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FIFTH FRAMEWORK PROGRAMME. IMPROVING HUMAN CAPITAL.

THE EUROPEAN DILEMMA:  
INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNS AND POLITICS OF 'RACIAL' DISCRIMINATION

WORKPACKAGE 1  
POLAND  
DISCRIMINATORY LANDSCAPE

PRELIMINARY REPORT

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WARSAW, MARCH 2003

up already in 1987) play an essential role, although, it is worthy of mentioning, according to literal interpretation of the Law, until 1991 the ombudsman was not authorised to act on behalf of foreigners. It was not until the amendment of 1991 that the circle of subjects authorised to file complaints with the ombudsman was widened to persons not being Polish citizens (Article 18 of the Act on Ombudsman). But even then, despite such provision of the Act existing before 1991, the ombudsman intervened in matters involving foreigners, first of all invoking the principle of common justice, which he should follow, and *the International Pacts of Civil and Politic Rights* and *of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* ratified by Poland in 1977.

The number of cases concerning protection of national minorities' rights has not made up the substantial percentage (less than 1%) comparing to general number of intervention of the Polish ombudsman, since it was set up. E.g. in 2002, 33 cases concerned national minorities and approximately 150 - foreigners (including repatriates). In case of foreigners, about 5% cases regarded only expulsion, about 30% – refugees (most of them, due to the refusal of a refugee status, less – concerning refugees centres, very seldom - concerning integration assistance for those, who obtained the status); about 40% cases regarded conditions of stay in Poland (e.g. employment, social insurance, health care; most of the cases were about refusal of temporal residence permit) and both conditions of stay and expulsion; about 10% cases concerned repatriation (a. o. regarding fulfilling the duties of inviting party; problems of husbands and wives of repatriates, who do not obtain the settlement permit, but only the temporary residence permit in Poland). A problem noted by the ombudsman is the lack of a legal regulation, which would allow to legalise the stay of foreigners who for various reasons are not and should not be expelled.

Complains are usually in written form, very seldom the representatives of minorities and foreigners come to the ombudsman personally. In case of foreigners, most of complains were individual, less of them were undertaken by virtue of the office. In case of national minorities, in 2002, 17 cases were undertaken on ombudsman initiative, 8 due to the motions of national minorities' organisations and 8 – private persons.

According to the employee of the Ombudsman Office (who was interviewed by us), neither the Polish law, nor the Polish authorities incline towards discrimination of national minorities or foreigners and it is difficult to speak about an institutional discrimination. The ombudsman intends to check some administrative decisions of voivodship offices in 2003, what should enable him a better diagnose of the issue. *The problem*, the Ombudsman Office employee said, *consists rather in xenophobic attitude towards "others" in the substantial part of the Polish society.*

## **VI. POLISH POLITICAL SCENE. ATTITUDES, DECLARATIONS AND ACTIONS**

### **POLITICAL PARTIES. PROGRAMME DECLARATIONS**

In ideological declarations, official statements of party leaders and programmes of parties and groupings active on the Polish political scene (that is having or aspiring to having its representation in the Parliament) **it is difficult to point out distinct and direct xenophobic or racist calls.** It is first of all the result of the construction of the Polish law that directly bans

the existence of political parties and groupings *exhorting in their papers to totalitarian methods and nazi, fascist and communistic practices and those whose programmes or activity assume or admit racial or national hatred, the use of violence in order to gain power or influence on the policy of state or anticipate making classified their programmes or membership.*<sup>6</sup>

In part it is also an effect of unpopularity of extreme groups among the Polish society although there are exceptions from this principle what seems to be proved by the success of Związek Zawodowy Rolników *Samoobrona* (Farmers' Trade Union *Self-defence*) in course of recent parliamentary election (now it has 39 for an overall number of 460 deputies). *Samoobrona* should be recognised as an extreme grouping first of all for its attitude towards economical issues and the way of practising politics (controversial, offensive parliamentary speeches, roads blocking etc.). Xenophobic trains in the speeches of *Samoobrona* leader are quite distinctly visible (dislike to rather indeterminate *others*, who *are buying up Polish soil and who flood our market with cheap and poor quality food*).

