have the arm. That’s how it works, that’s how it worked in France.*



In fact, in France, when the first large groups of economic immigrants were brought in, there were no problems and everyone said: we only have benefits from it, and at the moment they have no control over the situation in their own society. Similarly, in Sweden [...] they have a huge problem with crime, bombings, gangs and what-not. [...] We need to ask people whether we want to transform into a multicultural society in which Poles will ultimately be a minority in many cities? [...] We had Afghans brought to Poland, [...] should we prepare for this, is this what we want?’ Bosak also argued that local government officials who would like to accept refugees should be taken by the government on trips *‘to Malmö, for example, where being a white teenager in such a city is simply a school of survival’.* The material published on the ‘Fakt’ YouTube channel was entitled ‘APOCALYPTIC VISIONS OF Krzysztof Bosak! It’s about ILLEGAL migrants’. Comments underneath the video included some that were xenophobic and offensive towards Muslims, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Islam is not a religion, but a state ideology, it is a cruel, horrible, bloody and total ideology of hatred and war. [...] Followers of this ideology have hated Europe and Western civilisation for centuries and have wanted to destroy it for centuries. And they still do. These people are not migrants (nor refugees), they are a typical invasion army [...]. This is an army of rapists, terrorists, bandits who feel an almost wild hatred of Europeans in accordance with the principles of their ideology’.*

- *‘WE DON’T NEED VERY DANGEROUS ALIEN PEOPLES HERE’.*

- *‘Mr. K. Bosak is right, activating deportation mechanisms would free us from many problems. No one in their right mind hosts in their home toxic people who make their life less comfortable’.*

POZNAN. On 23 June, at the bus stop in the Kosmonautow housing estate, a man and a woman attacked a Nigerian resident of the city, working as a driver for MPK (public transport company). Andrzej Borowiak, spokesman for the Provincial Police Headquarters in Poznan reported, *'They started insulting the Nigerian. The reason was his skin colour. When he got on the bus [line 169], the attacker sprayed pepper spray towards him. The Nigerian and the bus driver overpowered the attacker. Shortly afterwards, our patrol arrived at the scene. We also detained a woman'*. The Public Prosecutor's Office charged both detainees with the insult and violation of bodily integrity due to the nationality of the injured party. It has not been made public whether the perpetrators of the attack were brought to court and whether they were found guilty of the crimes they were charged with.

During the proceedings, it turned out that in the past the woman had already been finally convicted for ethnically-motivated assault.

OSWIECIM. On 24 June, during a football tournament of fans of the **Unia Oswiecim** (fifth division, Malopolska group), its participants hung out a flag with a racist sign on the fence around the pitch. It featured a Celtic cross, symbolising support for the supremacy of the so-called white race.



WROCLAW. On 30 June, a teacher from the Philippines was attacked by an unknown woman on Powstancow Slaskich Street. The attacker insulted her and threatened her with violence and death. She shouted, *'You're in my f*cking neighborhood, do you know that? I f*cking hate you! Because you are all cruel and evil. You transmit various diseases. Until I get home, you f*cking stand here, or I will kill you!'* The injured woman asked in English, *'What have I done to you?'* so the assailant, increasingly aggressive, went on a rant, *'I don't want to see you here! You understand Polish? Then why the f*ck have you come here? How much money do you make out of us? [...] You f*cking eat animals alive. Get the f*ck out of here or I'll f*cking throw you out! Should I throw you under a car? I'll do it in a moment, you dirty f*cking bastard'*. She also included some broken English, *'Get out of my country!'* Finally, the enraged woman pushed and punched the Filipino citizen while continuously hurling insults at her. The victim managed to record the incident with her phone and posted the material on social media. After the case had been publicised by a local website, the 48-year-old assailant was arrested. She was charged under Art. 257 of the Penal Code, regarding insults based on national, ethnic or racial affiliation, as well as violation of bodily integrity. The Public Prosecutor's Office requested temporary arrest for two months, but the court did not accept this request.

The attacked woman has been living in Poland for two years and is teaching English at a foreign school in Wroclaw. In a press statement she said, *'I am very happy with my life here. It's the first time something like this happened to me'*. *'What surprised me most was that people didn't react. They were passing by, passing us through the lawn, someone was sitting on a bench nearby. Nobody even said anything'*, she added.

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WARSAW. Since the first days of July, street riots in France have been widely commented on in the Polish media [1]. 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** shared 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 [2] 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 were made 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 were made 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**, Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition) candidate in general elections (Swietokrzyskie Voivodeship constituency) [3], shared a short video on Twitter that showed a group of men chased by the police through city streets at night. The 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] **Rafal 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 [4] 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 were made:

- ‘Let them accept more savages’ (**Karol Slota**, 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] **Slawomir 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 [5]. 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 [6] 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 were made 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 [7], 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'* [written originally in English]

[1] 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.

[2] Founder of Polska Akcja Humanitarna (Polish Humanitarian Action).

[3] Former leader of far-right **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)**, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for National Education.

[4] I.e. France.

[5] Broadcast on the BanBye website.

[6] Implied: dangerous.

[7] 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.

SZCZECIN. On 8 July, **Dariusz Matecki**, **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice party)** candidate for the Sejm [1] in the Szczecin constituency [2], 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 post 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'.*

- *'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'*.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Chairman of **Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland)** party), then junior coalition partner in Western Pomerania, head of **Osrodek Monitorowania Antypolonizmu (Anti-Polonism Monitoring Centre)**.

WARSAW. On 8 July, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, columnist of the weekly **'Do Rzeczy'**, uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he made comments with racist undertones. He said, *'Do we really need Black fake taxi drivers who don't speak a word of Polish and use GPS?'* Later in the programme, he developed a conspiracy theory about migrants, *'The idea was to deliberately bring in people from foreign cultures in order to break up and destroy the cohesion of nation states, because a nation is the worst thing that the left-liberal elites can see in Western Europe'*. He also included threads about Polish-Jewish relations in his argument – two days before the anniversary of the 1941 pogrom [1] he said, *'The entire Michnik's [2] elite of «Gazeta Wyborcza» lives and thrives on spitting on Poland, on Jedwabne, on creating a sick, disgusting vision of Poles. [...] These people who despise Poland cannot create Polish culture'*.

[1] Massacre of Jewish inhabitants of Jedwabne perpetrated by the Polish population of the town in presence of German occupying forces.

[2] Adam Michnik is a Polish Jewish historian, essayist, former political dissident, public intellectual, and the editor-in-chief of the liberal daily *'Gazeta Wyborcza'* since its first issue in 1989.

LUBLIN. On 11 July, on the anniversary of the Volhynian massacre [1], at the intersection of Gleboka and Raabego streets, during a march organised by **Polski Ruch Antywojenny (Polish Anti-War Movement [2])**, Prof. **Ryszard Zajaczkowski [3]** 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'* [4].

On 13 July, at a press conference in front of the Lublin City Hall, **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** announced the names of their Sejm candidates [5] 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.

[1] Perpetrated on Poles in the years 1943-45 and led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

[2] Organisation considered to be pro-Putin.

[3] Lecturer at the Catholic University of Lublin and member of **Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)**.

[4] *'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.

[5] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

WARSAW. On 11 July, MP and former musician **Pawel Kukiz**, **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** candidate for the Sejm [1] in the Opole constituency, spoke on the **Media Narodowe** platform (**National Media** [2]) 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 [3] 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 [4] 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)** [5], and **Straz Narodowa (National Guard Association)** subsidised from public funds. He was 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.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Then, far-right internet channel of Robert Bakiewicz.

[3] Of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists.

[4] Town in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population.

[5] 'Rota' is an archaic word for a small military unit.

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 [1] 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)** [2]. 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 [3], 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)** [4] 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).

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] For many years he has organised the so-called **Independence March** in Warsaw, a far-right manifestation with hateful slogans and acts of violence.

[3] Symbol of the LGBT community.

[4] Blogger known for slandering the Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity (the biggest non-governmental charity organisation in Poland) for years.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 14 July, **Tomasz Stala**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party MP candidate in the Czestochowa constituency and owner of the publishing house 3dom [1], described his 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 [2]. 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** [3] columnist **Stanislaw Krajski** and uploaded on his YouTube channel.

[1] 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.

[2] He died in prison in June 2023.

[3] Chauvinist-Catholic media outlet.

LUBLIN. On 14 July, the Disciplinary Proceedings Representative of the Catholic University of Lublin initiated proceedings regarding the public statements of Prof. **Ryszard Zajaczkowski**, 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. Zajaczkowski 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 [1], 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 [2]. 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’* [3]. Cwieka fully supported this view, writing briefly, *‘That’s the truth...’* and added a finger emoji pointing to Jackson Hinkle’s pro-Putin post.

[1] He is also head of **Tradycyjne Podkarpacie (Traditional Podkarpacie)** whose co-founder is Konfederacja MP **Grzegorz Braun**, notorious for perpetuating antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theories.

[2] For example, in March 2023, he tweeted that *‘Russia is liberating new territories in Ukraine’*.

[3] 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.

KATOWICE. On the night of 15/16 July, ‘unknown perpetrators’ devastated the Jewish cemetery at Kozielska Street. They knocked over or permanently damaged fourteen historic tombstones, including twelve from the turn of the 20th century and two from the post-war period. *‘However, the latest incident is just another brick in a huge wall, which is an allegory of dozens of larger and smaller devastations that have occurred at the cemetery over the last 30 years. The scale of destruction caused by human hands is enormous [...]. The cemetery is constantly littered. Not to mention numerous bottles and smaller pieces of trash, recently a refrigerator was thrown in here, and a few days ago tyres... It’s time to categorically say: ENOUGH! How much longer?!’*



Slawomir Pastuszka, chairman of the Chevra Kadisha at the Jewish Community in Katowice and caretaker of many Upper Silesian Jewish cemeteries appealed on Facebook on 21 July. No information about the arrest of the perpetrators was made public.

The necropolis at Kozielska Street was established in 1868 and it has the status of a historical monument; 947 tombstones have been preserved. In the 20th-century part of the cemetery there is a monument commemorating the victims of the Holocaust.

OSTROW WLKP. On 18 July, Karolina Mazurek, activist of the Podlaskie Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Organisation [1], reported on Twitter that ‘unknown perpetrators’ had put stickers insulting Muslims and inciting violence on her car, as well as on her stairwell walls and gate. They read *‘F*ck Islam. Bialy Front Poludnia’* [2] and contained an image of a crossed-out mosque and a crescent moon (symbols of Islam). Other stickers displayed the Celtic cross [3] and the slogan *‘F*uck the leftie!’* Moreover, on the entrance door of her building someone had painted a slogan *‘Stop Islam’* and the symbol of a crescent moon on the gallows.



On 23 August, Piotr Czaban, author of documentary films of refugees and activist of the Podlaskie Voluntary Humanitarian Aid Organisation, described on Twitter further acts of hostility towards Karolina Mazurek, ‘Punctured tyres, stickers with xenophobic slogans, destroyed car – someone has been harassing our friend Karolina Mazurek for several weeks now. It is happening not at the border, but here, at the city of Ostrow Wielkopolski [4]. That’s not everything. In the stairwell where Karolina lives, someone paints such slogans on doors, walls. This someone is oppressing a girl who helps people on the Polish-Belarusian border, looks after the families of the deceased, helps people in detention centres’.



On 4 October, Karolina Mazurek tweeted pictures of her car that had been vandalised once again – ‘unknown perpetrators’ had used a substance that was difficult to remove and pasted posters bearing slogans: ‘Stop the immigration from Africa and the Middle East. Europe for whites’ and containing crossed-out pictures of a Black man and a man in traditional Muslim clothing. In addition, they had destroyed a windscreen wiper in the car and tried to open one of the windows by force.

[1] Group providing assistance to migrants on the Polish-Belarusian border.

[2] **White Front of the South** – far-right organisation.

[3] Sign expressing support for the supremacy of the so-called white race.

[4] Around 500 km to the west of Polish-Belarusian border.

WARSAW. On 18 July, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel [1], **Robert Bakiewicz, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Radom district [2], 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 scapetoad [3] 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 scapetoad [4] [...] 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.

[1] Broadcast on Facebook.

[2] He is also former head of **Marsz Niepodleglosci (Independence March Association)**.

[3] [4] He meant to say ‘scapegoat’.

BYDGOSZCZ. On 20 July, during a press conference by the monument of Casimir the Great [1] **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) presented its first three from the list of candidates for the Sejm [2] in the Bydgoszcz constituency.

Among them was **Slawomir Ozdyk** PhD, 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 video from the conference was published on Grzegorz Braun's profile on YouTube. In reaction to this material, xenophobic and antisemitic comments were made [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 [3] 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 [4], 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.'*

[1] King of Poland in 14th century.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[3] Implied: 'Polish president Duda, the Jew'.

[4] Referring to people.

WARSAW. On 20 July, **Janusz Korwin-Mikke**, far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) MP and its candidate in the Sejm elections [2] in Warsaw suburbs, made a homophobic post 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 appeared 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'.

[1] Lower chamber of the Polish parliament.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 21 July, **Tomasz Stala**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party candidate in the Czestochowa constituency and owner of the 3dom publishing house, boasted in an interview with **Stanislaw Krajski** [1] 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 YouTube channel, Stala attacked Lidl company, which he described as 'an American-German-Jewish group'. He also stated that economic policy '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' [2].

While promoting his own candidacy for the Sejm [3], 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'.

[1] Long-time commentator of Radio Maryja, Catholic-nationalist radio station.

[2] Konfederacja has been running a Stop the Ukrainisation campaign condemning aid for Ukrainian refugees.

[3] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

GLOGOW. On 22 July, during the second division football match between **Chrobry Glogow** and Lechia Gdansk, hooligans of the local club hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch which bore a Nazi symbol called Totenkopf (depicting a characteristic corpse skull). During World War II it was used on the SS men's uniforms in concentration camps.



BIELSKO-BIALA. On 23 July, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Wisla Plock, 'fans' of the host club displayed banners inciting ideological violence. They bore the slogan 'Good night left side', popular among fascists, as well as a distinctive graphic depicting a man kicking another man lying on the ground.

One of these banners was located in the so-called ‘nest’ (the central place in the stadium where the cheering is organised) and the other was displayed in the stands.

GRUDZIADZ. On 23 July, during the Polish Speedway Ekstraliga match between **GKM Grudziadz** and Stal Gorzow, ‘fans’ of the local club displayed a banner on the fence around the stadium inciting ideologically motivated violence. It bore the slogan ‘*Good night left side*’ (used by neo-fascist movements) and a graphic depicting an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground.

WARSAW. On 26 July, the far right **wRealu24** channel on the BanBye platform broadcast a conversation with **Andrzej Zapalowski** PhD, Professor at University of Rzeszow and **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Krosno constituency. 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 [1]. His sentiments were echoed by Szachtowicz, ‘*And today’s Ukraine means – as you have said – Nazism*’.

Antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian comments were made 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*’.

[1] Stepan Bandera was the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which collaborated with Nazi Germany. OUN led an ethnic cleansing campaign against Poles in Volhynia during 1943-44.

WARSAW. On 28 July, **Konfederacja (Confederation)** Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun**, during his speech in the Sejm [1] on the resolution establishing 2024 as the Year of the Ulma Family, delivered a tirade insulting the memory of the Polish Righteous, also tinged with antisemitism. He declared that ‘*presenting the Ulma family as a role model for future generations would be contrary to the principles of our civilisation*’. And then he declared, ‘*Clearly, you do not understand the mockery and abomination that results from spreading throughout the world the doctrine known and popularised under the banner of the Righteous Among the Nations. You do not understand, ladies and gentlemen, that a hideous, Talmudic, racist, Satanic cult allows a non-Jew to obtain human rights before God – only if such a person serves Jews*’. He also included

threads of conspiracy theories in his speech (about the alleged hostile attitude of Jews towards Poland), *'Do you think that you will redeem your guilt, which is being Poles, goyim, non-Jews - in the international environment, that you will keep on showcasing Ulma, Pilecki [2], and Sendler [3] until the end of the world and you will be forgiven for being Poles and wanting to live in an independent country?'*

On 24 March 1944, in Markowa in Podkarpacie region, Jozef and Wiktoria Ulma, their children and the Jews hiding with their help, were murdered by the Nazis as a result of a denunciation. On 13 September 1995, the Yad Vashem Institute in Jerusalem posthumously honoured both Ulmas with the title of Righteous Among the Nations.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[2] Witold Pilecki – one of the organisers of resistance against the Nazis among Auschwitz inmates, author of secret reports detailing German atrocities at the camp, smuggled out and shared with the Western Allies.

[3] Irena Sendler – humanitarian and social worker, she helped in smuggling the Jewish children out of the Warsaw Ghetto.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On 29 July, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** – Znicz Pruszkow, hooligans of the host team displayed a banner inciting ideological violence in the so-called 'nest' (a place in the stands where cheering is organised). It featured a slogan *'Good night left side'*, popular with fascist groups, as well as a characteristic graphic depicting an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground.



WROCLAW. On 29 July, during the top flight football match between **Slask Wroclaw** and Zagłębie Lubin, hooligans of the local club displayed banners with anti-Ukrainian content, including the slogan *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'* (it refers to a conspiracy theory that Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians). The incident was widely reported in the media. Ekstraklasa spokesman Dominik Mucha said that: *'The incident will be dealt with by the League Commission on 2 August'*. Despite this announcement – as the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association has checked – there was no information on the League Commission's website of any meeting taking place that day, nor was it made public whether the club had actually been fined. It was only when Wrocław's liberal daily *'Gazeta Wyborcza'* contacted the Ekstraklasa spokesperson about the incident and, on 12 September, it was reported that the League Commission fined Slask Wroclaw 'for violating the disciplinary regulations' with... 8.000,00 PLN/1700 EUR (such a low fine was imposed despite the fact that anti-Ukrainian banners had been already displayed at the Wrocław stadium. This was at least the third time in the past 11 months).

On 29 July, after the end of the match between Slask Wroclaw and Zagłębie Lubin, local hooligans behaved aggressively towards two men of Belarusian origin, also supporters of Slask, who were returning home from the stadium. One of them described the situation on Twitter as follows: *'After the match, my friend and I were walking to the bus stop, and a Slask supporter, hearing us speaking Russian, came up to us and asked: «Are you from Poland?» After my answer that we were from Belarus, he grabbed my Slask scarf and walked away'*. Following this xenophobic incident, the aggrieved man made an online statement: *'I am not going to look for the scarf or for the culprit. I absolutely do not want that. However, I do want Slask fans and Polish society to*

pay attention to similar behaviour. Judging people only on the basis of the language they speak is, in my opinion, a very wrong approach to life’.

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 [1], *‘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... [2] 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 were made under the YouTube broadcast [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Don’t let Ukraine win, then 500,000 ugly [3] trained in battle and hatred will come to Poland, they can butcher anyone’.*

- *‘STOP the Ukrainisation of Poland!’*

[1] Criticising Poles’ assistance to people of other nationalities, both during the Holocaust and today.

[2] *‘For our freedom and yours’* was a motto used in the November Uprising (1830-1831) of Poles against Tsarist Russia.

[3] Misspelled Polish ethnic slur for Ukrainians.

OPOLE. On 5 August, **Bartosz Nowak**, chairman of far-right **Korona Mlodych** in Opole (**Youth Crown** [1]) 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’* [2]. Nowak shared an image showing three Konfederacja leaders: Slawomir Mentzen, Robert Winnicki, and Grzegorz 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 posts in which a youth representative of Konfederacja promoted hateful content. Here are other examples of material Nowak 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 post: *‘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 made a post 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 [3] 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)** (26 August).

[1] Youth wing of **Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)**.

[2] 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.

[3] Town in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population.

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 **Lukasz Mejza** (unaffiliated Member of Parliament, 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.

LUBLIN. On 6 August, during a second division football match between **Motor Lublin** and **GKS Katowice**, hooligans of the host club hung out a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch with the **SS** motto: ‘*Our honour is loyalty*’ (original: ‘*Meine Ehre heißt Treue*’). On the other hand, ‘fans’ of the **Jaroslaw Sports Club**, who were friends of GKS Katowice supporters, displayed a banner inciting ideological violence. It featured the slogan ‘*Good night left side*’ (used by fascist movements) and a graphic depicting a man pounding a knocked-down, bleeding man with his fists.



WARSAW. On 11 August, in a **TV Republika** broadcast (uploaded also 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. He 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 were made under the video 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*’ [1].
- ‘*But we must also remember about the physical extermination of all the lie-media’s motherf*ckers*’ [2].

[1] Mocking the death of George Floyd, Black American, killed in 2020 by a policeman in the USA.

[2] Calls to kill journalists.

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 [1], then there should be no dogs in their districts*’.

Hateful comments were made under this YouTube video, some of them with anti-Ukrainian overtones: *'This aid for *kry [2] 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'*.

[1] In Arabic culture this term denotes what is prohibited or contrary to Islamic law.

[2] Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians.

GDYNIA. On 14 August, **Konrad Niznik, Konfederacja (Confederation party)** candidate for the Sejm [1], member of the Supreme Council of **Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)**, made a post on Facebook and Twitter 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'*.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

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 a Twitter post made on the same day by Maciej Pieczynski from the radical-right weekly *'Do Rzeczy'*, who recommended his own article sarcastically entitled 'In rainbow Ukraine' (no. 33/2023). He expressed regret that Ukraine was *'becoming «rainbow»'* and *'LGBT soldiers proudly talk about their orientation'*.

RACIBORZ. On 15 August, on Katowicka Street, a dark-skinned teenager who had left a kebab shop was insulted and threatened by a passer-by. The man shouted to him, *'You f*cking Paki, get the f*ck out of here, I'll f*ck you up'*. The boy informed the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association about the incident. He said, *'I have dealt with similar attacks in the past. [...] I have a tawny complexion as my father is from Iraq'*.

WARSAW. On 15 August, on the anniversary of the Battle of Warsaw [1], an extreme right-wing march was organised by **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)** and the **wRealu24** channel [2]. Its participants chanted xenophobic slogans, including *'Poland for Poles'*. Supporters of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)** of MP **Grzegorz Braun** [3] also carried a banner with the slogan *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'* and the term *'Ukropol'* [4], as well as an image with a crossed out map of Poland in the colours of Ukraine. During the march, the founder of wRealu24 **Marcin Rola** [5] gave a speech in which he stated, *'A Pole in*

Poland is the host. I'll quote my colleague Braun – Neither Jews nor Germans will teach us history'. He further developed a conspiratorial vision that the European Union and minorities would pose a threat. About the LGBT community he said, 'We see what is happening in Western Europe, we see these fake equality marches, we see an attempt to sexualise children'. Moreover, Rola addressed the audience, 'Elections take place this year and I believe that this is a certain historical moment of stopping this horde of anti-culture. Because notice that anti-culture is coming from everywhere. We are a Latin civilisation, a Christian civilisation, unfortunately, on both sides of the barricade we already see the Turanian civilisation [6]. There will never be a reconciliation between these two civilisations here'. At the end of his speech, he announced ominously, in a way laced with xenophobia, 'I hope that this year we will regain at least part, if possible, of the country for us, for Poles'.

Rola's speech was broadcast live on the wRealu24 channel. Moreover, on 20 August, in his Facebook and Twitter posts he used the words *'Neither Jews nor Germans will teach us history'* along with fragments of his speech.

After the march ended, debates with far-right activists took place in a conference centre on Szwedzka Street (on the site of the former steelworks):

- **Magdalena Zietek-Wielomska** (**Pro vita bona** foundation) in her conspiratorial statements condemned the aid provided to refugees from Ukraine and... encouraged people to break off relations with this country [original phrasing retained as much as possible], *'And I believe that this Ukraine is this anchor that has been keeping us at this bottom, and*



*what's more, right now, it's already rock bottom. Because what is happening in Poland now is rock bottom, it is as if we were watching the fall and decline of Poland with our own eyes. [...] And in my opinion, the solution is to cut this rope, cut it off, to finally free ourselves from this East and return to the concept of true Poland'. And further on she said, 'We have brought into our territory some millions of people who have been truly hostile, mortally hostile to us for hundreds of years'. In turn, **Marcin Osowski** (deputy head of Młodzież Wszechpolska) directed false accusations at Ukrainians and praised the violent behaviour of his own organisation, 'A group of Ukrainians, young Ukrainians on the Warta River in Poznan, decided to prowl and beat people, and oftentimes rob them. Some of you probably know: Lech Poznan fans and activists of Młodzież Wszechpolska arranged some patrols and educational talks. And the Ukrainians themselves came forward and apologised for their behaviour' [7]. Later in the discussion, Islamophobic threads also appeared. **Marek Misko** (Młodzież Wszechpolska activist and former director of the Polish Fur Industry Association) made the following comment, 'So Muslims will always prevail because we will not rape anyone's wives or behead anyone in an organised way'.*

- **Katarzyna Bnin-Bninska** (**Watahy Głosu Obywatelskiego – Packs of Citizens' Voice**) made racist comments. She stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible], *'We should*

manoeuvre in such a way that we survive the worst moments when the white man's world falls apart, because it is falling apart. [...] to survive these difficult years ahead of us in such a way that our nation will not be annihilated as it is happening now. You know that the amount of abortions in France is equal to the amount of births of people of colour who come to France'. She also added, 'Right now, all over the world, this world, I would say, of white man, everything possible is being done to destroy the national identity of individual nations, to create multi-culti states, and, above all, to destroy Europe'.

- **Slawomir Ozdyk PhD** (Konfederacja MP candidate in the Bydgoszcz constituency, owner of a security agency in Berlin) aroused fear of refugees, presenting them as brutal criminals [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'A wave of refugees is now reaching Europe, and they come in like a knife through butter. A wave of refugees that has a completely different cultural code and which, mind you, is very familiar with organised crime. [...] They don't play games or anything, they won't put a knife to your neck, they won't say «give back the ring, give back the chain», they will just prick you first and then they will take what you have. There is something like this in Germany, it came to us from Italy, like the Black Hand. The Black Hand is a Nigerian mafia that doesn't play with any sentiments, if you have a Rolex for 40 thousand, they will cut your hand off, end of story'.*

[1] 1920, battle between Polish and Soviet armies which resulted in Polish victory.

[2] Online TV broadcast on the **BanBye** platform.

[3] Pro-Russian, antisemitic Konfederacja MP.

[4] Propagating the conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be taken over by Ukraine.

[5] Konfederacja would-be candidate in the Polish general elections – at the end of August, Salon24 reported that he was supposed to run in Warsaw constituency, but was removed from the list.

[6] Referring directly to ideas of **Feliks Koneczny**, Polish interwar social scientist, popular among contemporary far right for his theory of civilisations.

[7] In July, **Lech Poznan** football club hooligans organised so-called patrols on the city streets, during which they actually made threats of violence against people of Ukrainian origin.

WARSAW. On 15 August and in the following days, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** supporters made many hateful comments online about Wojtek Sawicki, activist for the rights of people with disabilities. It was a reaction to his critical post towards Slawomir Mentzen, 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 made 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 [1], the Minister for 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’.*

 [1] Ordered for 15 October, the day of the parliamentary elections.

LUBLIN. On 19 August, during a second division football match between **Motor Lublin** and Gornik Leczna, local hooligans displayed a huge banner bearing the **SS** motto: *‘Our honour is loyalty’* (original: *‘Meine Ehre heißt Treue’*). In addition, some Motor ‘fans’ wore T-shirts with the symbol called Totenkopf (a distinctive corpse skull with two crossed bones used during World War II on the uniforms of SS units) and the racist slogan: *‘White defender’*. They also made the gesture of the Nazi salute ‘Sieg Heil’.



SZCZECIN. On 20 August, **Dariusz Matecki, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice)** MP candidate in the Szczecin constituency [1] shared 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 made under Matecki’s entry, inciting violence, including threats against the children visible in the video [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘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 [2] in Poland will behave towards native Poles'*.

- *'In Poland, our kids will get this shit from little *kry [3]'*.

[1] Chairman of **Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland)** party), then junior coalition partner in Western Pomerania and head of **Osrodek Monitorowania Antypolonizmu (Anti-Polonism Monitoring Centre)**.

[2] [3] Polish ethnic slur against Ukrainians.

WARSAW. On 21 August, the far-right **wRealu24** channel [1] published a conversation between **Piotr Szlachtowicz** and **Sebastian Ross**, leader of **Konfederacja – Confederation** party branch in Great Britain and its MP candidate in the Warsaw constituency, who made offensive comments towards LGBT people. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'In the beginning there was a rainbow, acceptance, yes, let us walk the streets, visit each other at the doctor, then they started walking on all fours, let us visit each other at the vet, yes, they walk in a dog's disguise, let us do so because we want to go to the hospital and so on'*. And further, referring to public manifestations of respect and solidarity with LGBT people in Great Britain, Ross stated, *'Grzegorz Braun [2] often says, perverts will not raise our children. [...] We abroad can safely say that perverts are raising our children'*. Moreover, Ross uttered words that were offensive to the victims of the Holocaust and at the same time had connotation of threats of violence against contemporary Jews. He said, *'Mr. Michalkiewicz [3] always talks very nicely and this is his saying and his observation: if the government orders us to adore Jews, we will adore them, and if tells us to burn them in furnaces, we will burn them in furnaces'*.



[1] Broadcast on the **BanBye** platform.

[2] **Konfederacja** MP notorious for his hateful and antisemitic statements.

[3] **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, commentator known for preaching anti-Jewish content.

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 [1] 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'* [2].

Braun's speech was published on the YouTube channel of Wirtualna Polska [3] (over 249,000 views within three months), and anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments were made 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 [4]'*.
- *'Way to go!!! Commie Jews [5] 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!'* [6]

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Manipulative reference to the ethnic cleansing of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists in Volhynia in 1943-1944.

[3] Mainstream website.

[4] President of Poland.

[5] Antisemitic stereotype of Jews as communist traitors.

[6] The word means 'Poland' in Hebrew. According to the conspiracy theory, Polin is Poland appropriated by Jews.

WARSAW. On 22 August, in a conversation on the Goniec YouTube channel, **Krzysztof Bosak**, **Konfederacja** MP (**Confederation** party) and its candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Podlaskie Voivodeship constituency, 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 rant, *'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 were made under the interview, for example: *'Finally Poland for Poles'*, including some that praised violence: *'When will Braun [1] finally whip the rainbow [people = LGBT people]?''*

[1] One of Konfederacja's leaders.

WARSAW. On 24 August, on Radio Zet [1], the far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **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 [2]. 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'*.

[1] Mainstream radio station.

[2] According to the Statista website, almost thirty thousand people have drowned in the Mediterranean Sea since 2014.

LODZ. On 25 August, during the top flight football match between Widzew Lodz and **Slask Wroclaw**, hooligans of the visiting team displayed a banner with a logo resembling the logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour**. It bore the inscription: *'Be proud of who you are. The sign of the eagle, the symbol of power, will guide us'*, a quote from a song by the rock band **Honour**, known for its praise of the fascist ideology.

WARSAW. In the second half of August, in connection with the world premiere of Agnieszka Holland's film *'The Green Border'* [1] 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 [2]. The offensive comments also included a post by **Krystyna Pawłowicz** PhD [3], Judge of the Constitutional Tribunal and former **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice)** party Member of Parliament. She addressed Agnieszka Holland in the following words, *'Your thoughtless, fake, irresponsible, shameful scoundrel movie is putting Poles against their defenders! [4] [...] 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 post, the following comments were made [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Shave her [Holland], 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!!!'*

[1] At the Venice Film Festival on 5 September.

[2] She was called a Jew, a German, *'anti-Polish trash'*, or a *'German-Jewish sc*mbag'*.

[3] Notorious for controversial statements.

[4] Meaning the Border Guard.

STALOWA WOLA. On 26 August, during the third league football match between **Stal Stalowa Wola** – Stomil Olsztyn, hooligans of the local club displayed a huge banner with a symbol known as the ‘Totenkopf’ taken from the times of the Third Reich. This characteristic corpse skull with two crossed long bones was used on the uniforms of **SS** men on duty in concentration camps.



KIELCE. On 27 August, during the top flight football match between **Korona Kielce** and Zagłębie Lubin, hooligans of the host club displayed a banner with racist content. It bore the acronym ‘*BHBD*’, a reference to the lyrics of a popular ‘fan’ song by the neo-Nazi band **Konkwista 88** entitled ‘*White honour, white pride*’.

WARSAW. On 27 August, in a programme on Polsat News TV station, **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **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 [1]. During the broadcast hosted by Bogdan Rymanowski, the topic of a shocking comment published by Konfederacja candidate for the Sejm [2] 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, ‘*Posts 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 [ban on dog slaughter] to exist*’.



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!].

[1] The rumour about a kidnapping of a boy in order to prepare matzah was also the trigger of the Kielce pogrom of 1946.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

WARSAW. On 28 August, on the tram line no. 9, between the National Museum stop and the Poniatowski Bridge, an unrecognised man hurled racist insults at two dark-skinned people from an Arab country. Another passenger, a Frenchman living in Poland for over 30 years, defended them. He reported, *'I asked him to calm down. I tried to talk to him but he was very nervous and I think he was looking for an excuse to fight. He asked if I was Polish, said that Poles were racist, then he noticed that I had an earring in my ear and called me a f*ggot. And he started beating me. I fought him back, but he was stronger, [I got] several blows to the face, I lay there and he continued to beat me when I was on the ground'*. When the tram stopped at the Poniatowski Bridge, the perpetrator escaped. The Frenchman went to hospital, luckily he was not seriously injured – he had swelling under his eye and bruises on his body.

WARSAW. On 29 August, the leaders of Trzecia Droga (The Third Way [1]) 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** (notorious 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 initiative was based on a conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians. She also published posts on Twitter in which she criticised the decision to fly the Ukrainian flag on the Sejm [2] building 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 the mainstream 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'*.

[1] Coalition of Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (PSL; Polish People's Party) and Polska 2050 (Poland 2050 party).

[2] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

WARSAW. On 29 August, on mainstream RMF FM radio, the co-chairman and Member of Parliament of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) **Krzysztof Bosak** expressed support for **Tomasz Stala** – the party’s candidate in the general elections in the Czestochowa constituency [1]. 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 [2], 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*’.

[1] Owner of the **3dom** publishing house known for publishing books with antisemitic content.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

WARSAW. On 29 August, on Gagarina Street, an unrecognised man attacked journalist Mariana Metelska from Lutsk, the capital of the Volhynia Oblast (Ukraine). While the woman was talking on the phone in Ukrainian, the attacker started following and insulting her, including calling her a ‘*wh*re*’. When Metelska reached the Sielce public transport stop, the man threw a large stone taken from the tram track construction site at her. ‘*He aimed at me, but it turned out that it was not a hard lump, but a lot of small stones stuck together with mud [...]. When he squeezed it and threw it, it broke into pieces. Only a few of them hit me in the face*’, she said. Fortunately, she was not injured. There were several people at the bus stop at the time, but no one reacted or helped her. ‘*One woman was definitely looking in our direction at that moment. But she did absolutely nothing*’, the journalist said. The police were not informed about the incident.

Metelska runs a local news portal in Ukraine, Volyn Online. She came to Warsaw for an international training for journalists as part of the program of the International Press Institute (IPI), a global organisation for media freedom.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On 31 August, at a city football pitch in Komorowice, a group of teenagers brutally beat up two brothers, refugees evacuated with their parents from Afghanistan. When the boys and several other children were playing football, the aggressors accosted them and took away their ball. When the 11-year-old Afghan boy demanded it back, he was severely beaten: the attackers knocked out his tooth and gave him a black eye. They also hit his 7-year-old brother. No other children were hurt. The attacked boys were taken to the Paediatric Hospital in Bielsko-Biala. Thanks to the support of a friendly Polish family, the Afghans reported the assault to the police. It was not made public what the results of the investigation were.

