

# 'NEVER AGAIN' Association

## *Report on hate speech on the National Media (Media Narodowe) YouTube channel in the years 2021-2023*



Warsaw, January 2023

## Summary

The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association publishes a report on hate speech, antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theories propagated on the far-right Media Narodowe (National Media) YouTube channel, which receives subsidies from the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.

The National Media channel has over 250,000 subscribers. It produces an average of 100-150 broadcasts per month, some of them have tens of thousands of views.

The publisher of the National Media is Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association), whose leader is Robert Bakiewicz, editor-in-chief of the National Media and the main organizer of the so-called Independence March, the big far-right march that takes place in Warsaw on Polish Independence Day every 11 November. Bakiewicz is a former leader of the fascist group Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp, ONR).

In the years 2021-2022, Bakiewicz's organizations (Independence March Squads, March of Independence and National Guard) received almost 5 million Polish zloty (1 million US dollars) from public funds, including over 198 thousand Polish zloty directly for the National Media.

- 'Many minorities are regularly attacked on the National Media channel, including the Jews, Muslims, refugees from Ukraine, and LGBT people,' says Dr. Anna Tatar from the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, co-author of the report. - 'Such offensive contents clearly breach YouTube community standards and we expect YouTube to take action' - said Jacek Dziegielewski, a researcher for 'NEVER AGAIN' who participated in the report's preparation.

Since the first days of the Russian invasion, the National Media broadcasts have presented refugees from Ukraine as a threat (including 'biological' threat) to the Polish society, denied the Ukrainians' right to preserve their own national identity (demanding that they 'polonize' themselves), and questioned the Russian war crimes committed in Ukraine. The head of the National Media, Robert Bakiewicz, already in 2021 warned against 'Ukrainian immigration', which in his view would lead to an 'ethnic replacement' in Poland.

In the report, the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association also recorded numerous examples of antisemitic content disseminated by the National Media. Among them there were medieval accusations of blood libel (accusing the Jews of murdering Christian children for ritual purposes) as well as claims that the Jews were behind the current war in Ukraine, falsified the history of the Holocaust for financial purposes, were guilty themselves of creating antisemitism, and finally that they wanted to appropriate Poland in order to build their own state under the name 'Polin' (Polin means Poland in Hebrew).

**Here are examples of comments made on the National Media channel,  
which were noted in the report of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association:**

- Radoslaw Patlewicz (the author of the book 'Ritual murder in Rzeszow? A historical investigation'): 'There is hard evidence that the Jews used the blood of humans and animals primarily for medical purposes, as well as for ritual purposes. It is, of course, the paschal matzah and the so-called wine ritual accompanying the Seder dinner' (18.01.2022),
- Piotr Strzembosz (the Faith and Action Association) on refugees from Ukraine: 'After all, 500,000 people from a country torn by war, this could be the source of not only the COVID virus, but a number of other very dangerous things. If there is a state of war, people may have difficulty maintaining hygiene, they can transmit various parasites, here let's not be afraid of that word' (2.03.2022),
- Brunon Rozycki (a regular host on the National Media channel): 'The depopulation of eastern Ukraine is favourable for Putin, for the Jews and perhaps the West' (22.03.2022, within a week, this broadcast gained over 100,000 views on YouTube),
- Radosław Patlewicz: 'The Jews almost expressly demand a de facto liquidation of Christianity, so what attitude should Christians feel toward the Jews [...]? It can be said that the Jews are in some ways looking for trouble coming to them, that somebody could harm them' (25.04.2022),
- Jan Bodakowski (a regular host on the National Media channel, a participant of extreme right-wing demonstrations for many years, and a candidate of the far right Confederation party in the 2019 parliamentary elections; he was not elected): about the symbol of the Russian invasion, the letter Z: '[this letter] does not appear in the Russian alphabet [...] but it is very similar to a letter that in Hebrew and in Kabbalah means war. And it would also suit the theory that the Kabbalistic symbol of the war was visible on Russian tanks, the more so knowing Vladimir Putin's very close relations with Jewish communities' (10.07.2022),
- Robert Bakiewicz (editor-in-chief of the National Media channel): 'Lies about Jedwabne [an anti-Jewish pogrom committed by Poles in 1941 - editor's note] have to be straightened out. I am fully convinced that on the basis of the evidence that we already have today, it can be clearly stated that the murder was not committed by the Poles. [...] What the Jewish community or Israel says about this issue confirms our belief that it is simply acting for the benefit of currently building the myth of this criminal behaviour of Poles, but also developing this entire religion of the Holocaust' (8.07.2022),

- Tadeusz Matuszyk (in the 1980s an activist of the so-called 'true Poles' faction in the Solidarity movement): 'For over a thousand years, the majority of the Jews have been, are and will be mortal enemies of the Polish nation and state' (13.10.2022).

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

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## Report on hate speech on the National Media (Media Narodowe) YouTube channel in the years 2021-2023:

### YEAR 2021:

**WARSAW.** On 4 February in an interview broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel **Jaroslav Litwin**, a member of the Regional Chamber of Legal Counsels in Wrocław, made antisemitic remarks. He said, *'What was the premise of the Jewish economic expansionism in the 2nd Republic of Poland? It was based on [the Jews'] insolence and the passiveness of the Polish society'*. He added that nowadays, *'the situation is similar, these insolent activities [of the Jews] are not met with appropriate resistance'*. He also claimed that *'the Jews have been spitting in our faces for a long time now with virtually no reaction from Polish diplomatic or security services'*.

**WARSAW.** On 15 April, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel published a video titled *'«Antisemitism? A beautiful idea!» But really?'* featuring **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, an ex-commentator of **Radio Maryja** (a Catholic-nationalist radio station with a long record of antisemitic statements). He said: *'Antisemitism as a form of attitude towards the Jews is very old. Well, I think the Jews should think it over, because isn't it the case that if, say, nobody likes Johnny wherever he appears, then it is Johnny's fault and not of those who dislike him?'* He also referred to *'Judeo-communism'* conspiracy theory, which is one of the most frequent antisemitic themes in Michalkiewicz's speeches: *'Right now Europe and North America are the scene of a communist revolution, and it is clear, and [...] the Judeo-communism is its avant-garde just like in previous communist revolutions. [...] And since the Jews think they are predestined to rule the world [...] it bears certain consequences on them'*.

The broadcast in the Media Narodowe referred to the title of Michalkiewicz's book *'Antisemitism? A Beautiful Idea!'*, which praises antisemitism. In the book, the author ascribes genocidal tendencies to the Jews: *'who can say for certain that if **Adolf Hitler** had not had an anti-Jewish obsession, the Jews would not have collaborated with the Germans in exterminating other nationalities?'* Moreover, one of the chapters is titled *'Masturbation with the Holocaust'* and says Poland's law that bans Holocaust denial is *'a dogmatic version of World War II, especially the version about Auschwitz camp'*.

**WARSAW.** On 22 April, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel published an interview with **Tadeusz Matuszyk** (former anti-communist dissident in the 1980s, active in Solidarity's nationalist faction) who made antisemitic comments based on conspiracy theories. He said: *'The Jews always and everywhere intended to do harm to the Polish nation'*. He also stated they were responsible for the Soviet aggression against Poland: *'And in 1939 they made sure Stalin outrageously and brutally attacked Poles on our lands. [...] So Stalin put us under Jewish occupation'*. Later Matuszyk called the Jews *'parasites'*: *'They went wherever civilization had already existed, where they could find wealth, extensive trade, industry, craft, because it was before industry, so they showed this parasitic tendency in order to sponge these nations'*. And further: *'Jonquil is a parasitic flower, it is a poisonous flower; if they chose it as a symbol of their movement, of their Jewishness, then they clearly tell us that they are parasites, vermin'* (yellow jonquil is a symbol of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. Every year, on 19 April anniversary of the

uprising, Marek Edelman, a former leader of the fighters, would lay jonquils in front of the Monument to the Ghetto Heroes in Warsaw). Matuszyk also accused the POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw: he called the museum *'Jewish jaczejka'* (the word *'jaczejka'* can refer to a basic political unit of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union or to political units within the Red Army or to some conspiracy group), *'which still vilifies Poland and Poles, and which is the source of evil, mendacity and untruth, and this jaczejka was founded, as one can say, by enormous Polish money, out of our drudgery'*. The host **Agnieszka Borkiewicz** agreed with Matuszyk, and said that: *'in the early period of the war, one can even say that the Jews had it better than the Poles'*. Referring to a book by **Wojciech Sumlinski** *'Return to Jedwabne'*, she also said that Poles carried *'Stars of David in order to pretend they are Jewish, so that nothing worse happens to them'*. Her interlocutor readily agreed: *'Yes! They had the star in their pockets!'* (the Nazis forced the Jews to wear the Star of David armbands in the ghettos. The claims made in the broadcast amount to a minimization of the cruelty of the Nazis' treatment of the Jews during the Holocaust).

**WARSAW**. On 17 May, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel was released an interview with **Laura Lipinska** from the **Zycie i Rodzina Foundation (Life and Family)**, a pseudo pro-life foundation), an organisation led by **Kaja Godek**, a former candidate from the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) list in the 2019 European Parliament elections. The programme was entitled *'An EFFECTIVE antidote to HOMO invasion! We are the FIRST to show this method'*. The broadcast concerned the draft law *'Stop LGBT'* which, according to the initiators' declarations, would *'protect public spaces from homopropaganda'*. Lipinska made false accusations against sexual minorities: *'Pedophilia [is] more common among practising homosexuals and incidents of crime [are] also much higher'*; and *'[homosexuality] can be compared to a bipolar disorder or even to cancer'*. Finally, she concluded *'The LGBT movement has all the hallmarks of a totalitarian movement and is simply harmful. It is something that offends and attacks children and young people [...], being outraged by this we have the right to simply ban this type of gathering'*.

**WARSAW**. On 18 May, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel was released a programme entitled: *'ANTI-Polish action by the Jews! It's not a coincidence! Israeli occupation in Poland?'* with the participation of **Wojciech Sumlinski**, co-author of books undermining the historical truth about the 1941 pogrom in Jedwabne. During the broadcast, he said *'Not much, in fact, nothing can surprise me when it comes to meanness, cunning, putting the cart before the horse etc. by the broadly understood Jewish community, and do not imagine... do not let them put wool over your eyes, that it is «some Jews», or «some exceptions to the rule», or that «as a rule there is friendship between Poland and Israel». Well, there is no friendship, and never has been [...]. We are goys to them, more than animals but less than humans in the full sense of the word'*. He then continued his conspiratorial outbursts accusing the Jews of collaborating with Germany during World War II: *'[The Jews] always allied themselves with our invader. [...] This was so even with the Germans; in 1940 they had a «1939 symbiosis» believing the Germans that in Poland the Poles were their enemy and that the ghettos which they had built for themselves [...] were enclaves of safety. [...] Let the Germans murder Poles outside [the ghettos] whilst we will have such enclaves here'*. **Agnieszka Borkiewicz**, the host of the programme, also managed to fit a number of bizarre conspiracy theories into the broadcast. Mentioning the 80th anniversary of the pogrom in Jedwabne and the *'spitting on Poland'*, she

asked: *'Sir, what exactly is the ultimate goal here? Is it about destroying the reputation of Poland in the world or about the takeover of Polish lands by the Jews settling here on our territory, or is it something else?'* She also enquired: *'Can we say that Poland is under Israeli occupation?'* to which Sumlinski replied: *'Even if it isn't full occupation we are still certainly heading towards a full dependence on the Jews and their duress'*.