*Samoobrona's* popularity is to be linked with Polish society's penchant for authoritarianism including a tendency to supporting charismatic leaders who make the impression of being strong personalities, who are offering simple remedies for every social problem. For the same reason *Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* (Law and Justice) (43 deputies) grows to be one of the leading parties.

Symptomatic is that organisations that have their roots in national traditions are the most *Euro-sceptical*, strongly stressing the necessity of national, cultural and religion identity preservation, sharp distinction from others (also by physical separation – tightening of borders, and in this way for example *restraining influx of criminals from the East*)<sup>7</sup>

Programmes of certain groupings: (Liga Polskich Rodzin (Polish Families League), Partia Ludowo – Demokratyczna (Peasant – Democratic Party), Ruch Katolicko – Narodowy (Catholic – National Movement), Ruch Odbudowy Polski (Poland Reconstruction Movement), Zjednoczenie Chrzescijansko – Narodowe (Christian – National Union) and also co-ruling, until not long ago, Polskie Stronnictwo Ludowe (Polish Peasant Party) – (40 deputies)<sup>8</sup> stress even stronger reluctance towards representatives of foreign capital that from such a perspective are perceived as threat (*others*) from outside.

Yet only extreme rightist grouping that is Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (Poland National Reconstruction) in its programme, documents and commentaries explicates for *national separatism* (*Settling races in countries of their origin is the first step towards a peaceful world*) and against *Zionism, political, economic and territorial imperialism*. In its leaflets it propagates among other things watchwords: *the employment for Poles, against immigrants, for inviolability of Western border, against German fifth column*. As for now this neo-fascist party has not got even the slightest chance to get into the Parliament. A few similar political initiatives disappeared long ago while NOP joined groupings supporting the candidate for Lodz president who has won the election.

At the same time there are active parties recalling to national tradition, conservative as far as their outlook and economic programmes are concerned yet are advocating tolerance. An example is small Stronnictwo Konserwatywno Ludowe (Conservative – Peasant Party) having only eight deputies in the Parliament, that clearly declares the need of the tolerance

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<sup>6</sup> Article 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland (of April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1997)

<sup>7</sup> Fragment of programme *Agreement with Poland* of the Ruch Odbudowy Polski of May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1996

<sup>8</sup> Christian – Democratic and Peasant parties

towards *others*, other nations and first of towards neighbours (eastern and western) as well as towards all European nations. SKL accepts yet common religion traditions as a base of tolerance (according to their representatives the tolerance is not all-embracing).

## **POLITICAL PARTIES. EVERYDAY RHETORIC**

Only while analysing concrete manifestations of political life – leaders’ and members’ of those groupings current speeches, their behaviours, undertakings, in which they participate or act as passive observers – it is possible to define their real attitude towards *others*. This demands a skill of reading between lines, as – due to legal regulations – they rather seldom recall to hatred derived from xenophobia.

An example of meeting a warrant of *political correctness* is expressing negative opinions on national minority (most often – Jewish) through the use of an expression *true Poles* in a certain context. For recipients it is enough legible a signal telling them about speaker’s dislike for *others* (that is *untrue Poles*) while it does not expose sender of such a verbal communiqué to potential legal responsibility. In representatives’ of Liga Polskich Rodzin and Zjednoczenie Chrzescijansko – Narodowe statements perceptible are distinct recalls to nationalism and the division of the world into *natives*, who are members of the mentioned organisations and *others* that are followers of the other political options and other than catholic outlook. There appears also an open, not camouflaged with language parables, *hate speech*.

On the Polish political scene after 1989 *hate speech* is a relatively new phenomenon; heyday is dated for the middle of the 90s of the 20th century. One may wonder if it has its roots in old phobias towards Germans and Ukrainians (especially from the period of the World War II) and Jews or it appears as a retarded result of arousing hatreds by the communist party – state authorities which was formerly used for short-term political goals (maintaining of aversion to Germans was a method of legitimisation of those authorities, the dislike to Ukrainians – justified their displacement after the War and to Jews who were becoming indispensable for authorities *internal enemy* – by the end of 60s first in particular).