After the fall of Kabul in August 2021, 1,101 people were evacuated to Poland, mostly employees of international organisations, community activists, and people working with the Polish army. Several families from Afghanistan have settled in Bielsko-Biala.

SZCZECIN. On 31 August, at Jasne Blonia, ‘unknown perpetrators’ broke into pieces a granite plaque dedicated to the memory of Prof. Wladyslaw Bartoszewski (1922-2015). It contained an inscription with Professor’s famous words: *‘It is worth being decent’*. The plaque had been mounted in mid-August on a boulder weighing several hundred kilograms, which has the status of a natural monument.

Wladyslaw Bartoszewski was a journalist, historian, writer, and politician. From September 1940 to April 1941 he was a prisoner of KL Auschwitz. In the years 1942-1944 he co-organised the secret ‘Zegota’ Council to Aid Jews and participated in the Warsaw Uprising. After the war, he worked with the Central Commission for the Investigation of German Crimes in Poland. He became the chairman of the International Auschwitz Council and the Polish Council for the Protection of Struggle and Martyrdom Sites. Among other awards, Bartoszewski received the Grand Cross of the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany for his work for reconciliation between Poles, Germans, and Jews. He was also awarded the ‘Righteous Among the Nations’ medal. In the last years of his life he was an outspoken critic of the re-emergence of far-right nationalism.



SEPTEMBER 2023

WARSAW. On 1 September, Member of Parliament **Janusz Korwin-Mikke**, the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate in the general 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 [1] responsible for the September catastrophe. Meanwhile, in times of peace, due to the actions of Mr. Adam Niedzielski [2] approximately 170 thousand people died. We can hold him accountable and punish him – along with those who supported his criminal ideas in the Sejm [3]’*. Thus, in his bizarre post, Korwin-Mikke equated the fight against the Nazis with the sanitary rules introduced for the duration of the epidemic (and he ridiculed both).

[1] Jozef Pilsudski (1867-1935): First Marshal of Poland.

[2] Minister for Health during the outbreak of COVID-19 epidemic.

[3] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

KRAKOW. On 2 September, during the top flight football match between Cracovia Krakow and **Korona Kielce**, hooligans of the visiting club displayed a banner with the inscription ‘*BHBD*’ on the fence surrounding the pitch. This acronym is a reference to a song entitled ‘*White honour, white pride*’ of the neo-Nazi rock band **Honour**.



BIELSKO-BIALA. On 3 September, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and GKS Katowice, hooligans of the local team once again displayed a banner encouraging ideological violence. It displayed a slogan popular with radical groups (‘*Good night left side*’), as well as a distinctive graphic depicting a man kicking another man lying on the ground.



VELLETRI (ITALY). In September, **Roman Giertych**, [1] **Koalicja Obywatelska (Civic Coalition)** candidate in the general elections in the Swietokrzyskie 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 expressive photo of a shouting dark-skinned, bearded man, and a caption, allegedly the man’s words, ‘*Only PiS!!!*’ [2] *Our way to Europe!!!*’ Giertych captioned the image, ‘*Hi pisowcy!*’ [3]. *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’*’ [4] *#AferaWizowaPiS [#PiSVisaScandal]*’ together with a video [5] 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 were made under Giertych's posts, including [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Engineers [6] from the Emperor of Europe Testa Rossa are f*ucking coming from Germany to plunder and rape'.*

- *'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. Multi-culti of PiS'.*

- *'After all, back in 2014 you PO freaks [7] wanted these invaders from Africa and Asia'.*

[1] Former head of the far-right **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)**, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for National Education.

[2] Then governing **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – PiS (Law and Justice party)**.

[3] Addressing PiS members.

[4] Referring to results of a pre-election poll.

[5] Posted on the **RadioGenua** profile which publishes content inciting hatred against refugees and migrants, as well as material with pro-Russian overtones.

[6] *'Engineers'* is a popular term for dark-skinned migrants, used to mock and deny their education and skills.

[7] Addressing PO – Platforma Obywatelska (Civil Platform party) supporters.

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 [1] *'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 were made under Cwieka's post:

- *'From the very beginning it was clear that those murdered in Bucha were victims of the Banderites' [2].*

- *'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'.*

[1] Two neighbouring towns in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population.

[2] Referring to Stepan Bandera, leader of the **Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)**. In practice, it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today.

WARSAW. On 6 September, on mainstream Radio RMF FM, **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice party)** Member of Parliament **Marek Suski** spoke highly of **Robert Bakiewicz**, PiS candidate for the Sejm [1] in the Radom constituency. Bakiewicz is the former leader of **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości (March of Independence Association)** and former

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 Kaczyński [2]'*. Suski commented, *'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 rant 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'*.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] 1949-2010, former president of Poland, associated with PiS.

LESZNO. On 7 September, **Adam Gbiorczyk**, activist of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** and its 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. 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 general 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 [1] in the Piotrkow Trybunalski constituency, posted a comment with xenophobic overtones on Twitter. Referring to the so-called 'visa scandal', she wrote, *'PiS [2] 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 [3] called the Jews living in Poland the

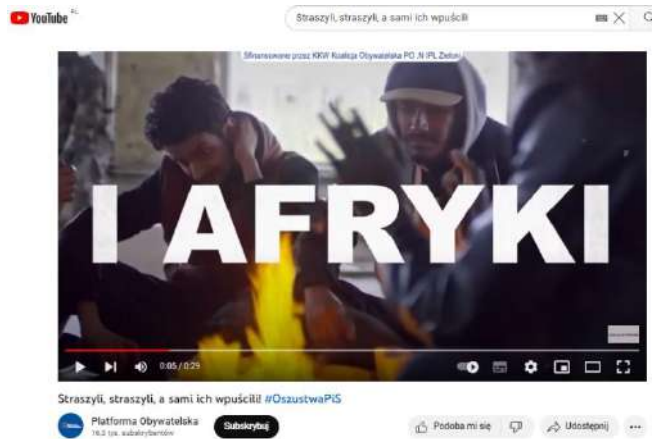
'*fifth column*' (he allowed outbursts of antisemitic political campaign in 1967-1968). It is not clear whether Sowinska directed the '*fifth column*' at migrants within the EU or at Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc, but the use of the term during an election campaign contributes to degradation of political debate standards.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Then governing **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)**.

[3] First secretary of the Communist Party and leader of post-war Poland in 1947-1948, and again in 1956-1970.

WARSAW. On 8 September, a campaign ad with a xenophobic undertone was published on **Platforma Obywatelska's** (PO; **Civic Platform**, then 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 [1] 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 Maciej Gdula PhD posted on Twitter, '*Thanks to all PO members who did not share this video further. It refers to the worst propaganda patterns of TVP [2]. [...] We need to create a rational integration policy, instead of scaring people with migrants*'. In turn, Tomasz Lipinski, former councillor in Poznan, commented, '*Aren't they people? Do their children not have the right to a decent life? Have you consulted Janina Ochojska about this ad?*'

[1] **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)**.

[2] Polish state-owned TV.

[3] Janina Ochojska is Polish Member of the European Parliament, humanitarian and activist.

WARSAW. On 8 September, **Stanislaw Tyszka**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** candidate for the Sejm [1] 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?*'

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

KALISZ. On 9 September, supporters of the far right tried to disrupt the Equality March (Pride) in Kalisz. The counter-demonstration was organised by **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family) Foundation** and **Konfederacja (Confederation far-right party)**. **Antoni Wieczorek**, member of **Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)** and **Konfederacja MP candidate** in 2023 general elections was among the protesters. Demonstrators displayed banners with offensive content against LGBT people, including a crossed-out rainbow (symbol of this community) and the inscription ‘*Stop paedophilia*’. In addition, on Gornoslaska Street, two men behaved aggressively and shouted abusive slogans at participants of the Equality March. They were detained by the police.



CRACOW. On 9 September, journalist Marta Gordziewicz of TVN24, the biggest independent news channel in Poland, reported on Twitter that in one of the stores she was called racist insults by a man she did not know. She commented on this situation ironically, ‘[...] *of all the Black/P*ki/such-or-such people who were in the store, the guy chose me specifically to hit me with a text that he thought I probably couldn’t get up after*’. When she reacted to his insults, the man apologised to her (‘*you can nicely force someone to apologise ;)*’, she wrote on Twitter). In the past, in one of her public statements, Gordziewicz said that her mother is Polish and her father comes from another country, which is why she has a darker complexion.

WARSAW. On 9 September, far-right **TV Republika** 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 [1] 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*’ [2] In addition, during the broadcast, **Bogdan Rzonca**, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc Member of the European Parliament, 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] will be a moment to shut the mouths of such writers, such historians as Gross [3], as Grabowski [4], 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, Jakubiak attributed hypocrisy and bad intentions to Jews, ‘*It makes my blood boil that there is no sabre to this! Maybe the IPN [5] 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 [6] 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 ‘*The Green Border*’, devoted to the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border.

Many hateful comments were made under this video, 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*’.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] In fact, there are 6863 trees in the Garden of the Righteous Among Nations commemorating Poles who saved Jews.

[3] Jan Tomasz Gross: sociologist, political scientist, and historian, author of the book ‘*Neighbours. The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne*’.

[4] Jan Grabowski: historian, co-founder of the Polish Centre for Holocaust Research of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

[5] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance).

[6] Presumably Prof. Barbara Engelking, attacked by radical right in Poland for her research on Polish-Jewish relationships during World War II.

RADZIONKOW. On 10 September, during a fifth division football match (group: Silesian I) between **Ruch Radzionkow** and Sparta Katowice, local hooligans hung out a **Confederate** flag on the fence around the pitch, which was used during the Civil War (1861-1865) in the USA by defenders of slavery. Today it is considered a symbol of racial discrimination.



SZCZECIN. On 10 September, **Dariusz Matecki**, **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice** party) candidate for the Sejm [1] in the Szczecin constituency [2], posted a comment on Twitter in which he attacked Agnieszka Holland, the director of the film ‘*The Green Border*’ [3]. Matecki wrote, ‘*Agnieszka Holland is one of the most extreme, disgusting examples of anti-Polonism*’.

In response to his post, hateful comments were made:

- ‘*What is this woman still doing in Poland...?*’
- ‘*Take her Polish citizenship away*’.



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

- ‘*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*’.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Chairman of **Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland)** party, then junior coalition partner) in Western Pomerania, and head of **Osrodek Monitorowania Antypolonizmu (Anti-Polonism Monitoring Centre)**.

[3] Presenting the situation of refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border.

TIRANA (ALBANIA). On 10 September, extreme xenophobic incidents occurred during the football match between the Albanian and Polish national teams (Euro 2024 qualifiers). Polish pseudo-footballers chanted '*Kosovo je Srbuja*' ('Kosovo is Serbian') in Serbian, which insulted Albanians (who also live in Kosovo). It is a slogan calling for the reintegration of Kosovo into Serbia, especially popular after Kosovo's declaration of independence (17 February 2008). It is used in many countries, notably during far-right demonstrations.

PULAWY. On 11 September, during a third division football match between **Wisła Pulawy** – Polonia Bytom, hooligans of the host team hung out a banner with a Celtic cross (partially covered) on the fence around the pitch. It signifies a supremacy of the so-called white race.



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, made an offensive post 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 was made 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 mainstream Interia website, **Karolina Pikula**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate in the general elections, refused to call **Vladimir Putin** a war criminal. It 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?*' [1]. 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*' [2]. '*As Konfederacja Korony Polskiej* [3], *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.

[1] Town in Ukraine where Russian troops committed mass atrocities against the civilian population.

[2] In September 2022, she co-organised a protest in Rzeszow under this slogan.

[3] **Confederation of the Polish Crown**, whose leader is MP **Grzegorz Braun**.

WARSAW. On 13 September, an interview with **Janusz Korwin-Mikke**, **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament [1] was broadcast on the **Goniec.pl** YouTube channel, and it was largely devoted to the situation of refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border. The host of this conversation, **Mikolaj Dowejko**, in reference to the film *'The Green Border'* by Agnieszka Holland, expressed a concern that a critical debate had arisen in the public sphere about the treatment of migrants by Polish services. In this tone, he asked Korwin-Mikke the following question, *'Aren't you afraid that around the debate on the Polish-Belarusian border there may arise [...] such a view of the Polish Border Guard, of the Polish state, that it is de facto a state [...] of murderers, people who persecuted migrants?'* In response, the **Konfederacja** politician called for the shooting the refugees, *'I am in favour of treating these refugees as people, i.e. shooting them. Write clearly: if you cross the border, you will be shot. And shoot. [...] You don't shoot cattle, cattle is fenced. [...] But people are shot at.'* Dowejko asked, *'So instead of building the border, you would open fire?'* to which Korwin-Mikke replied, *'Yes. If we're going to let everyone in, why have borders?'* The MP's hateful words were not met with any condemnation or denial from Dowejko.

[1] Well-known scandalist, extremist and chauvinist.

KRAKOW. On 15 September, during the top flight football match between **Puszcza Niepolomice** and **Slask Wroclaw**, visiting hooligans displayed a neo-Nazi banner on the fence surrounding the pitch. It resembled a logo of the international organisation **Blood and Honour** (the name was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto). It also read: *'Be proud of who you are. The sign of the eagle, the power symbol, will guide us'* (a quote from a song by a neo-Nazi music band **Honour**).

BYTOM. On 16 September, during the fifth division football match (group: Silesian I) between **Szombierki Bytom** and **Ruch Radzionkow**, hooligans of the visiting club displayed the **Confederate** flag (it was used in the US Civil War between 1861 and 1865 and is now considered to be a symbol of racial persecution).



LOMZA. On 16 September, during the fourth division football match (group I) **LKS Lomza** – **Jagiellonia II Bialystok**, local hooligans hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch calling for a boycott of Agnieszka Holland's film *'Green Border'*. The film is about the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border.

The flag bore the inscription *'Only pigs go to the cinema'* (a slogan used by the Polish



underground during World War II – visits to the cinema were then considered to be an act of collaboration) and the date of the film's premiere in Poland ('22.09'). In the second half of September, due to the hatred campaign concerning the film, incidents took place in many cities with representatives of the extreme right, mainly supporters of the **Młodzież Wszechpolska** (**All-Polish Youth**), attempting to disrupt screenings in cinemas.

WARSAW. On 16 September, **Joachim Brudziński, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice)** Member of the European Parliament and the party’s campaign manager, tweeted a video entitled ‘Europe 1936-2023’, expressing admiration for the Europe of 1936 [1] and fear of the Europe of 2023 [2]. 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* [3]’. 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).



[1] Presented through idyllic scenes of only white families spending time on the beach.
 [2] Snapshots showing crowds of dark-skinned, shouting, violent men, as well as street prayers of Muslims chanting ‘Allahu Akbar’.
 [3] Donald Tusk: former and current Prime Minister of Poland and former President of the European Council. Currently leader of Platforma Obywatelska – Civic Platform, biggest governing coalition party.

BYDGOSZCZ. On 17 September, during the return semi-final football match of the 1st Speedway League between Polonia Bydgoszcz and ROW Rybnik, hooligans of **GKM Grudziadz**, who are friends of the Bydgoszcz club's supporters, displayed a banner with characteristic graphics inciting ideological violence. It depicted an attacker



kicking a man lying on the ground and also contained the slogan ‘*Good night left side*’, used by neo-fascist groups.

CHOJNICE. On 17 September, during a fifth division football match (Pomeranian group) between **Chojniczanka II Chojnice** and Gryf Slupsk, local ‘fans’ hung out a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch bearing a symbol so-called Totenkopf (partially covered). During the Third Reich it was used on **SS** units' uniforms.

RADOM. On 17 September, during an election meeting with candidates of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party), Member of Parliament 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.

TYCHY. On 17 September, during a second division football match between GKS Tychy and Motor Lublin, hooligans of **Slask Wroclaw**, who are friends of the Lublin fans, displayed a distinctive red and white banner, which resembled a logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour** (the name Blood and Honour comes from the **Hitlerjugend** motto: ‘*Blut und Ehre*’). The flag also featured a quote from a song by the skinhead music band **Honour** (known for its praise of the Nazi ideology): ‘*Be proud of who you are. The sign of the eagle, the power symbol, will guide us*’.



WARSAW. On 17 September, **Krystyna Pawłowicz** PhD, Judge of the Constitutional Tribunal and former **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice)** Member of Parliament, made a post on Twitter containing a term that dehumanises refugees and migrants (‘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 were made:

- ‘*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 Sprawiedliwosc [Law and Justice party]’.

WARSAW. On 19 September, Lewica (Left party) Member of Parliament Anna-Maria Zukowska 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. Zukowska: Most migrants must be sent away from Europe’. The ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association asked whether she accepted such summary of her views. Zukowska replied, ‘I will be intervening. This is not a quotation from my speech’.



The title of the interview on the You Tube channel was then modified to ‘Anna M. Zukowska: 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 Zukowska and the caption ‘The Left does not want migrants?’

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

- ‘This is not a migration of peoples. This is HIJRAH [1], 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!’

[1] Emigration of Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622 AD.

LUBLIN. On 20 September, Minister for Education and Science Przemysław Czarnek [1], **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (PiS; Law and Justice party)** candidate for the Sejm [2] in the Lublin Voivodeship constituency, posted on Twitter an aggressive statement against Agnieszka Holland, excluding her from the national community. In the context of the film ‘The Green Border’ [3], 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 post (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’.

[1] Known for his radical-right statements.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[3] About refugees on the border of Poland and Belarus.

WARSAW. On 20 September, during 2023 general elections campaign, on the Facebook page of **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**), the **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** Member of Parliament **Dobromir Sosnierz** called for the shooting of refugees, ‘A warning shot first, if someone continues to violate our border, sooner or later he should even get a bullet in the head. It cannot be that we allow ourselves to be mocked’. He also contemptuously referred to

refugees arriving in Lampedusa [1] as ‘invaders’. The programme was entitled ‘Migrant ATTACK on LAMPEDUSA!’

[1] 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 the European Union. More than 28,000 people have drowned in the Mediterranean since 2014.

POLAND. In the second half of September, in connection with the hate campaign concerning Agnieszka Holland’s film ‘*The Green Border*’ [1], 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 Lukaszewicz** [2], **Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (PiS; Law and Justice)** candidate for the Sejm [3] 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], kudos, 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** [4], chanted, ‘*Only pigs sit in cinemas,*’ ‘*Poland is a country for Poles,*’ ‘*Take a N*gro to bed,*’ and urged to boycott the film [5].

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*



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'*.

 [1] Devoted to the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border.

[2] Deputy speaker of the Podlaskie Voivodeship, member of **Suverenna Polska (Sovereign Poland)** party, then coalition partner).

[3] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[4] The propaganda minister of the Third Reich.

[5] 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.

[6] Manager of **Krzysztof Bosak's** (one of Konfederacja's leaders) parliamentary office.

PULAWY. On 22 September, during the third division football match between **Wisła Pulawy** and Lech II Poznan, hooligans of the local club hung out a banner with racist content on the fence surrounding the pitch. It featured a Celtic cross (partially covered), an international symbol used by racist groups promoting the supremacy of the so-called white race.



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 [1] 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 [2], but after 2015 he became one of the main personalities of right-wing propaganda.

[1] Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform) – then main opposition party, currently governing coalition member.

[2] Among others, as a long-time collaborator of 'Res Humana', periodical published by the Association of Lay Culture.

WARSAW. On 23 September, **Dominik Tarczyński, Prawo i Sprawiedliwość (Law and Justice party)** Member of the European Parliament, posted content on Twitter in which he spread contempt and fear of refugees and migrants. He uploaded 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. Tarczyński'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'.*



STALOWA WOLA. On 24 September, during a third division football match between **Stal Stalowa Wola** and Polonia Bytom, hooligans of the host team displayed a banner with Nazi content. It bore a symbol of a characteristic corpse skull with two crossed bones used during



World War II on the **SS** men's uniforms in concentration camps.

KRASNIK. On 25 September, at St John Paul II Park, during an election rally, then Prime Minister **Mateusz Morawiecki (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – Law and Justice Party)** gave a speech in which he used terms dehumanising refugees and migrants and portrayed them as a civilisational threat. He stated, *'In 4-8 years' time we can live at the same economic level as the Western*

countries, however, without these horrible mistakes of Western countries, without these hordes of Muslim migrants who terrorise the suburbs of Paris, plunder shops, destroy peaceful lives of the inhabitants.'

WARSAW. On 29 September, on the square next to the Centrum metro station (the so-called 'Frying Pan'), during a protest under the slogan *'Enough of fear propaganda – refugees and migrants welcome'* organised by the United Against Racism coalition, one of the participants of the rally wearing Muslim attire was attacked. The injured woman comes from Chechnya, is a resident of Warsaw and an activist involved in helping refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border. During the protest, one of the men insulted her and tried to violate her bodily integrity. This event was witnessed by a collaborator of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, who reported, *'The attacker cursed her, told her to leave Poland, and demanded to see a proof of her having Polish citizenship, which entitles to stay in Poland. Fortunately, the police quickly intervened and surrounded him. This man was so aggressive that he broke away from the policemen and it was clear that he was seeking physical confrontation'*. In a conversation about this incident, the woman told the representative of 'NEVER AGAIN' that *'her daughter also has difficulties at school because she is being harassed'*.

OPOLE. On 30 September, during the second division football match between **Odra Opole** and GKS Katowice, local hooligans displayed a distinctive red and white banner with a logo similar to the logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour**. Its was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto (*'Blut und Ehre'*).

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BELCHATOW. In the October edition of the monthly football hooligan magazine *'To My Kibice' ('It's Us Fans')* (No. 10/2023), a text was published about supporters of the **Siarka Tarnobrzeg** club (fourth division in 2023/24, group IV), which was illustrated with photographs taken at stadiums. These photographs featured flags with the symbol of the Celtic cross (signifying support for the supremacy of the so-called white race) displayed in the stands. One of these flags bore the colours of the Third Reich flag, with the Celtic cross in the centre instead of the swastika. In an interview published in the magazine, one member of the Siarka fan group claimed: *'For as long as we can remember, our stadium has been full of Celtic crosses and flags bearing a patriotic message'*.

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 the 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 Sprawiedliwość [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', Member of Parliament **Dobromir Sosnierz**, **Konfederacja** (Confederation, far-right party) candidate for the Sejm [1], 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 general elections in the Bialystok constituency, 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'.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

POLAND. On 2 October, at the beginning of the academic year, far-right organisation **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)** published a proclamation to students on Twitter that incited hostility towards Ukrainians. The following false accusation read, *'DIDN'T GET ACCOMODATION IN HALLS? YOUR PLACE WAS TAKEN BY AN IMMIGRANT FROM THE EAST'*. As *Młodzież Wszechpolska*, we have taken action to expose the procedure of granting rewards to universities for accepting immigrants and giving them priority for accommodation! [...] *#PolskaPanstwemNarodowym (Poland National State)*'. These false statements were illustrated with an image that featured maps of Poland and Ukraine and the slogan *'No place for you in halls? An immigrant from the East has taken it!'* Anti-Ukrainian comments were made under the post, some of which incited violence [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]: *'The place of upadlincy [1] is on the gallows'*, or *'Unfortunately, Poles are being systemically discriminated against. High time we said «enough»! Poland should be a country for Poles'* [2]. One of the far right sympathisers also posted an image with the slogan: *'Ukrainians! Get the f*ck out from Poland!'*



[1] Disrespectfully about the Ukrainians.

[2] Posted by Adam Leszczynski, member of the governing body of Młodzież Wszechpolska.

WARSAW. On 4 October, the **Goniec.pl** YouTube channel published an interview with a model **Samuela Torkowska**, far-right **Konfederacja – Confederation** party candidate in general elections in the Krakow constituency, who made anti-Ukrainian comments. At the beginning of the interview, she maintained her position from 2021, when a video with her statement was published on Twitter on the Konfederacja profile, *'I also don't want Jewry, I don't want LGBT'*. In the interview with **Mikołaj Dowejko** for Goniec, she said that her participation in the elections was related to *'the courage I showed two years ago during this famous smear campaign against me. [...] Then I showed that I had the balls and that I wouldn't apologise for my views, they haven't changed in the last two years'*. Then she expressed *'full support for Grzegorz Braun's [1] demands included in the «Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland» programme'* and presented war refugees from Ukraine as a biological threat to the Polish society, *'several tens of thousands of people suffering from AIDS or antibiotic-resistant tuberculosis have already entered Poland. It's like there are a lot of these burdens. I recommend reading this programme «Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland», it is an expert document in which all the threats are listed'*. In a similar tone, Torkowska stated that Ukraine is *'a breeding ground for surrogacy and a breeding ground for organ trafficking and child trafficking'*. During the conversation, she also agreed with the words of MP **Dobromir Sosnierz**, Konfederacja candidate for the Sejm [2] in the Ostroleka-Siedlce constituency, who on 1 October on Radio ZET expressed support for the use of violence against refugees, including women, who try to get to European countries (*'I would shoot where needed'*). When asked by a journalist, Torkowska said, *'[...] we are talking about shooting a man who is trying to cross the Polish border by force. Our soldier tells him: this is not allowed, and he keeps going, right? These people carry these weapons for a reason, right? These are not toy guns [laughter]'*. The Konfederacja candidate also expressed her racist prejudices, *'I am happy that I*

can safely return from a club in the middle of the night in Warsaw with my friend, for example, and not look around to see if there are any groups of dark-skinned men somewhere there crossing the street. We see this in France, we see this in Sweden’.

[1] Konfederacja MP, notorious anti-Semite.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On 7 October, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Stal Rzeszow, local hooligans displayed a banner inciting ideological violence in the so-called ‘nest’ (a place in the stands where cheering is organised). It bore the slogan ‘*Good night left side*’ (popular among fascists), as well as a graphic depicting a man kicking a man lying on the ground.

POLAND. In the first half of October, football hooligans joined a xenophobic pre-election campaign against migrants and refugees. Their slogans promoted hostility towards Muslims and identified them with an alleged civilisational threat.

- On 7 October, during the third division football match between **Hutnik Krakow** and Sandecja Nowy Sacz local hooligans displayed a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch saying ‘*We don't want Paris in Krakow – stop to illegal immigrants*’.



- On 8 October, during the top flight football match between **Legia Warsaw** and **Rakow Czestochowa**, hooligans of both clubs displayed two banners with identical content: ‘*We don't want Berlin, Lampedusa, France here – zero tolerance for immigrants*’. Wojciech Cygan, chairman of the Supervisory Board of RKS Rakow Czestochowa and Vice-President of the Polish Football Association, was present at the match.



- On 8 October, during the top flight match between **Slask Wroclaw** and Gornik Zabrze, hooligans of the local team hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch with the slogan 'Let's defend European borders, compatriots, let's protect Poland from an Islamic Trojan horse'.



- On 8 October, during the third division football match between Stomil Olsztyn and **Olimpia Elblag**, visiting hooligans displayed a banner reading: 'We don't want Berlin, Lampedusa, France here – zero tolerance for immigrants'.



None of the clubs was fined by the football authorities for displaying flags promoting hatred. **Marcin Warchol**, **Suwerenna Polska** (**Sovereign Poland** party) Member of Parliament, praised the hooligans on Twitter. He published photos of xenophobic banners and wrote, 'Kudos to the Fans ! It's **POLAND** here ! <flexed biceps emoji>'.

STOCKHOLM (SWEDEN). On 7 October, **Waldemar Buda**, then Minister for Economic Development and

Technology, posted a video on Twitter in which he reported that he was *'on the streets of Stockholm'*. Passing by dark-skinned citizens, he complained that *'in general, we don't see native Swedes here'*. Later, strolling among older non-white people sitting on benches and women in hijabs (Muslim headscarves) walking with their children, while not troubled by anyone, he tried to create a sense of fear that would allegedly prevail in the city due to their presence. He perorated, *'There are a lot of police here. Today I learned that a level four out of five alert levels had been introduced because of... a terrorist threat. Evidently Stockholm has changed. It's incredible what the streets look like here today. I think this is the proof that this migration policy here has gone too far. And this is definitely a problem in Western Europe, but it's really evident here in Sweden.'* He tagged his post with the propagandist, anti-immigrant hashtag *'#StopPrzymusowejRelokacji'* (*'Stop the Forced Relocation'*). There were many critical comments under Buda's video, e.g. Prof. Ben Stanley, British-Polish political scientist and lecturer at the Warsaw School of Social Sciences and Humanities, wrote, *'There are a lot of native Swedes in Rinkeby [district of Stockholm]. Perhaps you mean «white people»? If so, why don't you just say it?'*



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POZNAN. On 8 October, Wielkopolskie Voivodeship Education Superintendent **Aleksandra Kuz, Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice Party)** MP candidate in the 2023 general elections, posted a tweet in which she promoted anti-immigrant content using the tragedy of a woman kidnapped and murdered by **Hamas** terrorists. 22-year-old Shani Louk had been kidnapped during attacks on Israel carried out on 7 October. The footage of the terrorists carrying her desecrated body in a car was released on the internet. Kuz published a frame from this video and added the comment, *'If you don't want such things in Poland, vote in the referendum'* [1]. There was a lot of condemnation under Kuz's post, *'It is shameful that such a person holds the position of Deputy Superintendent of Education in Poznan – using the tragedy of helpless people attacked by Hamas for national politics! Not to mention her lack of knowledge of the background of that conflict'* (Deputy Mayor of Poznan Mariusz Wisniewski); *'Electoral promotion using the desecrated corpse of a war victim is something for which there are no words in the language of civilised people'* (Krzysztof Luft, journalist, former member of the National Broadcasting Council), and *'Do you know that manipulation is a terrible sin?'* (Fr. Grzegorz Kramer, Jesuit). Kuz deleted her post and published a new one in which... she included almost the same content as before, *'I have removed drastic pictures of the German woman Shani Louk who was murdered by Hamas. I still stand by my claim that if we do not want such horrors in our country, we should take part in the referendum and vote 4 times NO.'*

[1] Nationwide referendum had been scheduled for 15 October, the day of the general elections. One of the questions was: *'Do you support admission of thousands of illegal immigrants from the Middle East and Africa, according to the forced relocation mechanism imposed by the European bureaucracy?'*

WROCLAW. On 9 October, **Krzysztof Tuduj**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament and its candidate in the general elections in the Wrocław constituency, 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 głównym wejściem do senatu. Brak słów. Może pomożecie skomentować?



11:15 AM · 9 paź 2023 · 259,3 tys. Wyświetlenia

- *'f*ck the pejs'* [1].
- *'We have a knesejm in Poland, so the flag is also in order.'*
- *'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.

[1] *'Pejs'* means *'sidelock'* and is used as an antisemitic slur, thus, in this context it refers to Jews.

[2] *'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.

WARSAW. On 10 October, appearing on the *'Guest of Radio Zet'* show hosted by Bogdan Rymanowski, **Krzysztof Bosak**, **Konfederacja (Confederation)**, far-right party Member of Parliament and its candidate in the general elections in the Białystok constituency, 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 !!!!!’
- ‘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’.

[1] UPA is the acronym for the **Ukrainian Insurrection Army**, active during World War II and responsible for the Volhynian massacre of Poles in 1940s.

WARSAW. On 10 October, **Krzysztof Bosak, Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament and its candidate in the parliamentary elections in the Podlasie Voivodeship constituency, was asked by Witold Jurasz [1] about the activity of Konfederacja MPs [2] 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*’ [3]. Bosak did not condemn the behaviour of the fellow 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*’.

[1] In the programme ‘*International Report*’ broadcast by the mainstream Onet.pl website.

[2] **Grzegorz Braun, Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Artur Dziambor, Robert Winnicki, and Konrad Berkowicz.**

[3] ‘*Work makes you free*’.

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 (Law and Justice)** party candidate in the general elections in the Katowice constituency, 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 [1], **Marek Jakubiak** [2], **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice)** party candidate for the Sejm [3] in one of the Warsaw constituencies, was asked about his stance on the attack on Israel by Hamas, which had occurred in the beginning of October. In response, he disseminated false

information that allegedly the military equipment of the terrorists came from Ukraine [4]. 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.

[1] Broadcast in a network of Catholic radio stations and uploaded on YouTube.

[2] Brewer and former Member of Parliament, general secretary of the **Kukiz'15** party.

[3] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[4] Which is one of the themes of Putin's propaganda.

KATOWICE. On 14 October, during a fifth division football match (group: Silesian I) between Rozwoj Katowice and **Ruch Radzionkow**, visiting hooligans hung out a **Confederate** flag on the fence surrounding the pitch (it was used in the US Civil War between 1861 and 1865 by southern states, today it is considered a symbol of racial persecution).

PIEKOSZOW. On 21 October, in this town located in the Kielce county, one of the residents, 36-year-old **Szczepan B.**, brutally beat a twelve-year-old boy from Ukraine. The incident unveiled as follows: when the man noticed two boys, Ukrainian refugees, who were passing near him, he started shouting aggressively at them. The teenagers were scared, so they separated, and then the attacker followed one of them. *'While following the boy, he shouted and insulted him for being Ukrainian. He vulgarly ordered him to leave Poland and return to Ukraine. He also insulted the boy's mother. While running away, the twelve-year-old managed to take a photo of the man with his phone. At some point, Szczepan B. caught up with the boy and blocked his path'*, Beata Zielinska-Janaszek, head of the Kielce-Wschod District Public Prosecutor's Office reported. She described the drastic attack, *'The perpetrator insulted but also beat, punched, kicked the boy's head and entire body with his legs, causing the child to lose consciousness, as well as injuries in the form of, among others, bloody runs, abrasions, and injuries to two teeth'*. The police arrested the perpetrator. The Public Prosecutor's Office filed indictment with the court in which Szczepan B. was charged with the hooligan act without any reason, insulting with words generally considered offensive, and using physical violence against a minor Ukrainian citizen because of his nationality. Moreover, the man was to be held responsible for insulting police officers during their intervention.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On October 27, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Wisla Krakow, hooligans of the host club displayed a banner inciting ideological violence in the so-called 'nest' (a place in the stands where cheering is organised). It featured the slogan *'Good night left side'* (popular with radical groups) and a graphic depicting a man kicking a man lying on the ground.



CZESTOCHOWA. On 30 October, Catholic weekly *'Niedziela'* published an article written by the (now former) Ombudsman for Children **Mikolaj Pawlak**. It contained offensive comments

towards LGBT people, as well as Muslims. In the article entitled 'Borders Mean Safety' Pawlak stated, *'When fake rainbow-coloured rags will be hung above school blackboards instead of crosses, and crescent moons in some city districts, we will live in a world ruled by generations raised without values and principles, ignorant of borders and unable to fight evil [...].'*

WARSAW. On 30 October, a representative of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association reported to the City of Warsaw (via the City Contact Centre) that someone painted graffiti inciting hatred towards people belonging to sexual minorities on a pedestrian bridge in Targówek district. It was the slogan *'F*ck LGBT'*. After two weeks, when the inscription was still on the footbridge, the representative of 'NEVER AGAIN' repeated her report to the City of Warsaw, *'I would like to ask for an answer whether the lack of reaction on your part is not in contradiction with the Social Diversity Policy which was adopted through the resolution of the Warsaw City Council (LXIII/2071/2022) on 7 April 2022? This document includes, among others, such an entry: «People representing municipal institutions respond to violations of the law, threats of violence or discrimination,. They know relevant laws and municipal regulations». Please let me know if the offensive inscription will be removed, and if so, when?'* This message remained unanswered. On 19 February 2024 the City of Warsaw received a report about the same graffiti for the third time, again with no response. On 15 April, during a conference at the Polin Museum of the History of Polish Jews, a representative of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association informed the Warsaw Mayor's Plenipotentiary for Equal Treatment Karolina Zdrodowska about this situation. After sending the report to her office, the inscription *'F*ck LGBT'* was removed (almost six months have passed since the first report to the city authorities!).