**OLAWA.** On 20 May, on Market Square in front of the Town Hall, **Robert Bakiewicz**, head of the **Independence March Squads**, made xenophobic claims. During his speech on *'Ukrainian immigration and the dangers it entails'*, Bakiewicz said, *'There is an ethnic replacement happening, Poles go abroad, Ukrainians come and settle here. Ukrainians use social welfare and have certain privileges that, in our opinion, should be reserved for Polish citizens'*. Then he demanded that illegal and radical measures be taken against the Ukrainian minority in Poland, that *'all social activities for Ukrainians staying in the Polish Republic [sic!] be suspended and that an immigration memorandum [Bakiewicz probably meant an immigration moratorium, in line with the far-right demands to stop all Ukrainian immigration to Poland – translator's note] be introduced to stop immigration that will bring us the same effects as in Western Europe'*. Bakiewicz added that, *'in Western Europe we have the effect of multiculturalism – multi-culti'*. He also mentioned attacks and conflicts on ethnic and cultural grounds in this context, and then stated that *'These problems are also brought to Poland by Ukrainians'*. He ended his speech with a demand to *'stop the mass immigration of Ukrainians and other nationalities to Poland'*. **Pawel Kryszczak** from the Independence March Squads also took the floor and pointed to the inscriptions in Ukrainian at the entrance to some toilets in Wroclaw as an example of the *'Ukrainian problem'*. He reinforced the xenophobic tone of these words with an absurd comment that, *'This way they will never be polonized'*. The speech by Bakiewicz and Kryszczak was published on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube.

**WARSAW.** On 21 May, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel published an interview with **Radoslaw Patlewicz**, the author of the book *'Mord rytualny w Rzeszowie? Sledztwo historyczne'* (*'Ritual murder in Rzeszow? A historical investigation'*). The book repeats false accusations against the Jews about murdering Christians (blood libel). During the broadcast, Patlewicz hoped that this kind of antisemitic opinion would become popular: *'Constant dropping wears away a stone. And this is the case of ritual murder. We see that the other side begins to panic, right? But here this myth starts to crumble; the myth that they have forced us to believe for well over two centuries, that the Jews would absolutely not do something like this'* (for centuries, the Jews were accused of ritually murdering Christian children. It led to rigged trials, torture, and eventually death sentences. Blood libel also triggered anti-Jewish pogroms, including in modern times).

**WARSAW.** On 29 May, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel published a video featuring **Tadeusz Matuszyk** (a former anti-communist oppositionist in the 1980s, a board member of the Solidarity Mazowsze Region, active in Solidarity's nationalist faction). He spoke in line with the broadcast's title: *'FRANKLY about Poland, about converting the Jews and about how to take action'*. Speaking about **Radoslaw Patlewicz's** book about the alleged Jewish ritual murder in Rzeszow in 1945, Matuszyk implied: *'We know very well it is the dreadfulness of Talmud and Talmudists that such things were happening in the 20th century, and certainly continue to happen in the 20th century'*. He continued: *'Of course, it has been proven scientifically,*

*in Swietokrzystkie and Wielkopolska regions, this is scientific evidence*’. Matuszyk thus claimed that the so-called Jewish ritual murder of Christian children was a historical fact. The legend, created in the mid-12th century, belongs to the oldest anti-Jewish fantasies in Europe. Blood libel led to anti-Jewish pogroms also in modern times (a rumour about kidnapping a boy to take his blood for matzah led to the pogrom in Kielce in 1946).

**WARSAW.** On 1 July, in a broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel, a visual artist and photographer **Jacek Schmidt** associated LGBT activists with paedophiles: *‘LGBT activists are leaders of deviancy towards young children, [and] abuse of minors; they simply advocate this type of approach’*. He also called those who stand in solidarity with minorities a *‘sodomite agenda’*. The broadcast host **Jan Bodakowski** (a participant of extreme right-wing demonstrations for many years, and a candidate of the far right **Konfederacja – Confederation** party in the 2019 parliamentary elections; he was not elected) equated LGBT rainbow flag with swastika: *‘Just like during the German occupation red rags with broken cross were put everywhere, the flags glorifying unhealthy sexual behaviour are being hanged everywhere’*.

**WARSAW.** On 2 July, **Robert Bakiewicz**, leader of the **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)** and editor in-chief of the **Media Narodowe (National Media)**, in a YouTube video publicly expressed his support for two men sentenced by District Court in Bialystok on 30 June for instigating national hatred. They had broken the law in 2016 during a march of the **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp)** where they shouted an antisemitic slogan: *‘Zionists will hang on trees instead of leaves’*. **Jaroslaw R.** was sentenced to one year of prison, and **Krzysztof S.** was sentenced to six months of prison suspended for two years. In 2016, Bakiewicz was one of the leaders of the Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny.

During the broadcast, Bakiewicz said he did not see anything harmful in the slogan about hanging the *‘Zionists’* because: *‘Zionism, like communism, is a political doctrine’* and was declared by the UN as *‘racist, fascist, xenophobic and totalitarian’*. He probably referred to the 1975 resolution no. 3379 of the UN General Assembly (contrary to Bakiewicz’s statement, it said nothing about fascism or totalitarianism). The resolution was revoked in 1991 but Bakiewicz did not mention this fact. Zionism was an idea of Jewish statehood, and antisemites called the Jews *‘Zionists’* on many occasions. In a typically antisemitic statement, Bakiewicz equated Jews with Nazis: *‘it is as if we shouted in the streets that we oppose Hitler’s Nazism’*.

**WARSAW.** On 13 July, the YouTube channel **Media Narodowe (National Media)** broadcasted a street poll in which both the host **Jan Bodakowski** and his interlocutors spouted antisemitic conspiracy theories. The manipulative questions concerned alleged Jewish claims against Poland. One of the poll’s participants stated: *‘During World War II, American Jews were counting the cash, how much money could be made per killed, gassed or burned Jew. They were just making money off these victims’*. Another man replied positively, when asked by Bodakowski if *‘accusations under the title of Jedwabne or the Kielce pogrom can be considered as a propaganda made to create a good atmosphere in the global political scene?’* Another interlocutor presented a conspiracy theory that was insulting to the victims of the Holocaust: *‘I heard another version, simply that the Jews who were eradicated here, mainly the Jews from the East, all the poor once, were actually the so-called fertiliser for the creation of the state of Israel’*. Furthermore, one of

the men in the interview with Bodakowski stated: *‘The history has shown that if [the Jews] see any opportunity to make money, to exploit another nation, they become ruthless’.*

**WARSAW.** On 21 July, in the course of a programme aired by the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Przemyslaw Holocher**, the boss of an extreme right-wing foundation called **Magna Polonia** and former leader of the **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp)**, appeared wearing a shirt which openly affirmed the criminal practices of the Chilean regime led by general **Augusto Pinochet**. It contained the face of the dictator, a drawing depicting people thrown out of an airborne helicopter, as well as the slogan: *‘Make communists afraid of rotary aircraft again. Physical removal since 1973’.* Pinochet assumed power in Chile in 1973 by way of a military takeover and ruled for the next 17 years. He applied unusually brutal repression and persecution of political adversaries, such as pushing living oppositionists out of a helicopter into the Pacific Ocean. Under Pinochet’s rule, at least 3 thousand Chileans were murdered. In the course of the programme, Holocher also referred to the words uttered by the fashion model **Samuela Gorska** who in July 2021 expressed her support for the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party and stated: *‘I do not want Jewishness, I do not want LGBT, I do not want many things which are present here. I have a feeling that only the Confederation party can assure this normality’.* The boss of the Magna Polonia foundation stated: *‘Everyone has the right to such views, and everyone has the right to simply have enough of the ubiquitous propaganda by sodomitic or Jewish communities’.* The programme was hosted by **Brunon Rozycki** who in the course of the conversation called Belarusian and Ukrainian students of Polish universities *‘invaders’* after which he corrected himself, using a different noun which could be translated as *‘uninvited guests’.*

**USNARZ GORNY.** On 20 August, an interview with **Robert Bakiewicz** (leader of the far-right **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci – March of Independence Association**) appeared on YouTube on **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, in which he repeated offensive claims and xenophobic conspiracy theories about refugees who tried to cross the Polish-Belarusian border, but were held in the forest in disastrous conditions and watched over by guards on both sides: *‘We can expect that this mass of invaders will increase. [...] The invaders are very well prepared, they sit in tents’.* He also argued: *‘We cannot accept these invaders to the Polish state, we must separate ourselves from them!’* And contrary to the actual situation, he argued: *‘There are no children here, there are healthy adult guys, you could say boys, healthy «bulls» for work and these bulls should do the work in their own home’.*

**WARSAW.** On 30 August, on the YouTube channel **Media Narodowe Extra (National Media Extra)**, the anti-abortion activist of the **Zycie i Rodzina Foundation (Life and Family Foundation)**, an ultra-conservative organisation), **Kaja Godek**, a 2019 candidate for the European Parliament from the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) list, made offensive statements about the LGBT community. She stated that: *‘There is indeed a lot of interest in children in the LGBT community, also amongst the queer groups. This, I think, is for two reasons. First, because – to state the obvious – different deviations go hand in hand. And [second] the increased prevalence of paedophiles in these groups is a fact’.* Godek also resorted to homophobic conspiracy theories: *‘The ultimate goal of LGBT activists [...] is to destroy the family, to destroy the traditional social order, destruction of tradition in general, destruction of the Church, religion, culture and civilization’.* In promoting conspiratorial visions of the world, she

was seconded by **Agnieszka Borkiewicz** who stated: *‘There is in the Catholic Church The Lavender Mafia associated with homosexuals. They often enter the structures of the Church in order to later destroy the Church from the inside through scandals and sexual abuse of kids’*. Godek added her approving comment: *‘The problem of paedophiles in the Church will end when the problem of the homolobby in the Church ends’*.