In 2000 the so called *Jedwabne affair* became peculiar *litmus paper* for disturbing patriotism interpretation in political debates on the Polish political scene:

- disclosing that during the Hitler occupation in a few small villages in the north – eastern Poland collective manslaughter over Jews was committed by their Polish neighbours;
- as well as apology that president Kwasniewski in the name of Poles directed to Jewish nation in July 2001.

Politicians of above mentioned groupings sharply rejected any possibility that any Pole could be held responsible for such a crime, recognising that the whole thing was a *Polonophobs’* slander and accusing president of this *Polono-phobia*. The temperature of debate was very high.

Provoking hatred and xenophobia politicians statements not necessarily serve only their particular and short-term political goals. Patriotic or plainly and straight chauvinistic rhetoric, the fuelling of xenophobic atmosphere are probably designed for long-term political goals and the propagation of their outlook.

## ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Roman Catholic Church plays as far as public matters in Poland are concerned very diverse role. They are, both episcopate and clergy, as well as politically active Catholics, deeply divided. The Church conducts charity activity in relation to the *others* too on one hand and in general evolves toward modern, tolerant Catholicism while on the other hand amid priests but also within the episcopate survive and find support currents of a militant nationalism, appears aversion towards opposing xenophobia and anti-Semitism.

### Anti-xenophobic declarations and constructive Church activity

Documents of the Polish Church draw attention to brotherly stance toward all people no matter their race and religion. Such a standpoint was distinctly articulated among other things in the *Letter of Polish Episcopate Council for the Religion Dialogue on the Occasion of the Year 2000* (Jasna Gora, August 2000).

Episcopate reacted to the *Jedwabne affair* with dignity: in May 2001 in the largest Warsaw church Primate presided the penance service in the company of cardinals and over fifty bishops.

In the structure of the Polish Episcopate Conference there is a few institutions that deal with questions of various relations with broadly understood *others* (believers in other religions, unbelieving, migrants, refugees)<sup>9</sup>. They are the following: the Charity Commission, Committee for Polonia and Poles Abroad, Council on Ecumenism, Council on Migration, Tourism and Pilgrimage, Council on Religion Dialogue in the framework of which function various teams and among other things the Team for Church Aid for Catholics in the East.

In the framework of activity of *Caritas Polska* – charity organisation of the Polish Episcopate – exists a separate, specialised set of problems concerning migration<sup>10</sup>. In the statutory guidelines of the Caritas Polska there reads that the basis of Caritas functioning is the *particular kind of love – aid addressed to all in need, poor and weak – without paying attention to their race, religion, nationality or a degree of guilt*. Institutional form of Caritas activity toward migrants and refugees are special offices for migrants and refugees having their bases in four towns: Bialystok, Lublin, Wroclaw and Zgorzelec. They were established by Caritas Polska thanks to financial support from abroad and operate in close co-operation with diocese Caritas branches that guarantee free use of office rooms and make available for the sake of refugees their own material resources such as clothes, medicines, food, furniture, household appliances.

Since the middle of 90s Caritas Polska co-ordinated *Programme of Aid for Migrants and Refugees*. Its most active offices operated in eastern Poland. The majority of beneficiaries originated from Tchetchnia and Ukraine but there also happen to appear newcomers from such distant countries as Angola and Equador.

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<sup>9</sup> Bishop Ryszard Karpinski, *Church in Poland towards emigrants*, /in:/ Ks. Marek Chmielewski (editor), *Church in Poland toward people in need*, TN KUL, Lublin 1994

<sup>10</sup> A. Zadura, *Reach out your hand /in/ Caritas. Quarterly devoted to charity labour*, 1998.

Informator Caritas No 1 98/99, Warsaw 1999

Information of the office for refugees of the Caritas of Lublin Diocese; <http://www.caritaspolska.org.pl>

Who are we? Information of Migrants Office Caritas of Wroclaw Archdiocese; <http://www.caritas.pl/wroclaw>

The number of beneficiaries kept growing in years 1994 – 2001 from 20 at the beginning to 1,215 in 2001. It was so for the following reasons: - within that time grew the number of foreigners coming to Poland especially of those who were seeking here the status of refugee, - two new centres were opened in Bialystok – thus **Caritas offices** become known on the market of humanitarian help.