NOVEMBER 2023

BELCHATOW. In the November edition of the monthly football hooligan magazine *'To My Kibice'* (*'It's Us Fans'*) (No. 11/2023), a text was published about **Olimpia Elbląg** club's fans (third division in 2023/24), which was illustrated with photographs of graffiti on city walls. One of these photographs presented a graffiti with a large Celtic cross sign (an international racist symbol), which had been painted by Olimpia hooligans in Elbląg.

TYCHY. On 2 November, during the 1/16 final football match of Polish Cup between **GKS Tychy** – Legia Warszawa, hooligans of **Gornik Walbrzych**, who are friends with fans of the local club, hung out a banner with the symbol of the Celtic cross on the fence surrounding the pitch. It symbolises support for the racist ideology. In turn, some GKS Tychy 'fans' exposed scarves with the so-called Totenkopf (a distinctive corpse skull, which was a symbol used on the **SS** men's uniforms in Nazi concentration camps).



WARSAW. On 3 November, an interview between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Krzysztof Kasprzak** of **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family Foundation)** [1], was published on the **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**) channel [2]. The main topic of the interview were the plans to penalise hate speech related to sexual orientation. Kasprzak's statements were full of contempt for minorities – he expressed, among other things, his concern that *'for informing, for example, that LGBT is the source of all pathologies, including paedophilia, you will go to prison'*. In addition, he predicted that *'legal consequences of one's hate speech'* would have to be borne by the *'ordinary citizen'*, if he did not like *'the fact that some disgusting pervert comes to his nursery or school to tell his children about his sexual fantasies, some drag queen, or other perv who should be put in prison for ten years'*.

[1] Known for promoting radical legislation restricting LGBT rights.

[2] Broadcast on Facebook.

SANOK. On 4 November, during the fifth division football match (Subcarpathian group) between **Ekoball Stal Sanok** and Polonia Przemysl, local hooligans displayed a banner with racist content. It featured a Celtic cross, which is an international symbol of the supremacy of the so-called white race.



CZESTOCHOWA. On 5 November, during the top flight football match between **Rakow Czestochowa** and Zagłębie Lubin, local hooligans hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch with the slogan *'Blood and Honour'*. This was the motto of the **Hitlerjugend** (*'Blut und Ehre'*). Nowadays these words are used as the name of the neo-Nazi international organisation **Blood and Honour**, whose branches also exist in Poland. Rakow's distinctive red and white flag bore a logo resembling that of this organisation. In addition, some hooligans of the Czestochowa club displayed scarves with the same content.



BIELSKO-BIALA. On 7 November, during the Polish Cup football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Pogon Szczecin, 'fans' of the host team displayed a banner with the slogan *'Good night left side'*, popular among neo-fascist organisations, and a distinctive graphic depicting a man kicking a man lying on the ground. The flag incited ideologically motivated violence.

WARSAW. On 7 November, **Krzysztof Kasprzak** of **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family Foundation)** appeared on the **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**) channel [1] in a programme hosted by **Jan Bodakowski**. Kasprzak made comments insulting the LGBT community. The starting point for the conversation was **Kaja Godek's** [2] trial, which, as Kasprzak described, was brought against her by *'sixteen gay activists who felt offended by her statements that homosexuality is a perversion and that homosexuals sexually abuse children'*. According to Bodakowski's interlocutor, *'the curiosity of this situation lies in the fact that Kaja Godek did not name any of these activists who sued her, but spoke in general about a community where, as we know, there is a very high rate of paedophilia'*.

[1] Broadcast on Facebook.

[2] Zycie i Rodzina founder, anti-choice and anti-LGBT activist.

WARSAW. On 8 November, the **wRealu24** channel [1] featured a broadcast with the participation of **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) MP **Grzegorz Braun**, which was hosted by **Marcin Rola**. During the conversation, Braun made comments tinged with antisemitism and xenophobia. He also spoke out against helping refugees from Ukraine. He stated, *'Since the world began, no Jew or Ukrainian will be a brother to a Pole, we should get this idea out of our heads'*. Later in the broadcast, Braun spoke offensively about LGBT people, *'Deviants will not teach tolerance to our children. Stop the sodomy propaganda in Polish schools [...]. The so-called equality parades are manifestations whose [...] aim is to tame public opinion and desensitise it to the criminal nature of sodomy practices'*. He also added, *'Stop the propaganda of deviations in public space [...]. Propaganda of deviations [...] is simply incitement to crime and this is what the police and the public prosecutor's office should be interested in'*.

Braun uploaded fragments of this interview on his YouTube channel. He entitled them as follows: *'Since the world began, no Jew or Ukrainian will be a brother to a Pole'* (11 November) and *'Deviants will not teach tolerance to our children!'* (14 November). Hateful comments were made under these videos, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Stop the Ukrainisation and Jewry of Poland'*.
- *'the fallen and the viper tribe will never be our brothers'*.
- *'Leftie pervs, out!!'*
- *'Deviants and lunatics should go to Muslim countries to educate'*.

[1] Broadcast on the **BanBye** platform.

BIELSK PODLASKI. Probably on the night of 9/10 November, 'unknown perpetrators' painted two swastikas on the premises of the Jewish cemetery at Branska Street. These symbols were placed on the wall and on a commemorative plaque containing the inscription, *'During the German occupation, after the annihilation of the Jewish community in November 1942, the Germans took the matzevot from the cemetery by train in an unknown direction'*, as well as information that the



remains of these tombstones were returned to the cemetery in 2019. The antisemitic devastation was noticed on 10 November by police officers patrolling the area near the necropolis. This event was condemned by the Mayor of Bielsk Podlaski Jaroslaw Borowski, who wrote on Facebook, *'A sad case in Bielsko. We are reporting a crime, the services are already on it'*. The swastikas have been painted over. However, it has not been made public whether the perpetrators of the devastation have been identified.

KRAKOW. On 10 November, during the top flight football match between Cracovia Krakow and **Slask Wroclaw**, hooligans of the visiting team displayed a banner with a logo resembling the logo of the **Blood and Honour** organisation (this was the **Hitlerjugend** motto used as the name of this neo-Nazi international group). It featured the inscription: *'Be proud of who you are. The sign of the eagle, the power symbol, will guide us'*, which was a quote from a song by a skinhead rock band **Honour**.

GORZOW WLKP. On 11 November, during the fourth division football match (group III) **KS Stilon Gorzow Wielkopolski** – **Slask II Wroclaw**, local hooligans displayed flags with racist content. They displayed a banner with a Celtic cross, an international symbol used by extremist groups to manifest support for the supremacy of the so-called white race, in a central place in the stands (the so-called 'nest' where the cheering is organised). In addition, Stilon 'supporters' displayed a banner resembling the **Confederation** flag. It was used in the USA during the Civil War (1861-1865) by the southern states in defense of slavery. It is nowadays considered a symbol of racism, exclusion and violence against African-Americans and has been removed from public spaces in the United States for several years for these reasons.



It has not been made public if any consequences have been drawn by the football authorities against the Gorzow club due to the promotion of racist content during the match.

PLOCK. On 11 November, during the second division football match between Wisla Plock and **Odra Opole**, visiting hooligans displayed a distinctive red and white banner, with a logo resembling a logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour**. Its name was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto (*'Blut und Ehre'*).

RADZIONKOW. On 11 November, during the fifth division football match (group: Silesian I) between **Ruch Radzionkow** and Szczakowianka Jaworzno, local hooligans hung out a flag with a so-called 'falanga' (a characteristic hand with a sword, a symbol used in the interwar period by Polish fascist organisations, nowadays used by the extreme right) on the fence around the pitch.



WARSAW. On 11 November, the so-called March of Independence took place. It was attended, among others, by representatives of **Młodzież Wszechpolska** [1], **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny** [2], **Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski** [3], **Autonomiczni Nacjonalisci** [4], and football hooligans. It was also attended by Members of Polish Parliament, including **Grzegorz Braun**, **Krzysztof Bosak**, **Włodzimierz Skalik**, and **Witold Tumanowicz** [5], **Janusz Kowalski** and Member of the European Parliament **Patryk Jaki** [6], as well as another MEP, **Dominik Tarczynski** [7]. Participants at this gathering promoted hatred against minorities.

- Some of them trampled over, spat on and burned rainbow flags, symbolising the LGBT community, as well as flags of the European Union. Two destroyed flags (LGBT and EU) were attached to a car moving along with the march and dragged on the ground. In addition, according to gazeta.pl website, one of the participants in the march snatched a rainbow flag from a woman protesting against the far right and set it on fire.



- Participants of the Independence March chanted slogans that were racist, xenophobic, homophobic, and inciting violence: *'White honour, white pride'*, *'White power is and was'*, *'White colour, white pride'*, *'Poland for Poles'*, *'There will be a stick for the leftie snout'*, *'Hit, hit the anarchist and the f*g'*, and *'Whoever supports Razem party [left-wing Together party] will be treated with gas'*.



- Moreover, the demonstrators displayed numerous banners with the Celtic cross [8], a flag in the colours of the Third Reich (with the Celtic cross in the centre instead of a swastika), a banner reading *'White Boys'*, flags with the Nazi symbol of the so-called Black Sun [9], and a banner with a so-called 'toporzel' symbol [10]. Tomasz Fenske, journalist at mainstream Tok FM Radio, reported, *'I saw a group carrying a banner that read «Defend White Europe» next to people with a Celtic cross banner, people connected to Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski'*. The journalist remarked that he did not see any reaction from the police.



- Supporters of Grzegorz Braun's **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej** [11] carried banners with the slogans *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'* (conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians) and *'Stop the USraelisation of the Polish national interest'* (conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be ruled by Jews and Americans). The latter was condemned by the Israeli Ambassador to Poland Yacov Livne, who tweeted pictures of Konfederacja's banners on 12

November along with the comment, ‘*They are fighting triple «evil»: the US, the EU and Israel... no words*’. In response, Braun wrote, ‘*Go home, Your Excellency, go home as soon as possible – or to hell, as you prefer*’. On the same day, the Ambassador's statement was commented on in an insulting way by **Piotr Heszen** [12]. He posted on Twitter, ‘*The Jew is flabbergasted*’.



- During the march, scarves

with the slogan ‘*Europe for whites. Poland for Poles*’ were sold on street stalls. Daniel Arciszewski, reporter for the Gonic internet website, tried to speak to a vendor about the racist products, but got insulted by him.



- **Paul Golding** [13] and **Ashlea Simon** [14], leaders of the British anti-Muslim organisation **Britain First**, were also present. MEP Dominik Tarczynski took pictures with Golding and Simon and posted them on Twitter. In one of the photos, Tarczynski made a gesture that is sometimes used by racist extremists – for example, it was used in courtroom by Brenton Tarrant who killed 51 people at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, in 2019. Commenting on the photo with Tarczynski, Golding wrote, ‘*No to immigration. No to multiculturalism. No to diversity*’.

- Among the participants of the march were also representatives of the far right from the UK, who displayed the flag of the neo-Nazi organisation **British Movement** [15]. In addition, they carried a second banner, with the



Celtic cross and the inscription ‘*14 words*’ [16]. The march was also attended by members of far-right groups from Hungary (**Mi Hazank Ifjai**), Italy, France, Estonia, Greece, and Denmark.



The Warsaw Police Headquarters reported that 56 people were detained before and during the march.

[1] All-Polish Youth.

[2] National-Radical Camp.

[3] National Rebirth of Poland.

[4] Autonomous Nationalists.

[5] All of far-right **Konfederacja** (Confederation) party.

[6] Both of **Suwerenna Polska** (Sovereign Poland party).

[7] Of **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc** (Law and Justice).

[8] Considered international racist symbol.

[9] Used during World War II by the Nazis.

[10] Pre-war symbol of the Polish fascist-neopagan **Zadruga** movement and its successors.

[11] **Confederation of the Polish Crown** party.

[12] Of Konfederacja Korony Polskiej.

[13] Sentenced to prison in 2018 for inciting hate towards Muslims.

[14] Known for racist statements such as *'British people can't be Black, English blood is white'*. Responsible for organised harassment of asylum seekers.

[15] It was founded in the 1960s, used to shock with the cult of **Hitler**, and its members were responsible for violent racist assaults.

[16] Referring to the so-called *'fourteen words'*, the neo-Nazi slogan *'We must secure the existence of our people and a future for white children'*.



BIELSKO-BIALA. On 12 November, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Miedz Legnica, 'fans' of the host team displayed a banner with a slogan *'Anti Antifa'*, which expresses hatred of anti-fascist ideology. In addition, Podbeskidzie 'supporters' displayed a banner inciting ideologically motivated violence. It featured a graphic depicting an aggressor kicking a man lying on the ground, as well as the slogan *'Good night left side'*, popular among neo-fascists.

CHELM. On 12 November, during the fourth division football match (group IV) **Chelmianka Chelm** - Podlasie Biala Podlaska, hooligans of the host team displayed a banner with a logo resembling the logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour**. Its name was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto *'Blut und Ehre'* (*'Blood and Honour'*).



PISARZOWICE. On 20 November, in one of the schools in this town located in Bielsko county, an 11-year-old pupil from Ukraine was beaten by three 13-year-old pupils from the same school. The boy was taken to hospital, but fortunately he was not seriously injured and after examination he was discharged home. Inspector Ilona Michalczyk from the Municipal Police Headquarters in Bielsko-Biala informed that three juvenile perpetrators would appear before the family court for violating the physical integrity of the 11-year-old from Ukraine. The school management issued a statement, *'Due to a dangerous incident which took place during classes organised by LKS Pionier [1], the school decided to provide pedagogical and psychological assistance. Pupils of classes 5 to 8 will be offered meetings with a psychologist on the topic of peer violence. The psychologist will also take actions jointly with teachers to minimise the effects of the incident'*.

[1] Local football club that was invited to lead some additional classes that day.

WARSAW. On 20 November, **Laura Lipinska** of **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family Foundation)**, whose activities negate the rights of non-heteronormative people, was interviewed by **Jan Bodakowski** on the **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**) channel [1]. The topic of the conversation was the IVF method, which Lipinska used as a pretext to make comments with homophobic overtones. According to her, one of the significant problems associated with this procedure would be that it *'allows lesbians to have children'*, which results

in *'the child being born into a predetermined pathological environment'*. Lipinska also deduced that in the future *'it may happen that gays will want to adopt children in Poland'*, and in such cases the child *'ends up again in a very pathological environment'*.

[1] Broadcast on Facebook.

WARSAW. On 23 November, during a speech in the Sejm [1], **Konfederacja** (Confederation party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** expressed support for **Andrzej Lukawski**, extreme right-wing activist convicted in 2021 for hate speech [2], and with appreciation repeated his words inciting to violence, *'Mr. Andrzej Lukawski formulated a thought which is from my point of view noble, bluntly stated, «We'll find a stick for Banderite snouts»'* [3]. At the end of the speech, Braun again made anti-Ukrainian threats, *'Mr. Andrzej Lukawski is to be imprisoned for writing on the internet, «We'll find a stick for Banderite snouts»'. Well, I hope, honourable Madam Speaker, that we will find it'*.



Braun uploaded his speech from the Sejm on his YouTube channel and entitled it *'«We'll find a stick for Banderite snouts»'*. There were many comments under this material inciting to violence against Ukrainians [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'May these Bandera savages be expelled from Poland for good.'*
- *'Have you been brought up on the streets, you Ukrainian scum!!!!'*
- *'[We will hit] The Banderite crap once with a tryzub [4], once with a hakenkreuz!'*
- *'That's right, we'll find a stick for Banderite snouts, the guy is right.'*
- *'The sooner this stick is found, the better.'*
- *'Can I use an axe instead of a stick?'*

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[2] Lukawski was sentenced in 2021 to 7 months of imprisonment, suspended for 3 years. The court additionally obliged him to *'refrain from publishing on the internet statements that are «insulting and with discriminatory content based on national and ethnic affiliation»'*. In August 2023, the District Court for Warsaw-Mokotow revoked the suspension of the sentence, and in October the District Court in Warsaw upheld this decision. Lukawski was sent to prison, from which he was released after a few days. **Dariusz Matecki, Suwerenna Polska** (Sovereign Poland party) MP intervened in his case.

[3] Referring to **Stepan Bandera**, Ukrainian nationalist leader in the 20th century. In practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today.

[4] Ukrainian symbol.

[5] Swastika.

WARSAW. On 29 November, the **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**) channel broadcast on Facebook a conversation on the Middle East conflict featuring **Radosław Patlewicz**, author of books promoting myths of ritual murders allegedly committed by Jews against Christians. Offering a 'pragmatic' point of view, Patlewicz managed to reconcile Islamophobia with antisemitism, *'we want neither Jewish refugees, nor Palestinian refugees in Poland'*. The latter because, he argued, *'after all, we know what Muslims do in Western Europe'*, and the

former because ‘we have many historical examples of how Jews behaved when they were living in Poland in masses’. This drove Patlewicz to the following declaration, ‘these are not people I would like to see here all the time on Polish streets’. The columnist also went in the antisemitic direction by arguing vaguely that ‘Zionism has inherent features of national socialism’, and that in the case of Israel ‘we are dealing with a full-on national-socialist state [...]. That is to say, those Hitlerian standards are maintained quite well’.

DECEMBER 2023

KIELCE. On 2 December, during the top flight football match between **Korona Kielce** and **Lech Poznan**, local hooligans once again displayed a flag with racist content. It bore the inscription ‘BHBD’. An



elaboration of this abbreviation are the words of a song by the neo-Nazi music band **Konkwista 88**:



‘It was a fight to the death for white honour and blood / For white pride, the Celtic cross’, the refrain: ‘White honour, white pride’. Lech ‘fans’, on the other hand, displayed a banner inciting ideological violence. It displayed a neo-fascist slogan ‘Lech Poznan skinheads. Good night left side’ and a graphic depicting a man being violent towards a supporter of anti-fascist ideas.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 4 December, the **3dom** publishing house from Czestochowa, known for publishing antisemitic books, shared a video on their YouTube and Facebook accounts encouraging to financially support **Janusz Walus** – racist killer who shot Chris Hani, a South African anti-apartheid leader, in 1993. Walus was sentenced to life imprisonment and he has never expressed remorse. In 2022, following the decision of the Constitutional Court of South Africa, he was released on parole.

The video contained the following statement, ‘All profits from sales of the 3dom publishing house shop on 6 December will be allocated to support Janusz Walus. Hang in there, Brother!’ and a photo of Walus. The following people encouraged to participate in this initiative related to the sale of books: **Tomasz Stala** [1], **Przemyslaw Holocher** [2], **Grzegorz Braun** [3], **Marcin Rola** and **Piotr Szlachetowicz** [4], and **Radoslaw Patlewicz** [5]. At the end of the film, Stala turned directly to Walus saying, ‘Hang in there, Brother!’

On 7 December, an update was shared on 3dom Facebook page that 166 people had participated in this fundraising event.

[1] Owner of the 3dom publishing house, unsuccessful **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) candidate in the 2023 Polish general elections. In July 2023 he openly admitted that his views ‘have evolved towards [...] fascism’.

[2] Head of the far-right **Magna Polonia** foundation and former leader of **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny** (**National Radical Camp**).

[3] **Konfederacja** MP, notorious for his hateful statements about Jews, Ukrainians, or LGBT people.

[4] Editors of the far-right **wRealu24** channel, where content inciting hatred was promoted – in August 2022 this channel was removed by YouTube in cooperation with the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association.

[5] Author of books perpetuating antisemitic messages about alleged murders committed by Jews on Christians.

WARSAW. On 11 December, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, commentator for the right-wing **TV Republika** channel, uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he denied the existence of antisemitism in Poland and insisted that Jews themselves were to blame for its existence. He stated that antisemitism *'is not a social problem in Poland [...]. Why? Because there are no Jews. There are no Jews, in the sense that they do not form a social problem'*. Furthermore, he treated the academic achievements of Prof. Jan Tomasz Gross [1], as well as the public activities of those who condemn antisemitic manifestations – as acting against Poland. He stated, *'Let's leave antisemitism aside, because it is a hobby of certain lunatics of Jan Tomasz Gross type, and a stick with which to bash Poland on the international stage'*.

[1] Author of books on the Jedwabne pogrom, a massacre of Jewish inhabitants of Jedwabne perpetrated by the Polish population of the town in presence of German occupying forces in 1941.

WARSAW. On 12 December, in the building of the Sejm [1], **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** disrupted a ceremony on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah, and committed acts of violence. He burst in with a powder fire extinguisher and used it to put out the candles burning on the nine-branched candelabra (hanukkiah). One of the ceremony participants, Magdalena Gudzińska-Adamczyk, tried to stop Braun, but she was attacked by him. She reported the incident, *'I grabbed his sleeve, trying to stop him, shouting what he was doing, asking him to stop. He aimed the nozzle of the activated fire extinguisher at my face and hit me in the chest with his hand, near the collarbone. For a moment, I stopped seeing anything, but I kept shouting for him to stop and saying that it was a shame to attack a religious ceremony and to hit a woman'*. Confusion broke out and the corridor in front of the entrance to the Assembly Room gallery was covered with smoke. Among participants of the meeting there were also children, who had to be led by the Sejm Speaker's Guard to a safe area.



Shortly after this incident, Braun spoke the following words from the Sejm rostrum, *'There can be no place for acts of racist, tribal, wild, Talmudic worship on the premises of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland. [...] You, ladies and gentlemen, are not aware of the message of the content of this act which is innocently called Hanukkah. [...] Racist motives have been attributed to me here, whereas I am restoring a state of normality and balance, putting an end to acts of satanic, Talmudic, racist triumphalism, because this is the message of these holidays'*. Braun's statement was interrupted by the Sejm Speaker Szymon Holownia, who excluded him from the debate.

Minister for Justice Adam Bodnar pointed out that Braun's act may amount to four criminal offences under §119, §157, §195, and §257 of the Penal Code. The District Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw announced that it had initiated proceedings in this case *ex officio*.

On 17 January 2024, the Sejm decided by majority vote to lift the parliamentary immunity of MP Grzegorz Braun and gave its consent for bringing him to criminal accountability. The Public Prosecutor's Office has gathered sufficient evidence to charge the Konfederacja MP with seven criminal offences which took place between 2020-2023. On 9 April 2024, he was charged by the

public prosecutor with, among other things, the unauthorised entry into the Institute of Cardiology and using violence against its director Lukasz Szumowski, the destroying of Christmas tree decorated in the colours of Ukraine in the Regional Court building in Krakow, and the violent break-up of a lecture on Holocaust in the German Historical Institute in Warsaw.

Magdalena Gudzińska-Adamczyk, injured as a result of the attack by the Konfederacja MP, lost consciousness on the way home and was taken to hospital. On 18 December, her solicitor submitted a notification to the Warsaw-Srodmiescie District Public Prosecutor's Office against Braun, which concerned, among others, *'causing health damage'* and *'assaults motivated by religious intolerance'*.

The aggression committed by Braun was condemned by many. Marian Turski, former KL Auschwitz-Birkenau prisoner, said in a statement to the media, *'Grzegorz Braun showed his face of a Polish fascist'*. He also added, *'If you don't respect other people's religious feelings, you're a scoundrel'*.

Hanukkah is an eight-day historical Jewish holiday celebrated during the winter solstice. The central ritual of this holiday is lighting candles on a candelabra. Hanukkah has been lit in the Sejm since 2007. The lights symbolise peace, tolerance, and freedom.

On 12 December, **3dom** publishing house from Czestochowa [2] shared on their YouTube channel a video entitled 'Braun: why should Hanukkah candles be extinguished?!' which included fragments of the MP's speech from 2017 [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]. During the meeting with the audience, Braun mocked the holiday of Hanukkah and falsely attributed to it alleged fuelling of hostility towards non-Jews. He appealed to *'a certain contemporary American commentator on the Jewish tradition'* and declared that *'Hanukkah is essentially a celebration of Jewish intolerance'*. He continued, *'Its intolerance towards everything that is not orthodox, everything non-kosher. It is not a celebration of fraternisation of everyone with everyone else, it is a celebration of strict diagnosis of who is ours and who is not ours, who was associated with Greeks, whoever became Hellenised, we will chop off his head, like Judith'*. In his speech, Braun emphasised that Hanukkah is *'a holiday of Jewish intolerance, a holiday of strict divisions, divisions marked with the sword by Judith. So what do we celebrate here? We celebrate the response of American Jews to Christmas, we celebrate the holiday of intolerance'*.

On 14 December, on the YouTube channel of **Michał Cichy** [3], a conversation with MP Grzegorz Braun about the incident he committed in the Sejm was shared. In this interview, he called his aggressive behaviour a *'parliamentary intervention'* and made a number of antisemitic comments. He described the celebration of Hanukkah in the Sejm as an *'excess'*, *'an act of dark, wild, racist, tribal, Talmudic worship'* and also *'an act of racist resentment, Jewish triumphalism over non-Jews. This is, to put it briefly, a celebration of genocide. [...] All this lighting of candles is [...] a triumph of Jews over slaughtered non-Jews'*. Later in the conversation, Braun called members of the Chabad-Lubavitch organisation [4] *'Talmudists-Satanists'*, other religious Jews – *'Jewish sectarians'*, and called non-religious Jews believers in the *'religion of the Holocaust'*. Moreover, during the interview, the Konfederacja MP painted a conspiratorial (and bizarre) vision of the future, containing also homophobic accents: he expressed the belief that children would have to *'be taught tolerance by deviants and promoters of deviation'* (both insults referred

to LGBT people). Within five days, this material was viewed over 1,039,400 times and almost 14,000 comments were made underneath, most of them expressing support for Braun.

On 14 December, a conversation with MP Grzegorz Braun, who made a number of statements tinged with antisemitism, was shared on **Leszek Szymowski's** YouTube channel. Braun said the following about the celebration of Hanukkah, *'Why should this ritual arouse [...] objection of a normal person? [...] This is a celebration of a Jewish genocide of non-Jews. [...] Talmudists convey in their tradition a wild, tribal triumphalism'*. He called lighting of the Hanukkah candles a *'Satanic act'* and encouraged people to repeat the aggressive act he committed during following year's Hanukkah celebrations in the Sejm, *'One can and should react in different ways. I will gladly applaud all other forms of reacting to such moral turpitude as the propaganda of Talmudism and demonic Satanism in the Polish Sejm. [...] At this time next year, I will be on the lookout for all those who believe that [it is necessary] to professionally extinguish fires started in public spaces [5]. I applaud all forms of dissent and attempts to put an end to such activities'*. Later in the conversation, Braun called Judaism *'the ideological program of the Talmudic, Satanic liturgy'*, and about the Talmud he said that it is *'the «Jewish soul», in me this soul arouses horror and abomination, it is monstrous and hideous'*.

On 18 December, Grzegorz Braun uploaded on his YouTube channel an interview hosted by **Tomasz Sommer**, editor-in-chief of the far right bi-weekly *'Najwyższy Czas!'* (*'High Time!'*). During the interview, the Konfederacja MP manipulated the message of Judaism and once again falsely presented Hanukkah as an act of hostility towards non-Jews. He declared, *'This is a celebration of genocide, this is a celebration of extermination. [...] This is a celebration of tribal triumph over foreigners who, according to the sages of the Talmud, are not even human, although they may resemble humans'*. And further, in this contemptuous exultation, Braun assured that his attack on the Hanukkah celebrations in the Sejm was justified, *'For me, this is pure Satanism, this is a wild celebration of racism, resentment, contempt, celebrating extermination, and I found it appropriate and urgently necessary to oppose it'*, and *'I referred here to the inherent evil of this action, this religious act, which for me bears the hallmarks of Satanism, and therefore propagation of evil'*. In turn, Sommer praised Braun's aggressive speech and added some Islamophobic conspiracy threads, *'We found out that some wild witchcraft has been carried out in the Polish Sejm for years and only one man opposes it, and witchcraft is, of course, nothing more than marking the conquered territory in exactly the same way as it happens with the expansion of Islam'*.

Sommer's conversation with Braun has been viewed over 68,000 times in one day. The description of the broadcast on YouTube included the tag *'#TuJestPolskaNiePolin'* (*'This Is Poland, Not Polin'* – 'Polin' means 'Poland' in Hebrew).

[1] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[2] Known for publishing antisemitic books. Its owner is **Tomasz Stala**, who unsuccessfully ran for the Sejm as Konfederacja candidate.

[3] Editor of martial arts website MMA.pl, who unsuccessfully ran for the Sejm as Konfederacja candidate.

[4] Hasidic movement that was founded at the turn of the 19th century and operates within the Orthodox branch of Judaism.

[5] This is how Braun described his attack on the Hanukkah celebrations.

WARSAW. On 12 December, **Wojciech Olszanski**, leader of the far-right **Kamraci (Comrades)** organisation [1], broadcast a video in which he expressed support for the antisemitic act that the

Konfederacja (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** committed in the building of the Sejm [2] on the same day [3]. Olszanski, standing in front of the Sejm building, ranted, 'Mr. Grzegorz Braun did some cleaning up. The Sejm is not a synagogue. [...] Maybe we will sing: «What the foe by force has spoiled, Fire extinguisher in hand we'll gain» [4]. Mr. Grzegorz Braun extinguished Polin [5]. It's Poland here, not Polin. [...] Stay away from Poland! Mr. Grzegorz Braun has made history of the Polish nation'. At the end of the video, chants of Olszanski's supporters could be heard in the background, 'Death to the enemies of the fatherland!' The video was uploaded on the **Krakowscy Rodacy Kamraci (Cracow Compatriot Companionship)** YouTube channel. Within two months it had almost 102,000 views. Antisemitic comments were made under the video, some of which called for violence and others referred to the Holocaust [original phrasing is retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- 'The time has come to chase this tribe away once and for all [symbols of a clenched fist]!
- 'Death to the enemies of the fatherland. We start with a fire extinguisher!!!'
- 'The Sejm is not a synagogue. Kudos to Grzegorz Braun'.
- 'To all Compatriots - I wish you all a working fire extinguisher at hand for ever and ever Braun. IT'S POLAND HERE, NOT POLIN'.
- 'It's Poland here not polin!!!! SWO [6]'
- 'It's Poland here and not jewtown'.
- 'G. Braun totally impressed me !! He simply carried out pest control with this extinguisher vermin must be eksterminated !!!'
- 'I support Braun's action ... chase the savages out! To the desert, that's where they belong, maybe this time they will wander not 40 but 400 years as a punishment !!!'
- 'Fire extinguishers are usually filled with some kind of foam, powders, gases. And they have letter designations. Cyclone A. Cyclone B. Cyclone C. Give the correct answer'.
- 'The final solution to the Jewish issue'.

[1] He was convicted in August 2022 for public incitement to murder, and in September 2022 for public insult of people of Jewish nationality.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[3] He put out Hanukkiah candles with a fire extinguisher.

[4] Paraphrase of a line from the Polish anthem.

[5] The word means 'Poland' in Hebrew. It is a reference to the antisemitic conspiracy theory according to which Jews would rule in Poland.

[6] 'Smierc Wrogom Ojczyzny' – 'death to the enemies of the fatherland'.

WARSAW. On 14 December, **Bartosz Bochenczak** [1], member of **Nowa Nadzieja** [2], appeared on the **Media Narodowe** (privately-owned **National Media**) channel [3] in a programme hosted by **Oliver Pochwat**. During the interview, Bochenczak expressed his support for extinguishing the Jewish Hanukkiah candelabra in the building of the Sejm [4], in reference to the act committed by Konfederacja MP **Grzegorz Braun** on 12 December, 'The goal may have been a good one, because is the Sejm of the Republic of Poland a place to celebrate Hanukkah or to light a Hanukkah, or a hannukiah, whatever they call it?' He regretted the PR issues but did not say a word about the obvious antisemitic dimension of the attack, 'It seems to me that [...] the measures that were taken went too far, because it did, in my opinion, a lot of damage to Konfederacja itself, to Grzegorz Braun, to the image of Konfederacja'.

[1] He ran unsuccessfully in 2023 general elections.

[2] **New Hope** party, part of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)**.

[3] Broadcast on Facebook.

[4] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

GLOGOW. On 16 December, during the second division football match between **Chrobry Glogow** and GKS Katowice, hooligans of the host club hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch bearing a Nazi symbol. It was a distinctive corpse skull called Totenkopf, which during World War II appeared on the uniforms of **SS** men in Nazi concentration camps.



RZESZOW. On 18 December, on Slowackiego Street in front of his parliamentary office, **Grzegorz Braun** of **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) held a press conference during which he made insulting comments about the celebration of the Jewish festival of Hanukkah. He ranted [original phrasing is retained below as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘In recent months, Ukrainian flags have given way to Palestinian flags [...] And these days to allow celebration of false, barbaric, racist, tribal cults in the central areas of Polish public life [...] is an insult’*. He went on, *‘They consider us cattle, they consider us subhuman, inhuman, they believe that [...] the justification for our existence can possibly be to serve the Jews, yes, this is the Talmud teaching’*. Braun also elaborated on the ‘Holocaust religion’ which would fulfil *‘the need to become exalted over other tribes, above all other nations’*. He also said, *‘they can, in all their insolence, barge into the Sejm [1] with their Hanukkah celebration and there is no offside call’*. The **Konfederacja** MP also approvingly referred to the book **‘Blood Passover. The Jews of Europe and Ritual Murder’** by **Ariel Toaff** [2]. Braun said that this book *‘[...] describes a case of a ritual murder in Trent in the 15th century’* and he used the medieval myth to make accusations against Jews, *‘And so the people who have such things in their traditions, they have them in their history, they dare accuse Poles, exalt themselves over them’*.

Braun uploaded the speech on his YouTube channel and entitled it *‘It’s Poland here, not Polin! With wishes of a merry Christmas (not Hanukkah-like)’*. Thus, he promoted an antisemitic conspiracy theory about the alleged takeover of Poland (‘Polin’ in Hebrew) by Jews. The video of Braun’s speech had more than 103,000 views in two months. There were almost two thousand comments posted underneath it, vast majority of them supportive. Here are some examples of antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian comments:

- *‘It’s exclusively Republic of Poland here, not fecking polin !!!!!’*

- *‘Jews, take your rituals to the synagogue and not to the Polish national and property of the Polish nation and not of the government of the Polish-speaking Parliament. Get out’*.

- *‘I hope **Mentzen** [3] will at least knock the candles over or the [Sejm’s] Speaker’s Guard will take them to the synagogue’*.

- *‘What frightens me most is the fact that unfortunately the Ukrainisation of Poland is progressing. And it is happening very quickly’*.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] The author argued that the antisemitic myth of killing of Christian children was proven by facts.

[3] One of **Konfederacja** leaders.

WARSZAWA. On 18 December, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz**, host of the far-right **TV Republika**, uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he condemned the custom of lighting candles in the Sejm [1] to celebrate Hanukkah. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘These Hanukkah candles [were lit] to appease. Polish intelligentsia representatives think that if they are [...] nice to Jews and will set up Hanukkah candles ... although supposedly that after all «there are no Jews in Poland» [said in sarcastic tone – ed.]. These anti-Semites are stupid ... then how the heck can there be those candles if there are no Jews in Poland. Then if there are no Jews in Poland, why the hell were those candles standing there?’* And then he went on a tirade in which he condemned public activity against antisemitism. He said, *‘There has been an inflation of condemnation for antisemitic acts’*. He then brought up a peculiar example in which he compared the situation of a Jew hiding during the war with that of a modern anti-Semite: *‘[In the TV series, the Jew who escaped from the ghetto] says how he is threatened with death penalty for everything, whatever he does, even for his existence, so he is no longer afraid of any punishment and he will be doing everything until they get him and kill him, because there has been an inflation of punishment. And it is the same with the inflation of condemnation [of antisemitism]. For so many years, people who were by no means anti-Semites and who had committed no antisemitic acts were being thrashed, condemned for antisemitism’*. Using the opportunity, he also attacked the *‘Brown Book’* and the co-founder of the *‘NEVER AGAIN’* Association, Prof. Rafal Pankowski, *‘See, ladies and gentlemen, the bloody «Brown Book», what’s different there ... it’s probably the environment of a certain Pankowski, but it doesn’t matter if it’s Pankowski [...] or if it’s some other of these hater organisations’*.