**WARSAW.** On 27 November, **Tomasz Stala** speaking on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube engaged in the promotion of an extremely antisemitic book by **Curzio Nitoglia**, titled *‘You Are of Your Father the Devil’*, released by the **3dom** publisher in the city of Czestochowa, a company owned by Stala. The Italian author of the publication is known for his pro-Nazi sympathies. In the book, he claims that the Jews are a cursed people, whose symbol is Satan (thus all evil). He also promotes theories about a *‘Judeo-masonic conspiracy against the Church’* and he expresses his approval of *‘struggle against judeo-talmudic thought’*, portraying the Jews as enemies of Christianity and warning that Christianity is in danger of being *‘contaminated’* by Judaism. During the programme in the Media Narodowe, Stala stated that his publishing house released the book by Nitoglia, in order to *‘deliver to people the synthetic awareness about the fact that if the Jews betrayed Jesus, they are the sons of the devil’*. He introduced this publication as a *‘real compendium of knowledge [...], as regards Catholic-Jewish relations, beginning from the moment of Christ’s betrayal by the Jews, his killing, ritual murders, through successive historical periods, the teachings of the fathers of the Church, as well as contemporary times, in other words, the activity of freemasons and islamists [...] and of the question should our goal as Catholics be to convert the Jews or to confirm them in the false belief that we are all equal’*. Thus, Stala duplicated the traditional antisemitic accusations of the Jews, who across centuries were supposedly engaged in ritual murders on Christian children (such false accusations have often led to anti-Jewish pogroms). Further into the programme Stala delivered a shady conspiracy theory, in which he invoked the *‘Protocols of the Elders of Zion’* (well-known nineteenth-century antisemitic pamphlet which has been many times proven to be false in courts of law) saying that *‘the quintessence of all that is going on’* are *‘invented or not invented «Protocols of the Elders of Zion» which, whether made up or not still described the real situation how Jewish activities look like’*.

**WARSAW.** On 29 November, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, the far-right columnist **Wojciech Sumlinski** (co-author of the book series *‘Return to Jedwabne’*) propagated antisemitic conspiracy theories connected with the COVID-19 pandemic. According to him *‘what we have around us is a consciously released virus’*, while *‘the Gateses, Rockefeller and the Rothschilds [...] are at the core of this madness’* (falsely, Sumlinski attributes Jewish roots to Bill Gates). In a later part of the programme, the author repeated his accusations: *‘all those threads lead to one national group of the Gateses, Rockefeller and the Rothschilds, because it all [COVID-19 pandemic] began there’*. He also stated: *‘Let’s not get fooled that this is some kind of antisemitism. Telling the truth about the Jews is not antisemitism. These are facts. We do not advocate hatred. We only show facts – what the Jews do, and how much deceit, meanness and cynicism is contained in it’*.

## YEAR 2022:

**WARSAW.** On 14 January, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a video with the participation of **Wojciech Sumlinski**, a co-author of antisemitic books from the series *'Return to Jedwabne'*. In the course of the conversation, he linked conspiracy theories about the COVID-19 pandemic with antisemitic conspiracy theories. According to Sumlinski, *'there is a group of globalists' who 'have origins related to one particular nationality. And [...] from this environment one can hear a voice that there should arise a world government on the basis of a pandemic, because the pandemic is global. [...] And that this world government is to be represented in every country, it is to be made up of eighteen people, and the capital of this government is to be Jerusalem'*.

**WARSAW.** On 18 January, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a video interview with **Radosław Patlewicz**, the author of the book *'Mord rytualny w Rzeszowie? Sledztwo historyczne' ('Ritual murder in Rzeszow? A historical investigation')*, spreading antisemitic messages about alleged murders of Christians by the Jews. According to Patlewicz, *'There is hard evidence that the Jews used the blood of humans and animals primarily for medical purposes, as well as for ritual purposes. It is, of course, the paschal matzah and the so-called wine ritual accompanying the Seder dinner'*. In this context, he encouraged the viewers: *'[...] it is probably high time for some counter-offensive of the truth against our enemies, so there is probably no heavier topic here than the topic of ritual murders – you have to hit here, show the truth here, as it really was [...]'*. For centuries, the Jews in Poland and Europe were accused of murdering Christian children for ritual purposes. There were numerous trials in which the Jews were tortured and sentenced to death for this reason. Papal bulls, statements of the Catholic Church and scientific papers clearly state that these are slander. Accusations of ritual murders have led to bloody anti-Jewish pogroms in history, also in modern times (the rumor of a boy kidnapped for making matzah led to the 1946 Kielce pogrom).

**WARSAW.** On 22 January, **Jan Bodakowski**, a regular host on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, a participant of extreme right-wing demonstrations for many years, and the candidate of **Konfederacja (Confederation – a far right party)** in the 2019 parliamentary elections (he was not elected), during the broadcast expressed his support for manifestations of antisemitism. He stated: *'We do not have to be ashamed of such views that today, by left-wing and pseudo-liberal circles, are called antisemitism according to the new definition of antisemitism. We do not have to be ashamed of the fact that we are opponents of unfounded Jewish claims'*. Bodakowski probably had in mind the draft definition of antisemitism formulated by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA), which in 2016 was adopted by 31 member states of this organization.

**WARSAW.** On 15 February, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel was broadcast another interview with **Radosław Patlewicz**, the author of the book *'Mord rytualny w Rzeszowie? Sledztwo historyczne' ('Ritual murder in Rzeszow? A historical investigation')*, repeating antisemitic claims regarding alleged ritual murders committed by Jews. During the interview, Patlewicz accused the Jews of *'[...] collaborating with the Swedes during the «Potop» [lit. 'the flood' – a war of 1655-1660 during which entire Poland was overwhelmed and sacked by the Swedish armies – translator's note], helping the partitioners*

*[during three partitions of the territory of Poland: in 1772, 1793 and 1795 by Prussia, Austria and Russia – translator’s note], [expressing] in opposition to the independence of Poland’. He further accused the Jews of propagating the following ‘lies’: ‘We also have a lie of Jedwabne [a town where a pogrom took place during World War II – translator’s note] [...], a lie of the Judeo-communism – that there was no such thing [...], we have a lie of the alleged victims of March ’68, delivered by the President of Polin, Andrzej Duda [according to the conspiracy theory, Polin is Poland appropriated by the Jews – translator’s note]’. Thus, he questioned the historical truth about the crime in Jedwabne, as well as about the antisemitic campaign of 1967-68, as a result of which several thousand people of Jewish origin had to leave Poland. He also referred to the alleged ritual murders once again and lamented that it was ‘hard to fight’ the fact that the Jews were contradicting these stereotypes about ritual murders. Patlewicz also questioned the fact that on 11 August 1945, there was an anti-Jewish pogrom in Krakow, the perpetrators of which were Polish residents. He used the term ‘the so-called pogrom in Krakow’ (during the Sabbath service, a crowd broke into the Kupa synagogue in Krakow. The praying Jews were beaten, the synagogue demolished, and later set on fire. The perpetrators attacked the Jews in the streets, and there were also attacks on Jewish apartments. As a result of these events, at least one person of Jewish origin was killed).*

**WARSAW.** On 18 February, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel a broadcast was released entitled ‘Migrants from Ukraine WILL FLOOD POLAND?!’, during which the host, **Karol Plewa**, received calls from viewers. Among these statements, there were comments with a xenophobic overtone; their authors had a negative attitude towards the issue of accepting refugees and providing them with assistance in the event of a war. One of those calling, who introduced himself as **Darek** from Otwock, warned against accepting Ukrainians: ‘They can give us a hell, to us, Poles. They are more aggressive than us. It’s just like those refugees who come from Syria or somewhere else, they are just as aggressive as the refugees from the Arabs. It can also become dangerous in Poland’. In turn, **Adam** from Warsaw combined anti-Ukrainian with antisemitic tropes and invoked a conspiracy theory on the creation of Polin (i.e. Poland seized by the Jews), which would have been achieved by deliberately bringing Ukrainians in: ‘[...] if the Poles start to rebel in the Polin project, we will deal with them using Ukrainians. I am afraid that it is no coincidence that the Ukrainians are so welcomed here’. He also called people from Ukraine who would seek refuge in Poland from the war – ‘invaders’.

**WARSAW.** On 28 February and the following days a lot of xenophobic and antisemitic comments appeared under an article about an interview with Weronika Marczuk (Polish actress, producer and lawyer, who was born in Kiev) on the Ukrainian community in Poland (published in December 2021 on the Wirtualna Polska website) on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** website. Here are some of them: ‘F\*ck off banderist [*‘banderist’ is a frequently-used ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today – translator’s note*] b\*tch, Ukraine is a Polish enemy’, ‘We can let them to the border, let them f\*ck off together with this b\*tch Marczuk. This is Poland for Poles not for banderist trash and brats’, ‘This is Poland not Ukropolin!!!’ (Polin means Poland in Hebrew), ‘Khazari sidelocks [*Khazaria was an Eastern European state in the early Middle Ages which partly converted to Judaism, sidelocks are worn by Orthodox Jews – editor’s note*] want to get their own land back and this is where this so-called war is coming from, but in reality it is a Big Action to Resettle Ukrainians. They will now get everything here in our country that our

*predecessors fought for, and we will be 2nd class citizens. UNTIL THEY SWEEP US AWAY. The world wars did not work so they duped us via «help for refugees»’.*

**WARSAW.** On 2 March, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a video with the participation of **Piotr Strzembosz** from the **Stowarzyszenie Wiara i Czyn (The Faith and Action Association)**, which presented refugees from Ukraine as a biological threat to the Polish society. He stated: *‘After all, 500,000 people from a country torn by war, this could be the source of not only the COVID virus, but a number of other very dangerous things. If there is a state of war, people may have difficulty maintaining hygiene, they can transmit various parasites, here let’s not be afraid of that word’.* Strzembosz took up the same thread on the Media Narodowe channel also on 29 March, *‘There [in Ukraine] is a huge number of people who have never been vaccinated against other diseases such as polio, tuberculosis, measles, in Ukraine there is, as professor [Andrzej] Horban said in 2017, the largest increase in HIV cases’.* Identifying war refugees and, more broadly, people considered ‘strangers’ with diseases and pathogens is a constant theme of racist hate speech.