**Several scopes might be separated within the activity of Offices for Migrants and Refugees, and namely:**

- humanitarian help on border crossing points in Zgorzelec and Bialystok,
- psychological aid,
- financial and material assistance,
- assistance by the access to medical treatment,
- legal assistance,
- programme of help for women and infants,
- assistance in a process of adaptation to formal requirements of life in Poland rendered to the so called recognised refugees (persons, who gained formal status of refugee),
- assistance for people held in deportation centres,
- assistance for current and potential repatriates, from former Soviet republics in particular,
- advising in matters concerning migration from Poland.

Issues linked with helping refugees and migrants is the subject of **thematic conferences**. A sample is the conference organised by the *Caritas*' Office of Information for Migrants and Refugees of Lublin diocese held in January 2003. Leading subject there was the integration of refugees into the Polish society and also the summing up of bilateral Polish – Dutch co-operation as well as realisation of pro-accession training programme in respect of refugees integration. Also a pilot program of refugees integration, which will be realised in Mazowsze, Podlasie and Lublin provinces was presented.

Another example is the organisation of **Refugee Day**. In June 2002 Caritas of the Wroclaw diocese organised – with the participation of the Polska Akcja Humanitarna (Polish Humanitarian Action - PAH), Stowarzyszenia REM (REM Association) and Centrum Wolontariatu we Wroclawiu (Wroclaw Voluntary Centre) – integration soiree on the occasion of the International Refugee Day. Honorary patronage was held by such personalities as Cracow archbishop metropolitan Cardinal Henryk Gulbinowicz, representative of UNHCR in Poland Jaime Ruiz de Santiago and professor Andrzej Zoll – ombudsman. The ceremony was held in the gardens of *Caritas* of the Wroclaw diocese.

### **Catholics and *catholics***

The assistance activity of the Church could not be overestimated. Not all yet statements of episcopate members were fortunate. For example Primate of Poland cardinal Jozef Glemp stated during the inauguration of the Demographic Congress, on September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2001: *What is of the concern to the Church, is real need of certain policy with reference to society in order to make it grow, in order to avoid degradation of the nation. Once a question was risen if we manage to feed ourselves? Thus tendencies to limit population growth. Nowadays we know that Europe's ethnic population decreases and others come to this place. Today's Europe counts twenty million of Islam believers, which becomes a cultural and civilisation phenomenon, awakening reflections and worries about the future. Similar situation in Poland*

and we are interested not to have demographic “emptiness”, as into this “emptiness” will enter those, against whom we were defended by Jan III Sobieski (the king of Poland, who defended Vienna against Turkish armies in 1683), and we want neither another culture nor terrorism no any other difficult situations.

What is more important, it is assessed that there are few main trends<sup>11</sup> in Polish Catholicism including the militant Catholicism. Its anti-thesis is the *Catholicism of unclear borders*, which— as it is assessed by Catholic commentator M. Przewozniak —*in the name of wrongly understood dialogue principle is so fascinated with the possibility of meeting (people) thinking differently that forgets its own identity.*

**Radio Maryja**, an official broadcasting station of the Redemptorist order, is ever more influential and shocking representative of this *militant Catholicism*. It was founded in Poland in the beginning of 90s on the model of *Radio Maria International* and Italian broadcasting station *Maria*. Church authorities mark only off its aggressive rhetoric and not decide to substitute its leadership.

The scope of internal divisions is demonstrated by fact that in a weekly headed by a priest and published by Catholics – being a leading subject of that Catholicism of unclear borders – there reads: - Radio Maryja rather seldom – says one of radio’s ideologists – propagates sweet – blandish gospel of love and mercy. According to this conception the building of authentically Christian religion without naming an enemy against which there is the must to wage a war is impossible <sup>12</sup>. Catholics linked with this weekly are object of particular hostility and *hate speech* to even higher degree than the post-communists.