 [1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

WARSAW. On 19 December, ‘Standing by Grzegorz Braun’ demonstration took place in front of the Sejm [1], organised by **Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)** party) and **Justyna Socha’s ‘Stop NOP’** association [2]. Its participants expressed support for the antisemitic act committed by Braun on 12 December, when he disturbed a religious ceremony and put out Hanukkah candles with a fire extinguisher. During this gathering, speeches insulting Jews were made. Here are some examples [original phrasing retained as much as possible in all following quotations – translator’s note]:

- **Karolina Pikula**, head of the Rzeszow offices of Konfederacja Korony Polskiej, cried, *‘It is Poland here, not Polin’*, which the crowd chanted along with her. The slogan is a reference to the conspiracy theory that Poland (‘Polin’ in Hebrew) would be taken over by Jews. Furthermore, Pikula demanded in her speech, *‘We want to have Rzeszow, not Mojzeszow!’* [3] and she also claimed that Grzegorz Braun *‘showed how much the Polish Sejm, and the whole public opinion is sidelocked’* [4].

- Prof. **Ryszard Zajaczkowski** [5] spun a conspiracy theory, *‘Are the mainstream media, which shape information policy in Poland and worldwide, influenced by a powerful Jewish lobby acting in their own interests?’*

- **Andrzej Poneta** of the **Wataha Glos Obywatelski** organisation [6] stated, *‘I thought that the Members of Parliament would be competing to be the first to put out the Hanukkah. Nothing of the sort happened. Only Mr. Braun did it’*.



- **Rafal Mossakowski** of **Centrum Edukacyjne Polska (Educational Centre Poland)** also referred to the conspiracy theory about Jews allegedly taking over Poland, *'The right and the left are united in putting Poland under Zionist occupation'*. As a sign of support for Braun's act in the Sejm, during his speech he triumphantly raised...



a fire extinguisher. He also equated Judaism with Satanism, *'A week ago the fire extinguisher put out this satanic fire, this satanic ceremony that is called Hanukkah'*. Furthermore, Mossakowski promoted anti-Ukrainian content, *'Grzegorz Braun's «Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland» campaign has been one of the most important political initiatives in recent years'*.

- **Piotr Korczarowski**, creator of the YouTube channel **eMisjaTV**, went so far as to direct accusations of alleged cover-up of their own Jewishness by the representatives of the authorities, *'We in the Polish Sejm officially do not have a single Jew in representation, so what is the Hanukkah candlestick doing [there]? [...] Who is a Jew, then, so that we need to celebrate Hanukkah in the corridor of the Polish Sejm? [...] They are crypto-Jews, they do not admit to their roots, but everyone knows and remembers these roots. They may be called like us, they may look like us, but, when needed, it turns out that they are Jews. We have crypto-Jews in Poland who know that they are Jews, [...] only we don't know that they are Jews. And we have Ukrainians in Poland who pretend to be Poles, they are crypto-Ukrainians'*.

Braun uploaded the video with the speeches on his YouTube channel. Many antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian comments appeared under it, some calling for violence, such as:

- *'People are dying and in the Sejm they light Hanukkahs and sing, crucify these villains'*.
- *'Kudos to Brown! we'll find a stick for the enemies of Poland'*.
- *'IT'S POLAND HERE AND NOT SOME UKROPOLIN'*.
- *'Enough of the Ukrainisation and Judeisation of Poland. Enough of privileges for ukrainians and discrimination of Poles'*.
- *'The Sejm of the Republic of Poland is not a place for Jewry but for Poles'*.

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Which protests against compulsory vaccination of children against infectious diseases.

[3] Pun in Polish, based on the similarity between the name of the city of Rzeszow and the name of Mojzesz (Moses).

[4] In other words 'Jewish'.

[5] Lecturer at the Catholic University of Lublin, Konfederacja candidate in the 2023 general elections.

[6] Supporters of the notoriously aggressive anti-Semite **Wojciech Olszanski**, leader of **Kamraci**.

WARSAW. On 19 December, in front of the Sejm [1], members of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown party, KPP)** held a press conference in which they delivered statements insulting Jews and they spun conspiracy theories about them. Here are some examples [original phrasing retained as much as possible in all following quotes – translator's note]:

- **Rafal Gawenda**, secretary general of KPP, claimed that all governments of the Third Republic of Poland [2] pursued *'Jewish interests'* and that *'Hanukkah or the Hanukkah candlestick can be a symbol of this very network of connections that we have here in Poland, a network of*

connections that wraps around our entire country'. He ended his speech with a conspiratorial vision in which Jews were portrayed as enemies of Poland, *'Didn't all this uproar come from the fact that Grzegorz Braun put out a symbol of our occupier, our hidden, camouflaged occupier, in the Sejm on 12 December?'*

- **Rafal Forys**, chair of KPP in Radom, called the celebration of Hanukkah in the Sejm *'keeping the nation on a short leash'*, identifying it with some *'grabbing of our financiers, trade, crafts, services, enterprises'*. He also read out an antisemitic statement by Fr. **Maximilian Kolbe**, *'Jews have harmed and harm us all the time, they are consuming the flesh of the nation like a cancer, they are spreading bribery and corruption among the adults, and immorality and godlessness among the youth, stealing away our commerce, industry, crafts and even this land'* [3].

- **Piotr Heszen** [4] referred to the public voices condemning Braun's antisemitic behaviour in the Sejm with the following words, *'The hit Jew-dog will holler'*. At the end of his speech, he exclaimed, *'I stand by Grzegorz Braun, [...] and the enemies shall go away, to hell, where they are from!'*

- **Wojciech Sinski** [5] argued that Hanukkah is *'a holiday that is a negation of our civilisational values'*. He went on to argue that Hanukkah is *'a symbol of hatred, a symbol of domination, [...] it has nothing to do with our civilisational values'*.

- **Włodzimierz Skalik**, Konfederacja MP, described Hanukkah celebrations as *'racist, cabalistic, Talmudic events organised in the Sejm'*.

Braun uploaded the video of the press conference on his YouTube channel. A number of antisemitic, hate-inciting comments appeared underneath, such as:

- *'It is true we are under Jewish occupation'*.

- *'Down with strangers and enemies of POLAND!'*

- *'Jews out to Israel'*.

- *'jews have been our occupiers for centuries. Kudos to Grzegorz Braun, but also to Wojciech Olszanski who also stirred up a real hornet's nest'*.

- *'Poles STAND FOR MR. BRAUN. On my way back from work, I often go to the Jewish cemetery (Wola district) to pour warm urine on their gravestones. I encourage all Poles to perform similar actions because it's Poland here not polin !'* [6]

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Meaning the Polish state after 1989.

[3] Excerpt from a text published in 1938 in the *'Little Journal'* magazine. Today these words are eagerly quoted by the extreme right.

[4] He unsuccessfully ran in the general elections as Konfederacja candidate in the Swietokrzyskie Voivodeship.

[5] He unsuccessfully ran in the general elections as Konfederacja candidate in Krakow.

[6] 'Polin' means 'Poland' in Hebrew.

WARSAW. On 26 December, the right-wing **TV Republika** channel broadcast an interview with **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** Member of Parliament, **Iwona Arent**, who spun a xenophobically-charged, almost caricatural vision of life in Germany. Without reference to any reliable data, she ranted, *‘Do we want to wake up tomorrow in a situation Germans are in today, who are afraid to let their children out in the playground because refugees, illegal refugees attack, are aggressive? I have a friend in Germany who said she wants to sell her house, she wants to bring her whole family to Poland now, because it’s impossible to live there anymore, it’s dangerous to go out to the street, you have to lock yourself in, you have to install window grilles in some towns, because this illegal emigration [!] has made life very unsafe’*. Interview host, **Emilia Poblocka**, did not react to these words at all. The interview with Ms. Arent was also uploaded on the YouTube channel of TV Republika. Among the comments, statements expressing resentment towards migrants and encouraging violence prevailed, for example: *‘We will organise citizen guards to straighten out the migrants’*.



WARSAW. On 31 December, on the right-wing **TV Republika** channel, commentator **Jan Pietrzak** in a xenophobic and insulting way referred to the memory of the Nazi camp victims. He stated, *‘I have a cruel joke about the migrants, but they [the Germans] count on the Poles being prepared, because we already have the barracks. We have the barracks for migrants: at Auschwitz, at Majdanek, at Treblinka, at Stutthof. We have a lot of barracks built by the Germans and there we will [?] these immigrants pushed to Poland by the Germans’*. Broadcast host **Katarzyna Gojska** described Pietrzak’s words as *‘a very powerful joke indeed’* and felt that because of his family experience during World War II... *‘he can allow himself to say more’*. Pietrzak’s statement was met with condemnation in the public sphere. A statement on the matter was published by the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum: *‘The instrumentalisation of the fate of people who died in German camps in despicable anti-immigration rhetoric is a shameful and horrifying manifestation of moral and intellectual degeneration’*. On 2 January, spokesman for the Warsaw Regional Public Prosecutor’s Office Szymon Banna announced that *‘by the General Public Prosecutor’s order with reference to notifications received by the Warsaw Regional Public Prosecutor’s Office, proceedings have been initiated that concerned «insulting a group of people publicly because of their national and ethnic origin»’*.

YEAR 2024

JANUARY

WARSAW. On 1 January, an interview with Dr. **Slawomir Ozdyk** [1] was shared on the YouTube channel of **Piotr Szlachtowicz (PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz)** [2]; it contained statements with anti-Muslim overtones. Ozdyk encouraged the viewers to read an article [original phrasing

retained as much as possible – translator’s note] ‘saying that mosques [...] are such a breeding ground for radicalism and are such a fifth column’. He also spread fear of migrants and argued for the need to ... become armed due to their presence, ‘And all those who are coming at the moment are coming from war zones [...]. They don't have the inhibitions that we, Europeans, have [...]. So, when the access to firearms? Now! But let's just bring a little bit more of them over here’. Ozdyk went on in a mocking tone, ‘In the Quran there are only peaceful surahs, there are no surahs against you. Everything is hunky-dory, we can live together here, nothing will change. Well, it will change, because it is only a beautiful façade, behind which there are Arab clans, gangs, radical Salafis, firearms. Everything [...] that we get in the mainstream message is so-called theatre for the goys [3], and only if you look closer, behind, you see the real background, which is what really awaits us’. Szlachtowicz followed this argument, ‘I remember you telling me for the first time five years ago, «Another eight to ten years and the Arab clans will rule in Berlin». [...] today it looks like you were hundred per cent right’.

 [1] Owner of a security company in Berlin, unsuccessful far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) candidate in the Polish general election of 2023 and in the European Parliament election of 2024.

[2] For many years he had been associated with the extreme-right **wRealu24** channel.

[3] Jewish term to describe non-Jewish people, sometimes in a pejorative sense.

GORLICE. In the January edition of the stadium hooligans’ magazine ‘*To My Kibice*’ (‘*It’s Us Fans*’) there was an article about **Glinik Gorlice** (fifth division) hooligans illustrated with photographs taken at stadiums. One of them showed a flag in the colours of the Third Reich displayed on the fence around the pitch, with a Celtic cross (a racist symbol) replacing a swastika. In another photograph, Glinik’s hooligans took a photo in front of a wall covered with hatred-inciting graffiti (Celtic crosses, falanga [a symbol used by Polish nationalists and fascists - ed.], and one of them raised his arm in a Nazi salute.



GDANSK. On 2 January, on Owsiana Street, ‘unknown perpetrators’ destroyed a plaque commemorating the ghetto where Jews from Gdansk and other areas occupied by the Third Reich were held during the World War II. The police were informed of the incident. It has not been made public whether the perpetrators of the devastation have been apprehended.

The single-building ghetto in Gdansk was located in the ‘Red Mouse’ granary on Granary Island. It functioned from 1940 until the end of the World War II. The commemorative plaque was officially unveiled on 7 December 2023.



WARSAW. On 3 January, the **Media Narodowe** (**National Media**) channel (broadcast on Facebook) published an interview with **Jaroslaw Zielinski** [1] entitled ‘Another DICTATORSHIP from BRUSSELS! Up to several hundred thousand of illegal migrants will enter Poland?’ The topic of the discussion led by **Olivier Pochwat** was the European Union’s migration and asylum policy. Zielinski made comments with xenophobic overtones in which he portrayed migrants as

a threat. He stated that if Poland were to accept them, *'it could be the same growing problem as in other countries and other big cities, in those countries where we have massive problems [...] with security, with enclaves being created with completely different... sort of... internal laws, where even states don't have the capacity to bring order. There is a threat to the security of women, but not only, also of the whole society'*.

[1] Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs and Administration between 2015-2019.

WARSAW. On 3 January, a conversation between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Jakub Perkowski** introduced as a 'political commentator' was broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on Facebook. Perkowski referred to a statement made by **Jan Pietrzak** on 31 December on **TV Republika** (*'We have already barracks for immigrants: in Auschwitz, in Majdanek, in Treblinka, in Stutthof'*) and declared that he saw nothing outrageous in these words. He went on a rant that combined a conspiratorial vision of history with xenophobia and Islamophobia, and was also lined with derision in relation to the Nazi camps and the Holocaust. He said, *'In 2015 I recognised that those Germans who are now so eager to invite all possible Islamists to Europe, that they are inviting them for one very important reason. Because Germany has the technology to get rid of national minorities from a certain level on [...]. And simply the number of Turks, the number of Muslims in Germany was too low. [...] When this adequate level is reached in the number of these people, only then can they apply the final solution. [...] And of course, back in 2015, I had exactly the same thought in mind [...], which Mr Jan Pietrzak has now expressed [...], that since [...] the Germans plan everything well in advance, the Germans had built an infrastructure on Polish territory, and now they are sending people to fill this infrastructure'*. To conclude his argument he said, *'It's obvious that we will not lock them up in these camps. Of course, new camps will have to be built. The only question is: can the Poles build camps as well as the Germans?'*

WARSAW. On 3 January, **TV Republika** (right-wing TV and YouTube channel) broadcast a discussion with former Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party [1] **Marek Krol** and journalist Jakub Dymek, who talked about the European Union's Migration Pact. In response to the question of the host **Lukasz Jankowski**, *'What should we actually do with these people [migrants]?' Krol said, 'The simplest way is to chip them, just like you chip doggies, but a cheaper option is, of course, to tattoo numbers on their left arm and then they will be easy to find'* [2].

In response to Krol's statement, Klaudia Jachira, Koalicja Obywatelska [3] Member of Parliament, announced on the X platform that she would be submitting a notification to the Public Prosecutor's Office on suspicion of committing an offence under Article 256 of the Penal Code (propagating fascism and inciting hatred).

On 4 January, in connection with the hateful comments of **Jan Pietrzak** and Marek Krol broadcast on TV Republika, the Director of the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum Dr. Piotr M. A. Cywinski issued a statement, *'In recent days, we have all been embarrassed witnesses to the tragedy of the victims of Auschwitz being exploited in hideous, immoral political statements regarding refugees. This has gone beyond the limits of what is acceptable in the civilised world. [...] Guarding the memory of the increasingly fewer Survivors, I must warn against the moral decline of public discourse. I would like to remind you that every use of dehumanising words is the first step to a tragedy. This is not the way!'*

[1] Pol. PZPR, communist party ruling Poland until 1989.

[2] Similarly to German Nazi death camps.

[3] Civic Coalition – biggest Polish political alliance, currently part of the government coalition.

WARSAW. On 3 January, on **TV Republika** [1], once again words dehumanising refugees and migrants were uttered. In the ‘**#Jedziemy**’ programme hosted by **Michał Rachon**, in a conversation about the European Union’s Migration Pact, **Marek Jakubiak** [2] declared, ‘*We will accept several hundred thousand, but it will always be too little. In this way, the Germans have arranged filters that will remove unnecessary immigrants from their country and those needed for industry, and this is – let me remind you – several percent of migrants who want to work* [3], *they will leave them at home. So Poland will be a trash bin, just like they transported trucks of unnecessary waste to us, to make an ugly comparison*’. This programme was also uploaded on the TV Republika YouTube channel.

[1] Right-wing TV and YouTube channel.

[2] Member of Parliament, Kukiz’15 parliamentary group.

[3] In fact, according to data from the German Institute for Labour Market Research, the 2022 employment rate among refugees who came to Germany in 2015 was approximately 55-60%.

WARSAW. On 4 January, Member of the European Parliament **Elzbieta Rafalska** (**Prawo i Sprawiedliwość – Law and Justice** party), Minister for Family, Labour, and Social Policy between 2015-2019, was a guest on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel (broadcast on Facebook) in a programme hosted by **Michał Jelonek**. The topic of the discussion was EU migration and asylum policy. Rafalska incited fear towards migrants – without referring to any data – she said that their possible admission to Poland could also ‘*significantly worsen the safety of Poles, because, let’s not hide it, crime, robberies, thefts, rapes are on the rise*’.

WARSAW. On 7 January, an interview with **Tomasz Owsianik** [1] was broadcast on the **PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz** [2] YouTube channel, in which the politician lamented over the insufficient expression of support for **Grzegorz Braun**’s putting out of Jewish candles lit in the Sejm [3] building in celebration of Hanukkah (in December 2023).

Owsianik stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*To this day, we do not really have the sovereignty [as Polish People], the events in the Sejm have shown what a sovereign country we are, [...] while satanic symbols are being extinguished, only three Konfederacja Korony Polskiej MPs are against it* [4], *and the rest of them howl together with hell*’.

[1] Leader of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)** party) in Olsztyn district. He was running for Mayor of Olsztyn in the local elections in April 2024.

[2] Belonging to Piotr Szlachtowicz formerly associated with the far-right internet TV **wRealu24**.

[3] The lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[4] That the candles are lit.

WARSAW. On 8 January, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel (broadcast on Facebook), the programme host **Jan Bodakowski** and his interlocutor Dr. **Tomasz Teluk**, columnist for the right-wing ‘**Gazeta Polska Codziennie**’ daily, made offensive comments against Muslims, associating them with an alleged civilisational threat. Bodakowski asked a bizarre question, ‘*As a result of the inflow of mainly Islamic immigrants from Africa, from Asia [...] is it no longer possible to enjoy all the cultural heritage of the West in Europe, is it still*

possible to live a normal life in Europe: to go out on the street, to not be afraid of becoming a victim of violence, of war between gangs, to use the public infrastructure, of public transport? Teluk replied in a similar way, without giving any data to support the statements made, *'The migrants that are being allowed into Europe [...], [are coming] mainly from Muslim countries, so the demographic structure of these countries is changing completely, one could say that a certain revolution is taking place [...]. And this affects everyday life, the direct result of this type of change is, for example, an increase in crime, and this is what all the statistics say, that these newcomers pose a very serious threat to social order, not because they have any difficulty in adapting to the customs prevailing in Europe, but they simply do not want to conform to these customs, they want to impose their own ways of acting. They can see that their violence has found a fertile ground, that these societies are threatened'*.

SWIDNICA. On the night of 12-13 January, a local citizen painted swastikas and **SS** insignia on the wall surrounding the Lutheran Church of Peace. Police officers arrested a 52-year-old man who pleaded guilty. The Swidnica District Public Prosecutor's Office charged him with the destruction of property of special cultural significance, damage to historical monument, and insulting a constitutional organ (the perpetrator had inscribed Nazi symbols in the name of the Prime Minister of Poland Donald Tusk).

The Church of Peace in Swidnica was named after the Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). At the time, the Catholic Habsburgs agreed for a Lutheran church to be built, but it could only be done outside the city walls and only with non-durable materials (wood, clay, straw). Representatives of all social classes were involved in the construction of the church and it was completed in 1657, after barely ten months of work. It became a symbol of tolerance and unity. In 2001, Swidnica's Church of Peace was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

POZNAN. On 13 January, Lech Poznan (the top flight league) football player, Ivorian Adriel Ba Loua, posted on Instagram a photo from the opening match of the African Cup of Nations between his country's national team and Guinea-Bissau, which he had just watched on television. In response to this post, someone posted the following comment: *'lots of monkeys like you. go back there with them or come to our zoo, f*cking monkey'*. These abusive racist words were made public by Ba Loua along with the ironic response he gave: *'Give me the address of the zoo, I will go there... then at least I know you will have to pay to watch me'*.

The Lech footballer also reported racist attacks on social media in 2023. He then published on Instagram a private message he received from an anonymous sender on 23 October: *'trash get the f*ck out to africa monkey'*. Ba Loua commented: *'This is one of the many [messages] I often receive. Really, it makes me laugh. Wake up man and don't waste your time writing me stuff like that'*.



WARSAW. On 13 January, on the **GadowskiTV** YouTube channel, **Konfederacja** (far-right **Confederation** party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** once again made comments praising the antisemitic act of violence he committed in the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish parliament; on 12 December 2023 he used a fire extinguisher to extinguish candles lit on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah and attacked one of the participants of this celebration). In a conversation with **Piotr Zwiefka**, he described the incident, *'When I came across the iniquity, I had a chance to react. [...] Now it has become clear that the manifestations of public life in Poland can be categorised according to at least one simple criterium: the united Hanukkah front versus the front of... – I don't know if it is united, but I would like it to be broader and united – the fire extinguisher front'*. Moreover, Braun expressed his appreciation for the sale of gadgets supporting his antisemitic attack in the Sejm, *'The fire extinguisher has become a symbol. It makes me happy. [...] I even signed a larger number of fire extinguishers, both small and large ones, with a dedication: «Merry Christmas», and out of caution I also added in brackets: «a non-Hanukkah one»*.

In cooperation with the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, the Allegro and OLX platforms removed several dozen offers with this type of gadgets in December and January (these included mugs and T-shirts with a drawing of a fire extinguisher facing a Jewish candlestick).

The interview with Braun on YouTube had almost 180,000 views in two days. Under this material there were many comments tinged with anti-Semitism and praising the attack in the Sejm, some also contained anti-Ukrainian content. Here are selected examples of such entries [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Braun - the only whip for the sidelocked [i.e. Jewish – translator's note] viper tribe'*.
- *'Mr. Braun! Real Poles have got your back. And the fact that the commie Jews and the dijews would leave Pole alone was clear from the beginning'*.
- *'Mr. Braun, this stunt with the Hanukkah candles has lifted my spirits and I believe that we will rip these Hanukkah heads off'*.
- *'Mr. Grzegorz! Please go now (with the fire extinguisher) to Lublin to the Catholic University of Lublin [KUL]. In this (so far) greatest Polish Catholic university, they worship the same thing that you extinguished in the Knesesejm!'*
- *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'*.

KRAKOW. On the night of 13/14 January on the premises of the KL Plaszow Museum [1], a local resident devastated the monument of Sara Szenirer (1883-1935), Jewish educational and social activist, and also damaged two elements of Jewish cemetery boundary markings. The police were informed of the incident. According to the officers, the perpetrator started up an excavator parked nearby and used it to damage the commemorative plaque and the fence protecting it. A statement on this event was published by the Committee for the Protection of Monuments of Jewish Culture in Krakow, *'The destruction of monuments is a shameful act, and it cannot be accepted anywhere in the world. The greater is our obligation, of*



the people of Krakow who are aware of the common Polish-Jewish heritage. In this situation we join the voices of indignation, and we also express our solidarity with the Jewish Community’.

On 22 January, KL Plaszow Museum reported that the police detained a 36-year-old man suspected of the Sara Szenirer’s monument damage. The perpetrator pleaded guilty. He was charged with the damage of the monument, property damage, and unlawful use and damage of an excavator. It was determined that the man was a recidivist and *‘had been previously convicted of similar acts’.*

Sara Szenirer founded the first Orthodox School for Jewish Girls in the world. She was buried in the new Jewish Cemetery in Podgorze. When the Nazis established the Plaszow labour camp on the grounds of the necropolis, the grave of Sara was destroyed. In 2004, a symbolic matzevah-shaped tombstone, commemorating Sara Szenirer, was placed in the cemetery.

[1] Konzentrationslager Plaszow bei Krakau – KL Plaszow.

WARSAW. On 16 January, **Jan Bodakowski’s** interview with **Leszek Burchardt**, former **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party activist, was published on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel (broadcast on Facebook). The conversation was about plans to create a new political party under the leadership of **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** [politician notorious for extreme chauvinist views]. Speaking about the ideological nature of this party, Burchardt stated, *‘Mr President Janusz Korwin-Mikke in one of his tweets [...] referenced Mentzen’s five, expanded it [this refers to the words ‘We don’t want Jews, homosexuals, abortion, taxes, the European Union’ delivered by Slawomir Mentzen, one of Konfederacja leaders, in 2019 in Krakow – ed.]. We don’t want LGBT propaganda, because that’s what we can call it. Of course, you are free to do whatever you want in your own home, and I have nothing to do with it, but the aggressive encouragement to worship perversions? We absolutely do not agree with that’.*

ZIELONA GORA. On 18 January, a local woman of Ukrainian origin informed the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association about harassment and aggressive behaviour she had experienced from one of her neighbours. She reported, *‘There is this situation that a Polish man constantly insults me. [...] It happens every time he sees me. He does all this in the street, in the presence of other people. He has been insulting me for three or four months. He shouts, «Get the f*ck out to your Ukraine, you c*nt!»’* The aggressive man also made offensive gestures at the woman.

WARSAW. On 24 January, a Spotify user nicknamed **Antykoucz [Anti-Coach]** uploaded a podcast in which he made offensive comments based on religion and nationality, as well as in connection with sexual orientation. [Original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note] He mentioned, among other things, *‘a f*cking Hindu’* who *‘will tell you about things that are happening in the European Union. Hey, the fact that you have your representative in the UK does not mean that we should be listening to yours’* (referring to the UK Prime Minister, Rishi Sunak). Moreover, the author of the recording fuelled hostility towards Ukrainians, *‘We have a special episode about the UPA, yes, the f*cking UPA, I’m talking about these Ukrainians [UPA is the acronym for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, active during World War II and responsible for the Volhynian massacre of Poles in 1940s – translator’s note]. [...] I won’t contribute a single f*cking penny to fuel the conflict in Ukraine, because no one there really f*cks Russia, because this situation suits them. [...] When it ends, we will f*ck up Ukraine so much that they will lose their minds and they will f*ck off to their own country’.* During the broadcast, the man also mentioned the public assassination of the Mayor of Gdansk Pawel Adamowicz by Stefan Wilmont

in 2019 as a positive example of gaining popularity, *‘Just go and murder someone famous. See, the guy was recently on the telly, the one who killed some mayor in Gdansk. He was on TV! You want fame? Go and f*cking do something nice’*. In his tirade, Antykoucz, still addressing the audience, also stated, *‘Whoever is interested in you, except Marek from the HR department... And Marek is a f*cking p**fter. [...] A bunch of HR departments that are staffed by men are f*ggots’*. He also added, *‘I prefer [recording podcasts] about the f*cking UPA and Ukrainians and Belarusians and all that sh*t that is still white in this sh*tty Europe’*.

WARSAW. On 24 January, radical right-wing activist and columnist **Witold Gadowski** uploaded a video on his **GadowskiTV** YouTube channel in which he encouraged aggression against cabinet ministers. He also promoted establishing detention camps for political opponents and made comments with extreme anti-Ukrainian content. He said [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘It makes me wanna stand up and get rid of these people, knock them on the stupid heads, but on Bodnar’s [1] head especially [...]. Sienkiewicz and Kierwinski [2] [...] should simply be arrested, locked up by the army in some camp, where they would learn respect for Poland, for the Polish statehood, for the Most Serene Republic of Poland. This is the only way to teach the rabble respect for the Polish state. [...] Our country is ruled by a total rabble that crawled out of the worst gutters, a total rabble: Bodnar, Tusk [3], Kierwinski, Sienkiewicz – this is a list of shame. Tusk, the boss of this gang, went to Kyiv and is selling Polish interests there’*. Gadowski also criticised cooperation with war-torn Ukraine, *‘A morally degenerate country, where the elites are the shadiest, we are supposed to cooperate with them, buy anything? [...] How can we do business with a torally morally lost country?’* And he went on to condemn *‘Ukrainophilia’* (i.e. aid given to refugees from Ukraine) and called Minister Bodnar a *‘half-breed Ukrainian’*. In the video, Gadowski spun conspiracy theories inciting resentment against minorities, *‘In the Lubin Area, around KGHM [4], a Lemko-Ukrainian group has spread. [...] This is information from people from there, who are afraid to speak out about it because they are being destroyed by the cliques of this nationality. This is already going on in Poland, it is high time we woke up, we have to defend ourselves in Poland, that is why a nationwide Movement for the Defence of Poles has to be created!’* In a similar tone, he presented the ideological goals of this newly formed political group, *‘Block the preparations of the Ukrainian minority to storm local authorities. We will try to secure the interests of Poles in Poland. [...] It is also necessary to defend freedom against those who [...] destroyed it with anti-Polish Ukrainophilia’*.

In six months, the video was viewed more than 456,000 times. Many anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments appeared under the material, such as [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’*.
- *‘Minister for Injustice Bondarovets [5] has Ukranian roots and is dangerous to us’*.
- *‘I support it and I am for this new organisation I am FOR it it’s necessary to finally put an end to this gang of thieves who are not Poles and are destroying our country kudos Mr Gadowski’*.
- *‘I live in a big city in Norway there are a lot of Ukrainians I think that’s why there is an increased incidence of diseases’*.
- *‘And who in this government really has Polish roots? It’s either Ukrainians, Jews, or Germans themselves. That’s why they don’t give a damn about the wellbeing of Poland and Poles. If our nation does not awaken out of lethargy, they will deprive us of everything. They are striving to make slaves of us. Deprive us of everything, including our identity’*.

[1] Adam Bodnar, former Ombudsman, currently Minister for Justice.

[2] Bartłomiej Sienkiewicz: at the time, Minister for Culture and National Heritage; Marcin Kierwinski: at the time, Minister for the Interior and Administration.

[3] Donald Tusk: Prime Minister of Poland.

[4] KGHM copper mine.

[5] Bondarowiec: word-game based on the similarity of the surname Bodnar and Bandera. **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. In Poland today, the term ‘Bandera’ or ‘banderowiec’ is frequently used as an ethnic slur against all Ukrainians.

WARSAW. On 25 January, **Robert Bakiewicz** [1] spray-painted two symbols of Fighting Poland [2] on the building of the Ministry of Climate and Environment. Bakiewicz shared a video of the incident on his Twitter profile. While devastating the historic building, he ranted, *‘Probably the minister [3] ordered the symbol of Fighting Poland to be removed from this building. She also ordered the removal of the plaque commemorating the ‘Accursed Soldiers’ [4]. A close associate of hers said here that these historical figures – the ‘Accursed Soldiers’ – arouse historical controversy and are judged ambiguously by historians. [...] Now we will teach them Polishness’.* Finally, pointing to the painted walls, he urged, *‘Do it all over Poland’.* The incident was reported to the police, who initiated *‘proceedings under the Article 108 of the Law on the Protection and Care of Historical Monuments’.*



The incident involving Bakiewicz was condemned in a press statement by Wanda Traczyk-Stawska, soldier of the Home Army and member of the Grey Ranks [5] and participant of the Warsaw Uprising, *‘By painting this anchor during the war, one could simply die, lose one’s life, one put oneself at great risk in order to let others know that Poland is alive, in the underground, but it is alive. It was a symbol of struggle and hope. Bakiewicz has no right to use our symbols’.* On 16 April, spokesman of the Warsaw Regional Public Prosecutor's Office prosecutor Szymon Banna said, *‘The evidence gathered made it possible to conclude that the criminal offence of damaging a historical monument has been committed’.* He also added that Bakiewicz *‘did not admit to the alleged act and refused to make a statement’.*

On 4 June, the District Public Prosecutor's Office of Warsaw-Ochota filed an indictment against Bakiewicz, accusing him of damaging the *‘historic building of the Ministry of Climate and Environment, which is one of the elements co-creating the urban layout and the Kolonia Lubeckiego complex of buildings’.*

[1] The so-called ‘kotwica’ (‘anchor’) symbol, painted as graffiti to express hope of independence from Nazi occupation.

[2] Former head of **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)** and **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc** (right-wing **Law and Justice** party) candidate in the 2023 Polish general elections.

[3] Paulina Hennig-Kloska.

[4] On 26 January, the ministry announced that the plaques had been removed due to renovation works. The so-called ‘Accursed soldiers’ is a name given to a group of anti-communist guerrilla which operated in Poland after 1945.

[5] Home Army (Armia Krajowa) was the main military resistance movement in Nazi-occupied Poland. Grey Ranks (Szare Szeregi) were an underground paramilitary group throughout World War II.

LESZNO. On 27 January, during the top flight Futsal match between **GI Malepszy Arth Soft Leszno** and Piast Gliwice, a hooligan of the local team shouted racist insults at the dark-skinned players of the visiting club. As a result of the incident, the Futsal League Commission fined the Leszno club PLN 5,000, suspended for six months. A statement was also published: ‘It is evident that at the competition one of the fans committed behaviour of a racist nature towards a player of the opposing team. This is confirmed by the referee's report. It is also undisputed that the GI Malepszy Arth Soft Leszno Club exercised due diligence in this matter. This behaviour was met with a reaction from the announcer and security guards. At the same time, the League Commission notes that if this supporter has been identified, the GI Malepszy Arth Soft Club should consider applying a «stadium» ban to him.’

SZCZECIN. On 28 January, on Kazimierska street ‘unknown perpetrators’ threw a firecracker onto the balcony of an apartment where a family from Vietnam lived. Luckily, nobody got hurt. In her statement for the local media, Dominika Jackowski, Szczecin city councillor and friend of the victims, reported, ‘*We heard a bang on the estate, then we got a call from our neighbours. The family comes from Vietnam, they have different skin colour and therefore may attract attention*’. The councillor also reported that the attacks on the Vietnamese had been going on for months, ‘*It all started with throwing eggs at the balcony. Later, in December [2023] the father of the family was attacked in front of McDonald’s and the police was called this time. There is no doubt that the attackers [...] might be the same*’. Jackowski expressed her solidarity with the victims, ‘*This is a trauma for the entire family, and the children fear for their safety. We do not consent to such behaviour. I am ashamed of those who make our neighbours’ life unbearable. I thought we lived in a tolerant and open-minded city*’.

FEBRUARY 2024

BELCHATOW. The February edition of the stadium hooligans’ magazine ‘*To My Kibice*’, (*‘It’s Us Fans*’) published an article on supporter teams from the Silesian Voivodeship. It was illustrated with photographs of flags displayed during matches (no date or location was given). Several photographs showed banners with racist content. A flag in the colours of the Third Reich with a Celtic cross replacing a swastika (‘white power’ symbol) was displayed by **Czarni Sosnowiec** hooligans (season 2023/2024 local games, Sosnowiec group). Also, banners with a Celtic cross were displayed at matches of **GLKS Wilkowice** (season 2023/2024 local games, Silesian group V, Bielsko-Biala – Tychy) and **Gornik Boguszowice** (season 2023/2024 local games, Rybnik group). In turn, the Nazi hooligans of **Gornik MK Katowice** (associated with the Kostuchna district) displayed a flag with a Celtic cross and the inscription ‘*White Boys*’.



In the same edition of 'To My Kibice', texts about fans of **Baltyk Gdynia** (season 2023/2024 fifth division, Pomeranian group) and **Szombierki Bytom** (season 2023/2024 fifth division, Silesian group I) were published. They were also illustrated with photographs taken at the stadiums. Several of these photographs showed banners with Celtic crosses displayed by hooligans on the fence around the pitch.