Under both videos there were published many anti-Ukrainian comments, including conspiracy theories and incitement to violence: *‘Now we have tuberculosis, hepatitis C and HIV’, ‘These are the effects of letting in Ukrainians and the entire gang to Poland’, ‘The government has brought millions of refugees who certainly do not infect with diseases? e.g. tuberculosis, viral infections of the liver, HIV, etc.’, ‘...who cares about it, who allows it and pulls the strings... It will be justified to introduce medical procedures in connection with new varieties, further obligations to prepare [?] citizens. Maybe chips to control them, and then our migration and displacement’, ‘maybe this «war» was about the ukrainians [sic!] taking over Poland?’, ‘It looks like we have a Jewish-Ukrainian government in Warsaw with the president as its head’, ‘Poland for Poles’ and ‘Beat them up’.*

**POLISH-UKRAINIAN BORDER.** On 8 March, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a video entitled ‘The truth about refugees from Ukraine’ by **Brunon Rozycki**, who travelled to the Polish-Ukrainian borderlands: to the border crossing in Medyka, the railway station in Przemyśl and a nearby reception point, to check whether there is an *‘oversupply of people of possibly non-Ukrainian origin’* among the refugees. Rozycki walked around the city with a camera looking for people with a skin colour other than white. At the same time, he made bizarre, racist comments. Announcing his material, he expressed the hope that *‘[we] will manage to find out what the colour [...] of those who show up here, looks like’.* Passing by people who had just arrived from war-torn Ukraine, he made the following comments: *‘Here Asians, you can clearly see, Asians pass us by’, ‘Here we see some Asians. You can see what this colour looks like. Here is a dark-skinned man. [...] There are no huge numbers when it comes to this colour’, ‘When it comes to facial features, I’m telling you once again, no tragedy here’, ‘Do we see an oversupply of Arabs here, for example?’* During the broadcast, Rozycki repeated false information about alleged acts of aggression by non-white refugees. He asked one of his interlocutors: *‘So there were actually incidents here [...] only with people who clearly have some Asian features, right?’* Such a false message also appeared in the statements of the interlocutors: *‘I heard that somewhere those Chinese or someone, attacked here somewhere under the Piotrus Pan at the Brama Square or something’.* In response to Rozycki’s words, some residents reacted positively to the violence by football fans against newcomers (such attacks took place in Przemyśl on 1 March): *‘It was only when the fans gathered here somewhere to [...] bring order, that the*

police and other services came and now you can see that it is a bit different [...]'. Another man stated: 'They are gone because the people simply cleaned them up'.

**WARSAW.** On 8 March, the YouTube channel **Media Narodowe (National Media)** carried a programme titled 'SENSATIONAL Theory! The Jews are Profiting from the Russo-Ukrainian War?' with **Przemyslaw Holocher**, former leader of the **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp)** and boss of the extreme right wing foundation **Magna Polonia**. During the conversation, the host **Brunon Rozycki** propagated antisemitic conspiracy theories. He began the interview with his guest with the following introduction: '*The situation in Ukraine has caused that very many theories have appeared and these also talk about the profits, which the Jews could reap from this war. Information about the war taking place in the Middle East intertwines with another theory, since several days very popular, which states that the Jews are planning to organise their own autonomic country in Ukraine. [...] I would like to speak generally about the connections of Jewish communities with the war in Ukraine*'. Answering him, Holocher agreed with the conspiracy theory approach to the subject of the war: '*It is difficult to investigate a theory which is veiled in so much secrecy. Even the sources which I found on the Internet show that there is a secret deal between the governments of Israel and Ukraine. [...] Of course, it cannot be excluded*'. In the programme, Rozycki seriously announced further 'information' in Media Narodowe channel about the conspiracy theory presented by him: '*The theme of the so-called Heavenly Jerusalem will be followed by us and, as far as possible, if any new, confirmed information comes up, we will let you know*'.

**WARSAW.** On 9 March, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel released a propaganda video about the alleged privileges of Ukrainians at the expense of Poles. A man who claimed to have come to Poland from Ukraine in 2014 issued a tirade addressed to the Ukrainians: '*Have you come here to get dental treatment? [...] Have you come here thinking that you are allowed to do everything and anything? [...] Do you think you are the Cossacks just by coming here? Oh yes, you have come here, you will shit here and then you will go back. [...] The Ukrainians from Western Ukraine [why have they come to Poland? – translator's note] – there is nothing happening there*'.

**WARSAW.** On 19 March, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, in an interview with **Jan Bodakowski**, the commentator **Dr. Marcin Masny** said that in Ukraine there were allegedly '*American laboratories with pathogens*', which the Russians '*treat as a weapon, thus they may well be afraid that Western weapons of mass destruction are very close to their borders*'. Masny further said: '*Russia is not trying to build an empire. There have been no imperial activities in Russia since Soviet times. What some call imperialism are [...] acts of defense*'. Marcin Masny has in the past cooperated with, amongst others, the extreme-right weekly magazine '**Najwyższy Czas!**' ('**High Time!**') set up by **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** (leader of the **Konfederacja – Confederation** party) and had been a candidate for the European Parliament in 2009 from the list of the far-right party **Libertas**.

**WARSAW.** On 21 March, an interview with **Tomasz Grabarczyk**, a spokesman for **Konfederacja** (the far-right **Confederation** party), was broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel. Grabarczyk described refugees from Ukraine as '*a financial threat to Poland*'. According to him, granting refugees social rights may '*encourage these people to stay and remain*

*in Poland, unfortunately, not on the basis of work, but on the basis that they receive something from the Polish state’.*

**WARSAW.** On 22 March, in a program broadcast on the **National Media** channel on YouTube, the host, **Brunon Rozycki** and his interlocutor, **Marian Miszalski** (commentator for the far-right magazine *‘Najwyższy Czas!’* – *‘High Time!’*, and author of a book under the title *‘The Jewish Political Lobby in Poland’*) promoted anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic conspiracy theories. This broadcast was entitled: *‘Marian Miszalski on «Heavenly Jerusalem». Is this a true theory?’* To Rozycki’s question: *‘To what extent does this concept of Heavenly Jerusalem, which claims that Ukraine is to be inhabited by the Jews, make sense?’*, Miszalski replied: *‘Is such a Judeo-Ukraine possible? We do not know what will arise when the Ukrainian quarrel ends’.* And later: *‘It is possible to build a second Israel in Ukraine, there are many indications for this. [...] The Jewish lobby in Ukraine is very powerful, when we look at the present government, where the president and the minister of defense are of Jewish origin. [...] If a Jewish government resembling the Mazowiecki government in Poland in 1989 is installed in neutral Ukraine [...], with the support of the Jewish lobby in America and Israel, building a second Israel in Ukraine would be very real’.* Both interlocutors freely developed their conspiracy theories: *‘Could **Putin** consciously participate in this project?’* (Rozycki), *‘It is very possible that such a neutral Ukraine, but ruled by a strong Jewish lobby, Judeo-Ukraine, could be used by Putin for further purposes’* (Miszalski), *‘Putin is pleased that such a number of refugees are flowing into Poland. [...] These hostilities in the East are exceptionally delicate, although we are dazzled by these photos and explosions. [...] The depopulation of eastern Ukraine is favourable for Putin, the Jews and perhaps the West’* (Rozycki). Within a week, this broadcast gained over 100,000 views on YouTube.

**WARSAW.** On 15 April, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a video interview with **Stanisław Michalkiewicz**, a columnist for the extreme-right weekly magazine *‘Najwyższy Czas!’* (*‘High Time!’*) and a former collaborator of **Radio Maryja** (a Catholic-nationalist radio station with a long record of antisemitic statements). During the broadcast, he disseminated an antisemitic conspiracy theory: *‘[...] Poland is ruled on a rotational basis by three parties: Russian, Prussian and American-Jewish. And [...] [the ruling party] is a branch of the American-Jewish party’.* Moreover, in the further course of the conversation, Michalkiewicz questioned the Russian war crimes committed in Ukraine. He concluded: *‘For example, this situation in Bucha: the Russians say that it was the Ukrainians who shot there those Ukrainians who collaborated with the Russians, and the Ukrainians say that it was the Russians who murdered them, and so on. How it was in reality, I don’t know. [...] Since it was possible to send the International Red Cross commission to Katyn, why could it not be sent to Bucha? It’s just that nobody wants it. And if nobody wants it, it means that they have something to hide’.*

**WARSAW.** On 16 April, the YouTube channel **Media Narodowe (National Media)** broadcast a conversation with the former leader of the **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp)** – **Przemysław Holocher** about the book *‘Meet the Jew’* by **Teodor Jeske-Choinski**, which was reissued by the far-right publishing house **Magna Polonia**. This author was one of the leading proponents of antisemitic ideology in the first half of the 20th century. During the interview, Holocher replicated, with appreciation, the antisemitic claims and conspiracy theories contained in Jeske-Choinski’s publication. He stated: *‘The Jews are able to accuse us Christians of great hatred towards them, of so-called antisemitism, while those Jews*

who refer to the Talmud and to this culture of the chosen ones are themselves stuck in great darkness, in great hatred and viciousness towards so-called strangers'. Disregarding the almost grotesque overtones of Jeske-Choinski's antisemitic prejudices in modern times, Holocher added, 'The Jews have always, every time they have grown in power, arranged conspiracies in an attempt to destroy their recent benefactors. We Poles have felt this too'. Referring to August Hlond (1881-1948, a Polish cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church), he stated, 'The Jewish problem will exist as long as the Jews are the Jews. Meaning – until they reject the Talmudic culture, the culture of hatred towards other nations, the culture of hatred towards infidels and the superstition of the chosen ones, which pushes them to freeze in their Talmudic shell'. Finally, Holocher stated, 'We must [...] stop tolerating the vapid attacks against us and the awful, nasty racism of some Jews, from the Talmudic circles which are against us, against Christians, and also against other people. [...] The movements of extreme antisemitism would stop if the Jews looked within themselves and began to change'. The talk was moderated by **Brunon Rozycki**, who interjected that it is important to show 'what a powerful political influence [the Jews] have in foreign countries'.

**WARSAW.** On 18 April, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Tadeusz Matuszyk** (in the 1980s an anti-communist oppositionist, a member of the Mazovia Region Management of NSZZ Solidarity, a representative of a nationalist faction) repeated antisemitic conspiracy theories. He stated: '*[The Jews] As under the Treaty of Versailles, the same later in Yalta and everywhere, they acted, act and will act against the interests of the nation, the Polish state*'. He also raised a constant antisemitic theme about the alleged 'ingratitude of the Jews', of the Holocaust survivors: '*We helped the Jews and please see what gratitude of the Jews is. There is no gratitude in the Talmud. We, the goyim, are like animals which are supposed to work for them*'. Moreover, in the next part of the broadcast Matuszczyk spoke contemptuously about LGBT people, elaborating on further conspiracy theories: '*The family is broken up by these various feminist movements, by these various fags, the whole shit has poured out of the tank. [...] Sodom was punished for all of this! Sodom and Gomorrah! And it is happening right now. The Sodomites are out! After all, they have been silent for two thousand years! This is as a tool. After all, they don't really count*'.