Radio Maryja has supposedly 5 million listeners. Prayers and discussing catechism take some 1/3 of the air time. Probably the majority of listeners limits to listening to these programmes. But there are also very influential broadcasts on social matters. *In those programmes the broadcast station presents and fuels worries and hatred of a part of the Polish society that are derived from the lack of understanding of the contemporary world, fears of alien domination and their complexes. Christian religion and Catholicism in particular, whose best representative considers itself Radio Maryja, is - according to the radio – being attacked from all angles and in Western Europe completely eliminated. The same refers to everything being Polish. Under this hopeless situation one should demonstrate artificial optimism, not to surrender, to debunk sneaky enemies (liberalism, masons, Jews) and keep looking for miraculous solutions (...). Sometimes from those statements it is impossible to judge if they refer to Jews, Germans or other enemies – but it does not matter as on principle they are working in close co-operation (...). “Let’s see who is now representing German interests in Poland. We may speak of certain names”<sup>13</sup>.*

Radio Maryja is capable to organise street demonstrations too, at which people carry, among other things, banners with short but self-explanatory watchword: *Kwasniewski* (present president of the Republic of Poland, formerly member of the communist party) *is Stolzman*. In course of recent presidential election in 1995 it was stated on the aerial of Radio Maryja in a form of accusation that Hanna Gronkiewicz – Waltz (*Kwasniewski*’s competitor in the election, linked with the *Solidarity Trade Union* and demonstrating iron Catholicism) *is Jewish and just recently married*<sup>14</sup>. Meaningful is the fact that naming political enemy’s

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<sup>11</sup> Ewa K. Czackowska : „**Our**” *doesn’t mean anybody*, Rzeczpospolita February 5<sup>th</sup>, 1998

<sup>12</sup> *Tygodnik Powszechny* No 19, March 9<sup>th</sup>, 2003

<sup>13</sup> [www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org](http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org)

<sup>14</sup> Ref.: Jaroslaw Makowski, *With the Head in the Wall*, in: Rzeczpospolita of Sept.5<sup>th</sup>, 2002

nationality, qualification him as *non-Pole* is aimed in discrediting him in the eyes of the public opinion and thus deprive him votes.

The Radio Maryja quickly transforms into **radio – television – media – academic concern**: own daily: *Nasz Dziennik* is published on paper and through internet, own high school, all-Polish network of offices located next to parishes with the consent of rectors and in some dioceses on the basis of agreements with diocese authorities, books publishing house, publishing its own version of encyclopaedia, *Nasza Przyszlosc (Our Future)* Foundation, *the Institute of National Education* and – the last but not the least – recently obtained concession to set in motion television programme.

Some thirty politicians connected with *Radio Maryja* were elected deputies for the parliament of current term and founded above mentioned Liga Polskich Rodzin. Yet, organiser and director of the Radio, father Tadeusz Rydzyk has a custom to quickly recognise today's friends for tomorrow's enemies, so political power constructed by him is subject to fragmentation.

His enemies get mobilised, i.a. in non-governmental organisations. In November 2001 a group of followers of *the Ruch Społeczny Świadomi Tolerancji (Social Movement Conscious of Tolerance)* marched along streets of Warsaw crying: *When shall we crack down at last Goebbels of today – father Rydzyk?* In the internet information on *Radio Maryja* can be found not only on its own pages but also on at least two pages edited by *Radio's* adversaries, who diligently register and analyse its broadcasts.

## NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

A separated data base collecting information concerning non-governmental organisations meant to fight manifestations of xenophobia and discrimination does not exist in Poland, so quantitative analyse of this phenomenon is difficult. In the largest of Polish **data base on non-governmental organisations - KLON** - appear some 100 organisations active on this field yet, 2/3 of them act for the favour of German minority. The data are to large extent out-of-date and incomplete.

Further search in the internet showed that there are much more such organisations in entire Poland and that they are very diverse. This information is not always up-to-date but it is possible to distinguish **five categories**.

The first group concentrates on mutual contacts between Poles and representatives of other nations that might be defined as **neutral or friendly**. The goal of those organisations is making Polish citizens acquainted with other nations' cultures, art, and history and encouraging Poles to make tourist excursions to these countries. Within the group it's worthwhile to mention associations of friendship Polish – American, Austrian, Belgian, Chinese, Cypriote, Hungarian, French, German, Greek, Icelandic, Italian, Japanese, Moroccan, Panamanian, Portuguese, South-African, Spanish, and many other.