WARSAW. On 4 or 5 February, in a housing estate Targowek, 'unknown perpetrators' slashed all tyres of two cars with Ukrainian registration plates. Owner of one of the cars informed the 'NEVER AGAIN' association about the incident. He also filed a report at the police station. He described the procedure, *'In addition, I wanted to report the crime of xenophobia and racism to which I did not receive a clear answer. Personally, I consider this act of vandalism to be a*



xenophobic crime, because only selected cars of foreigners were targeted'. The police classified this event as a misdemeanour, later dismissing the criminal proceedings (*'lack of witnesses and footage'*). In mid-February, in the same area, 'unknown perpetrators' ripped off registration plates from two other Ukrainian cars.

WARSAW. On 8 February, on the YouTube channel of **Piotr Szlachtowicz** [1], an interview with **Lucyna Kulinska** PhD [2] was broadcast, in which she spread false accusations against refugees from Ukraine and demanded the introduction of regulations discriminating against them. She stated, *'The fact that Poles are being asked to spend billions to support the Ukrainians who are here is a great scandal. [...] it should be guaranteed by laws that if a Ukrainian or a Pole is to get a job, a Pole should get it because he is simply in his own country. And all the others who are now living at our expense should simply be sent home'*. She also included antisemitic threads in her rant, *'I*



would like to remind you how easily two nations managed to do it, and unfortunately they have invented such *modus vivendi* towards us, like a leech, so sucking various kinds of juices from us and feeding on us, and here I mean the nation of hatters [3] and the Ukrainian nation. These two nations, despite the terrible, monstrous crimes committed by [...] Ukrainian nationalists against Jews, suddenly turned out to be [...] nations that are able to act against Poland’.

[1] Former editor of **wRealuz4** channel, known for promoting hatred towards minorities.

[2] Long-time lecturer at the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow. In 2019 she was far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) candidate in the European Union and Polish general elections.

[3] This is how Kulinska refers to Jews.

CHORZOW. On 9 February, during the top flight football match between Ruch Chorzow and **Legia Warszawa**, hooligans of the capital’s team raised antisemitic shouts. They addressed Widzew Lodz fans (a club friendly to Ruch) by yelling: ‘*F*ck Widzew, Jews out of Poland!*’ Among hooligans, antisemitic terms are considered particularly insulting.

KRAKOW. Probably on the night of 11/12 February, ‘unknown perpetrators’ spray-painted structural elements located on the premises of the former Nazi concentration camp Plaszow. These were the pylons intended to secure a new outdoor exhibition and information boards, as well as concrete blocks marking the boundaries of Jewish cemeteries. As reported by the KL Plaszow Museum, ‘*We are working on washing off the paint and restoring the elements to the original condition. In view of no permanent damage, the case was not reported to the police. [...] We are saddened that this act of vandalism has happened in a place such as the former Nazi camp KL Plaszow*’.

WARSAW. On 15 February, on the **Media Narodowe** (**National Media**) channel on Facebook, **Jan Bodakowski** hosted in the studio **Tomasz Teluk** PhD, columnist for a Polish right-wing daily newspaper ‘**Gazeta Polska Codziennie**’. Teluk spun a conspiracy vision that Muslims would pose a threat to Europe and the United States. He argued [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘[...] *this post-colonial migration from Maghreb countries, Black Africa, or from Muslim countries in Asia is being imposed on us. So, the effect of receiving these culturally alien visitors is a total change in social tissue. [...] Another kind of slavery is being built, slavery of the European caliphate, giving space to various Salafi movements, and this is where Islam can be very dangerous for Europeans and can result in a rebellion or some kind of war within Europe*’. In response, Bodakowski, making an evident reference to the racist conspiracy theory of the ‘great replacement’ [1], noted that in the US there is a ‘*consistent policy of open borders and many American conservatives speak of a conscious population policy, of an ethnic exchange*’. Referring to this, Teluk stated that ‘*certainly immigration from Latin American countries is better for Americans than migration from Arab countries, from culturally hostile countries*’.

[1] It assumes that the white inhabitants of America and Europe would soon be replaced by immigrants from Africa and Asia.

WARSAW. On 16 February, Maja Stasko, activist and commentator, posted on social media that ‘unknown perpetrators’ had placed stickers on the streets of the capital city that were insulting to the LGBT community, and attached razor blades to them. She warned, *‘Attention! Homophobic stickers with razor blades underneath have appeared again. Be careful if you want to remove them. Do not do it with your fingers or your hands not to hurt yourselves’.*



WARSAW. On 16 February, the TVMN page on Facebook (run by **Media Narodowe – National Media**) published a conversation between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Krzysztof Kasprzak**, member of **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family foundation)** which opposes LGBT rights. The topic of the interview were plans to criminalise hate speech based on sexual orientation. In a long statement, Kasprzak made a number of shocking homophobic claims, even going so far as to accuse same-sex couples of murdering children. He said [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘Every totalitarianism, and I consider the emerging or developing LGBT movement to be such, must censor, must restrict freedom of speech, otherwise it has no chance of survival. [...] If Poles were now given the topic of homo-adoption or civil partnerships, and we were to inform about how these children in these relationships are abused, molested, raped, killed, or how their violence is compared to heterosexual relationships, how durable these relationships are, how many diseases can be encountered in this environment, then such a debate cannot take place, because it is devastating for LGBT communities’.*

WARSAW. On 16 February, **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** Member of Parliament **Dariusz Matecki** uploaded a video on his YouTube channel **PrawicowyInternet** in which he spread disinformation about the European Union’s migration pact, in order to incite fear of Muslims. He stated that *‘a committee in the European Parliament’* had approved it [1], and then he perorated [original phrasing of all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘So, what are the threats? Here we can talk only about threats, danger to the security of Poles. [...] The European Union will be able to slide practically unlimited quantities of migrants into our country. [...] We have warned against the possibility of Islamic ghettos forming in Poland. And within a few years, perhaps this will become reality’.*

Under the video posted by Matecki, some Islamophobic comments were made, including calls for violence:

- *‘Let's welcome them warmly – with pork chops and lard sandwiches. And if they don't like our hospitality, they can be taught to be grateful with a baseball bat’.*
- *‘They will fertilise Polish grounds and there is plenty of space here, we will give it to them, and they will pay it back [four emojis representing axes]’.*
- *‘Why are there so many p...rv...rts among the Arabs?’*

[1] In fact, on 14 February members of the European Parliament’s Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (LIBE) had accepted the content of the pact, but these were only preliminary arrangements. Further proceedings required parliamentary plenary voting and formal approval by the Council of the European Union.

KATOWICE. On 19 February, during a second division football match between GKS Katowice and **Motor Lublin**, hooligans of **JKS Jaroslaw**, friends of the local team, displayed a banner inciting ideologically motivated violence in the so-called ‘nest’ (a place in the stands where cheering is organised). It contained a slogan popular among neo-fascist movements, ‘*Good night left side*’, as well as a graphic depicting an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground. Motor’s ‘fans’, on the other hand, hung out a huge banner on the fence surrounding the pitch with the **SS** motto: ‘*Our honour is loyalty*’ (original: ‘*Meine Ehre heißt Treue*’).



GORZYCZKI. On 20 February, during agricultural protests taking place at the A1 motorway junction near the Czech border, which were attended also by far right supporters, a banner with openly pro-Putin content was displayed. One of the protesters who drove in the columns of tractors had a banner attached to the front of his vehicle stating, ‘*Putin, sort out Ukraine and Brussels, and our government*’. He also displayed a big USSR flag with a hammer and a sickle on it. These banners were widely discussed on the media. The Minister for Internal Affairs and Administration Marcin Kierwinski also made a statement on this topic on Twitter, ‘*For your information – the scandalous banner, the photo of which went viral, was immediately removed and secured by the police. The police and the public prosecutor’s office are conducting proceedings already. There will be no consent to such criminal behaviours*’ District Public Prosecutor’s Office in Gliwice-Wschod brought charges against **Piotr G.** ‘*The prosecutor concluded that the man’s actions constituted incitement to an aggressive war and praising the aggressive war waged by Russia against Ukraine, as well as propagating totalitarian ideology that calls for the use of violence in order to influence political or social life*’, spokeswoman of the Regional Public Prosecutor’s Office in Gliwice Joanna Smorzewska said. Piotr G. refused to make a statement.



Anti-Ukrainian banners were also displayed during the farmers’ protest held in **WARSAW** on 27 February. Grzegorz Braun, **Konfederacja** (far-right **Confederation** party) Member of Parliament, and the members of **Młodzież Wszechpolska** (far-right **All-Polish Youth**) were also present. Participants in this demonstration carried a banner encouraging violence on ethnic grounds. It contained the slogan ‘*Enough of hospitality, you ungrateful motherf*ckers*’, as well

as an image depicting a man kicking a figure in blue and yellow, symbolising a Ukrainian, out of Poland. A similar banner was placed on a tractor travelling in a column to the protest – it contained a slogan ‘*Enough of hospitality, you f*cking motherf*ckers*’ and a Ukrainian flag. During the protest antisemitic slogans also appeared. The protesters exhibited a banner with ‘*Stop Ukropolin*’, spreading conspiracy theories about the alleged takeover of Poland by Ukrainians and Jews (‘Polin’ means Poland in Hebrew). Moreover, the protesters chanted, ‘*We have liquid manure, and Braun has a fire extinguisher*’, expressing their solidarity with Braun’s act of vandalism on 12 December 2023 in the Parliament. He put out Jewish candles, lit in the Polish Parliament in celebration of Hanukkah, and later also attacked one of the event’s participants by directing a stream of extinguishing agent at her.



The same antisemitic slogan expressing support for Braun was displayed during agricultural protests in various locations. Among others, on 9 February a banner saying ‘*Braun has fire extinguishers, we have liquid manure*’ was placed on a tractor in a column of tractors on a route covering the towns of Krobia, Poniec and Leszno (**GOSTYN COUNTY**).



In turn, on 20 February, a banner with the inscription ‘*Braun has fire extinguishers, we have liquid manure*’ was attached to a tractor travelling in a column from Rusocin (Pruszcz Gdański municipality) to the protest in **GDANSK**.

On 23 February, in **LIMANOWA** (Lesser Poland Voivodeship) one of the demonstrators exhibited a banner insulting the memory of the Auschwitz concentration camp victims. It showed an image of Prime Minister Donald Tusk against the background of a gate with the inscription ‘*Arbeit macht frei*’. The police officers intervened and detained a man. Lesser Poland Police published a statement on their Twitter account, ‘*There is no consent to breaking the law!!! [...] One of the protesters had a banner referring to the Holocaust. The officers are already investigating the case*’. According to the media, the man could be charged with insulting a public place commemorating a historical event. However, the results of the proceedings were not disclosed to the public.

CZESTOCHOWA. On 21 February, at the request of the prosecutor from the Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation in Katowice, officers of the Internal Security Agency (Agencja Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego, ABW) entered the headquarters of the **3dom** publishing house owned by **Tomasz Stala** [1] and confiscated several copies of three books by **Dariusz Ratajczak** from the series *'Dangerous Topics'*, reissued and distributed by 3dom. In 2023, a notification of a possible crime under Art. 55 of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, which refers to the denial of Nazi crimes, was filed by the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum. In his publications Ratajczak denied, among other things, the killing of Jews in gas chambers in Auschwitz, and also quoted and approved of the opinions of other Holocaust deniers, for example, that the rooms presented as gas chambers in Auschwitz allegedly could not have been used to kill people because they had unsealed doors. Ratajczak was accused of the so-called 'Auschwitz lie', and in 2001 the District Court in Opole found him guilty.



The police also participated in the search of the headquarters of the 3dom publishing house. Officers took e.g., **Andrew Macdonald's** *'Turner Diaries'* [2], *'Program of World Jewish Policy'* by **Stanislaw Trzeciak** [3], or books by **Radoslaw Patlewicz**, including *'Ritual Murder in Rzeszow? Historical Investigation'* [4]. On 27 February, Stala was charged under Art. 55 of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance.

[1] Unsuccessful far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) candidate in the Polish general elections of 2023.

[2] It inspired the perpetrator of the attack in Oklahoma in 1995, in which 168 people died.

[3] Ideologist of pre-war antisemitism.

[4] Patlewicz in this book repeated accusations against Jews committing alleged murders of Christians.

WARSAW. On 21 February, in front of the Warszawianka Aquapark in Mokotow, a 13-year-old boy attacked a young man accompanied by his partner. He hit him with a metal stick on the back of his head and ran away. The victim was bleeding, two people provided first aid and called an ambulance. His partner, with the help of passers-by, apprehended the attacker and called the police. When asked why he committed such an offense, the attacker replied, *'Because you are gay'*. The appearance of the young perpetrator indicated that he belonged to the skinhead movement (shaved head, bomber jacket, high military boots, and long, drooping suspenders). In addition to the stick, the police found a spring knife on him too. It turned out that both men, on their way by tram to the swimming pool from Praga district to Mokotow district (also when changing by the Dreszer's Park), were followed the entire way by the offender and his friend (who fled immediately after the attack and was wanted by the police).

The case of the 13-year-old attacker ended up in the Family Court (the results were not publicly disclosed). The injured man, who several hours after the attack lost his consciousness (luckily the medical assessment did not show any serious injuries), did not file private indictment. In his statement to the press, he said, *'Nothing like this has ever happened to me. I would not want this boy to end up in a school or educational centre, in a system from which he would never get out'*.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On 24 February, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Odra Opole, local hooligans displayed a banner inciting

ideologically motivated violence. It featured distinctive graphics (depicting an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground) and a slogan used by neo-fascists (*'Good night left side'*).

KOLOBRZEG. On 24 February, during the third division football match between Kotwica Kolobrzeg and **Chojniczanka Chojnice**, hooligans of the visiting team hung out a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch with a symbol called Totenkopf, depicting a corpse skull, used during World War II by the **SS** in concentration camps.

LODZ. On 25 February, during the top flight football match between Widzew Lodz and **Gornik Zabrze**, hooligans of the visiting club chanted antisemitic slogans. They shouted *'All Poland sings with us, f*ck Widzew with fire extinguishers'* to praise the antisemitic act of violence committed by **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) member, **Grzegorz Braun**. On 12 December 2023 he disrupted a religious ceremony in the Polish Parliament: he used a fire extinguisher to extinguish a candle lit on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah, and then physically attacked a Jewish woman who was one of the participants of the ceremony (as a result of the attack she had to spend one week in hospital). On 17 January 2024 his parliamentary immunity was removed and on 9 April 2024 he was charged by the public prosecutor with several hate crimes and hate speech charges.

KATOWICE. On 27 February, a 'solidarity' gathering was held on Jozefowska Street, in front of the headquarters of the Branch Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation in Katowice, in reaction to **Tomasz Stala** being questioned as a suspect [1]. In connection with the reissue and distribution of books by **Dariusz Ratajczak** from the *'Dangerous Topics'* series by his publishing house, Stala was charged under Article 55 of the Act on the Institute of National Remembrance, concerning the crime of the so-called 'Auschwitz lie'.

The protest, during which antisemitic content was promoted, was organised by **Polskie Veto** (**Polish Veto Foundation**), and was also attended by a Konfederacja Member of Parliament **Roman Fritz**. The participants of the demonstration displayed a banner with the slogan *'This is Poland, not Polin'* ('Polin' means Poland in Hebrew), perpetuating the conspiracy theory according to which Poland is being taken over by Jews. One of the men held a cardboard with the inscription *'Is this already Judeopolonia?'* and addressed those who gathered [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'It is obvious that we have probably lost a lot of power [...], the parasite has developed, the body is sick and the more space we give, the more this parasite, this disease, this plague develops [...]. I think everyone understands what I mean'*. In addition, the demonstrators read – using loudspeakers – fragments of the book



STOP CENZURZE - pikietą pod Instytutem Pamięci Narodowej w Katowicach. Wspieramy Wydawnictwo 3DOM.

'Dangerous Topics' by Ratajczak. The gathering was recorded and the video was published on the Polskie Veto YouTube channel.

[1] Owner of the **3dom** publishing house and unsuccessful far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate in the Polish general elections of 2023.

TORUN. On 28 February, **Mateusz Liszewski**, member of **Korwin** party and unsuccessful **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate in the Polish general elections of 2023, posted a racist comment on Twitter about Mohammed El-Kurd [1]. Sharing El-Kurd's critical blog post about the situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem, Liszewski commented, *'The P*ki feels appalled that he cannot steal planes or throw Molotov cocktails. Such people are brought in (also to Poland!) by pro-Western and pro-EU «elites». Nation, arm yourself, buy weapons and don't look at the others!'* The Polish slur used in this post ('*ci*paty*') is a contemptuous proxy word for people of a different skin colour coming from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and Arab countries ('*P*ki*' being its close equivalent in English).

[1] Jerusalem-based Palestinian writer and activist who was named one of the hundred most influential people in the world by the '*Time*' in 2021.

MARCH 2024

BELCHATOW. In the March edition of the stadium hooligans' magazine '*To My Kibice (It's Us Fans)*' a text was published about the **Chojniczanka Chojnice** supporters. One of the illustrations was a photograph taken during a match (no date given), which showed a banner with Nazi content displayed on a fence around the pitch. It was a flag in the colours of the Third Reich, with a Celtic cross (a racist symbol) replacing a swastika.



WARSAW. On 2 March, on Zamenhof Street, a gallows was painted on the door of the Ukrainian House Foundation by 'unknown perpetrators'. The police were informed of the incident. Head of the Foundation Myroslawa Keryk made a comment on the devastation during the press interview, *'I do not rule out that this event is related to the anti-Ukrainian sentiments gaining strength in Poland, including blaming Ukraine and Ukrainians for the Polish agriculture issues. Many anti-Ukrainian slogans are used there'*.

The Ukrainian House Foundation supports the Ukrainian community in Poland through information, educational, and cultural activities.

CHOJNICE. On 3 March, during a third division football match **Chojniczanka Chojnice** – Stal Stalowa Wola, hooligans of the local club hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch, which displayed Nazi symbols. These were graphics depicting a characteristic corpse skull called Totenkopf, which was used, among other symbols, on the **SS** uniforms at the Nazi concentration and extermination camps. In addition, the flag bore the number 88, signifying the Nazi salute

'Heil Hitler' (the letter H is the eight letter of the alphabet: it is a symbolic number used by neo-fascists).

LECZNA. On 3 March, during the football match between Gornik Leczna and **Motor Lublin**, hooligans of the visiting team hung out a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch with the **SS** motto: *'Our honour is loyalty'* (original: *'Meine Ehre heißt Treue'*). This flag has been displayed for several years by Lublin 'fans' – without any reaction from the football authorities or the city authorities, and thus without any consequences. In addition, some **Chelmianka Chelm** hooligans, friends of Gornik Leczna, wore clothes bearing a Celtic cross – symbol expressing support for racial discrimination.



GDANSK. On 4 March, during the second division football match between **Lechia Gdansk** and **Resovia Rzeszow**, hooligans of the host club displayed a flag expressing support for **Janusz Walus** (with his portrait and the slogan *'Nothing will break you, you are not alone!'*). Walus is the Polish emigrant, who was a member of a Nazi organization and shot Chris Hani, an anti-apartheid leader, in South Africa in 1993. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. On 21 November 2022, a South African court decided to release him conditionally from prison. The far-right movements in Poland have treated Walus as a hero and for many years have publicly praised the murder he committed.



In turn, during this match, Resovia 'fans' hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch, resembling a red and white logo of the international neo-Nazi organisation **Blood and Honour** (its name was taken from the **Hitlerjugend** motto *'Blood and Honour'*). It also bore a quote from a song by the neo-Nazi **Honour** music band.

WROCLAW. On 6 March, a racist incident took place at Jana Stanislawskiego Street. Someone put a sign on the door of an apartment occupied by a couple of students saying, *'Trash purebred mongrels'* and left two bags of trash on the doormat. The father of one of the students informed the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association about this incident. He reported, *'My son and his partner decided to notify the landlady and the police. [...] Considering the current political situation, I think someone wants to intimidate young people, thinking that maybe they are from Ukraine, or maybe he aimed at the wrong door, because Ukrainians live on the floor below'*. The man commented critically on the



officers' intervention in this case, *'The police downplayed the whole incident, and when I asked for the incident report, because I also wanted to send it to you, they said let the association write the report themselves'*.

WARSAW. On 7 March, on the YouTube channel of **Piotr Szlachtowicz (PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz)** [1], an interview with **Slawomir Ozdyk** PhD [2] was uploaded, in which he made insulting remarks about Muslims. Referring to the migration pact, he stated that after the European Parliament elections [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note] *'we will get the entire Maghreb [3] on our heads. We will get our bottoms kicked. [...] when your daughters, wives and sometimes your sons will be raped, it depends, or your donkey – there have also been such cases in Berlin – if these rapes, beatings, thefts, assassinations, murders happen, then maybe some of those who have their eyes wide shut at the moment [...] will start to think'*.

[1] Former editor of **wRealuz4** channel, known for promoting hatred towards minorities.

[2] Owner of a security company in Berlin, unsuccessful far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party MP candidate in the parliamentary election of 2023.

[3] Muslim countries in Northwest Africa.

WARSAW. On 8 March, on the anniversary of March '68, a press conference was held in front of the Warsaw City Hall by a far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** (infamous extremist and chauvinist) during which he declared, *'I don't believe being an antisemite is something bad, of course'*.

On 8 March 1968, a student rally at the University of Warsaw was brutally suppressed by the authorities, which contributed to a complex socio-political crisis. One of its consequences was the forced emigration of 13,000 Polish Jews who had become the target of an antisemitic campaign launched by the authorities.

LUBLIN. On 9 March, during the second division football match between **Motor Lublin** and Polonia Warszawa, local hooligans hung out a banner with a neo-Nazi content on the fence around the pitch. It featured the **SS** motto: *'Our honour is loyalty'* (original: *'Meine Ehre heißt Treue'*). This flag has been hung up by Motor 'fans' for several years



now – without any reaction from the club and Lublin authorities (the city is one of the club's main sponsors). What's more, some hooligans of the Lublin team were wearing clothes with racist symbols, including scarves with the emblem used by the **Ku-Klux-Klan** (a white cross inscribed in a red background with a black border). One of the men also wore a cap with the so-called Rune of Life (during World War II this sign was used by **SS** units) and the Odal rune (used by

the **Hitlerjugend**), nowadays both runes are popular symbols of hatred used by fascist organisations.

RZESZOW. On 9 March, Prof. **Andrzej Zapalowski** [1] reshared a video on Twitter from the **RadioGenoa** channel [2], originally shared by **Slawomir Ozdyk** PhD [3]. A twenty-second-long video (it is not known when, where, or under what circumstances it was recorded) showed a group of dark-skinned men in traditional Muslim clothing behaving aggressively towards a woman. Ozdyk captioned the video, ‘*a defenseless woman enjoys the «benefits» of the Sharia law*’, while Zapalowski added his comment, ‘*The left want to bring them to Poland*’.

[1] Far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) Member of Parliament and lecturer at the University of Rzeszow.

[2] It publishes content inciting hatred against refugees and immigrants, as well as pro-Russian content.

[3] Unsuccessful **Konfederacja** candidate in the Polish general elections of 2023.

WARSAW. On 10 March, the YouTube channel of **Piotr Szlachtowicz** (**PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz**) [1] broadcast an interview with **Sebastian Ross** [2]. He expressed his support for the anti-Muslim activist **Tommy Robinson**, who had been sentenced to prison on several occasions. Ross asked Szlachtowicz, ‘*You know which Tommy? Our mate, he’s been often ending up in local dungeons for simply daring to speak out in the street and express any kind of opposition to the fact that more and more people are coming from these strange countries to Great Britain*’. Robinson is a former member of the **British National Party (BNP)**, organisation considered fascist, and founder of the anti-Muslim **English Defense League (EDL)**. In addition, during the interview, Szlachtowicz commented on the mayor of London Sadiq Khan from the Labour Party (the first ever Muslim to hold the office) [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*Samuel Huntington* [3] [...] *said that sooner or later there would be a strike of civilisation and that Islam would probably take* [?] *European, Western civilisation. As I look at the pictures* [...] *of Sadiq Khan, the mayor of London, lighting the candles that were always lit at Christmas* [...], *I think the word was fulfilled and made flesh*’. In response, Ross approvingly referred to the antisemitic attack on the hanukkiah in the Sejm building [4], ‘*You had a party not long ago after all, in December* [2023], *with candles* [...], *where Mr. Grzegorz* [5] *tried to bring order with a fire extinguisher*’.

[1] Former editor of **wRealuz4** channel, known for promoting hatred towards minorities.

[2] Leader of far-right **Konfederacja**’s (**Confederation** party) branch in the UK and its unsuccessful MP candidate in the Polish general election of 2023.

[3] American political scientist.

[4] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[5] **Grzegorz Braun**, **Konfederacja** Member of Parliament.

WEJHEROWO. On 10 March, during the match of the fifth football division (Pomeranian group) **Gryf Wejherowo** - Jaguar Gdansk, local hooligans hurled racist insults at the footballer of the visiting team, Brazilian-born Luiz Carlos Santos ‘Deleu’ (he has had Polish citizenship since 2017). They shouted ‘*Black wh*re*’ at him. Proceedings for the incidents were initiated by the Disciplinary Committee of the Polish Football Association (PZPN). The Gryf Wejherowo club’s executive board published a statement on Facebook in which it ‘*condemns and expresses a strong stand against racism and verbal aggression and intolerance at stadiums. [...] On behalf of the Club, we apologise to Mr Luiz Carlos Santos and the Jaguar Gdansk club for the situation*’. In a press statement, the footballer referred to what happened during the match: ‘*For those who*

*challenged me in Wejherowo, I can only pray. Although I don't know if it's not too late for them. I hope their children don't take the example of their parents, after all, no one is born a racist. Respect to one of Gryf's young footballers, who was the only one to come up to me and said: «Deleu, don't worry about those b*astards»'.*

On 20 March the Disciplinary Committee of the Pomeranian Football Association imposed a fine of PLN 1,000 on Gryf Wejherowo in connection with the fans' behaviour.

KRAKOW. On the night of 12/13 March, on Czyzowka street, 'unknown perpetrators' painted images and slogans offensive to the LGBT community on the wall of the Krakow Equality Centre DOM EQ. They wrote, *'Do not look for fellow deviants'* and next to it they placed a Celtic cross [1] with the acronym 'GNLS' [2]. *'The surveillance footage shows 2 people [...] approaching the wall and spray-painting this terrible slogan and painting fascists symbols, afterwards taking pictures with them'*, Mateusz Budzik from Signs of Equality federation reported. He also informed that this was another in a series of repeated homophobic attacks on the Equality Centre in recent months. As an example of those incidents, he mentioned



the removal of a rainbow flag from the building or the appearance of Celtic crosses on the fence. On 6 May 2023, the Centre received a threatening email signed by a **Pierwszy Batalion Narodowy (First National Battalion)**, *'Within half year, we have collected enough information about the organisation and its employees' personal data. We assure you that we will use this information to fulfil the tasks entrusted to us. [...] You will soon find out. But it will be too late!'* Several other LGBT organisations operating across the country received similar messages at the time. In a press statement, M. Budzik listed further acts of homophobic aggression that occurred at the Equality Centre, *'A «No pedalling» [3] sign was hung on the wall, a rainbow flag crossed out with a black ribbon was stuck on it. In October [2023] they again painted our wall and spray-painted a Celtic cross [...]. A month ago [in February 2024] another Celtic cross was scribbled on again. Only a little over 30 days have passed and we have to go to the police again with some more photos and recordings'*. All these cases were reported to the police but dismissed due to failure to identify the perpetrators.

The DOM EQ Equality Centre serves as a cultural centre for the LGBT community, it also is a specialist advice hub and houses offices for several Krakow non-governmental organisations.

[1] Symbol of the alleged domination of the white race over others.

[2] It stands for 'Good night left side', a phrase popular in neo-fascist circles.

[3] In Polish, the same word is used to describe a bike pedal and as a slur against gay males.

PULAWY. On 15 March, during the meeting of the third football division **Wisła Pulawy** - Sandecja Nowy Sacz, hooligans of the home team hung out a banner with a racist symbol on the fence surrounding the pitch. It featured a Celtic cross (partially covered), signifying the alleged superiority of the white race over others.



NIECIECZA. On 16 March, during the second division football match between Bruk-Bet Termalica Nieciecza and **Resovia Rzeszow**, hooligans of the visiting team hung out a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch with the slogan '*Blood and honour*' (this was the **Hitlerjugend** motto).

RZESZOW. On 17 March, Prof. **Andrzej Zapalowski**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) Member of Parliament and lecturer at the University of Rzeszow, made a post on Twitter in which in a xenophobic way he referred to information about several bomb explosions in the Netherlands [1]. The politician shared an article published on mainstream Interia website entitled 'Series of explosions in the Netherlands. Explosions in five cities'. Although the media reports did not give any specific information about the perpetrators, Zapalowski identified the alleged culprits, '*This is just the beginning, and it will come to us together with migrants from the Middle East*'.

[1] Which had occurred on the night of 15/16 March.

WARSAW. On 17 March, Ukrainian model Kristina Petrochuk was treated aggressively by a taxi driver who offered her a ride from the Central Railway Station. She described the course of events on her Instagram platform, '*He was driving very dangerously and his first question to me was, «Are you Ukrainian? From Kyiv?»*' When they reached their destination, a hotel, the taxi driver demanded a much higher amount from the woman (300 PLN/78 USD for a two-kilometre trip) than the one that had been originally agreed upon. She reported, '*The driver starts shouting at me aggressively, calling me names. I tell him I will call the police because he has no right to behave like this towards me and cheat people. Then suddenly I realise I cannot open the door; I am trapped in the car. And my suitcases are in the boot of his car. I start knocking on the window and ask the passers-by for help. People see me and don't react*'. The taxi driver did not unlock the door and started driving to an unknown destination leaving the hotel. '*I am in panic [...], I knock hard on the window, I scream and beg him to let me out. And he screams at me even more, insults me and flails his arms around, threatens to hit me if I do not shut up, and turns the music up louder so that passers-by do not hear me*', Petrochuk described. The man shouted at her, '*You f*cking bite the hand that feeds you!*' Eventually, the taxi driver turned around and let her get out in front of the hotel.

WARSAW. On 20 March, user called **Antykoucz (Anti-coach)** published another podcast on Spotify in which he made vulgar xenophobic and racist comments. He said [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], '*Thank you to all the Ukrainian women who f*cking fled the war. They came to Warsaw to show us what good c*ck sucking machines look like. [...] dirty mouths that look like algae eaters*'. And he continued to invoke expressions known from various cultures and falsify their meanings to arouse disgust-based, even pornographic associations regarding migrants in the audience. He said, '*You can make your social status with*

likes. [...] *Get liked, the opinion of society, of other people that you don't know at all, all f*cking habibis [1] who will come from f*cking Africa or wherever the f*ck they come from, Berlin, all of them, other losers, guys who rotate around you just to put their coco jumbo in your hakuna matata [2]*'.

[1] In fact, it is a word with a positive connotation: it comes from Arabic and means 'my love'.

[2] In fact, this phrase is related to the culture of East and Central African countries – it comes from Swahili and means 'don't worry' or 'no worries'.

OPOLE. On the evening of 26 March, near the junction of Matejki and Grunwaldzka Streets, a local man attacked a young man from Ukraine. He had set a dog on him which bit him on the hand. According to the victim, the reason for the aggression was that he was walking wearing headphones and singing in Ukrainian. *'A man with a pitbull-type defence dog appeared in front of me. He asked if I wanted to get into trouble. [...] I went my way. I didn't want to argue. A moment later I saw a shadow behind me and then I realised the man was following me. I turned around and he shouted to the dog, «Get him!» The animal jumped up from the ground and started biting my left hand. [...] He called me a f*cking Ukrainian, told me to get the f*ck back to Ukraine. He said that Poland was for Poles'*, the Ukrainian reported. He ended up in a hospital emergency department, where he was administered a tetanus vaccine. He also filed a complaint at the police station for insults on the grounds of nationality and for setting the dog on him. The search for the perpetrator is still in progress.

The injured Ukrainian managed to record the attacker's face with his phone. He posted the video on social media. As he reported, *'According to my findings, the man's name is Artur and he lives near Teatralny Square, which is not far from where the incident took place. [...] One of the clues is that a few weeks earlier, the same man had insulted some Ukrainians just in Teatralny Square. He was also with a dog, but the animal then had a muzzle on then'*.

The young man came to Poland in 2019 and has been working and studying in Opole. In a press statement, he reported that he had already been insulted many times because of his origin.

WARSAW. On 27 March, a conversation with **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** [1] was broadcast on Anita Gargas's 'Magazyn' YouTube channel. During the interview, Ziemkiewicz made disinforming comments about refugees from Ukraine and painted them in a negative light. He stated, among other things [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'Those Rolls-Royces' driven by Ukrainians around Berlin, even sometimes the sh*theads crash them, while their poorer compatriots die on the front fighting Russians'*. In addition, Ziemkiewicz kept repeating the conspiracy theories about the alleged Ukrainian-German cooperation against Poland, *'Germans simply bought the Ukrainian oligarchs, [Ukraine] is not a democratic state'*. He also condemned all the aid provided to the war refugees, *'Poles tried stupidly, maybe even nobly, but from a political point of view stupidly, to help the Ukrainians'*. The conversation was held by Anita Gargas, former employee of the state-owned TVP, director of movies promoting the theory of the so-called Smolensk assassination [2]. The interview was viewed over 432,000 times in a 5-month period. Anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments were made under the video, for example: *'Welcome to «smiling ukropolin» [3]. [...] They are turning Poland into second Ukraine in front of our eyes, at an accelerated pace'*. Some of the comments contained implied death threats against Prime Minister Donald Tusk, *'Tusk must hang'*, *'Ginger [4] will end up on the gallows, he is asking for it himself'*.

[1] Collaborator of *'Do Rzeczy'* weekly and far-right TV **Republika**.

[2] Explaining the Tu-154 aircraft crash of 2010 in Smolensk, in which 96 people, including the President and his wife and many high-ranking Polish officials died, as assassination result, and not accident.

[3] 'Ukropolin' is a conspiratorial vision of Poland taken over by Ukrainians and Jews. 'Polin' in Hebrew means Poland.

[4] Reference to a popular demeaning nickname of Donald Tusk connected to his hair colour.

APRIL 2024

SOSNOWIEC. On 1 April, during the second division football match between Zaglebie Sosnowiec and GKS Katowice, hooligans of the **JKS Jaroslaw** club, friends of the visiting team, displayed a banner encouraging ideological violence in the so-called 'nest' (the place in the stadium where the cheering is organised). It bore the slogan *'Good night left side'* (used by fascist groups) and a distinctive graphic depicting an attacker punching a man knocked to the ground.



SOSNOWIEC. On 3 April, a group of around 25 masked pseudo-footballers attacked Zaglebie Sosnowiec players and a Belarusian-born coach Aleksandr Chackiewicz, and the club's sports director Mikhail Zalewski during a training session. In a press statement, Chackevich reported: *'When I turned towards them, I said in English «take off your masks». Then one man tried to punch me. I blocked him'*. Zalewski added: *'The footballers stood face to face with them and talked to them, they were not afraid. The men tried to hit them, in the head or leg. They physically attacked the footballers, but none of the players touched them. They were just standing there ready to keep talking'*. The attackers hurled xenophobic and racist slurs at the director and the footballers. *'They told me «f*ck off to Belarus». They shouted to the Ukrainians that they should «f*ck off to Ukraine», the Belarusian players were not there but there were coaches on the staff, they were told to «f*ck off to Belarus»'*. They also told Valencia and Rémy that *'there was no place for blacks'* [Joel Valencia from Ecuador and Frenchman William Rémy of Guadeloupe origin]. They shouted that *'local footballers from Sosnowiec should play'*. The police were called to the scene. The bandits fled. Coach Chackiewicz reported: *'After what happened, I decided that I will no longer work at this club'* and added: *'I have worked with the Belarusian national team, at a big club like Dynamo Kyiv, at smaller clubs and I have never been in such a situation. They should not be allowed in the civilised world of football'*. M. Zalewski also ended his cooperation with Zaglebie.