**WARSAW.** On 25 April, the YouTube channel **Media Narodowe (National Media)** carried a conversation with **Przemyslaw Holocher** (a boss of the **Magna Polonia** foundation and former leader of the **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny – National-Radical Camp**) and **Radoslaw Patlewicz** (author of books which duplicated messages about ritual murders allegedly perpetrated by the Jews). This conversation pertained to the reprint of the book '**Meet the Jew**' by **Teodor Jeske-Choinski**, one of the leading ideologues of antisemitism in the first half of the 20th century. This item was printed by the Magna Polonia publishing house, belonging to Holocher's foundation and the introduction, affirming the substance of the book, was written by Patlewicz. The conversation took place in response to an article published on that same day in the 'Rzeczpospolita' daily, which was written in cooperation with the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association and was critical of the re-edition of the antisemitic tract by Jeske-Choinski lacking a critical commentary, as well as describing in broader terms the xenophobic substance propagated by the Media Narodowe channel. In this programme, Holocher delivered a tirade in which he made scornful remarks about 'NEVER AGAIN' and supported with zeal the thoughts presented in the book '**Meet the Jew**'. He stated that Jeske-Choinski, who called the Jews a '*parasite tribe*', '*justifies, why he thinks that way and the strength of his arguments is simply overwhelming*'. Holocher

also added: *‘It’s not antisemitism that is the problem of this book but all that is described in it, in other words the mad hatred that Talmudic Jews feel to the rest of the world, to goys [gentiles – translator’s note] and to believers in other religions’*. In his turn, Patlewicz accused the Jews, saying that antisemitic pogroms were... their own fault and he threatened acts of violence: *‘The Jews almost expressly demand a de facto liquidation of Christianity, so what attitude should Christians feel toward the Jews [...]? It can be said that the Jews are in some ways looking for trouble coming to them, that somebody could harm them’*. In a further part of this programme, the anchor **Jan Bodakowski** made false, derogatory statements about the activity of the ‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association (among other, he made scornful remarks about documentation of antisemitism in the ‘Brown Book’ carried out by the association). He was seconded by Holocher, who said that ‘NEVER AGAIN’ *‘is such an extreme lefty structure which in any normal country should be counted among terrorist structures’*.

**WARSAW**. On 9 June, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube published an interview with **Kacper Kita**, a commentator from the **Nowy Lad (New Order)** portal, concerning the Russian war against Ukraine and the situation of refugees. Kita made bizarre comments denying the Ukrainians staying in Poland the right to maintain their own national identity (such a right is guaranteed by the Constitution of the Republic of Poland). He stated: *‘If someone wants to stay here permanently and settle down, they should be polonized. Before anyone gets citizenship, they should adopt Polish culture, Polish language, Polish identity, these are necessary for citizenship. [...] If someone has Polish citizenship, he should be a Pole’*. He repeated his words later on: *‘You have to make it clear to all these people wanting to live here permanently that they should become polonized’*. In addition, Kita baldly supported an ideological postulate common to fascist circles: *‘Poland is to be a country of Poles and we do not want any multi-culti here’*.

**WARSAW**. On 12 June, **Michal Murgrabia** presented a broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube with the participation of **Przemyslaw Holocher** (the former leader of the **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny – National Radical Camp** and the current head of the far-right **Magna Polonia** foundation), and **Marcin Kowalski** (head of the far-right **Mlodziem Wszepolska – All-Polish Youth** organisation). During the broadcast, all three made homophobic comments. Holocher repeatedly used abusive expressions when talking about LGBT people: *‘pervert communities, generally speaking sodomite circles’*. Kowalski lamented that the protests against the Equality Marches (LGBTQ+ Pride parades in Poland) had weakened: *‘[In Sanok city] when the first Equality March took place, the football fans were active. [...] But we rarely see this level of activity now, especially in those big cities where the parades have become commonplace. In Gniezno, there used to be quite a loud Equality March – loud due to the counterattack, in which the local football fans and of Lech Poznan FC actively participated. From our perspective, we have to do our thing and that’s it’*. ‘Our thing’ referred to the action on 13 April 2019, when the supporters of the Mlodziem Wszepolska and hooligans tried to block the participants of the Equality March from reaching the Market Square, threw bottles and eggs at them, shouted insults and displayed banners with slogans such as *‘Fags f\*ck off’*. Thus, in his broadcast statement, Kowalski supported aggressive, often violent, protests against the Equality Marches. Holocher approved of his words: *‘You have to physically resist their [LGBT] attacks because they are aggressive. And we can’t afford that, and we can’t let ourselves be reduced to such a level that we just stand there with our arms folded’*. Michal Murgrabia remarks were in a

similar tone: *‘These [rainbow] flags are also often hung on balconies. I wonder what these people think then, do they want to be perceived as: «Attention! Perverts live here, stay away from us» or an invitation: step in... get something’.*

**WARSAW.** On 23 June, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel a broadcast was released, the very title of which propagated the conspiracy theory: ‘Is this the END of Israel’s lies? «They want to have their POLIN here»’. This was a quote from a comment by a far-right activist, **Wojciech Sumlinski**, who while visiting the studio, once again conceived a vision about the alleged pursuit of Jews to create the Polin state in the place of Poland after they seize it. Moreover, Sumlinski, co-author of the books from the series *‘Return to Jedwabne’*, again spoke about the 1941 pogrom in a distorted manner and derogatory to the memory of the victims: *‘On July 10 [1941], the Germans committed a crime against the Jews, which the Jews attribute to Poles in exchange for dirty money’*. In this context, he also uttered insulting words about the former President of Poland, Aleksander Kwasniewski: *‘A man of Jewish origin, the President of Poland, apologises to other Jews for a German crime on behalf of Poles’*. Sumlinski’s accusations combined traditional antisemitic threads with cinematography: *‘The Jews have the whole power, [...] they have influence, they have Hollywood, which creates the Jews and destroys Poles’*.

**WARSAW.** On 8 July, two days before the anniversary of the murder of the Jews in Jedwabne, an interview with **Robert Bakiewicz**, leader of the **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)** and editor-in-chief of the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, was published on YouTube. During the conversation, Bakiewicz questioned the Poles’ responsibility for this crime, referring to antisemitic conspiracy theories. He stated: *‘It is clear that it was simply a German murder, and the Jews, collaborating with submissive Poles in our country, use this element as an element of propaganda. This cannot be accepted’*. He encouraged viewers: *‘Lies about Jedwabne have to be straightened out. I am fully convinced that on the basis of the evidence that we already have today, it can be clearly stated that the murder was not committed by the Poles. [...] What the Jewish community or Israel says about this issue confirms our belief that it is simply acting for the benefit of currently building the myth of this criminal behaviour of Poles, but also developing this entire religion of the Holocaust’*. He also accused the Jews of political manipulation of the memory of the Holocaust: *‘Today, the Jews are simply in one line with Germany, this historical policy of Germany, Israel and Jewish communities around the world is consistent’* (which, according to Bakiewicz, would lead to accusing Poles of murdering the Jews). The editor-in-chief of the Media Narodowe channel reiterated that the issue of the Jedwabne pogrom was *‘cynically used [...] by the Jews as a lie’*. He also added: *‘Jedwabne is only a certain symbol that is used by Israel or certain Jewish groups to beat Poles on the heads with this historical lie. But here it is necessary to simply reject this lie’*. In addition, during the broadcast, fragments of materials recorded by Bakiewicz during the celebration of the anniversary of the crime in Jedwabne were broadcast (the year was not specified). With his *‘questions about the truth’* (thus undermining what actually happened during the pogrom), he disturbed the participants attending the commemoration event. When recalling this situation in the Warsaw studio, he made a dehumanising comment on people who did not agree with the content he propagated: *‘This reluctance, even animal-like reluctance, it must be said that it was very visible’*.

**WARSAW.** On 8 July, two days before the anniversary of the anti-Jewish pogrom in Jedwabne, live interviews were broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, during which the historical truth about the murder was denied. One of the interlocutors was a far-right commentator **Wojciech Sumlinski**, who stated that *'this is a German crime'* and, referring to his film *'Return to Jedwabne'* (the promotion literature about this 'achievement' carried the motto: *'Jewish partition of Poland'*), added that *'the Jews call it a Polish crime in exchange for dirty money, power and the vision of Polin. This tribute is to be so great that we can never pay it back. As Jerzy Kwasniewski says in our film [head of the Ordo Iuris Institute for Legal Culture – a far-right organisation – translator's note] this is about some territorial transformations in the future'*. Thus, Sumlinski once again repeated the conspiracy theory, according to which the Jews strive to take over the Polish state and create in its place the Polin state (the word from Hebrew means 'Poland'). In the further course of the conversation, he presented a falsified vision of past events, according to which the *'terrible Soviet-Jewish occupation'* was to be fortunately stopped – thanks to the Nazis: *'If it had not been for the Germans on 22 June 1941, as the mayor of Jedwabne says [...], we would not have been here today, we wouldn't have been talking'*. The same broadcast also featured an interview with prof. **Jerzy Robert Nowak**, author of books with antisemitic content. When asked by **Michal Jelonek** about who was responsible for the murder in Jedwabne, Nowak – contrary to what actually happened – said: *'Of course, units of the German SS are responsible'*, thus absolving the Polish perpetrators of responsibility for the pogrom.

**WARSAW.** On 10 July, on the anniversary of the pogrom in Jedwabne, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a broadcast promoting conspiracy theories entitled 'Why Russia attacked under the sign of Z'? **Jan Bodakowski's** guest was **Radoslaw Patlewicz**, author of the book *'Mord rytualny w Rzeszowie? Sledztwo historyczne'* (*'Ritual murder in Rzeszow? A historical investigation'*); the **3dom** publishing house announced its content as follows: *'In this case, the possibility of committing a ritual murder cannot be rejected just because such an assumption does not correspond to the spreading slogans of political correctness'*. Bodakowski started the conversation with a bizarre observation about the symbol of the Russian invasion, the letter Z, noting that this letter *'does not appear in the Russian alphabet [...], but it is very similar to a letter that in Hebrew and in Kabbalah means war'*. He developed the conspiratorial insinuations about the alleged ties between the Jews and the aggression against Ukraine as follows: *'And it would also suit the theory that the Kabbalistic symbol of the war was visible on Russian tanks, the more so knowing Vladimir Putin's very close relations with Jewish communities or his ties to Chabad-Lubawicz [the largest Hasidic group in the world – translator's note]'*.

Later in the broadcast, both interviewees spoke about refugees arriving in Poland, while referring to xenophobia and racist criteria. Patlewicz differentiated the *'invaders arriving from Belarus, coming by air from Iraq, African countries and so on and so on'* and Ukrainian refugees. Bodakowski echoed his words, emphasising that from Ukraine come *'young women', who '[...] are not so culturally alien to us and are also not alien to us in racial terms'*. He further stated: *'This is not the Islamic immigration that is reaching Western Europe, which is made up of young men of draft age, often with a criminal or terrorist past, who do not want to work, want to parasitize and bring their culture here'*.