The second is made of organisations the activity of which refers to contacts between Poles and nations, that due to historical remnants are characterised by reciprocal aversion and prejudice. An example are organisations meant to shape Polish-Jewish or Polish-German relations that for their main goal chose **overcoming of mutual aversion** and fighting discrimination and prejudice. They lay great emphasis on education, disclosing historical truth, organising symposia, lectures and international exchange.

The third group is made of non-governmental organisations **formed by minorities** living of the territory of Poland and among others Belorussian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian.



The forth are **Economic Chambers** meant to strengthen trade exchange and in this way to serve closer acquaintance.

The fifth category – particularly important – is made of organisations that do not identify with any national or social minority but in their activity concentrate on **the fighting all manifestations of xenophobia, discrimination and racism**. The most active in this field are: *Otwarta Rzeczpospolita (Open Republic)* and *Stowarzyszenie Nigdy Wiecej (the Association Never Again)*.

*Otwarta Rzeczpospolita* does scientific researches; in its activity, among other things, it has undertaken review of textbooks at an angle of Open society idea propagation. It is working over the list of organisations involved in similar subject matter and analysing the contents of right-wing press publication. It has conducted studies over intolerant youth attitude towards other than their own religion and national groups (in the framework of a project called: *One Country – Many Nations*).

The Association *Never Again* is very active amid youth and well known due to a published periodical and its internet page. It aims at counteracting neo-fascism, nationalism and hatred towards *others* and undertook numerous successful initiatives. The most important was for example football campaign *Let's kick racism from stadiums* meant to free football playing grounds from fascist symbolism, get rid of racist cries and watchwords; creating a network of anti-racist football supporters clubs. In the framework of the programme it publishes an anti-racist magazine for football fans *Stadion (Stadium)* and co-operates with media. It published also a record under the watchword *Music against racism* where hits from various kinds of music are presented.

Particularly cognitively interesting is the initiative to run the **Dark Brown Book** containing information on incidents of racial and xenophobic background as well as on crimes conducted by members of aggressive youth groups, including neo-fascists. Victims of registered violence cases are not only ethnically strange individuals but also the disabled and homeless as well as young anti-fascist activists. As a success the organisation considers the campaign for the introduction to Polish Constitution a ban for fascist and racist organisations.

One of the methods of fighting against discrimination and xenophobia is ARM – ACTION (*Anti-Racism Makers*) that is aimed at salesmen selling records of those teams whose texts call for racial hatred. On the internet page devoted to this initiative there is ready to use crime register form and detailed instruction what to do, as well as the list of bands promoting nationalist, pro-facist or anti-Semitic ideology.

Interesting is also the idea to form a **Tolerance Schools Club** that is to unite schools from different countries in which pupils are taught tolerance towards self-selected minorities and ethnic groups and exchange their knowledge with the other club members. The initiative is under the patronage of *Fundacja Porozumienie bez barier (Understanding with no Barriers Foundations)*, founded by Poland's 1<sup>st</sup> Lady Jolanta Kwasniewska.

Among non-governmental initiatives it is worthwhile to mention the organisation of **festivals and days of foreign cultures, days and weeks of tolerance and multi-culture** (e.g. Lodz, Poznan, Lublin, Bialystok, Wlodawa, Zielona Gora and many other) in course of which youth may meet peers from other culture and national circles, spend time together and get to know each other better.

## POLISH PRESS

In the 2<sup>nd</sup> ECRI 15 report of 1999 it was written: While the majority of press of the broadest range of influence condemns all manifestations of racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance, there appear signals that some dailies publish anti-Semitic articles, but simultaneously as extreme rightist materials seem to be commonly accessible in Poland. In the context of the above statement the thing that can fill us with a bit of optimism is the introduction, at the motion of the Association against Anti-Semitism and Xenophobia Open Republic, of the ban on the distribution of magazines propagating racial and national hatred through state distribution network.