WARSAW. On 3 April, a user nicknamed **Antykoucz (Anti-coach)** uploaded a recording on his Spotify profile in which he mocked the issue of hate speech (it was entitled 'I ♥ hate speech'). He also insulted the memory of the prisoners of Nazi camps and used a term that is a form of denying the Holocaust of Jews, i.e. *'Jewish camp'* (in reference to a Nazi camp). He said during the broadcast, *'I love hate speech. Soon they will put you in prison for this. [...] When this machine starts, we will be more orthodox than a capo in a Jewish camp, who was also a Jew himself [1], a staff... block elder. [...] There were Jews who were staff officers [sic!], Poles who were staff officers, did we have at least one N*gro as a staff officer? But Netflix would definitely be reluctant to make an episode about it'*. [2]

[1] Capos were inmates who were forced by the Nazis to serve as 'stand-in' guards. In effect, being a capo blurred the lines between collaborator, perpetrator, and victim.

[2] ‘Staff officer’ (‘sztabowy’) is an incorrect term used for a ‘block elder assistant’ (‘sztubowy’). ‘Block elder’ was a functionary prisoner managing a group of assistants – privileged ones, whose task was to keep order the barracks and to distribute food.

WARSAW. On 4 April, a conversation between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Kaja Godek**, radical anti-abortion activist, was published on the Facebook page **TVMN of Media Narodowe (National Media)**. During the broadcast, homophobic statements were made [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]. Godek referred to her own quote from 2019 *‘that gays want to adopt children to molest and rape them’* and emphasised that *‘this claim is not without foundation’*, if *‘we look at what is happening in countries that have legalised homosexual relationships and legalised homo-adoption’*.

WARSAW. On 5 April, on the **PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz** YouTube channel, programme host Piotr Szlachtowicz [1] and his guest **Sebastian Ross** [2] made Islamophobic comments about the First Minister of Scotland Humza Yousaf [3]. They deliberately changed his name and called him *‘Abu Hamza’*, referring to Abu Hamza al-Masri who was extradited from the UK to the US, where in 2015 he was sentenced to life imprisonment facing terrorism charges.

During the conversation [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note] Szlachtowicz said, *‘Do you know that in Scotland this [...] Abu Hamza or something like «Youbza Houbza», not elected in any elections, First Minister of Scotland, because that’s what he is called, introduces the type of law where you cannot say many things, now at all, but this does not apply to Muslims, only to white people, right?’* In his response Ross stated, *‘Precisely Humza Yousaf – we, I and Peter, Mr. Editor, are laughing here because when he still lived in Great Britain, the case of Abu Hamza was well-known, he was some sort of terrorist [...] that’s why we call the Prime Minister of Scotland this way’*.

[1] Formerly associated with the far-right internet TV **wRealu24**.

[2] Leader of the UK branch of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party and its unsuccessful candidate in the Polish general election of 2023.

[3] Scottish National Party Leader (of Pakistani descent).

WARSAW. On 11 April, on the **PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz** [1] YouTube channel, a conversation with **Radek Pogoda** [2] was broadcast, where the guest his Islamophobic conspiracy theory. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘Hijrah is a method of spreading Islam around the world that combines migration with conquest, with economic takeover, with taking over a given political region, introducing Islam in areas, where Islam immigrants appear first’*. Pogoda referred to a falsely altered meaning of the word *‘hijrah’* which especially since 2015 (refugee crisis in Southern Europe) has been eagerly used in anti-Muslim propaganda. In fact, this word in Arabic means *‘wandering’*. Hijrah was a name given to the escape from oppression of Muhammad and his followers from Mecca to Medina in 622. According to Islamic tradition, hijrah is performed by those who migrate to free themselves from discrimination and terror.

Moreover, during the programme Szlachtowicz, referring to the European Pact on Migration, aroused resentment against Arabs, *‘Poles, you will be coughing up fortune on those [migrant] camps, on everything, and they will be walking and doing what they do in Western Europe. They will not respect your women, they will not work, and they will organise so-called organised crime ... oh, sorry, Arab clans’*.

[1] Belonging to Piotr Szlachtowicz, formerly associated with the far-right internet TV **wRealu24**.

[2] Far-right YouTuber.

WARSAW. On 11 April, a video entitled ‘The European Union will send immigrants to Poland, rate of crimes against women will rise’ was uploaded on the **TVMN** Facebook page of **Media Narodowe (National Media)**. **Jan Bodakowski** hosted **Robert Bakiewicz** [1]. The topic of the discussion was the European Union’s migration pact. Both men perpetuated xenophobic disinformation regarding persons migrating to Europe from vaguely defined ‘*Muslim countries*’ [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]. Bakiewicz stated that migrants have become a ‘*great problem*’ and that ‘*they have brought in with them significantly, or they significantly raised the cases of criminal activities or the drop in safety in the area of such criminal acts has increased significantly in Europe, in the countries where they have settled. [...] Gangs were created, mafias from various countries, like Arab countries. [...] And besides, they brought terrorist attacks*’. The host was equally hostile. According to Bodakowski, ‘*in all those countries where immigrants have appeared, they led to a gigantic rise in crime, often sexual crime against women*’. He also predicted that due to flawed, in his view, immigration policy, ‘*millions of women will become, like in countries of Western Europe, victims of sexual crime*’.

[1] Long-standing far-right activist. Until recently in charge of TVMN.

WARSAW. On 11 April, **Wojciech Sumlinski** [1] broadcast a programme on his YouTube channel in which he once again promoted antisemitic content. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*The tragedy in Jedwabne – the murder of Jews by the Germans – the crime is attributed to Poles in exchange for dirty money and power not without reason. [...] A myth was produced about how Poles burned one thousand six hundred, as was once said. [...] Then they stopped talking about the number of one thousand six hundred burned Jews and it was being said that it was no longer important how many Jews had been burned by Poles, but the very fact that they had been burned. This is not true*’. He continued conspiracy theories about alleged financial claims from Jews and attempts to take over Poland, ‘*The idea is that this amount will be so large that we will never be able to repay it. And if you don’t have anything to pay off your debt, you pay with real estate. And here we come to the vision of ownership transformations and here we come to the vision of Polin* [2], and here we go back to the Middle East. This tightening of the loop around the state of Israel [...] Jews are thinking about it [...] where in a situation of such a threat [...] they can teleport the entire part of the population, the fabric of the nation. Here we come to the vision of Polin. [...] Fortunately, what the Jews call Polin is not here yet, because Poland and Polin exclude each other. If there is Poland, there is no Polin. If there is Polin, it means: there is no Poland anymore. [...] Jews want Polin to be here’.

[1] Infamous far-right propagator of conspiracy theories, anti-Semite, and director of the film ‘**Return to Jedwabne**’, questioning the responsibility of Poles for the crime against their Jewish neighbours in 1941, and co-author of a series of books under the same title.

[2] In Hebrew this word means ‘*Poland*’.

WARSAW. On 12 April, the ‘**NEVER AGAIN**’ Association notified the Ombudsman for Children Rights **Monika Horna-Cieslak** about a podcast uploaded on Spotify by a user nicknamed **Antykoucz (Anti-coach)**. Addressing children directly, he encouraged them to commit suicide. He ranted [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*There are many ways to commit suicide. [...] This often needs to be planned. And that’s what this f*cking podcast*

*is for. [...] Where can you start? From self-harm. We have all kinds of vein cuts. [...] Listen, dear children, dear listeners, if you cut your wrists, it's not like in the movies [...]. You take a f*cking razor blade, or maybe a very sharp knife, just not the blunt one from Ikea, and cut it lengthwise, pull it from the f*cking wrist to the elbow. [...] Put your cut arm in warm water, this will surely make you go. Warm water will speed up the spitting out of blood. [...] You fall asleep peacefully, very cool'. The man also wove xenophobic threads into his argument (he identified all migrants with terrorists): 'And now for suicide attacks. Our German brothers know something well about it. They invited various people who like to throw great, bombastic parties'. In the Antykoucz broadcast, he also appealed, 'If you want f*cking more, give me info. We will try to design your suicide in a way that people who see it will say: Wow! This person left in style'.*

The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association has reported the 'How to Commit Suicide 1.0' podcast to Spotify. Even though the video was in violation of Spotify Content Policy ('promoting, glorifying or inciting suicide and self-harm' is considered dangerous), it was not removed and the report went unanswered.

Apart from Spotify, the Antykoucz user has accounts on several other social networking sites (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, TikTok) where he posted content inciting hatred and violence against minorities.

BIELSKO-BIALA. On April 14, during the second division football match between **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala** and Polonia Warszawa, 'fans' of the host club once again displayed (in the central place in the stadium, the so-called 'nest') a banner inciting ideologically motivated violence. It featured a distinctive graphic depicting a man kicking a lying man and a slogan 'Good night left side', popular with radical groups.

WARSAW. On 19 April, after the end of the second division football match between **Polonia Warszawa** and Zaglebie Sosnowiec, hooligans of the local club hurled vulgar racist shouts at the opposing team's footballer William Rémy (a Frenchman of Guadeloupean origin). Following the incident, Polonia Warszawa club published a press statement in which it expressed 'a strong stand against racism and verbal aggression in stadiums. [...] As a club, we have taken actions to identify people who committed these disgraceful, racist acts. We will take legal steps against them including stadium bans'.

RADZIONKOW. On 20 April, during a match in the fifth football division (Silesian group I) between **Ruch Radzionkow** and Szombierki Bytom, local hooligans of the host team displayed on the fence around the pitch a **Confederate** flag (used in the 19th century during the American Civil War by southern states fighting to maintain slavery, nowadays considered a symbol of racial discrimination) and a banner with a 'falanga' (black, red and white flag with an emblem of a hand with a sword; a symbol of nationalist radicalism and violence against political opponents and national minorities. 'Falanga', referring in its geometrised form to the swastika, was used in the interwar period by Polish fascist organisations).



WARSAW. On 20 April, TV **Republika**'s commentator **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** on his YouTube channel shared conspiracy theories about alleged Ukrainian-German cooperation to the detriment of Poland [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]. He ranted, *'The Ukrainian agricultural produce overflow means pumping millions into the pockets of Ukrainian oligarchs, who are thereby becoming German agents in their own country. [...] You all know what I mean: Ukraine is, de facto, a client of Germany, as long as it is governed by a corrupt elite, and Germans are very adept at corrupting the elites of various countries in such a way that these elites work for the benefit of Germany and not their own countries.'* And he then continued catastrophically, *'The association agreement or special rights for Ukraine within the European Union is exactly that: using Ukraine to weaken Poland [...] so that Ukrainian oligarchs can line their pockets, so that they would be grateful to their German patrons. This coffin lid loomed over Poland again'*.

LODZ. On 21 April, during the top flight football match between LKS Lodz and **Lech Poznan**, 'fans' of the visiting club hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch inciting ideological violence. It featured a neo-fascist slogan *'Lech Poznan skinheads. Good night left side'* and a graphic depicting a masked attacker punching at the face a supporter of anti-fascist beliefs.



WARSAW. On 26 April, blogger **Krzysztof 'Ator' Wozniak** [1] uploaded a video entitled *'Islamisation of Europe! In Germany the children in school convert into Islam OUT OF FEAR!'* on his *'wideoprezentacje'* (*'videopresentations'*) YouTube channel. During the programme he quoted an alleged *'Daily Mail'* article and added his own comments to it. Talking about the *'Islamisation of Europe'* [original phrasing retained in all below quotes as much as possible – translator's note], he stated, *'In the context of all information appearing on the Western media, and also on Polish media, the topic should probably be considered outdated, and this Islamisation something that simply has been accomplished'*. Next, he painted a somewhat bizarre vision of life in Germany, *'Now they are becoming a religious country, but an Islamic one, not because the young school-age Germans want to convert to Islam [...] but because they are afraid'*, and *'There is imposition of this foreign culture on young Germans, in a few years it will start in Poland too'*. Seemingly addressing Germans, he portrayed Muslims as a civilisational threat, *'You have let in millions of people who hate you and want to shape your culture in accordance with their own religion'*. During the programme Wozniak also made statements with anti-Ukrainian overtones, *'Some time ago children in Polish schools sang «Red Kalyna» [2], and when some part of Poles felt outrage [...], these people were told that they were intolerant and that they were Putin's agents. We are threatened not only by Islamisation [3]. But by Islamisation too'*.

Wozniak's programme was viewed over 43,500 times within a month and his YouTube channel has been subscribed by over 679,000 users.

A lot of anti-Muslim and anti-Ukrainian comments were made under this video, including those inciting violence. Examples: *'Stop the mosques!!! Stop Islam!'* *'STOP the Islamisation of Poland'*, *'Stop the Islamisation of Europe and Poland!!!'* *'And I am against Islam, out of Poland. Let them go to Dubai'*, *'Down with Islam in Poland'*, *'The Islamisation of Europe continues... they are*

coming for us and for our children ... and they will not stop ... they can only be stopped by force...'
'Western Europe is in for Islamisation out of fear and we will be Ukrainised by force: they are already announcing the teaching of kids in our schools according to Kyiv's programme...'
'The one who killed children on the Utoja island talked about it – he paid a very high price to communicate it!'
'Germans will again relight the furnaces, it's probably just a matter of time', 'Hitler is turning in his grave'.

[1] Unsuccessful far-right **KORWiN** party candidate in the Polish general election of 2015.

[2] In the first weeks of the war, the Ukrainian folk song «Red Kalyna» was performed by many artists in the world to showcase support for the attacked country, it was also sung as a sign of solidarity with Ukraine in Poland.

[3] The so-called 'Ukrainisation' was implied this way too – this term is used as a conspiracy vision of Poland being taken over by Ukrainians.

CHODZIEZ. On 28 April, during the fifth division football match (Wielkopolska group) **Polonia Chodziez** – Polonia 1908 Marcinki Kepno, a player of the local team behaved in a racist manner towards a footballer from Kepno, a Cameroonian, Bernard Ndukong Fai. As he was preparing to

take a free kick, the player from Chodziez shouted:

'Play, black mambo'. Ndukong Fai stopped playing

and reported the racist incident to the referee

Szymon Szczepkowski. The referee ignored him,

ordered the game to continue, and when the

Cameroonian continued to demand a response from

him, he was punished with a yellow card. As the

discussion broke out between players of both teams,

after a few minutes the referee punished Bernard

Ndukong Fai again: he showed him a second yellow

card and expelled him from the pitch. At the same time, racist insults were heard from the stands

addressing both Cameroonian players of Polonia 1908 Marcinki Kepno: Ndukong Fai and Tonga

Ngale Junior. The hooligans shouted *'Asphalts* [in Polish this is an abusive term for Black people

– ed.] *are quarrelling'*, *'Slobs!'*, *'Mutombo!'*

On 30 April, the board of the Polonia 1908 Marcinki Kepno club decided to send a request to the

Discipline Department of the Wielkopolski Football Association to initiate disciplinary

proceedings against one of the Polonia Chodziez players for *'contemptuous or discriminatory*

behaviour' towards Benard Ndukong Fai.



WARSAW. On 29 April, **Slawomir Ozdyk** PhD [1] took part in a programme entitled 'Islam will also rage in Poland! [...]' broadcast on the far-right **PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz** [2] YouTube channel.

The host Piotr Szlachtowicz asked his interlocutor a bizarre question, *'I remember our discussion when you said that [...] another 10-11 years and there will be no Berlin, it will be Islamic Berlin. Is this already on the horizon?'*

In response Ozdyk presented a conspiracy theory and a catastrophic vision of reality based on aversion to Muslims. He stated that *'there are over two thousand mosques in Germany, no one knows how many exactly. Islamist organisations sponsored by the Arabian Peninsula countries are active in Germany. We have police in Germany with a political correctness muzzle on. In Germany we have judges who release criminals linked to the Arabic clans. In Germany we have politicians striving to increase Sub-Saharan migration*

to Europe. In Poland, according to the Migration Pact and this compensatory mechanism [3], we will have the same thing, if not worse’.

[1] Owner of a security company in Berlin, unsuccessful far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate in the Polish general election of 2023 and in the European Parliament Election of 2024.

[2] Belonging to Piotr Szlachetowicz, formerly associated with the far-right internet TV **wRealu24**.

[3] Referring to the Solidarity Declaration connected to the EU Asylum Policy.

WARSAW. On the night of 30 April/1 May, a juvenile perpetrator tried to set fire to the Nozyk Synagogue on Twarda Street. He threw a Molotov cocktail which crashed against the façade near one of the ground floor windows. Fortunately, the fire was quickly extinguished by police officers who were on duty nearby.



On 1 May in the evening, the Warsaw Police Headquarters announced that ‘a 16-year-old man, Polish citizen, was detained in connection with the incident [...] on the premises of the synagogue’. And further on, ‘By decision of the Juvenile Court for Warsaw-Wola, a temporary measure was applied to the 16-year-old in the form of a shelter for minors for a period of 3 months’. In turn, the spokesman for the Regional Public Prosecutor's Office Szymon Banna said in a press statement that ‘the prosecutor's office filed a motion to try the minor as an adult, under the Code of Criminal Procedure’.

The attack on the synagogue was condemned by representatives of the state and the capital city authorities, the Jewish and Muslim communities and the Polish Bishops’ Conference, as well as the Ambassadors of the United States and Israel. During the press conference, Mark Brzezinski, the US Ambassador to Poland, said, ‘On behalf of President Joe Biden, I strongly condemn the attack on the Nozyk Synagogue. Not in Poland, not in 2024, nowhere, never. The words «never again» must mean something’.

The historic Nozyk Synagogue is the only house of prayer of the Warsaw Jewish community that survived World War II and is still active. It was built between 1898 and 1902, funded by the couple Rywka and Zalman Nozyk, who lived on nearby Prozna Street.

MAY 2024

BELCHATOW. The football hooligan magazine ‘*To My Kibice*’ (‘*It’s Us Fans*’, May edition) published an article on fan groups from the Silesian Voivodeship. A fragment of the text devoted to the **Zaglebiak Dabrowa Gornicza** club was illustrated with a photograph taken during a match, which showed a flag with a Celtic cross (a racist symbol) displayed by hooligans of this team. It was not indicated when this photograph was taken.

SLUPSK. On 4 May, during the fifth division football match (Pomeranian group) **Gryf Slupsk** - Baltyk Gdynia, local hooligans hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch with a slogan *'Death to the enemies of the motherland'*, which is nowadays used by the extreme right as an incitement to aggression on ideological grounds.



WARSZAWA. On 5 May, the **PSTV Peter Szlachtowicz** YouTube channel [1] broadcast an interview with **Sebastian Ross** [2], during which both participants spouted racist comments about the Scottish First Minister Humza Yousaf, head of the Scottish National Party, born to Pakistani immigrants. [Original phrasing in all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note] Szlachtowicz: *'Humza Yousaf, we called him warmly Abu Hamza, with a very Scottish name'*, Ross: *'And looks! And looks!'* Szlachtowicz: *'And looks, of course'*. This exchange was based on the hateful association of Muslims with terrorism: Abu Hamza al-Masri was extradited from the UK to the US, where in 2015 he was sentenced to life in prison for supporting terrorism. Later on, Szlachtowicz recalled the conspiracy theory which claims that Muslims 'take over' countries to which they migrate, *'I remember Jayda Fransen's words, of Britain First then, now an independent activist for a British Britain [...], that by 2035 or 2040 they will rename London to Londonistan. There is something to it, right?'* Ross elaborated on this vision, *'Bradford, a city about which Tommy [3] [...] wrote features, that there were numerous cases of abuse, abuse of minors by one type of people who came from Asia. And there, Muslims also can become councillors, elected by their fellow Muslim locals. [...] Slowly but steadily, they will be taking over'*. In his catastrophic and preposterous vision, Ross continued, *'London is a capital of knifers. People with machetes and knives prowl the streets, and such crimes increase also with the influx of, of course, the population from the south and the east of the world [...], so I mean Asia and Africa'*.

The video received many racist, antisemitic and xenophobic comments, *'The whites in London are already in minority'*, *'You keep laughing at the Brits that it is their own fault, that London became Londonistan (or something like that). But what about us? We have Polin, and in it Warszawiw, Bandersztad and Krakiw. Ah, and the law is created by knesejm [4]'* and *'It will be the same for us, with Ukrainians'*.

[1] Belonging to Piotr Szlachtowicz, formerly associated with the far-right internet TV **wRealu24**.

[2] Leader of the UK branch of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party and its unsuccessful candidate in the Polish general election of 2023.

[3] **Tommy Robinson**, anti-Muslim activist who was sentenced multiple times to prison.

[4] Word play: Knesset + Sejm, i.e. lower chamber of Polish Parliament: a conspiracy theory according to which Poland is ruled by Jews.

KRAKOW. On 6 May, during a meeting at the Pod Jaszczurami club, **Konfederacja (Confederation)** Member of Parliament and its candidate in the European Parliament elections **Grzegorz Braun** [1] made comments charged with antisemitism. He turned to the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Andrzej Szejna from the Nowa Lewica (New Left party), who saw it appropriate to debate with Braun, with the following words, *'For the reason that you are running around some Jewish marches, you did not have the time and energy to arrange for the ambassador to a state located in Palestine [2] to be packed up and taken to Okecie as persona non*

grata'. The Konfederacja MP referred in this way to the March of the Living which took place on the same day at the former Auschwitz camp. This event, organised since 1988, commemorates the victims of the Holocaust. It is attended by former prisoners of Nazi camps and Holocaust survivors, as well as young people and representatives of the authorities.

Braun posted this debate on his YouTube channel in its entirety, as well as its several-minute-long fragment relating solely to the March of the Living. The material was also published on the Facebook profile of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown**, Braun's political party). In response to this video, many hateful, mainly antisemitic comments were made, also towards Szejna, some of which constituted incitement to violence, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- 'Eh SZAJNA.....because Poles DO NOT MARCH WITH K*KES...!!!'

- 'Szejna, or an anti-Polish Jewwy non-Jew'.

- 'Throw this commie Szejna in a sack and into the river...another anti-Polish scum!'

- 'Poland for Poles'.

- 'I don't know a Jew who would tell the truth...'

- 'The left is spreading love? Maybe f*ggot love'.

- 'Yes – me, we are proud of Mr. MP Grzegorz Braun's activities – including extinguishing Hanukkah candles – which should not be in the Sejm – the Sejm should be Polish.' [4]

[1] In April 2024 he was charged by the Public Prosecutor's Office with several hate and hate speech-related crimes.

[2] I.e. Israel.

[3] Main airport in Warsaw, Poland.

[4] Sejm – lower chamber of Polish Parliament. Braun extinguished the Hanukkah candles there in December 2023.

WARSAW. On 9 May, **Jaroslav Kornas's** [1] **Miedzywojnie (Interwar Time)** YouTube channel published an interview with **Radoslaw Patlewicz**, author of books perpetuating accusations against Jews of committing alleged ritual murders of Christians. In the conversation, Patlewicz spoke highly of *'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion'*, a 19th-century antisemitic pamphlet prepared on behalf of the Russian secret police, Okhrana. This brochure was used during the wave of anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia, as well as in the propaganda of the Third Reich. The forgery of the *'Protocols'* has been repeatedly confirmed by courts of justice. Despite this, Patlewicz argued [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'For the fake to be authentic [...], they couldn't write complete nonsense, they also had to set it in certain reality [...]. Knowing that Jews are what they are, they wrote a text that fit perfectly the Jewish mentality'*. Later in the broadcast, Patlewicz referred to the Jewish pogrom in Pinsk in April 1919, during which Polish soldiers shot 35 Jews suspected of Bolshevik agitation [2]. The massacre sparked outrage around the world. At the request of the US President Woodrow Wilson, a report was published according to which the Polish commander *'undertook an inexcusable, drastic action against respected citizens of the city'*. Meanwhile, on air, Patlewicz assigned the blame for this crime to... the Jews themselves. He mockingly said, *'The Jews [...] held a meeting and conspired there against Polish authorities. And the Poles found out about it, they arrested these people and shot the Jews based on the regulations they had established in the city. And a terrible worldwide scandal broke out because how could it be? After all, a Jew should be above the law and should be able to do whatever he wants, and he won't listen to any Poles or goyim'*. Also in reference to the pogrom in Przytyk (then, a small town in central Poland) in March 1936, Patlewicz accused... the victims of the crimes, *'As in most events of this type, the initiators were the Jews themselves'*. In the same tone, he spoke about economic antisemitism in the interwar

period, *'It's really hard to blame Poles for wanting to rule in their own country. After all, it wasn't Israel, but it was Poland'*.

[1] Formerly associated with the far-right **wRealu24** channel.

[2] It happened in the first stage of the Polish-Soviet War, after the Polish Army took control of the city.

KRAKOW. On 11 May, a meeting about **Ruch Obrony Polakow (Movement for the Defence of Poles)** (a political rally in reality) was held by **Witold Gadowski** [1] with **Wojciech Sumlinski** [2]. Several hundred people took part in a discussion during the 2nd Krakow Good Book Fair at the headquarters of the 'Sokol' Polish Gymnastics Society [in all following quotes original phrasing is retained as much as possible – translator's note]. Sumlinski presented a conspiratorial vision in which Poland ('Polin' in Hebrew) was to be overtaken by the Jews, *'Huge threat of Polin, which is not even talked about anymore, because it is not politically correct, but it is a very real threat'* and then he appealed, *'Together we will regain Poland for Poles'*. Gadowski continued on the same note, *'[We have to] tear out from the snouts of the German, Jewish, Russian, and Chinese agents and God knows what other agencies operating here, what is Polish and what belongs to Poland, we have to build a big, powerful structure they will be afraid of'*. Later in the discussion, Sumlinski defended the pre-war activities of Fr. Maksymilian Maria Kolbe, publisher of Jew-attacking press which supported their forced emigration from Poland and the creation of the bench ghettos at universities. Sumlinski said about him, *'A holy man, whose holiness no one can question, he is an antisemite for the Jews because he defended Polishness'*. Moreover, during the meeting, he stated that the politicians of **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc** (right-wing **Law and Justice** party) *'kneeled before Jews throughout their entire double term'*.

Before the meeting, the flag of Ukraine, which had been flying over the building since 2022, was removed from the 'Sokol' headquarters building. While talking to the audience, Sumlinski stated the removal of the Ukrainian flag is *'a big thing'* and compared it to the removal of Nazi flags by the members of the Home Army [3] during the occupation period.

[1] Radical-right activist and commentator.

[2] Co-author of a series of books questioning the historical truth about the Jedwabne massacre, which was perpetrated by the Polish population of the town in the presence of German occupying forces in 1941.

[3] Home Army (Armia Krajowa) was the main military resistance movement in Nazi-occupied Poland.

LUBLIN. On 13 May, a recording entitled 'Mobile election studio!' [1] was uploaded on the YouTube channel of the Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun, Konfederacja's (Confederation, far-right party)** candidate in the European Parliament elections, in which he once again praised his antisemitic act of violence of 12 December 2023. This is when in the building of the Sejm [2] he used a fire extinguisher to put out the candles lit on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah and then physically attacked a woman of Jewish origin who was one of the participants of the ceremony. As a result of the attack, she had to spend one week in hospital. In the uploaded video, Braun, addressing viewers, stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'How do we measure efficiency of our election meetings? I think they are measured by the number of fire extinguishers that were autographed. There were already hundreds of them. [...] It is a symbol, a sign of agreement beyond what divides us. All those who want Poland to be Polish understand what the fire extinguisher emblem means'*. He thus tried to give a fire extinguisher a meaning of a universal, positive symbol expressing... support for anti-Jewish aggression. Hateful comments were made under the video on YouTube,

for example: *'This is Poland, not ukropolin because Poland is for Poles GOOD JOB Mr. Grzegorz we are with you'* [3].

[1] Recorded in a car on the way to Lublin, city in Eastern Poland.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[3] 'Polin' means 'Poland' in Hebrew, the word 'ukropolin' is a reference to the conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be overtaken by Ukrainians and Jews.

WARSAW. On 15 May, **Krzysztof 'Ator' Wozniak** [1] uploaded a video with Islamophobic overtones on his '**wideoprezentacje**' ('**videopresentations**') YouTube channel. He quoted various media and added his own commentary. He said [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'In German schools, European kids convert to Islam out of fear', because 'they are afraid of prosecution, [...] they are afraid of physical violence from the Muslim youth'*. At some point, he suddenly cried out, *'They want to introduce a caliphate, people!'* He continued with a conspiracy theory, quite popular among the far right, that Muslim refugees have sinister intentions, *'Let me remind you that the majority of them are not Syrians fleeing from war, but for example Eritreans and so on, and they leave their various countries because they don't like it there, not because there is war there and they are in danger, and they want to get to a better country, and then they want to change it to a type of the country they had left'*. Then he kept describing this alleged conquest, *'What is the word for it in Islam [sic!]? A conquest without a shot, consisting of a huge migration of Muslims, when they take over a given land, then they become a majority and [...] start to transform that country'*.

Within seven days, Wozniak's video garnered more than 61 thousand views, while his channel had some 679,000 subscriptions (as of May 2024). Comments under the video were full of hate speech and conspiracy theories, such as: *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland!!!!'* *'we ourselves will show them that there will be no Islamisation of Poland'*, *'This is Poland, not Po[l]in!'* [2]. *No Muslims No Jews No Ukrainisation!!!'* *'Germans could use another guy with the moustache'*.

[1] Vlogger and unsuccessful far-right **KORWiN** party candidate in the Polish general election of 2015.

[2] The word means 'Poland' in Hebrew. For the far right it has become synonymous with the alleged rule of Jews over Poland.

WARSAW. On 24 May, a number of homophobic and transphobic comments were made on the **TVMN** Facebook page of **Media Narodowe (National Media)** during a conversation between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Kaja Godek** [1]. The activist stated that the LGBT flag is a symbol of *'perversion, a symbol of deviations from the norm that is a relationship between a man and a woman, from the norm that is heterosexuality, a symbol of lewdness'*. Later in the conversation, Godek felt it was necessary to express her feelings after meeting Angela Getler, a transgender journalist from the Polish Television. She stated, *'Everyone saw that something was wrong with Angela. It turns out that she is simply a transvestite'*. Godek assumed that the presence of the journalist, whom she called a *'freak'*, in the Sejm [2] is part of an organised conspiracy, *'She is being set up to, I don't know, normalise transsexuality, so that we will consider it something normal'*.

[1] From anti-abortion **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family Foundation)**.

[2] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

CHOJNICE. On 25 May, during the third division football match between **Chojniczanka Chojnice** and Olimpia Elblag, local hooligans once again displayed a banner with Nazi symbols on the fence surrounding the pitch. It featured a graphic depicting a characteristic corpse skull (partially covered), which was a symbol used on the uniforms of **SS-Totenkopfverbände** (the Death's Head Units) serving in Nazi concentration camps. In addition, the flag of the Chojniczanka 'fans' bore the number 88, which refers to a neo-Nazi greeting 'Heil Hitler' (the letter H is the eight letter of the alphabet). This banner has been displayed by Chojnice hooligans for many years, without any reaction from the football club or city authorities (who finance the stadium's maintenance).



GRUDZIADZ. On 26 May, during the 6th round of the top flight derby speedway match between **GKM Grudziadz** and Apator Torun, local hooligans displayed a banner encouraging ideological violence in the so-called nest (a place in the stands where cheering is organised). It featured a graphic depicting an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground and a fascist slogan 'Good night left side'.

LUBLIN. On 26 May, during the second division football match between **Motor Lublin** and Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala, local 'fans' hung out a banner on the fence around the pitch with the **SS** motto: 'Our honour is loyalty' (original: 'Meine Ehre heißt Treue'). No actions were taken by the football authorities for displaying a flag with a Nazi content.

JUNE 2024

OPOLE. On 1 June, representatives of **Młodzież Wszechpolska** (far-right **All-Polish Youth**) attempted to disrupt the Equality March (Pride) organised by the Teczowe Opole (Rainbow Opole) association. They displayed banners offensive to LGBT people. They also chanted aggressive, vulgar slogans at the participants along the route of the demonstration, 'Get the f*ck out!' According to one of the local websites, already during the Equality March the police intervened in connection with the beating of a participant (no more information has been made public).

Two homophobic attacks occurred also after the Equality March had ended. In the OPO social club-café on Krakowska Street, a man 'started to utter hateful slogans against the LGBTQIA+ community, tore off a rainbow flag, stole badges, sprayed pepper spray and fled the premises. The police called to the scene collected initial statements from the injured parties', Teczowe Opole reported. They described further developments, 'After midnight, probably the same perpetrator along with several masked men appeared in the vicinity of the event, shouting homophobic slogans, and they tried to force their way into the venue. We were again attacked with pepper spray. The police called to the scene detained two people. The remaining perpetrators escaped. The ambulance team provided assistance to the injured people participating in our event'. The organisers of the Equality March published a statement on the matter, 'We are outraged and

shocked by this incident. [...] We continue to appeal [...] for effective legal protection of the LGBTQIA+ community in the Penal Code’.

WARSAW. On 3 June, on his YouTube channel, Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun**, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) candidate [1] in the European Parliament elections, posted an election ad which included content offensive towards minorities. The video contained fragments of Braun’s speeches, including the words, ‘*We will not be taught history by Germans or Jews, and our children will not be raised by deviants*’ [2]. In addition, the MP stated, ‘*Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland*’ [3], which was also displayed on the screen as a hashtag [4]. The ad also included his words ‘*Down with Judeo-Communism*’ displayed against the background of the flag of Israel and the European Union, as well as photos from meetings of the Konfederacja MP with his supporters during which he signed fire extinguishers [5]. For several months, Braun has been using the fire extinguisher and its graphic depictions on social media as a symbol of support for antisemitic aggression.



Comments inciting hatred and violence were made under the video on YouTube, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- ‘*IT’S POLAND HERE !!!! DOWN WITH the ukrainians!!!!!!!!*’
- ‘*Mr. Grzegorz, we want to see fires extinguished in the European Parliament!*’
- ‘*D O W N with [...] LGBT*’.

[1] He has been successfully elected.
[2] Contemptuous term for LGBT people.
[3] Thus recalling the conspiracy theory about the alleged takeover of Poland by Ukrainians.
[4] Since the outbreak of the war on Ukraine, the slogans ‘#Stop ukrainizacji’(‘#Stop the Ukrainisation’) and ‘#Stop ukrainizacji Polski’ (‘#Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’) are among the most popular anti-Ukrainian hashtags on social media and are intensively promoted by Braun.
[5] In December 2023, in the building of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), he used a fire extinguisher to put out candles lit on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah and then physically attacked a woman of Jewish origin who was one of the participants of the ceremony.

WARSAW. On 3 June, Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** published an election ad on his YouTube channel, which contained fragments of speeches of **Konfederacja’s (Confederation)** candidates in the European Parliament elections. It included statements by, among others, **Witold Tomczak** [1]. When his words were being heard, ‘*We do not want another totalitarian, atheist enslavement*’, photos of the Auschwitz Museum premises appeared on the screen. The use of the former concentration camp in an election ad was an insult to the memory of the camp’s victims. Later in the material, Braun’s words could be heard, ‘*We will not be taught history by Germans or Jews, deviants*’ [2] *will not raise our children nor teach us tolerance*’. In the ad, he once again perpetuated the conspiracy theory about the alleged takeover of Poland by Ukrainians – the material ended with a slogan by Braun, ‘*Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland*’.

[1] In 2000, in the Zacheta National Gallery of Art in Warsaw, he damaged a sculpture by Maurizio Cattelan, representing Pope John Paul II crushed by a boulder. The politician was found guilty, but he was conditionally discharged by the court.

[2] Insult he very frequently uses against LGBT people.