**WARSAW.** On 21 July, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a broadcast titled ‘What are the JEWS really hiding?’, starring **Przemyslaw Holocher**, former leader of the far-right **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp)** and head of the foundation **Magna Polonia**. During the broadcast hosted by **Michal Murgrabia**, there was a promotion of an antisemitic book by **Mateusz Jez**, *‘Jewish Secrets’*, re-released by the Magna Polonia publishing house. In this publication, the author argued, inter alia, that the Jews allegedly have been committing ritual murders from the Middle Ages to the present day.

During the conversation, Holocher repeated the statements contained in the book by Jez: *‘We want to build a certain coherent vision of the world and, above all, stigmatise, stigmatise, stigmatise this hatred from some, especially Talmudic, Jewish environments, because if someone relies on a book full of hate, something like that should be stigmatised as much as possible’*. He also described the Talmud as *‘teachings full of hatred towards other nations’*.

Moreover, on the cover of the re-released book of Jez there was the so-called happy merchant, i.e. stereotypical drawing of a Jew rubbing hands with satisfaction. This antisemitic graphic, disseminated in the form of memes, is considered a symbol of hatred by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), the American Jewish organisation. During the conversation, Holocher sneeringly referred to the theme used on the cover: *‘This is modelled on such a meme, perhaps the most famous one, as the ADL writes, that is, this organisation is allegedly fighting antisemitism, on this «happy merchant» meme. [...] This is, as I say, the ADL writes, the most widespread allegedly antisemitic meme. Father Jez wrote that the Jews do not like jokes about themselves, [and] laughter is good for health’*.

**WARSAW.** On 6 August, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** YouTube channel released a conversation with its editor-in-chief **Robert Bakiewicz** in which he suggested that the Jews are manipulating the remembrance of the Holocaust for their own political and financial ends. He stated: *‘As an example, there are these Jews who exploit it [political history – translator’s note] to the limits of possibility, sometimes bending historical facts, building a certain cult around it, one could say a religion, as the Jews themselves sometimes call it, those who are not favourably disposed to this type of behaviour. They often extort money from countries through this system of historical propaganda’*.

**WARSAW.** On 18 August, an interview with **Wojciech Sumlinski**, co-author of the book and film *‘Return to Jedwabne’*, in which the historical truth concerning the 1941 Jedwabne pogrom is denied, appeared on the YouTube channel the **Media Narodowe (National Media)**. In a conversation with the presenter **Michal Jelonek**, Sumlinski repeated conspiracy theories about the alleged pursuit of the Jews to take over Poland. He talked or rather babbled at length saying, inter alia: *‘The Jews are playing their game. They invested billions of dollars in the lie about Polish Nazism in order to get hundreds of billions of dollars and build a Polin here [‘Polin’ is a Hebrew word for Poland – translator’s note]. [...] When our external situation is so difficult that we will have to recognize that these Jewish claims, pulled out of a hat, are the lesser evil, that will be the moment for their decisive attack. [...] The situation in the east is uncertain, the German Fourth Reich is in the west and on top of this the Jews are constructing Polin here. This is a very serious threat, a deadly threat I would say, because it comes both from the outside and the inside’*. Later on in the broadcast, Sumlinski argued: *‘We have a lot of the Jews, who wear the badge «Polish patriot» but in fact, when they decide that the time is right, will attack Poland to fight for Jewish interests’*. This material appeared on the National Media channel with a heading: ‘URGENT!

Sumlinski ROARS: BILLIONS of dollars spent to build POLIN here' and it had over 56,000 views over 48 hours.

**WARSAW.** On 1 September, an interview with **Robert Bakiewicz**, leader of the **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)**, was broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube. It concerned the issue of German reparations for World War II. During the interview, Bakiewicz accused the Jews of exploiting the memory of the Holocaust for financial purposes: *'How effective in this regard the policy pursued by Israel and Jewish organisations in the world: they have absolutely no legal basis [...], by carrying out such systematic, lasting historical propaganda, have already obtained enormous compensation from various countries, although they had no rights or grounds for that'*. In this context, Bakiewicz repeated the conspiracy theory about the alleged erasure by both the Jews and Germans – for political purposes – of the truth about the Holocaust: *'Why are the Jews so good at these issues? [...] They also agreed with the Germans on this issue that the responsibility for Germany would be transferred to other states, onto other nations'*.

**WARSAW.** On 2 September, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Tomasz Stala**, the owner of the **3dom** publishing house from Czestochowa, known for publishing books with antisemitic content, appeared in a t-shirt which said: *'We do not want the Jews, homosexuals, abortion, taxes, the European Union'*. He also displayed a mug with such a slogan in front of the camera (it was a quotation from **Slawomir Mentzen**, who had proclaimed the slogan as *'the five demands of the Confederation'* as a candidate for the European Parliament in 2019. At the end of June 2022, the Municipal Police Headquarters in Czestochowa initiated an investigation into public incitement to hatred on the basis of national differences by offering t-shirts and mugs with such content for sale. On 30 August, the officers seized these items at the headquarters of the 3dom publishing house. In an interview with Jan Bodakowski, Stala referred to the offered gadgets as follows: *'It is a great marketing gimmick and somehow fits in a humorous way with the narrative presented by the 3dom publishing house'*. In this context, he also insulted the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association. He declared: *'We are at total war with this devilish spawn'* (in 2021, the 3dom publishing house sued 'NEVER AGAIN' due to the fact that in 2020, the popular e-commerce platform Allegro, after the association reported hateful content, removed several items sold by 3dom). At the end of the conversation, Stala again propagated the false accusations against the association: *'The devil's spawn «NEVER AGAIN» or some other criminal organisation, because I consider them to be such, because they act to the detriment of the Polish state and the Polish nation'*.

**WARSAW.** On 14 September, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz**, a columnist for the extreme-right weekly magazine *'Najwyższy Czas!' ('High Time!')*, who disseminated antisemitic conspiracy theories and undermined the historical truth about the Jedwabne pogrom in 1941. He stated: *'The Jewish side [...] draws a big rent from the Holocaust and the entire Jewish historical policy is subordinated to this goal. Moreover, it is coordinated with German historical policy. The effect of this coordination is, among other things, confirmation of the belief that in Jedwabne there were even no Germans, not to mention Nazis, only Polish neighbours, and so on. This is absolutely not true'*. Later in the program, Michalkiewicz recalled the constant thread of his speeches regarding the alleged omnipotent influence of the Jews on the authorities of world powers: *'[...] the*

*administration, regardless of who rules the United States, jumps, dances as the local Jewish lobby plays’.*

**WARSAW.** On 18 September the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube aired a programme titled ‘The Rev. **Jean Michel Gleize** REVEALS what JUDAISM is! «It’s one big illusion»’. The guest, introduced in this way, is a French clergyman, professor of the International Seminary of St. Pius X in Ecône in Switzerland. (Members of the Pius X fraternity, known as Lefebvrites, stemming from the name of its founder, archbishop **Marcel Lefebvre** who reject the decisions of the Second Vatican Council, reject ecumenism and interfaith dialogue). Gleize used the Media Narodowe programme to promote his book, titled ‘**Real Israel and false Judaism**’ (published in Poland in 2022). In the ensuing conversation, Gleize stated that ‘*in the eyes of the Church, their [the Jews’] existence, their persistent existence as an institution which claims the right to be a figure of something which had already happened while they state that is still to happen, is problematic. [...] the continued existence of such an institution which keeps on wanting to be a figure, constitutes an offence to God. An offence of the theological nature, in other words, blasphemy*’. According to the priest, ‘*Judaism is the secret of the essential fundamental anti-Christian movement*’ and should ‘*disappear, blending into the Church*’. Such words have an unequivocal antisemitic overtone, all the more so because Gleize used the concepts ‘Judaism’, ‘chosen nation’ and ‘nation’ (meaning Jewish) interchangeably as one, stating, for example, that ‘*this nation represents [...] infidelity towards God and this [...] bears the aspect of blasphemy*’.

**WARSAW.** On 21 September, in a broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, a guest of the host **Michal Jelonek** was **Dominik Cwikla** from the **Kontrrewolucja.net** portal. In an interview on the EU ‘*threatening with sanctions*’ against Hungary and Poland (due to violations of the rule of law), Cwikla made an Islamophobic comment. He stated: ‘*Only in the case of Hungarians it really started from the time before... well, years ago, this was this... after all, we called it the Islamic invasion of Europe, and from that moment Hungary is in the crosshair*’. Cwikla probably referred to the humanitarian crisis which intensified in mid-2015, when refugees from the war-torn countries of the Middle East and North Africa (especially Syria and Eritrea) tried to enter Europe.

**WARSAW.** On 6 October, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Jan Bodakowski** repeated false comments about refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border. He presented these people as a threat, describing them as ‘*Islamic immigrants who want to introduce Shariah laws and destabilise the situation in our country*’. He repeated these words later on in a broadcast, when talking about ‘*how harmful Islamic immigration is, how we cannot allow Islamic immigrants to come to Poland, [...] they want to bring in Islam and Shariah. In their own country they took away women’s rights and gave them the status of farm animals and they want to do the same in our country*’. The next day Jan Bodakowski made similar Islamophobic comments. Among other things, he argued that ‘*immigrant gangs [...] murder people and sow terror in peaceful Sweden*’.

**WARSAW.** On 10 October, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube appeared a video with **Wojciech Sumlinski**, the director of the film ‘**Return to Jedwabne**’ as the invited guest. In the programme Sumlinski repeatedly referred to the myth of ‘*Judeo-communism*’. He used this expression many times when speaking on the main theme of the

programme – the death of Jerzy Urban (1933-2022, a commentator and politician, from 1981 to 1989 he was the Press Secretary of the Communist government under the Polish People's Republic): *'He was the worst example of Judeo-communism. [...] He was a Jew who hated Poland'* and *'The most hypocritical, the most mean, evil face of Judeo-communism is no one but Jerzy Urban'*. Hurling these same invectives, he went on to speak about prof. Jan Hartman (a philosopher and journalist known as having a left-wing views), as well as about Adam Michnik (a former dissident, public intellectual, the editor-in-chief of the *'Gazeta Wyborcza'* liberal daily): *'To me this Jew Hartman, a mean, deceitful Jew [...] those Michniks, this whole Judeo-communism society is none other than a group which protects their own kin'*. In his tirade, he also mentioned *'the Jews from «Wyborcza»'* (the extremist right movement has been using antisemitic hate rhetoric for many years against the editorial staff of *'Gazeta Wyborcza'*).

**WARSAW.** On 12 November, the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** website published an article by **Jan Bodakowski** (editor of Media Narodowe YouTube channel), with comments mocking racist incidents during the 1/8 Polish Cup football match between Sandecja Nowy Sacz and **Slask Wroclaw**. Bodakowski claimed that the behaviour of Slask fans against the Sandecja footballer Maissa El Hadji Fall from Senegal was in no way offensive. In a text entitled *'Have You Lost? Turn yourself into a victim of racism and the result will be reversed. A patent from Polish stadiums'*, he wrote: *'In the event of losing the game, why not turn yourself into a victim of racism to change the result. [...] But what if you are a white player? Then you most probably need to say that you are in fact a trans-Africo-Pole who may look white but deep down feels he is a Senegalese immigrant'*.

On 9 November, during the match between Sandecja Nowy Sacz and Slask Wroclaw, there were racist incidents involving football hooligans of the visiting team. The match ended in a draw and the result was to be decided by penalty kicks. When it was the turn of Sandecja's footballer, Maissa El Hadji Fall, the fans of Slask seated behind the goal imitated the sounds of monkeys. Before the penalty kick was taken, the player drew the attention of the referee **Sebastian Jarzebak** to their offensive behaviour, but the referee did not react. In protest, Fall left the field, and with him, in a gesture of solidarity, his teammates resigned from further play and also left the field.

On 10 November, the board of Sandecja issued a statement: *'In the absence of a reaction from the referee, our players made the only right decision [to leave the field – translator's note]. The board of the club, regardless of the consequences, stands in solidarity with this attitude! Sport means fair competition, rivalry and moral principles. We do not agree to any kind of terrorism against a participant in the competition. He is part of our team and insulting him means insulting the club and its supporters. Sport is supposed to unite, not divide! Racism and corruption are phenomena that are destroying football. [...] We appeal to the Disciplinary Committee of the Polish Football Association for a decisive reaction!'*

On 17 November, the Disciplinary Committee of the Polish Football Association decided to punish the Sandecja club for leaving the field and settled the match as a forfeit in favour of Slask. Additionally the Committee imposed a fine of PLN 190 000 on the club from Wroclaw for the racist behaviour of their fans. The fans were prohibited from following their club in the Polish Cup matches for 6 months.

**WARSAW.** On 13 October, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Jan Bodakowski** promoted a conspiracy theory depicting refugees on the border of Belarus as

terrorists, referring to *'the operation of transferring Islamic immigrants, often terrorists and criminals, across the Polish-Belarusian border'*. Then, he commented in an antisemitic way about the alleged attacks on John Paul II: *'Today this hatred of John Paul II, defilement of him, is just an element. [...] We are dealing with a constant campaign of defamation of the Catholic Church. This campaign is carried out by anti-clerical, masonic, left-wing, pseudo-liberal and post-communist centres, supported by Jewish circles – international financiers that put a lot of money into this'*.

**WARSAW.** On 13 October, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Tadeusz Matuszyk** (in the 1980s an activist of the so-called 'true Poles' faction in the Solidarity movement) repeatedly recalled the myth of 'Judeo-communism', according to which the Jews are carriers of hostile, subversive ideology and strive to rule the world. Commenting on Jerzy Urban's funeral (1933-2022, a commentator and politician, from 1981 to 1989 he was the Press Secretary of the Communist government under the Polish People's Republic), Matuszyk said: *'The entire Judeo-communism was shown there. The Judeo-communism live forever and they harm Poland and Poles'*. He continued: *'For over a thousand years, the majority of the Jews have been, are and will be mortal enemies of the Polish nation and state. [...] They squeeze in everywhere. This fifth Judeo-communism column is everywhere. They broke up the Solidarity, whatever Polish we did, there will always be an agent there, there will be this fifth column of the Judeo-communism and they will hurt us'*. Throwing further accusations, he finally declared that 'Judeo-communism' as *'the worst evil' – 'that destroyed and destroy Poland'*. Matuszyk developed his conspiratorial vision later in the broadcast, talking about the alleged influence of the Jews on the political situation on a global scale: *'They [the Jews] are everywhere. [...] They have structures all over the world. [...] In Brazil, New York, Australia. They are very well organised. This evil is very well organised'*.

**WARSAW.** On 26 October, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Jan Bodakowski** recommended a transphobic article entitled 'Imposed depravity' published in the far-right daily **'Nasz Dziennik' ('Our Daily')** (No. 249), that commented on the US State Department's support for the LGBTQI+ community in Ecuador. Bodakowski approvingly quoted absurd excerpts from this text: *'Joe Biden's regime in the United States is wasting American taxpayers' money on the moral corruption of Ecuadorians. [...] Men dressed in licentious clothes, pretending to be women, are going to be promoting gender diversity among Ecuadorians. [...] This pathological gender narrative is used to familiarise the youngest with degenerate or deviant behaviour so that such deviations are perceived as normal'*. The host also added from himself: *'What is called a sex change is nothing but a gross mutilation of people, cutting off their penises, cutting out their wombs, giving children hormones so that they cannot develop, and crippling them for life'*.

**WARSAW.** On 28 October in a programme bearing the title '[...] Friday of Rainbow pathology', aired by the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, the host **Jan Bodakowski** voiced a number of contemptuous homophobic and transphobic statements, among these: *'Are persons who have delusions that they are women while they possess penises to be recognised as women?'* Speaking on the subject of the Rainbow Friday initiative (this is an action to promote support for the LGBT community, organised in Polish schools) Bodakowski commented: *'Children will be demoralised and taught stupidities by so-called sex educators who try to*

*persuade them that homosexual relations are something safe for their health and normal. And normal they are but normal in the same sense as influenza or some other diseases’.*

**WARSAW.** On 4 November the YouTube channel **Media Narodowe (National Media)**, the anchor **Jan Bodakowski** condemned the basic tenets of ecumenism which promote dialogue and understanding among representatives of different faiths (the decree about ecumenism was accepted by the Second Vatican Council, in session from 1962 to 1965. This Council is recognised as the most important event in the history of Catholicism in the 20th century. It brought dialogue with other religions and faiths). Discussing the article by Franciszek Kucharczak published in the ‘*Gosc Niedzielny*’ (‘*Your Sunday Guest*’) Catholic weekly (No. 44/2022), which pertained to joint prayers by representatives of different faiths, Bodakowski expressed regrets that *‘unfortunately, the author is a very post-Council person, so he defends this kind of practice which is pathological. In no situation should we pray with people of other religions, because their prayer is blasphemous’*. He moreover criticised the publication in this same weekly of an interview with the Director of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C., stating that it is such a *‘next symptom of philo-Semitism in Catholic newspapers, quite different to what was typical before World War II. For that reason, pre-war Catholic newspapers, to be very candid, appeal to me much more, because not only were they in the pre-Council tone [the Second Vatican Council freed the Jews from collective responsibility for Christ’s death – translator’s note] and traditionally Catholic, they also represented the correct approach to Polish-Jewish relations [the interwar Catholic press regarded the Jews as enemies of Poland and of the Church – translator’s note]’*.

**WARSAW.** On 10 November, on the day preceding the so-called Independence March, far-right manifestation organised by the **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)** led by **Robert Bakiewicz**, the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel owned by him carried a conversation with **Przemyslaw Holocher** (former leader of the far-right **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny – National-Radical Camp**), on the subject of reprinting by his publishing house **Magna Polonia** of the book *‘Jews and Cahals’* by **Iakov Aleksandrovich Brafman** (the first edition appeared in the second half of the 19th century). This author is regarded as the creator of modern antisemitism in Russia which manifested itself by a wave of pogroms against the Jews. The introduction to this book was written by another ideologue of antisemitism, **Teodor Jeske-Choinski** who stated: *‘The Jew has been and is to this day a staunch enemy of the Cross, Christianity and its believers. And knowledge of the enemy, his strength and means, is half of the victory’*. In the course of the conversation, Holocher expressed support for the contents of the book by Brafman: *‘Earlier people thought that this Jewish trend to such stubbornness, recognition of themselves being a chosen nation is connected only and solely with religious superstition, with fanaticism, with the Talmud, and, what also came out, there is something else, there is the Cahal [Jewish community – translator’s note], [...] which is something like the structure of the mafia. And for that reason, there is the cover, suggestive of the famous film «The Godfather», because all this connected in my mind with the mafia’* (the cover of the book printed by the Magna Polonia publishing house shows a caricature drawing of a Jew, holding a golden calf). The conversation carried on by **Michal Murgrabia**, contained many antisemitic conspiracy theories. Holocher suggested, among others, that it was the Jews who plotted to kill the Tsar Nicholas II Romanov (murdered along with the entire family by the Bolsheviks in 1918). After voicing these revelations, he encouraged listeners to get to know this book: *‘It’s worth reading it and not to allow to be told that if we reveal these*

*types of hateful behaviour, and racist practices, we are antisemites. It's those people who committed such acts, those Talmudic Jews [...] they are the ones who should explain their doings and be ashamed'.*

**WARSAW.** On 13 November, the guest of the programme aired by the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube was **Wojciech Sumlinski**, extreme right-wing propagandist, known for voicing antisemitic slogans. In the course of the conversation about the Independence Day celebrations, answering the question posed by host **Michal Jelonek**: *'Are we [Poland] really sovereign?'*, Sumlinski went off voicing conspiracy theories about alleged Jewish influence: *'We are moving from the Germano-Russian option to the American-Jewish one'* and *'We are ruled by cowardly people [who] are sold to the American-Jewish option'*. In a later part of the programme, he propagated further conspiracy theories – about the so-called Jewish claims against Poland: *'Our situation has to be made so difficult that we will be forced to pay out this multi-billion tribute which is expected of us by Israel and the Jews, Jewish organisations, and if we are unable to pay it in money we will have to pay in land and ownership transformations – so our international situation has to be so difficult that we would have to consider that as a lesser evil'*.

**WARSAW.** On 15 November, in a programme aired on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, the host **Michal Jelonek** spoke with **Robert Bakiewicz**, the leader of the **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)** and chief organiser of the so-called Independence March (huge far-right manifestation) which took place on 11 November in Warsaw. Answering a question about the *'overtone'* of the march, as reported in Israeli media, especially in a critical commentary which appeared on Twitter of one of the television channels, Bakiewicz presented a vision of conspiracy, according to which Jews were supposed to act to Poland's detriment. He said: *'Such is also the policy of Jewish organisations or, to put it more broadly, of the Jews – or even of the state of Israel – whose efforts are directed towards keeping Poland weak on the international stage'*.

**WARSAW.** On 15 November, in a programme transmitted on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, the host **Jan Bodakowski** duplicated stereotypes and conspiracy theories concerning Muslims. Commenting an article about repressions enforced in Iran against persons protesting the death of Masha Amini (an Iranian woman of Kurdish descent who was arrested by the religious guard police and died as result of beating) Bodakowski stated: *'Please bear in mind that these are the types of islamist methods by which islamists want to organise Europe for us. They want to introduce Shariah law and for that reason we must use all our efforts to ban islamist migration to our country'*.