GORZOW WLKP. On 8 June, in a Biedronka store on Podmiejska Street, one of the customers behaved aggressively towards a saleswoman from Ukraine. A witness to the incident reported it to the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, *'The shopping woman first insulted the Ukrainian cashier. Then she called the store manager and said that we were in Poland and demanded that a Polish cashier serve her. She stated several times that the cashier's place is in Ukraine, not Poland. When I and several other people rebuked her, she repeated many times that her family came from Volhynia and «please read about Volhynia, and not defend Ukrainians». Finally, when she was to pay, she spitefully repeated to the cashier that she didn't understand how much she had to pay, until I finally got angry and told her to look at the cash register screen and she'd see the amount. The cashier, shaken and in tears, went on a break'*. The police were informed of the incident.

MLAWA. On 10 June, a man who visited the so-called old Jewish cemetery on Krucza Street, descendant of local Jews, revealed that someone had placed racist stickers on the information board devoted to the history of the necropolis. They featured a Celtic cross, symbolising the alleged dominance of the white race. They were stuck in several places on the board, and one of them was deliberately placed in such a way as to cover the image of a seven-branched candlestick (symbol of Judaism). The stickers were removed. Krzysztof Bielawski from the Foundation for the Preservation of Jewish Heritage which takes care of the necropolis notified the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association about the incident.



The cemetery was established at the turn of the 17th century and was devastated by the Nazis during World War II. No monuments have survived to this day.

WARSAW. On 13 June, **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, commentator infamous for preaching antisemitic content, uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he elaborated on a conspiracy theory he had been repeating for years [original phrasing of all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'All these villainous smears that the Jewish circles distribute against Poland and Poles, the Polish nation, serve a certain purpose – to soften us so that we enforce Jewish property restitution claims without protest, so that we simply allow ourselves to be robbed by Jews'*.

Antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian comments were made under the video on YouTube, for example:

- *'Do you think that our unfortunate country was still lucky twice?? The first time when Hitler eliminated a large ethnic group that hated Poland from public life, and the second time when Putin is solving the Bandera problem in Ukraine???'* [1]

- *'Mr. Michalkiewicz and other gentlemen who do not understand jew-parasites. Shalom!'*

- *'Poles did in over 200,000 side-locked [2]. [...] It is written in the haggadah of the holocaust for contemporary garlic khalat-wearers'*.

[1] 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.

[2] I.e. Jews.

NOWY DWOR MAZOWIECKI. On 15 June, a female employee of a **Koleje Mazowieckie (Masovian Railways)** bus, on the route from Modlin Airport to the train station, engaged in aggressive behavior that bore the hallmarks of discrimination against one of the foreign passengers. A woman who witnessed the incident described the course of events in a letter to the mainstream Onet website, *‘I saw a middle-aged tourist from Greece who did not have a bus ticket and wanted to buy one. As you can imagine, he did not speak Polish. The lady checking and selling tickets on the bus could not communicate with him. Suddenly, the woman started shouting at the entire bus that the Greek tourist was in Poland and should speak Polish’.* She continued, *‘The weirdest thing was that at first she shouted in Polish, but then she suddenly started repeating the same thing in English. The tourist replied that when foreign tourists come to Greece, no one expects them to know Greek. The ticket inspector replied that she didn’t care, because we were in Poland and Polish was spoken here, and she repeated this several times. Half of the people travelling with me on the bus were foreigners. Everyone watched this incident with great concern, because the situation was outrageous and distasteful’.* The woman filed a complaint with Koleje Mazowieckie about the behaviour of the ticket inspector.

WARSAW. On 15 June, the American YouTube channel **Redacted** [1] broadcast **Clayton Morris’s** [2] interview with **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** [3], in which he once again he spoke highly of the December incident in the building of the Sejm [4], where Braun used a fire extinguisher to put out candles lit on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah and then physically attacked a woman of Jewish origin who was one of the participants of the ceremony. As a result of the attack, the woman had to spend one week in a hospital. Braun commented on the incident (quotes are verbatim, the interview was conducted in English), *‘I cannot simply accept the celebrations of racist, tribal cults [5] in the middle of our society, of our political system, and that’s why I reacted’.* He also boasted that during the election campaign he had signed *‘probably thousands of fire extinguishers’* that his supporters were bringing to meetings. During the conversation, Braun made several references to a fire extinguisher, attributing it a positive symbolic meaning [6]. He encouraged, among other things, the creation of *‘a counter-coalition, let’s call it the Fire Extinguishers Coalition, a really wide coalition offer of [...] firemen of all nations united’.* He also mocked everyone who condemned his aggressive behaviour, *‘What we are dealing with here is that great anti-Polish, anti-European, anti-human coalition, that I could describe as the Covid-Euro-kolkhoz-war Hanukkah Coalition’.* On 17 January 2024, the Sejm waived Braun’s immunity at the request of the Regional Public Prosecutor’s Office. On 9 April 2024, he was charged with insulting on religious grounds a group of people on the premises of the Sejm.

The material with Braun’s interview was also published on the **Konfolytyka** YouTube channel [7], and within 8 days it was viewed over 240,000 times. There were many antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian comments made under it, including the following [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Let the fire extinguisher extinguish Hanukkah candles throughout the world’.*
- *‘STOP Ukropolin!’* [8].
- *‘Yes, stop the Ukrainisation of Poland’.*

- 'Poland for Poles !!!!!'

[1] Known for promoting pro-Putin content.

[2] Former Fox News presenter.

[3] Who had just been elected as a European Parliament Member.

[4] Lower chamber of Polish Parliament.

[5] I.e. Judaic holiday.

[6] In fact, gadgets with a fire extinguisher motif, as well as its graphic representations on social media, are used as an expression of support for antisemitic violence.

[7] Promoting statements of Konfederacja representatives.

[8] Reference to a conspiracy theory about Poland, called in Hebrew 'Polin', supposedly taken over by Jews and Ukrainians.

OSTROW WLKP. On 20 June, during a derby match of the fifth football division (Wielkopolska group) between Centra Ostrow Wielkopolski - **Ostrovia 1909 Ostrow Wielkopolski**, hooligans of the visiting club displayed a banner encouraging ideological violence. It featured a slogan used by fascist organisations, 'Good night left side', as well as a graphic with a man kicking an opponent knocked to the ground.

GDANSK. On 22 June, a reader of mainstream Onet website described in a letter to the editors a situation that happened to her friend from Spain in early 2024. She reported, 'When visiting the Church of St. Bridget in Gdansk, [...] he fell victim to a xenophobic attack. While he was taking pictures of the altar, a man jumped up to him, grabbed him by the arm and started shouting how dare he take pictures of the altar. [...] My friend has been living in Poland for several years and speaks Polish, but at the time of the attack he got angry and asked in English what the problem was and what he had done wrong. In response, the man started shouting that this is Poland and Polish is spoken here. Fortunately, the lady selling tickets heard this and helped my friend, explaining to the man that she had given him permission to take photos'.

WARSAW. On 23 June, **Wojciech Sumlinski** [1] uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he once again made statements questioning the responsibility of Poles for the crime in Jedwabne [2]. Sumlinski announced that the so-called **Ruch Obrony Polakow (Poles' Defense Movement)** group (co-founded by himself) plans to purchase an area located close to the place where the pogrom took place, and then build a monument there, which 'will contain information about the real history of Poles and Jews, about the real events in Jedwabne. Today, various politicians lay wreaths only in this one place: where Jews honour the victims, allegedly of Poles, but we know that it's of Germans'. And he repeated that Jews commemorate 'their victims of what they claim to be Polish crimes, but we know they are German'. He also added a conspiracy theory about the alleged financial claims of Jews, 'So how great are these claims? Nobody knows. When we started making the film «Return to Jedwabne», we were talking about \$200 billion. Today it is said that this amount is several times higher. What is it? [...] It doesn't really matter. The amount is to be so great that we will never be able to pay it up'. He supplemented his obsessive arguments with a theory about the Jews' attempts to take over Poland, 'If you don't have a way to repay your debt, then they take away your real estate. And here we come to the vision of Polin [3]'.

Antisemitic comments were made under the video on YouTube, for example [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- 'the hell out of Poland, eWry' [4].

- *'The President of the Republic of Poland puts on a yarmulke and apologises to Jews for Jedwabne* [5]. *For this act he should be expelled from Poland forever*'.
- *'What would have happened if after WWII there had been millions of them left here? Would there still be Poland? I'm asking rhetorically*'.
- *'Padre Pio said they would run away from Poland so quickly that they would lose their shoes*'.

 [1] Notorious antisemitic conspiracy theorist, director of the film *'Return to Jedwabne'* and co-author of a series of books with the same title.

[2] Perpetrated by the Polish population of the town in presence of German occupying forces in 1941.

[3] The word means *'Poland'* in Hebrew.

[4] I.e. *'Jewry'* – spelling distorted to avoid detection by YT algorithms.

[5] I.e. *'to Jews for Jedwabne'*.

WARSAW. On 26 June, **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament Janusz Korwin-Mikke [1] tweeted a post in which he expressed support for Putin's aggression against Ukraine. He wrote, among other things, *'The fact that the WAR is a NATO provocation, or rather the effect of the perfidy of the «5 Eyes»* [2] – *is not a matter of faith, but it's obviousness. [...] the moral right is on the Russian side*'. At the same time, he tried to relieve Hitler of responsibility for starting World War II, blaming Poland and Great Britain for it, *'Let me remind you that in 1939 Poland let perfidious Albion trick us – and the world war broke out...'*

 [1] Notorious far-right eccentric chauvinist.

[2] Intelligence services of five Anglo-Saxon countries.

JULY 2024

WARSAW. On 1 July, a conversation between **Oliwer Pochwat** and **Julia Gubalska** [1] was uploaded on the **TVMN (of Media Narodowe – National Media)** page on Facebook. The topic of the discussion was the change in the definition of rape considered by the Polish parliament. Referring to this subject, the host asked Gubalska whether Poland had a problem with rape incidence, to which she replied, *'Not really, no, even less than other European countries, because rapes there are perpetrated on a mass scale by immigrants in the West. They often rape as groups. You don't have it in Poland*'. Thus, she offered an absurd xenophobic vision of life in Western European countries, so eagerly perpetuated in ideological narratives of far-right groups.

 [1] Connected with the editing office of the far-right biweekly *'Najwyższy Czas!'* (*'High Time!'*) founded by **Janusz Korwin-Mikke**.

WARSAW. On 3 July, representatives of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party organised a press conference on the premises of the Sejm [1], during which they made antisemitic statements. Member of Parliament **Włodzimierz Skalik** expressed his appreciation for the act of antisemitic aggression that **Grzegorz Braun** [2], committed in the Sejm in December 2023 [3]. Skalik expressed contempt towards the Judaic holiday [original phrasing retained as much as possible in all quotations below – translator's note], *'We were dealing with a shameful, racist celebration in the Sejm, referring to events from the history of Israel, it was not a religious celebration at all. And it is the pro-Polish attitude of our MP* [Braun] *that is criticised by the United States Department* [4]'. Braun also appeared during the parliamentary press conference and went on a rant full of historical manipulations about the Auschwitz-Birkenau

camp, where over 90% of the victims were Jews, *'This is the memory of Poles, this is our place of memory, we are the hosts here. We do not agree to the hijacking of Oswiecim [5] [...] by Jews, be it are Sovieteers or Zionists'*. At the end of his argument, Braun repeated an antisemitic conspiracy theory and issued threats against Jews, *'And you, the Jews of Israel, and you, the Jews of America, will no longer manage the nations of this world!'*

This video was published on Wirtualna Polska's YouTube channel [6], as well as on Braun's channel, where comments inciting violence were made:

- *'There would be no antisemitism if Jews weren't such bas....rds.'*
- *'Good job, Mr. MP! Smash the enemies of Poland and all this disgrace!'*
- *'Good job, Konfederacja, down with the globalists, to the gas chambers.'*
- *'It's Poland here, not Polin! [clenched fist emoji]' [7]*
- *'Poland for Poles!'*
- *'Down with ukropolin, Poland must return'. [8]*

[1] Lower chamber of Polish parliament.

[2] Head of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)**, who in June got elected as Member of the European Parliament.

[3]] When he used a fire extinguisher to put out candles lit on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah and injured a Jewish woman who was one of the participants of the ceremony.

[4] He means the annual report on religious freedom published in July by the US Department of State, which recorded Braun's antisemitic incidents.

[5] Polish name of the town where Auschwitz Museum is located.

[6] It belongs to one of the largest online news website.

[7] Referring to a conspiracy theory according to which Poland (Hebrew: *'Polin'*) is taken over by Jews.

[8] Similarly to the previous one, it is a conspiracy theory according to which Poland is taken over by Jews and Ukrainians.

JEDWABNE. On 10 July, on the anniversary of the pogrom committed against Jews by their Polish neighbours in 1941, a rally was held near the site of the murder, with the participation of far-right politicians and activists who expressed antisemitic messages. A 'debate' was organised on a stage built specifically for this purpose, led by **Wojciech Sumlinski** [1], where **Grzegorz Braun** [2], was one of the speakers. Referring to the ceremonies commemorating the



Jewish victims which were taking place at the same time, he said, *'There, behind the fence, there, behind the wall, there is the anti-civilisation of the Haggadah [3], anti-civilisation of truths for the chosen ones, truths for the initiated ones, truths that can be freely dictated by one or another Tzadik [4] from «Gazeta Wyborcza» [5]'*. Braun finished his argument, openly referring to the content of the so-called Holocaust revisionists, *'It is truly a terrible paradox that here in Jedwabne, Jews, Talmudists, and Holocaustists – the religion of the Holocaust is an ersatz religion for secular Jews, which is to be instilled in all humanity – they are shaking hands with **Hitler's** executioners, Stalinists, and with the destroyers of Polishness'*.

During the meeting, the Mayor of Siemianowice Slaskie [6] and leader of **Ruch Obrony Polakow (Poles' Defense Movement)** **Rafal Piech** also spoke, linking the issue of the Jedwabne pogrom and the Volhynia tragedy [7] with the denial of climate change, *'We know perfectly well that CO2 has no impact on the rise of temperature on Earth and listen, this is the biggest lie and these lies include lies like Jedwabne, like Volhynia, like many things in our history that are lies'*.

The recording of this 'debate' was published in its entirety on the far-right **eMisjaTv** YouTube channel, and a shorter version containing speeches of the Konfederacja MEP and the Mayor of Siemianowice was published on Braun's and Sumlinski's channels. Antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian commentes were made under these videos [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'This barn is the cornerstone of their story about us, the haggadah, and it would be a good idea to tear out this stone to expose this blatant lie'*.

- *'Poles' biggest mistake in history was helping Jews and the fallen people!!!'*

- *'Jedwabne is a Jewish lie'*.

[1] Conspiracy theorist and author of antisemitic books.

[2] Far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) Member of the European Parliament.

[3] In Judaism, that part of the oral tradition of Torah interpretation, which may take the form of a fairy tale, legend or parable. In Braun's statement, this term was used mockingly to undermine the credibility of the historical truth about the pogrom in Jedwabne.

[4] A righteous man who complies with the moral principles of Judaism.

[5] Liberal daily newspaper.

[6] City in south-central Poland.

[7] Ethnic cleansing campaign against Poles during 1943-44 led by the **Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)**.

JEDWABNE. On 10 July, on the anniversary of the anti-Jewish pogrom of 1941, **Robert Bakiewicz** [1] made antisemitic statements while standing on the foundations of the barn in which Jewish residents of the city were burned. In a speech broadcast on the internet, Bakiewicz shared a conspiracy vision, *'Various Jewish organisations, various Jewish circles strive to point at Poles as those who have committed genocides during World War II'*.

The speech of Bakiewicz was broadcast on the far-right **Telewizjapolska24** YouTube channel belonging to **Piotr Barelkowski**, chair of privately-owned **TVMN**. Within two weeks the video

has been viewed over 67,000. Antisemitic comments were made under the video, calling for revision of the Holocaust history, for example, *'Oswiecim needs to be taken care of now'* [3].



[1] Former chairman of **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (Independence March Association)** and unsuccessful **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice)** party) candidate in the Polish general election of 2023.

[2] **Telewizja Media Narodowe (National Media Television)**.

[3] Oswiecim is the Polish name of the town where Auschwitz is located – he refers here to questioning and challenging the history of the camp.

WARSAW. On 10 July, the **TVMN** page on Facebook (run by **Media Narodowe – National Media**) published a conversation between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Robert Bakiewicz**, a long-time organiser of the so-called Independence March, the biggest cyclical far-right manifestation in Europe. The discussion concerned the Jedwabne massacre of 1941, and specifically the participation of Poles in it, which both interlocutors consider a hoax. Bodakowski spun conspiracy theories multiplying accusations against Jews, *‘Is this crime being falsely attributed to Poles today in order to justify unfounded Jewish claims against Poland amounting to 300 billion dollars?’* Bakiewicz responded to these arguments with approval, saying, *‘The creation of Jedwabne is necessary for Jews or some Jewish circles to blame Poles for the crimes’.*

WARSAW. On 10 July, far-right commentator **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** published a video on his YouTube channel in which he expressed appreciation for being an antisemite. He sneered [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘As I say, the Anti-Defamation League that decides what antisemitism is and what isn’t, they equate antisemitism with perceptiveness. Therefore, half-joking but half-serious I say that nowadays only a fool or a pig is not an antisemiteer [2]. Because, if someone does not notice this sign of equality between antisemitism and perceptiveness – he is a fool. And if he does notice it, but pretends for various reasons, for profit or fear that he doesn’t notice it, he is a pig. So either a fool, or a pig’.*

Within two weeks, this broadcast was viewed almost 56,000 times.

[1] The Jewish-American Anti-Defamation League.

[2] Spelling changed by him on purpose.

BEDZIN. On 12 July, Rutka Laskier Foundation informed on their Facebook page that ‘unknown perpetrators’ had torn down a plaque describing the history of the cemetery from the gate of the Jewish cemetery on Podzamcze Street. The Foundation notified the police about the incident.

WARSAW. On 18 July, the **TVMN** page on Facebook (run by **Media Narodowe – National Media**) published a conversation between **Oliwer Pochwat** and far-right creator of offensive content **Marcin Rola**, founder of the **wRealu24** channel [1]. During the broadcast, among other things, the phenomenon of migration was discussed. Rola linked this issue to epidemiological threat, falsely accusing people coming to Poland, including refugees from Ukraine, of allegedly posing a biological threat. He argued [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘And then also immigration issues, right, these blokes come from all over the world, so I doubt that they’ve ever had anything to do with any meds at all. So it’s a completely different bacterial culture also, so who the heck knows what else will come here. We saw how Ukrainians flooded us, it was an HIV virus outbreak, suddenly Wroclaw or Krakow and so on, because they’re mating there, they’re mating, as you know what it’s all about, let’s not kid ourselves, but suddenly it became one of the problems’.* [2]



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- [1] In 2022, in cooperation with the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, YouTube removed this channel due to hate speech.
- [2] There was indeed an increase in the number of new cases of HIV infections among Polish patients. However, this is not related to migration. The cause is primarily the neglect of prevention, which increased during the COVID-19 epidemic.

OPOLE. On 19 July, during the second division football match between Odra Opole and **Ruch Chorzow**, some hooligans of the visiting club were wearing scarves with racist symbols. They displayed a Celtic cross – an international symbol popular with radical groups, signifying support for so-called white race supremacy.



WARSAW. On 19 July, during the second division football match between **Polonia Warszawa** and Znicz Pruszkow, one of the local hooligans displayed a banner with a slogan 'LGBT-free zone', as well as a crossed-out picture of a rainbow, symbolising this minority. On 24 July, Polonia published a statement in which it



'condemned all signs of discrimination in any form, there is no place for them at Warsaw stadium'. In addition, the club decided to impose a two-year stadium ban on the 'fan' who had displayed the offensive banner.

STALOWA WOLA. On 20 July, during the second division football match between **Stal Stalowa Wola** and Gornik Leczna, local hooligans displayed a banner with the slogan 'Hate antifa' (an expression of hatred against anti-fascist beliefs). This banner was located in a central place in the stands, the so-called 'nest' (the place where cheering is organised).

WARSAW. On 20 July, during the top flight football match between **Legia Warszawa** and Zagłębie Lubin, hooligans of the capital's football team displayed a huge flag that contained indirect threats against Muslim refugees. The banner depicted a woman of Slavic beauty holding a pig's head on a plate. Next to here, there were two men in combative poses with a hammer and a baseball bat in their hands. The banner was accompanied by the caption 'Refugees welcome', which mocked and reversed the meaning of the well-known slogan expressing solidarity with people seeking refuge from war and persecution. The overtone of the banner presented by Legia's 'fans' was that in Poland refugees would not only not be able to count on respect for their religion (Muslims do not eat pork) but would also face violence. It



was accompanied by a chant ‘All of Poland sings with us, get the f*ck out of here together with refugees’, which echoed from the stands.

On 22 July, Legia authorities issued a statement on the incidents at the stadium: ‘Legia Warsaw is a club that respects and honours diversity of views and beliefs. As a club, we stand in solidarity and support the aggrieved. Therefore, among other things, our direct involvement and actions for refugees from Ukraine, attacked in 2022 by the Russian Federation. [...] Atmosphere, cheering, individual behaviour of fans in the stadium or on social media are not the position of a club that does everything to set a good example based on respect, fair play and support for those in need’.

On 31 July, in connection with the hooligans' behaviour, the League Commission imposed a financial fine of PLN 30,000 on Legia. Jaroslaw Poturnicki, chairman of the commission, justified the decision: ‘The club has been fined because, according to the Disciplinary Regulations of the Polish Football Association (PZPN) and other regulations that have been in force for years, it is not permitted to display in stadiums, also as a hidden message, content of a discriminatory nature or referring to violence’.

LUBLIN. On 21 July, during the top flight football match between **Motor Lublin** and Rakow



Czestochowa, local hooligans hung out a banner on the fence surrounding the pitch bearing a Nazi slogan. It was the SS motto: ‘Our honour is loyalty’ (original:

‘Meine Ehre heißt Treue’). Neither the football authorities nor the city authorities (i.e. the main sponsor - in 2023 Motor Lublin received almost PLN 5 million in subsidies from the city budget) reacted to the banner.

LUBIN. On 28 July, during the top flight football match between **Zaglebie Lubin** and Pogon

Szczecin, local hooligans displayed a banner inciting hatred. It featured a crossed-out drawing of a mosque (a symbol of the Muslim religion), as well as the crossed-out word ‘LGBT’ (referring to people belonging to sexual minorities). Neither the football nor the club authorities



reacted to this flag during the meeting. Nor did the League Commission impose any penalty on Zaglebie in relation to the hooligans' behaviour.

AUGUST 2024

BIALYSTOK. On 3 August, during the top flight football match between **Jagiellonia Bialystok** and **Stal Mielec**, hooligans of the home team displayed a banner insulting sexual minorities. It featured the crossed-out word 'LGBT'.



BIELSKO-BIALA. On August 3, during the third division football match **Podbeskidzie Bielsko-Biala - Polonia Bytom**, hooligans of the home team once again displayed a banner inciting violence for ideological reasons. It featured the slogan '*Good night left side*' (popular with radical groups) and a graphic that depicted an attacker kicking a man lying on the ground. In turn, some of Polonia's 'fans' were wearing scarves with a symbol called Totenkopf (a distinctive corpse skull), used during World War II by members of special **SS** units (**SS-Totenkopfverbände**) who were on guard duty in Nazi concentration camps.

POZNAN. On 3 August, during the top flight football match between **Lech Poznan** and **Lechia Gdansk**, hooligans of the local club, associated with the radical group **Wildecy Fanatycy**, displayed a huge banner insulting sexual minorities. It featured the slogan '*Stop rainbow propaganda*', as well as the crossed-out word 'LGBT' and a crossed-out rainbow (the symbol of



this community). In addition, Lech 'fans' displayed a banner encouraging ideological violence bearing a neo-fascist slogan '*Lech Poznan skinheads. Good night left side*' and a graphic depicting a man attacking a supporter of anti-fascist ideas.

STALOWA WOLA. On 3 August, during the second division football match between **Stal Stalowa Wola** and **Kotwica Kolobrzeg**, local hooligans displayed a huge banner bearing a Nazi symbol – the distinctive corpse skull (known as Totenkopf), used during World War II as an emblem on the uniforms of **SS** men in concentration camps. In addition, 'supporters' of Stal displayed a banner with a slogan '*Hate antifa*' (an expression of hatred towards anti-fascist views).



WARSAW. On 3 August, ‘unknown perpetrators’ vandalised wreaths honouring the victims of Nazism – killed during the Warsaw Uprising (1944). They were placed by Polonia Warszawa fans at sites commemorating the uprising, including the Little Insurgent Monument on Podwale Street. This profanation has been widely attributed to hooligans of the other major football club that exists in Warsaw, among whom far-right views are not uncommon. One of them commented on the incident on the X platform: ‘*Polonia fans are animals. And w*ores and faggots*’.



WARSAW. On 3 August, far-right commentator **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** in a programme entitled ‘The Uprising is Still Going On’ on his YouTube channel mocked the history of the Jewish resistance movement during the Holocaust. Referring to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943 he said [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘*The Ghetto Uprising, to tell you the truth, was not an uprising at all, it was desperate armed resistance, literally put up during a dozen or so hours of German pacification, [...] but for obvious reasons it is a very legend-making event and there is a great demand for Jewish heroism during the war*’. Quoting the far-right historian **Leszek Zebrowski**, he denied ‘*the myth about some Ryfka Tajtenbaum [2], who is making a career in historiography as a supposedly extraordinary heroine, except that in fact the case was taken from nowhere and has no sources, similarly to the Bielski brothers [3], who created some survival camp in the forest, but they were made into some brave partisans, with Hollywood films being made and so on, that's how it works*’.

[1] Collaborator of ‘*Do Rzeczy*’ weekly and far-right **TV Republika**.

[2] Ryfka Tajtenbaum AKA ‘Wanda’, ‘Wanda Witwicka’ (31 October 1917, Lodz – July 1943, Warsaw): during World War II she was a participant in numerous sabotage actions organised by the Jewish underground. As part of her activities in the so-called specgrupa (special group), she took part in Nazi officer assassination attempts.

[3] Bielski brothers: Tewje, Asael, and Aleksander, founded a base-town in the Belarusian Naliboki Forest, where persecuted Jews from Belarus and Poland took refuge. Despite the extreme conditions, they saved lives of over a thousand people. The Bielski brothers’ group became the largest Jewish partisan unit during World War II.

LUBLIN. On 4 August, during the top flight football match between **Motor Lublin** and Korona Kielce, some hooligans of the local club wore T-shirts bearing a symbol called Totenkopf (a distinctive corpse skull with two crossed long bones used on the **SS** guards' uniforms in concentration camps) and a racist slogan: ‘*White defender*’.



WARSAWA. On 4 August, in a broadcast of **TV Republika** [1] hosted by **Jacek Sobala**, two right-wing politicians tried to outdo each other in terms of radical xenophobic statements [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]. Sobala started, ‘*Demonstrations in Liverpool, Manchester, Hull turn into more and more anti-Islamic and anti-immigration protests [...]. What kind of conclusions should we draw, the protesters chant: «Enough! Save our children!»*’ **Agnieszka Wojciechowska van Heukelom** [2], when asked for comments, said, ‘*The British have many reasons for these protests, including not only those cruel murders of those little girls, but also the story that has*

been going on in the UK for many years, already in 2014 the BBC and the Telegraph reported serious problems with Pakistani gangs who sexually abused children. [...] That problem has been growing and what happened now and that the British say «no» so clearly, comes from the fact that for years they have been told that they have to accept rapes in the name of political correctness [...], that the people who come to the UK shatter the peace of the British society with their aggression and brutality'. Next, it was **Dobromir Sosnierz's** [3] turn, 'For the English it's already too late, as those people [immigrants] are already there and it won't be easy to get rid of them [...]. For us, it is a lesson'. He warned against 'flooding our country with people from different cultural and ethnic circles'. Then, he added that 'not using force against them [the refugees at the Polish-Belarussian border] is a massive mistake'. Wojciechowska expressed concern that, in her opinion too many, dark-skinned people appeared in Poland. 'Many migrants have come to us [...], in the city of Lodz, I myself see a larger quantity people of, let's say, different skin colour [...] and now there's significantly more of them', she warned and then continued, '[Prime Minister] Donald Tusk, in a manner harmful for Poland and the Poles, pushes us into this migration problem [...]. Someone who agrees to the influx of immigrants, agrees to Europe's demise'. The programme was published on YouTube channel of TV Republika under the tile 'Sosnierz: Will The Influx of Foreigners Harm Poland? Let's Learn From the Mistakes of the British!'

Contrary to fake news spread by the far right, the perpetrator of the Southport murders was not a refugee, nor Muslim or Pakistani.

[1] TV Republika is a right-wing TV station, established in 2012. Its popularity has grown sharply since the beginning of 2024. Its YouTube channel has 1.19 million subscribers. It is also watched among the Polish community in the UK.

[2] **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** Member of Parliament.

[3] Former MP of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation party)**.

WARSZAWA. On 4 August, in an interview with **Marian Kowalski** on **TV Republika**, **Marek Jakubiak** [1] yet again made a resentful statement about Ukrainians in Poland and about Ukraine as a country [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], 'Recently I was at Nowy Swiat street [2], and listen, I can tell you that you won't hear Polish over there anymore, in all those restaurants young guys are sitting with not-that-bad-looking girls and live their best lives. [...] Again, damn it, we allow more than others, yet again Ukrainians are allowed to do more than others and this upsets me lots, as the Ukrainians can't be decent and we Poles are throwing out billions, we have some unspoken obligations towards them? I say that we don't have any obligations, it's Ukrainians that have obligations towards us, because they live on the territory of pre-war Poland, five counties to be precise, with the capital of Polish culture, Lviv, and we need to say this clearly that Poles do



not forget it'. To which Kowalski responded, '[...] Definitely nobody will cover our need for decency from that side'.

[1] **Kukiz'15** Member of Parliament.

[2] One of central streets in Warsaw, very popular among tourists.

WARSZAWA. On 5 August, in a **TV Republika** programme hosted by **Adrian Klarenbach** [1], a discussion between Prof. **Kazimierz Kik** and Prof. **Henryk Domanski** took place. Both guests praised the candidacy of Donald Trump for president of the United States. Domanski made a hateful and bigoted statement about the US Vice-President Kamala Harris, claiming that her skin colour is allegedly her main attribute in her political career, *'Anyone who has been to the US or lived there, knows perfectly well that Kamala Harris knows nothing about foreign policy, and nothing about what is actually going on in the US, she's not fit to be in politics, she only got elected because of her skin colour'*. The title of the programme on the YouTube channel of TV Republika was *'Domanski: K. Harris Knows Nothing About Politics And Was Elected Because Of Skin Colour'*.

[1] Former employee of state-owned TVP.

WARSAW. On 7 August, **TV Republika's** coverage of the riots in the UK included false accusations linking Muslims to violence and killings. **Michal Gwardynski**, TV Republika's correspondent, during his live broadcast from Liverpool spoke about the *'impunity of Muslims who commit crimes – among others the horrible tragedy – the murder of three girls'* (in reality the perpetrator of the murder in Southport is Christian). Gwardynski added, *'It is worth emphasising the role of the police, who, unfortunately, are acting as an advocate of the Muslim groups who are very often armed with all sorts of cold steel, and they commit these acts of terror in broad daylight'*.

The broadcast was also released on TV Republika's YouTube channel. It was viewed over 182,000 times in two days. Comments offensive to minorities were made under the material [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'oh, now f*cking ask the coloured people what they're doing in Poland! Let them get out?'*

- *'Islam is evil'.*

- *'P*ki loafer and filthy c*nt'.*

- *'The P*kis are already attacking'.*

- *'The fall of Jew-Europe'.*

WARSZAWA. On 8 August, on **TV Republika**, **Milosz Kleczek** [1] made shocking, false statements on the situation in the UK, where a number of demonstrations by far right took place [original phrasing in all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note]. He said, *'Great Britain is going through a serious migration crisis. The citizens have had enough. Beginning of mass demonstrations against illegal immigration. [...] Two groups are clashing: the English, the islanders who don't want illegal migrants and they are protesting, vs. the illegal migrants who are also taking to the streets because they don't like the fact that the English don't want them on their land. The question arises, which group will prevail. Unfortunately, it seems that the current government, the social democrats are in charge there now, are on the side of the illegal migrants and not on the side of the English'*. Referring to bizarre reports by the British correspondent of TV Republika **Michal Gwardynski**, Kleczek said, *'Michal was also a witness of*

that aggression, as the Muslims, the Islamists didn't like the fact that Michal, a European, went to the Isles, to the United Kingdom. [...] They don't like it because they consider it their own turf [...]. How absurd it is when a European in Europe has to explain himself to a Muslim for what he is doing [...] a European in Europe – let's remember that Great Britain is not in Asia, in the Middle East, or in Arab countries'. In reality, the story by Gwardynski did not show any alleged acts of Muslim violence, but only a single man interested in why a TV crew was filming an empty street in the suburbs of Liverpool. That radical xenophobic narrative was amplified by **Przemyslaw Czarnek** [2] who said, 'When it comes to Great Britain, France, Germany, Sweden it is already too late. [...] Self-destruction of the Western civilisation is underway in the West, of the Latin civilisation, of the Christian civilisation. [...] Muslims have taken over big parts of those countries [...] and nothing can be done with those Muslims anymore, they are going to take over those countries in the short term. We, Poles, have a chance to protect ourselves from that.' Kleczek warned, 'In three years it will be too late, as the migration pact is already in force, we will have loads of Islamists and Muslims in Poland, there is already a lot of them, you can see it in Warsaw'. Xenophobic slogans were repeated by **Urszula Nowogorska** [3], who expressed her support for the racist riots in the UK, 'When we look at the scenes happening in the UK [...] it's not acceptable that in our country we would feel like intruders [...]. It is not acceptable that UK citizens are punished for defending their country'. **Wojciech Machulski** pitched in, 'His Majesty's Government, unfortunately, takes the side of the Muslims and not the English'. The programme was published on the YouTube channel of TV Republika with the title 'Czarnek: Muslims Are Taking Over the West! We, the Poles, Can Still Defend Ourselves!'

[1] Former employee of state-owned TVP.

[2] **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** Member of Parliament and former Minister for Education.

[3] **Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish People's Party)** MP.

[4] **Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party)** representative.

WARSZAWA. On 8 August, participants of the programme entitled 'Past 10 PM' [1] on **TV Republika** made statements encouraging violence and killing of migrants [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]. This topic was started by **Dariusz Matecki** [2], 'Not only will we have an economic crisis, but also a crisis of ethnic, nationality conflicts, we can see what is happening currently in the UK, Sweden, France...' **Grzegorz Puda** [3] followed a similar line, 'Great Britain is an example of what happens when there are too many [immigrants]', to which Piotr Ikonowicz [4] responded, 'When you're talking about the UK, do you want to incite riots?' to which Matecki replied, 'If need be!' Puda joined in with his fearmongering vision, 'You can take a walk through the Warsaw Central Railway Station, there's a lot of migrants there, go ahead and ask those Polish women passing by the station in the evening'. Later on, Matecki launched a shocking xenophobic rant, 'What to do with the issue of migrants? We can use Australia's idea, which defended its borders, including by sinking the people who stormed its borders, when needed [...] Soon enough, in a dozen or even fewer years [Poland] may become similar to France, Germany, Sweden, or the UK, where in many towns Muslims have exceeded the local population, and we don't want that in Poland. We are the hosts here and we want no illegal migrants! Any such person who defecates into the water, runs around with a machete, jumps on a car, should be immediately caught and deported from our country'. Ikonowicz reacted, 'That was a statement of a racist who calls for a genocide [...]. It is beyond me how you can sit in the Polish parliament and I'm very ashamed of you as a representative of our nation. [...] You believe

that you can kill someone because they are illegal, are you crazy?’ **Krystian Kaminski** [5] agreed with Matecki, ‘When it comes to immigrants, yes [...] we have the right to defend ourselves, to defend our borders, and what you’re saying is some artificial humanitarianism. If, for example, tens or hundreds of thousands of migrants start coming in through the Mediterranean, and we allow it and never sink them even if ultimately necessary, there will only be more of them’. To Ikonowicz’s question, ‘You want to sink them, too? You want to sink boats with people?’ Kaminski agreed without hesitation, ‘Yes’. Ikonowicz, ‘Another mass murderer. I feel here like in some Third Reich, damn it’. Puda also expressed his support for the use of force against refugees, ‘You all talk about defending Polish borders. If anyone invades our country, we have a right and duty to defend it, we are Poles, we are hosts here’. To Ikonowicz’s note, ‘These are defenceless civilians’, Puda responded, ‘Those defenceless civilians use branches, rocks...’ Ikonowicz, ‘We have live ammunition, they have branches. [...] Are you all insane? [...] Do you honestly believe that sinking boats with people, murdering people who run from bad fate, is morally acceptable?’



[1] Hosted by **Adrian Klarenbach**, former employee of state-owned TVP.

[2] Right-wing **Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland)** party) Member of Parliament.

[3] **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice)** party) Member of Parliament and former Minister for Agriculture.

[4] Left-wing politician.

[5] **Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party)** Member of Parliament, member of **Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)**.

WARSZAWA. On 8 August, in the programme entitled ‘Political Battle’ on **TV Republika**, the host **Monika Borkowska** asked her guests an absurd and bigotry-filled question [original phrasing in all quotes below is retained as much as possible – translator’s note], ‘Is the Islamisation of Poland a process that can still be stopped through wise, sensible decisions, political decisions, of course, or is something that we just have to accept?’ Completely misrepresenting the situation in the UK, where far-right groups attacked migrants, she accused Muslims of aggression claiming, ‘What is happening in Great Britain, the thugs are generally patted on the shoulders by the. She then gave examples of alleged danger for Poland, ‘The streets in Polish cities are already dangerous, there are rapes committed, a Black guy jumping on a car’. **Agnieszka Scigaj** [1] informed about a supposed ‘certain civilisational war, a war of a clash of the Christian culture and the Muslim culture’ and declared, ‘When it comes to Poland, we as women must first of all fight not to have that Islamic culture here’. Representative of the government coalition **Jaroslaw Rzepa** [2] not only did not oppose such radically xenophobic statements, but he joined them. He stated that ‘The Polish diaspora envies us from the US, above all that we are a safe country – they see that, they notice the problem of immigrants and that Americans can’t solve it, while in Poland Poles feel safe. [...] The problem of migrants, how can we handle that. [...] this problem will be one of key issues, Poland, in order to stay safe, must get very conservative. [...] It’s better to pay up than make concessions here’.

The programme was published on YouTube channel of TV Republika under the title 'Is the Islamisation of Poland inevitable?' The comments made under the video were very xenophobic, for example: 'NO to IMMIGRANTS !!!!!!!' 'No to the Islamisation of Poland and Europe'. Calls to murder of the Polish Prime Minister Donald Tusk also were made, 'It is not that clear that it has to be like that in our country. But we must start with hanging the Ginger One [3], and then build national unity, and make P*kis run for their lives...'

The number of Muslims living in Poland is estimated at around 40 thousand, barely 0.1 percent of total population.

[1] Member of Parliament, former member of Kukiz'15 party, currently in **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice)** party), former Minister for Social Integration.

[2] **Polskie Stronictwo Ludowe (Polish People's Party)** MP.

[3] Reference to a popular demeaning nickname of Donald Tusk connected to his hair colour.

BIALYSTOK. Probably on the night of 10/11 August unknown perpetrators damaged the monument of young Ludwik Zamenhof, located on the corner of Kosciuszko Square and Zamenhof Street. The sculpture was torn from the pavement and knocked over. Bialystok City Hall notified the police about the incident.

Ludwik Zamenhof (1859-1917) was a doctor of Jewish origin and the inventor of the Esperanto language. He was born and lived in Bialystok until his high school days, back then a city culturally and nationally diverse. Living in such an environment, young Zamenhof decided to create the foundations of a universal language which could be used by people of different nationalities and religions to communicate.



The damaged sculpture depicts a teenage Zamenhof, around whom are 'scattered' letters of three alphabets (Latin, Hebrew and Cyrillic), languages used in the 19th century in Bialystok, which were an inspiration for the later creator of the international language. The monument was repaired and placed in its original location on 14 August.

WARSZAWA. On 11 August, participants of the programme 'Sand In the Gears' on **TV Republika** made many racist comments about the riots in the UK organised by far right. **Jedrzej Kodymowski** [1] went on an absurd and catastrophic rant, 'And so, ladies and gentlemen, here is how the British empire, the biggest empire in the world's history, kneels down in front of the illegal immigrants [...] those who somehow try to cut this British majesty down to size. [...] Queen Victoria is turning in her grave'. The host **Adrian Stankowski** could not agree more and pointed to the alleged perpetrators, 'Those Muslims are running around with machetes in their hands and the police...' Kodymowski was quick to finish his sentence, '... do nothing'. Later in the show, Stankowski made his accusations against Muslims even more absurd, 'Poland now enters, thanks to our wonderful government, the same path of bringing in migrants, and this leads to the results we see now. [...] In Great Britain, but also in France, and in many other European countries, Muslims have taken power. [...] There is fear we will reach the point which Great Britain has reached'.

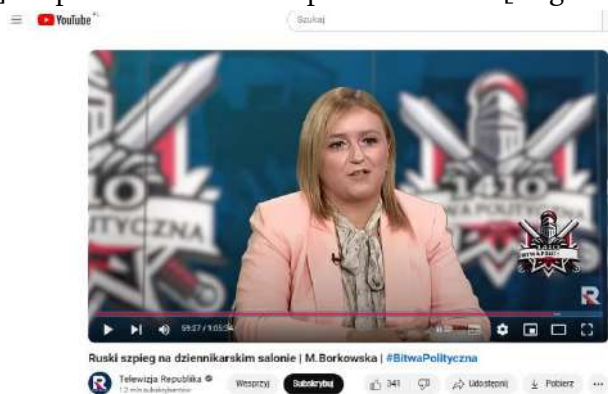
[1] Musician and former commentator of state-owned TVP.

WARSZAWA. On 11 August, participants of the programme ‘*Political Salon*’ hosted by **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** on **TV Republika** made many Islamophobic and racist comments about the situation in the UK [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]. Opening the discussion, Ziemkiewicz said, ‘*They are already taking power, they are in charge. [...] I checked statistics, in many British cities, including London, there are Muslim mayors. [...] White inhabitants of England are protesting against mass immigration*’. **Agaton Kozinski** followed suit, ‘*The main thing are the protests of the indigenous people of Great Britain against the influx of migration. [...] will this Reconquista be successful? [...] The alliance between the left and the Islamists is getting stronger*’. Subsequently, **Stanislaw Janecki** declared, ‘*This is a war in which Prime Minister Starmer took side of Muslims*’. He also criticised the meeting of the heir apparent Prince William and his wife, Princess Kate, with members of the Muslim community, adding, ‘*The traditional British society doesn’t matter, only those [Muslim] barbarians matter, it’s a nightmare, [...] the police pacified white citizens*’. **Olivier Pochwat** also joined the discussion, ‘*In the society of whites, the white people are, let’s face it, we are on the defensive, we are in retreat*’.

 [1] Former commentator of state-owned TVP.

[2] Former employee of the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel run by **Robert Bakiewicz**.

WARSZAWA. On 12 August, in the **TV Republika** programme ‘*Political Battle*’ hosted by **Monika Borkowska**, **Olga Semeniuk-Patkowska** [1] expressed her homophobic views [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]. She spoke about an alleged threat to school kids from ‘*people who are half-dolphin and half-dog, Facebook is full of such genders, and those kids then end up with numerous mental issues [...]. Instead of focusing on simple forms which had led Poland and many other countries to social and economic growth, those kids focus on the otherness and this leads to many issues with failure to adapt, etc. [...] The more free will, liberties, aberrations [...], the lower the stability of such young person, a girl or boy*’. She asked, ‘*Who creates this system of smuggling such diversity and otherness? I have doubts if diversity at such a scale is necessary. This fashion is produced [...] in the context of this otherness which is often imposed*’. This homophobic message was opposed by Piotr Ikonowicz [2], ‘*It is a language of hate and disdain, when one compares people to animals, or says that someone is an aberration*’.



 [1] **Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc (Law and Justice party)** Member of Parliament, former Deputy Minister for Development and Head of the Council of the Polish Space Agency.

[2] Left-wing politician.

WARSZAWA. On 12 August, **TV Republika** yet again misrepresented the situation in the UK, regarding the riots instigated by far right. A report by **Maciej Strug** criticised the Prime Minister Keir Starmer, who condemned hate speech and attacks on minorities. Struga said, ‘*At the same time, the [British] government do not utter even one word about the behaviour of the aggressive Muslims who send their fighting squads to the streets of British cities. [...] For years, Great*

Britain has had an unofficial double system of punishment, the indigenous people have been treated much more harshly by the judicial system, and the migrants have been getting away even with the most disgusting crimes. All this background is ignored by mainstream media and the new leftist government'. The report was published on the YouTube channel of TV Republika with the title 'The British Defeated by Migrants?'

WARSZAWA. On 12 August, participants of the programme 'Off We Go' on **TV Republika** made many racist comments about the riots in the UK [original phrasing in all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note]. The host **Michał Jelonek** [1] condemned '*the brutality of British police against the demonstrators, those who don't agree for their country to be ruled by Muslim communities, they've had enough of such behaviour, enough of attacks, brutal murders*'. **Cezary Gmyz** [2], when asked for a comment, said, '*My daughter lives in London and what I observe while visiting Great Britain is the increasing degradation of that country, because more and more areas of British cities are occupied by migrants, which is immediately connected with a feeling of lack of safety and simultaneously with a sort of no-go zones, where the police are afraid to enter, which are governed not by British law, but by Sharia law. [...] One can say the British are losing the culture war, the clash of civilisations and what we are witnessing is a kind of a Reconquista, a counterrevolution against these lefties*'. **Marian Kowalski** [3] presented his own vision of reality, '*The ordinary Brits don't have that gene of struggle and pride. [...] the feminisation of the teacher profession, the upbringing of boys by women [...], boys raised in such a way will never be brave. [...] this is pacifist, leftist upbringing. [...] And the Muslim boys are raised by men, there is a cult of fighting there, see the pictures from Afghanistan, every man has a rifle there*'. Later in the show, Gmyz lamented, '*Nowadays, when you say something bad about Muslims, it's hate speech, all the more when it's about Jews*'.

[1] Former employee of **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel run by **Robert Bakiewicz**.

[2] Former TVP commentator.

[3] 2015 presidential candidate of the far-right **Ruch Narodowy (National Movement)**.

WARSZAWA. On 13 August, participants of the programme 'Past 9 PM' [1] on **TV Republika** used racist slurs against both LGBT people and Muslims [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]. **Marek Jakubiak** [2] launched the following rant, '*The affirmation of such homosexual stances, which do not bring anything with them apart from «to be and to have» [sic!], results in destruction of states and nations. [...] They escalate their phenomena, and their place is taken by the Muslims. [...] You lead entire Europe into a disaster with your empathic attitude, while Europe should also have teeth, unlike the UK nowadays, so unfortunately, I expect bloodshed in Europe*'.

[1] Hosted by **Adrian Klarenbach**, former employee of state-owned TVP.

[2] **Kukiz'15** Member of Parliament.

WARSAW. On 13 August, in an interview uploaded on the YouTube channel of **Jan Pospieszalski** [1], far-right commentator **Rafał Ziemkiewicz** [2] made a series of bizarre xenophobic statements, directly referring to 'racial' criteria. Referring to the events in Great Britain, where riots organized by the far right took place, he said [original phrasing in all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note], '*The problem is real pogroms that the coloured population started to carry out against whites, [...] a coloured mob, mostly some Muslims with*

beards, but also Africans, jumping at white passers-by simply because they are white'. He ranted, maintaining a completely false vision of the world, 'In general, in the entire West, if you have a police report that someone raped, murdered, and it is written that it was a white person, then he was white, but this is rare, usually nothing is written and then we know that he is a coloured, surely an immigrant'. He described the events on the British Isles as a rebellion of a white society that is oppressed, indigenous, and currently a minority'.

The conversation also included Jewish themes and corresponding conspiracy theories.

Pospieszalski: 'Great financial powers [...], apart from multiplying gargantuan fortunes, have also ambitions to influence the government of souls, the social order, they have their own insane plan...'

Ziemkiewicz: 'A large part of these billionaires are indeed uprooted, but they come from Jewish culture. Rabbis call it «tikkun olam», the command to change the world for the better [...], it is inscribed in this culture, for example Soros or others'.

Pospieszalski: 'Even if you reject the Law of Moses and reject the synagogue, you have this mentality so interiorised [sic!] in every cell of your body that this is what it's all about'.

Ziemkiewicz: 'This tikkun olam doctrine is within them [...], these are people who have their own vision of changing the world, which is no longer derived from the religion of Moses, but from the religion of Marx'.

Pospieszalski: 'And Marx also derived this from his genetic desire to change the world'.

Ziemkiewicz presented also a conspiracy theory about the war, 'America needs the war in Ukraine because it is a powerful tool for reindustrialising America [...], it creates an opportunity of rebuilding industry and not only [...], which is why Americans would like this war to go on'. At the end of the conversation, Ziemkiewicz presented his vision of a successful future, that is an extreme right-wing dictatorship, 'I can imagine a Polish Pinochet that, if he came to power, we would be able to reverse all negative trends within a few months and push the country forward'.

The comments underneath included: 'As a Roman Catholic priest, I thank God for such commentators as R. Ziemkiewicz, P. Lisicki, or J. Pospieszalski. The Catholic Church in Poland unfortunately does not have wise and courageous shepherds – bishops, but it does have wonderful wise and brave journalists!' 'England is gone France is gone Germany is gone Holland is gone Belgium is gone and now they will take on Poland', 'Russia has moar civil liberty than England'.

[1] Former musician and former employee of state-owned TVP.

[2] Collaborator of the weekly right-wing magazine 'Do Rzeczy' and TV Republika.

WARSAW. On 16 August, the TVMN Facebook page of the far-right **Media Narodowe (National Media)** featured a conversation between **Jan Bodakowski** and **Laura Lipinska** from **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family foundation)** in which comments offensive to transgender people were made. Both the host and the activist presented gender dysphoria [1] as an imaginary problem, and the gender transition itself as an action that causes serious health damage. Bodakowski stated, 'poisoning children [...], promoting mutilations [...] so that they can never simply function normally in life'. Moreover, during the conversation, Bodakowski and Lipinska talked about the alleged connection between transgender people and paedophilia (there is no such connection). Bodakowski proposed an absurd vision, 'A grown man can say that he is an underage girl and just like that enter the girls' changing room or toilet with impunity'. Similar accusations led to violence against transgender people in various countries.

Under the video, which was entitled 'How to protect children from rainbow demoralisation?' comments were made that encouraged the killing of people with a leftist worldview ('Line all lefties under a wall and that's it') and contained dehumanising terms ('leftie rats'). The TVMN

profile has 40,000 followers (as of August 2024). The president of the management board of the TVMN company is a radical right-wing commentator **Piotr Barelkowski**.

[1] Condition in which someone feels strong discomfort or suffering due to a discrepancy between their gender assigned at birth and the gender they identify with.

WARSAW. On 24 August, far-right commentator **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** (TV **Republika**, **‘Do Rzeczy’**) encouraged the audience to read **‘The Protocols of the Elders of Zion’** during his program entitled ‘Props to The Elders of Zion’ on his YouTube channel. In his opinion, this book contains the key to interpreting the modern world, *‘This is a smart book that shows how to gain power, how to manipulate people [...]. Yes, they do it, many of these things, these instructions of the alleged Elders of Zion can be found written in a slightly different language, even among my favourites from Davos [1], this philosophy has gained recognition, it all works’*.

‘The Protocols of the Elders of Zion’ is a 19th-century pamphlet fabricated by the Russian secret police Okhrana to blame Jews for causing the political and social problems in Russia at the time. This brochure contributed to a wave of anti-Jewish pogroms in Russia and was also used in the propaganda of the Third Reich. The forgery of the *‘Protocols’* has been confirmed in court many times.

[1] Meaning the World Economic Forum.

WARSAW. On the night of 24/25 August, on Piekna Street, a student from Azerbaijan was beaten because of his skin colour. He reported the course of this event to the ‘NIGDY WIECEJ’ Association. In one of the shops a group of men and a woman flung racist insults at him. The victim reported, *‘They said «Poland for Poles», and they called me a «f*cking n*gger»’*. One of the aggressors approached him and said, *‘Come outside, n*gger, and let’s get even’*. The student described the further course of events, *‘When I was paying in the shop they were outside waving their hands at me and shouting «f*cking Muslim» [in English – ed.]. For me, as an atheist, this was even more absurd’*. A group of 10 people were waiting for him in front of the store. He reported the moment of the attack, *‘One of them attacked me from behind. I got hit on the head with something hard, but I cannot tell if it was a fist or a bottle. I fell to the ground, and I think I lost consciousness right away. They started hitting me with their hands and kicking me’*. The eyewitnesses of the assault managed to stop an ambulance passing by. The Azeri was taken to hospital. He was discharged the following day and attempted to file a police report of the assault. *‘Despite my efforts to report this crime, I encountered many obstacles, mainly because of the language barrier and apparent reluctance of the police to get involved in matters concerning foreigners’*, he reported. Eventually, the report of the assault was accepted.

In a press interview the Azerbaijani citizen, who has been studying at the Warsaw University of Technology since 2022, said he had often encountered xenophobic aversion in Poland. For example, at the University, he heard a comment from one of his lecturers, *‘Didn’t they teach you that in your stupid country?’* The student also mentioned the following situations, *‘How many times have I been asked to «get the f*ck out» or called «a n*gger»... This mainly happens at nighttime, when the people feel unpunished and more confident. Try walking with someone of darker skin colour through Nowy Swiat Street on a weekend. You will then see what the racism is’*.

WARSAW. On 30 August, on **TV Republika**, in a conversation with **Marian Kowalski, Kukiz'15** Member of Parliament **Marek Jakubiak** made a shocking statement about Ukrainians resettled as part of the Operation Vistula [original phrasing in all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'Maybe they should have been murdered? And then the Ukrainian would have understood such language'*. The Operation Vistula (Akcja Wisla) was the forced deportation of Ukrainians from eastern Poland to western provinces. In 1947, over 140,000 people were forcibly displaced from their homes. Many of them died during the deportation. The conversation between Jakubiak and Kowalski was watched by over 228,000 viewers over the course of two weeks. Xenophobic comments were made under the video on YouTube, including calls for violence, such as: *'*kry out' [1], 'Lviv the Polish City!!! they will give it back and it will be ok', 'Poland should not be tormented Ukraine and Ukrainians helped, get out of Poland this gang', 'apt blows to Ukraine, our beautiful Poland will be stolen and divided the 4th partition' [2], 'Chase the Ukrainian, chase him'*.

[1] Polish ethnic slur for Ukrainians.

[2] Referring to the three partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century.

WARSAW. On 30 August, in a broadcast on **TV Republika**, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** once again made statements inciting the aversion and spread negative stereotypes about the refugees from Ukraine staying in Poland. He stated [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note], *'We have also welcomed here, in addition to these women who in a proverbial quote are making dumplings here, because they arrived from Ukraine in just one shirt, we also welcomed a large number of those Ukrainians that I happen to see in central Warsaw, I see those sh*theads in such cars with Ukrainian plates that I don't know if I have ever earned enough money for such a cute car in my entire life. [...] We like to show solidarity with the Ukrainian nation, but we tend to not remember that this nation is ruled by a kind of mafia [...], who think that these Polish suckers can lick their boots'*.

SEPTEMBER 2024

WARSAW. On 1 September, far-right **Ruch Suwerennosci Narodu Polskiego (Polish Nation Sovereignty Movement)** [1] organised a demonstration on Aleje Ujazdowskie, opposite the Embassy of the United States. During the gathering, for several hours one could hear speeches propagating antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian content [original phrasing in all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator's note].

Marcin Osadowski [2] repeatedly identified Jews with a parasitic disease in his speech, *'This form of toxoplasmosis, that is a Jew, has modified the functioning of the American government, it affects their brain, their organisational functioning [...], 'And this is the country, whose embassy is right on the other side [3], that is attacked by the Jewish toxoplasmosis'* and then he spoke again about the *'Jewish toxoplasmosis that rules America', 'Are we also suffering from the Jewish toxoplasmosis?'* He used this term also in the context of the war and the issue of support for Ukraine, *'Americans are making a great deal on this, I don't know if it's the Americans or this Jewish toxoplasmosis again'*. During this performance, someone in the crowd loudly protested against Osadowski's anti-Ukrainian comments, to which he exclaimed, *'Good job, educate your little girl, the kh*khlaki [4] will come and they will educate her nicely: with knives, penknives,*

pitchforks, they have these devices'. As the man kept protesting, Osadowski shouted, "Death to the enemies of the motherland!"

Wojciech Olszanski [5] addressed the audience with the following words, *'There is no such thing as Ukraine. There is no such state. This state ceased to exist in 2014, and in its place the Bandera Ukraine was established. [6] [...] There is no Ukrainian state, this state does not exist. [...] We have a Bandera chauvinist beast'. Moreover, during his speech, he boasted that he may have beaten Tadeusz Mazowiecki [7], 'As a Polish nationalist, I joined ZOMO [8] in 1980. [...] I beat the KOR [9] members with this hand [fist raised] and probably in Krakow I could have personally beaten a man named Mazowiecki ['Kudos!' and 'Not enough!' from the crowd and applause]'. Olszanski made also a bizarre comment that during World War II Poland created a 'quasi-state' and that 'The General Government [10] was a form of national self-defence'. At the end he shouted, 'Death to the enemies of the motherland', to which the crowd responded, 'Death, death, death!'*



Another aggressive speech was delivered by **Gabriela Mankowska** who spun conspiracy theories about alleged hostile actions of Jews and Ukrainians against Poland, *'The Ukrainian authorities, commissioned by the American Jews, were given the task of [illegible], so that Jews could then create a Jewish state on the territory of Poland and Ukraine - Ukropolin [11] - on the ruins of Poland'. She also made a grotesque appeal to the US Ambassador to Poland, Mark Brzezinski, 'The Polish nation has never expressed consent to the construction of a Jewish state on the territory of Poland, nor to the bringing of Jews from Israel and other corners of the world to Poland. Or other peoples from the world. [...] I call on you to immediately block the plan to bring Jews from Israel or any other peoples from other foreign countries to Poland'. She also expressed an appeal laced with threats to the Polish Prime Minister, 'I call on Donald Tusk to immediately close the border with Ukraine. [...] Failure to fulfil this obligation by the Polish government qualifies Donald Tusk's government to the pantheon of traitors, and there can only be one inevitable punishment for traitors: the gallows!' She shared her paranoid visions in the following statement, 'the authorities that operated in Poland after 1997, [...] were and still are de facto Jewish usurper and occupying authorities'.*

Nabil Al Malazi, deputy chairman of **Polska Patriotyczna (Patriotic Poland party)**, also spoke during the gathering, invoking the conspiracy theory that Jews and Ukrainians were to take over Poland. He declared, *'In Ukraine, there are eleven people in the government, including the president and prime minister, who literally have Israeli citizenship, but they rule Ukraine and are planning this Ukropolin there'.*

Roland Dubowski, head of **Stowarzyszenie Spadkobierców Polskich Kombatantów II Wojny Światowej** (**Association of Heirs of Polish World War II Veterans**), also spun conspiracy theories inciting hostility towards the Ukrainian refugees, *'We see how the Ukrainisation of Poland is gradually being carried out, financed from our taxes, by giving more privileges to the resettled people'*, and then he went on to shout, *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland!'*

Antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian slogans were also visible on banners placed around the tent of the demonstration organisers. Jews were referred to as *'nomads'*, the slogan *'447 stop'* was used as well [12]. In addition, under the monument to Ronald Reagan, an installation was assembled, consisting of body bags lying on the ground and a banner with the inscription *'Ukropolin'* and the Star of David.

In a conversation with the media, the spokeswoman for the Warsaw City Hall Monika Beuth informed that the organiser of the demonstration, Ruch Suwerennosci Narodu Polskiego, had submitted a new notification of a gathering to the City Hall and that *'the tent would be allowed to stay there until 30 September'*.

Police officers were present at the scene. They did not intervene in connection with the content of the public speeches and banners.

[1] The movement is known for spreading pro-Kremlin disinformation.

[2] Of extreme-right **Rodacy Kamraci (Compatriots Comrades)**, convicted by the court in 2023 for insulting two Members of Parliament and praising a crime.

[3] I.e. the USA.

[4] Form of 'kh*khly': Russian ethnic slur against Ukrainians.

[5] Leader of **Rodacy Kamraci**, convicted by the court twice in 2022: for inciting to the crime of murder, and for insulting people of Jewish nationality. Other proceedings were also initiated against him.

[6] **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. In Poland today, the term 'Bandera' or 'banderowiec' is frequently used as an ethnic slur against all Ukrainians.

[7] Co-creator of the democratic changes in Poland, first Prime Minister of the Third Polish Republic (1989-91).

[8] Motorized Reserves of the Citizens' Militia (Pol. ZOMO) were paramilitary formations active between 1956-1989, and used to ensure security during mass events and in 'special circumstances', effectively providing riot control.

[9] Workers' Defence Committee (Pol. KOR): civil society group established in 1976, precursor for the Solidarnosc (Solidarity) movement.

[10] General Government (Pol. Generalna Gubernia): German occupation zone of Poland between 1939-1945.

[11] 'Polin' in Hebrew means 'Poland'.

[12] Reference to the so-called American Act No. 447, which for many years has been falsely presented in Poland by the far right as an order to pay alleged 'Jewish claims'.

WARSAW. On 1 September, **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** Member of the European Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** uploaded a video on his YouTube channel in which he made antisemitic speculations in connection with the anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. He stated, *'We have, just like we did then, [...] diligently cultivated internal enemies'* and indicated who, among others, he was referring to, *'Jews renounced their loyalty to the Polish state. Well not even «renounced», because such loyalty has never existed, apart from some exceptions confirming the rule. These were fifth columns operating in Poland'*. And further, *'It is worth fighting the fifth column in advance'*.

The video shared by Braun was viewed over 30,000 times in three weeks. Antisemitic and xenophobic comments were made under it, for example:

- 'down with commie Jews'.
- 'POLAND FOR POLES'.
- 'the German-Ukrainian-Jewish fifth column is doing better and better after all these years, I hope it's not too late like in 1939'.
- 'The V column must be countered, but probably not with talking alone'.

[1] 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).

NEAR WARSAW. At the beginning of September, a resident of a town near Warsaw (the name has not been made public), **Mateusz Z.**, broke into a worker hostel and tried to attack a group of Indian people. As he was walking down the street nearby, he heard them talking on the terrace in a foreign language (it was Malayalam, language spoken in South India), so he hurled insults at them. One of the victims reported, *'He shouted at us in English, «This is Poland», and «One speaks Polish here». We tried to ignore him, but he wouldn't stop. [...] A moment later, the guy was already in the yard and entered our house'*. The aggressor shouted at the Indians, *'Shut your gob! This isn't India, it's Poland. Do you have a visa? Show me your visa'*, and also, *'My problem is you. My problem is that you're a f*cking Indian'*. Since there were more residents of the hostel present (in total 30 migrants from various countries, including India, Azerbaijan, Ukraine, Belarus, and Colombia), the attacker left the building and no one was hurt.

However, on the evening of 14 September, Mateusz Z. again broke into the hostel and brutally attacked the Indians. One of them reported, *'He had a metal rod. He entered our room and without a word started hitting us in the face and torso with it'*. The attacker also used pepper spray. The injured parties reported the incident to the police and were taken to hospital. They had wounds on their faces, one of them had a knocked out tooth and bruises on the ribs.

According to the media, it was not until 25 September that the police sent the materials regarding the assault to the public prosecutor's office. Piotr Skiba, spokesman for the Regional Public Prosecutor's Office in Warsaw, informed, *'Preventive measures were applied to the suspect in the form of a restraining order and police supervision'*. The District Public Prosecutor's Office in Pruszkow has charged Mateusz Z. with two assaults and violating bodily integrity.

Three Indians have moved out of the hostel fearing another attack.

WARSAW. On 6 September, **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, commentator known for his extreme nationalist beliefs, uploaded a Q&A video on his YouTube channel. At one point he said, *'Have you read the book «The International Jew» by Henry Ford and what do you think about it – this book?'* In response, Michalkiewicz praised the antisemitic message of this 'opus' and recommended reading it. He said, *'I've read it, I even own it. Well, Ford didn't like Jews and there, as much as he could, he, so to speak, exposed them with pleasure, I must even say he exposed their various dark schemes. So, if someone wants to familiarise themselves with what these shameful schemes are, they should reach for this book'*.

'The International Jew' is a collection of newspaper articles published in the 1920s in which Ford wrote, among others, about the alleged harmful influence of Jews on the American economy. The publication of these texts in a book form was an inspiration for **Hitler** and his *'Mein Kampf'*, as well as for other Nazi criminals (which they openly admitted).

KALISZ. On 7 September, the day of the Equality March (Pride), at the fountain at the John Paul II Square, representatives of far-right **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)** organised a ‘counter-demonstration to the degenerates’ march’ [1], during which they promoted homophobic content. Hooligans of the **KKS 1925 Kalisz** football club also took part in the gathering. The demonstrators displayed a huge banner with the slogan ‘*Stop the deviations*’ and a pornographic image known as ‘*No pedalling*’, used by far-right circles [2]. In addition, activists from the fundamentalist anti-abortion organisation **Zycie i Rodzina (Life and Family)** tried to disrupt the Equality March, carrying a banner that falsely associated LGBT people with paedophilia. It featured an image depicting a crossed-out rainbow and the words ‘*Stop paedophilia*’.



On 8 September, **Piotr Plociniczak**, deputy head of the Wielkopolska branch of Młodzież Wszechpolska and councillor in Lipno Commune, tweeted a post in which he described the Equality March in Kalisz as a ‘*rainbow traveling circus*’ and called its participants ‘*sodomites*’. It has not been made public whether any of the officials of Lipno Commune responded to the councillor's insulting comment towards minorities.

On 28 August, the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association approached the Mayor of Kalisz with a proposal to conduct free training for officials in the field of counteracting hate speech and discrimination. On 17 September, the Association received a response from the City Hall, “*I would like to inform you that we are currently not interested in establishing cooperation with the NEVER AGAIN Association*’.

[1] This term was disseminated in materials published on social media.

[2] In Polish, the same word is used to describe a bike pedal and as a slur against gay males.

NOWY SACZ. On 8 September, at the Jewish cemetery on Rybacka Street, several attackers assaulted a group of Jewish tourists who intended to visit the necropolis. The perpetrators hurled antisemitic slurs and threats at them. A witnesses to the incident reported in the local press, ‘*there was shouting but also a dummy gun, loaded with balls, and several shots were fired towards the group of Jews*’. Justyna Rataj-Mykietyń, prosecutor and spokesperson for the District Public Prosecutor's Office in Nowy Sącz, announced, ‘*The District Prosecutor's Office in Muszyna is currently investigating the incident [...], during which unlawful threats were directed against a group of people because of their Jewish origin*’. In the course of the proceedings, several persons were detained and charged with an offence under Article 119 § 1 of the Criminal Code (i.e. the use of violence or unlawful threats due to national, ethnic, or racial affiliation). ‘*The prosecutor applied preventive measures in the form of police supervision to all suspects, after completing relevant investigative activities*’, Rataj-Mykietyń added.

ZYRARDOW. On 21 September, a xenophobic march, described as a so-called civic patrol, passed through the city. It was organised allegedly ‘*in defence of Poles against foreigners*’, but, in fact, it manifested hostility towards migrants. A few dozens of people, mostly men, chanted, ‘*It is Poland*

here!’ while some encouraged others to join in, *‘It’s Zyrardow, here we go! We are doing the f*cking thing that everyone else should be doing!’* In addition, several participants of the ‘patrol’ brutally attacked migrants living in a worker hostel on Partyzantow Avenue. According to media reports, the attackers beat up three Georgian men near the building and then entered the hostel premises. *‘In the stairwell they beat up several immigrants and then ran away. They did not carry any weapons, they used their fists and threw chairs they found. It was a nationality-based attack’*, president of a company employing migrants reported (the name of the company was not made public for security reasons). Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis, and Georgians living in the hostel defended themselves against the attackers using fire extinguishers.

The vigilante ‘patrol’ reappeared on the streets of Zyrardow on 22 September, but with a much smaller number of participants.

No one made an official report to the police about the assault. As a local businessman explained, *‘These people are afraid. Many of them do not trust the Polish state to help them when they are attacked by citizens’*. He also informed, *‘70 immigrants left my company because they were harassed by a group of nationalists’*.

The District Public Prosecutor’s Office in Zyrardow initiated ex officio proceedings against the perpetrators of the assault. It concerned the use of *‘violence or threat of violence against a person or a group of persons because of their national, ethnic, or racial affiliation’*.

Since early September, so-called civic patrols, i.e. far-right gatherings, often involving football hooligans, have been organised against migrants in Poland. They were initiated by MMA fighter and youtuber **Rafal Podejma** who in his broadcasts had been falsely accusing foreigners of ‘taking over’ Poland and murdering Poles in the streets.

OCTOBER 2024

SZCZECIN. On 7 October, a Ukrainian taxi driver was assaulted due to his nationality by his passenger. The man was angry because the car did not park where he wanted, and he started to insult the driver, punched him in the face and head, and shouted, *‘Ukrainian tw*t!’* The victim stopped the car and ran away, while the attacker chased him. The entire incident was recorded by a dash cam. The police were called and they apprehended the aggressor. The spokesperson for the Regional Public Prosecutor’s Office Lukasz Blogowski stated that the perpetrator *‘was charged with making death threats towards the man of Ukrainian nationality, using violence and causing bodily harm lasting up to 7 days, as well as publicly insulting due to nationality’*. When interrogated, the suspect pleaded partially guilty.

WARSAW. On 9 October, Jessica Stern, Special Envoy to Advance the Human Rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer and Intersex (LGBTQI+) Persons, arrived in Poland. On the same day, she met with the US Ambassador to Poland Marek Brzezinski and representatives of civil society involved in minority activism. Following this visit, the ambassador declared on Twitter, *‘The rights of LGBTQI+ people are human rights. Our government has a responsibility to defend them, both in the United States and around the world, and we will continue to fight for equal rights for all, in partnership with local activists and communities. Human rights are indivisible’*. Member of the European Parliament **Grzegorz Braun (Konfederacja – Confederation party)** reacted to these words with a post insulting both LGBTQ+ people and ambassador Brzezinski himself [original phrasing of all quotes below retained as much as possible – translator’s note], *‘Indeed, there is no transatlanticism without transgenderism;*

apparently there is no vassalisation without sodomisation. The propaganda of deviance as a «democratic standard» is disgusting and pathetic; complete collapse and degeneration of the American empire. H.E. M. Brzezinski persona non grata in Poland'.

Braun's comment was viewed more than 66,000 times in three days. It was followed by homophobic and antisemitic posts, as well as those expressing hostility towards Brzezinski:

- *'Out of Poland!'*

- *'It is not a coincidence that the ambassador of the most Jew-infested country promotes sodomy'.*

- *'This man the US ambassador brings shame to his Polish name. A filthy commie Jew'.*

- *'Sodomisation + Judaisation'.*