**WARSAW.** On 1 December, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, the host **Jan Bodakowski**, discussing an article from the Catholic newspaper *'Gosc Niedzielny'* (*'Your Sunday Guest'*), compared migrants coming to Poland to animals: *'Such immigration is very harmful, just as the immigration of Islamic immigrants is harmful. They are like animals that come to our country and often destroy our native animals'*. Bodakowski also made offensive and false statements about migrants coming to Poland on the Media Narodowe channel on 2 December. His comment was: *'How does «Gazeta Wyborcza» [liberal daily – translator's note] want to fight the migration crisis in Poland? They want to invite immigrants, probably Islamists,*

*Negroes and Asians, who will establish Shariah in Poland*'. Likewise, in a press review on 12 December about refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border, Bodakowski stated: *'[...] strangely enough, these circles based around «Gazeta Wyborcza» do not mind letting them in, supporting the admission of Islamic immigrants to Poland. They like raving about Islam being a religion of peace. It is not. [...] here in Europe, in Poland, we want to live normally, without Islamic immigrants installing Shariah law for us*'.

**WARSAW.** On 2 December, historian and academic teacher **Dr. Stanislaw Krajski**, in an interview conducted by **Jan Bodakowski** on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, disseminated one of the most bizarre antisemitic conspiracy theories, according to which Jews from Israel plan to settle in parts of Ukraine (propagators of this vision often use the term *'Heavenly Jerusalem'*). According to this theory, the Jews are to blame for the outbreak of the war. Krajski reasoned: *'Of course, it [the war in Ukraine – translator's note] favours them [the Jews], because huge numbers of Ukrainians from eastern Ukraine are now coming to Poland. Our authorities behave strangely, as if they wanted these Ukrainians to stay here forever. And now, it is possible to implement the idea that from those areas that the Jews want to occupy, the Ukrainians will be transferred there after the war in Eastern Ukraine, which will be undergoing rebuilding, because there will be a shortage of people there [...], while the centre of Ukraine will be depopulated and the Jews will be able to settle there*'. Krajski is the author of a number of books, including a recent book entitled **'Polish Freemasonry 2020'** (**Publishing House of st. Thomas Aquinas**), in which he presented a conspiratorial vision of history filled with antisemitism.

**WARSAW.** On 2 December, in a broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, the host **Oliver Pochwat** and his interlocutor **Dr. Wojciech Golonka** (columnist for the far-right weekly **'Do Rzeczy'** and president of the **Andegavenum Institute of European Heritage**) made comments expressing hostility towards Muslims. The starting point for the conversation was Golonka's article entitled *'Chronicle of How France Went Wild'* (*'Do Rzeczy'*, No. 48/2022), in which he described crime in that country in a rather hysterical way, linking it primarily with immigration: *'Wildness is becoming a permanent phenomenon, mass immigration adds fuel to the fire, reforms seem more cosmetic than institutional, overly vocal critics are «fascists», «racists» and «...phobes» and «...ists» of any kind, whilst the police fight to restore the rule of law and have to beg the military for protection*'. In the same vein, he asked at the end of the text: *'What level will crime and savagery reach before some strong factor restores order? Will the French state as we know it (a nuclear state!) be eventually maintained, or will there be a «Lebanonization» of the country?*

Golonka repeated the content of his article in the broadcast on Media Narodowe. He also made a false and insulting statement towards Muslims: *'One must remember that it is natural for Islam to divide the world into the world of Islam and the world to be conquered by Islam*'. This was echoed by the host Oliver Pochwat who stated that France *'appears to be a country of culture, art, perfume, literature, music, but under this cloak there is violence, rape, robbery, immigrants, political correctness, also the degeneration of the entire nation and destruction of Christianity*'. He also falsely stated: *'If we look at the statistics of what is happening in France, it's all done by people who come from the Maghreb countries [Muslim countries of north-west Africa – translator's note]*'.

**WARSAW.** On 15 December, **Jan Bodakowski**, editor of the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, posted a recording in which he paid tribute to **Eligiusz Niewiadomski** – the murderer of the first president of Poland, Gabriel Narutowicz. He recorded his account at the crime scene, in the Zacheta National Gallery of Art, where Niewiadomski shot President Narutowicz on 16 December, 1922. The recording was published by Bodakowski on the eve of the 100th anniversary of the murder. This is how he praised the assassin: *‘A fiercely patriotic Pole [...], Eligiusz Niewiadomski, the author of a wonderful work on the history of art, performed an extraordinary artistic act killing Gabriel Narutowicz, a President elected by the votes of socialists and national minorities’*. In the further part of this recording, Bodakowski referred to conspiracy theories about this murder blaming Jozef Pilsudski (Polish statesman who served as the Chief of State in 1918–1922 and First Marshal of Poland, from 1920) for it: *‘We do not know, we will never find out whether it was his [Niewiadomski’s] conscious act, or if it was a provocation on the part of the Sanacja movement [political circle of Jozef Pilsudski after 1926, thus Bodakowski made a clear mistake – translator’s note], because Jozef Pilsudski was very keen to discredit nationalist circles and attribute this assassination to them’*. At the end of his argument, Bodakowski once again assured his audience: *‘The killer of President Narutowicz, Eligiusz Niewiadomski, was an ardent Polish patriot, a man of great culture’*. The video published by him had the title: *‘100th anniversary of the assassination attempt on Narutowicz by the outstanding artist Eligiusz Niewiadomski’*. Bodakowski posted the same material on Twitter.

Bodakowski also praised Niewiadomski in the article entitled *‘New facts about the assassination of Narutowicz. Was Niewiadomski a victim of provocation?’*, which was released on 21 December, 2021 on the Media Narodowe portal. This is how he described the assassin: *‘An outstanding Polish painter and art historian, a great Polish patriot, academic lecturer, Eligiusz Niewiadomski, sacrificed his life on the altar of his homeland, killing the freemason Gabriel Narutowicz, a president elected by the votes of the Jews and socialists’*. He further stated: *‘Niewiadomski saw a threat in the activities of: socialists, the Jews (who degenerated socialism), freemasons and demoralised mobs who were imposing their will on Poles and Poland thanks to the pathologies of democracy. Niewiadomski was characterised by fierce patriotism’*. Bodakowski also noted another benefit from the murder of Narutowicz: *‘Following the posthumous mass cult of Eligiusz Niewiadomski as a martyr in the national cause Jozef Pilsudski became disenchanted with Poles. Shocked by their attitude, Pilsudski withdrew from public life for three and a half years and it cannot be denied that this was Niewiadomski’s posthumous success’*.

**WARSAW.** On 19 December, on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube, **Jan Bodakowski**, discussing the topic of help provided to the Jews by Poles during World War II, used antisemitic generalisations offensive to the victims of the Holocaust. Falsifying the historical truth, he stated: *‘Some of the Jews who escaped from the ghetto were provocateurs and Gestapo agents who escaped only in order to discover the smuggling routes and betray the Poles. Also, unfortunately, Jewish fugitives caught by the Germans had this habit of very willingly revealing who had been helping them; they believed that if they were to die, then the whole world should also die’*. During the broadcast, he repeated his xenophobic convictions about migrants coming to Poland: *‘I would like to remind you that it is enough to look at what is happening in the Islamic countries [...]. These immigrants are not refugees from there, they are people who come here to destroy our Western civilization and implement Shariah’*.

**WARSAW.** On 29 December, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, **Krzysztof Kasprzak**, member of the board of the **Fundacja Zycie i Rodzina Kai Godek (Life and Family Foundation)**, a pseudo pro-life organisation modelled on the far-right organisations in Russia and other countries; Kaja Godek – a candidate in the European Parliament elections in 2019 from the list of far-right **Konfederacja – Confederation** party), made homophobic and transphobic comments. He stated: *‘If someone does not fall into the hands of abortionists, then they have a chance to fall into the hands of LGBT paedophiles – after all, it is not said that these environments rape children on a massive scale, that they are a spreader of pedophilia pathology. If someone manages to avoid LGBT paedophiles, they can always be treated with the so-called transition and mutilated’.*

#### **YEAR 2023:**

**WARSAW.** On 3 January, host **Jan Bodakowski** on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel mocked the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah (commemorating the victorious revolt of the Maccabees and the rededication of the Jerusalem Temple in 165 BCE). He presented a bizarre argument, maintained in an antisemitic tone, and at the same time contemptuous of LGBT people. Namely, Bodakowski stated as follows: *‘The Hanukkah holiday, recently celebrated by Judaists, is a homophobic holiday, because they worship the Jews [their ancestors – translator’s note], who overthrew the Greek dictatorship, which imposed, among other things, the rainbow revolution. [...] And let’s remember this when criticising everyone who burns Hanukkah candles, that this is a very nationalistic and homophobic holiday. Due to this it is very close to my heart’.*

**WARSAW.** On 4 January, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, the usual 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 the fact that I much prefer white Ukrainian women who are close to us racially and culturally; well-educated people who come from a neighbouring country, than attracting unskilled labour to Poland from Asian and African countries, which [...] people have a hostile attitude towards our cultural values’.*

**WARSAW.** On 10 January, in an interview broadcast on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, host **Jan Bodakowski** and his guest **Marek Skalski** (an extreme right-wing commentator and YouTuber) disseminated the antisemitic content contained in the myth about *‘Judeo-communism’* (a pejorative stereotype saying that most Jews collaborated with the Soviet Union in importing communism to Poland). Bodakowski stated that during World War II in the Polish Eastern Borderlands *‘[...] The Jews were mainly involved in cooperation with the Soviets, not in defending Poland’*, and *‘after World War II, the Russians decided that such a ruling class in the PRL [People’s Republic of Poland] would be people of Jewish origin’.* Referring to the antisemitic repressions 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, saying: *‘They weren’t really forced, because most of them left Poland voluntarily, they took advantage of the opportunity’.* At the end of these digressions full of historical falsifications, Bodakowski added:

*'The privileges of the Jewish community before March 1968 were very significant, but even after 1968 it was not so bad for them'.*

**WARSAW.** On 11 January, on the YouTube **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel, as an 'expert' on the affairs of the British royal family was invited **Rafal Kulicki**, the head of the marginal group named **Kolo Monarchistyczne (Monarchist Circle)** and the **Konfederacja's (Confederation** – a nationalist party) candidate in the 2019 parliamentary elections in Lublin electoral area (he received 537 votes, i.e. 0,09 percentage of support). 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': *'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 damned English will have a Jewish king. So, HOSANNA! It's so heart-warming to see those Kikes quarrel among themselves. [...] PHEW!'*

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