**In wide range central and local press articles on foreigners do not call for a public debate.** This press tries to conform to *political correctness* principle. On one hand, one can have an impression that media attempt to present information on foreigners in Poland objectively and without prejudice however the context in which it is published, is not neutral.

A basic source of data on publications concerning foreigners is the analysis of the contents of main periodicals did by M. Mrozowski in 1996. He divides statements in the press into four basic groups: influx of immigrants to Poland (354), crimes committed by immigrants (276), economical activity of immigrants in Poland (286) and, finally, immigrants life in Poland (91).

The analysis does not allow for the construction of an immigrant universal picture. We are rather dealing with a number of various images. In the foreground appear usually events described by journalists (generally speaking – negative) while immigrants themselves are pushed back. They are making background being most frequently perpetrators or at least co-perpetrators of a problem that has to be solved. Here appears the construction of *collective hero*. Immigrants become anonymous, evil or troublesome mass of newcomers from the East, with which we must co-exist. Newcomers from the West, who are not immigrants but good or at least fascinating *foreigners* perceived more individually, are presented by journalists radically differently.

The description of outward appearance of foreigners is also different: from an ugly and dirty Roma (Gypsy), through slap-dash clothed newcomer from the East and exotic refugee from Africa to well-dressed representative of Western Europe. For journalists there is no doubt that for newcomers from the East the goal is pursuit of bread and escape from persecution; for those from the West our (Poles') charm and pursuit from civilisation. Descriptions of alleged mental features is characterised by great internal contradiction. Citizens of the former USSR for example are simultaneously open and distrustful, sincere and sneaky. The exception make only Armenians and Vietnamese, whose medial image seems to be rather coherent: liability, discipline, organisation, loyalty and isolation.

Numerous worries are linked with the problematic of migration. Immigrants from the East bring with them the danger of crime (mafia structures – Armenians, Vietnamese, impulsiveness and the lack of brakes – former USSR, Romania, Bulgaria). Newcomers from the West will buy up our land. Information on migration, having positive effects make unquestionable minority.

In the publications analysis does not appear even a notice that Poles treat foreigners well or that all foreigners deserve well treatment. Predominant are simplifications, bias and even

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15 European Committee against Racism and Intolerance, the second Report concerning Poland, Dec. 10<sup>th</sup>, 1999

xenophobia. According to M. Mrozowski's conclusion press treats with friendliness few-day tourists, newcomers from the West are perceived rather positively but those from the East meet rather unfriendly reception.

Similar analysis was conducted again in 2000<sup>16</sup>. The author of the study refers in her work mainly to foreigners, yet discusses other groups of immigrants from the East. According to her opinion first of all clearly *sensational* journalists' interested in the problematic of migration deserve special attention. Refugees are, first of all a *good topic* for the way how they got on the territory of the Republic of Poland. In the moment they leave centre for refugees, they cease to be interesting. That is why it is hard to find any information on their further life, work or adaptation process. In journalistic statements often appears war terminology and words having reference to natural disasters: they have entered, the problem exploded, bands, wave, flood but it is hard to judge if *publications were an expression of true fear present in the society or they were meant to evoke this fear and maintain it – as surrogate topic*. With time the tone of comments changes to a humorous one. Journalists present newcomers in ridiculous situations, are using the play of words: immigrants on ice, immigrants from a boat, immigrants straight from water, immigrants fell from heaven. Fictional marriages are described in categories of good business although journalists sometimes warn of others, who will later become a burden or matrimonial crooks (in case of non-fictional marriages).

Newcomers from the territory of the Balkans are treated relatively friendly (Slavs, the war in Europe). Those from Africa are rather wild and lazy and their demanding character and ingratitude awakes indignation. Gradual change of their presented image is noticeable in relation to particular groups. Always rather negatively presented Romanians seemed at the beginning bizarre and tiresome but rather harmless beggars, by the end of 90 they became a dangerous group associated with theft, fraud and drug distribution. In case of newcomers from the East the situation is different. At the beginning of the 90 we were dealing with a threatening wave of *Russians* and by the end of the decade we are talking about trade and export and the phenomenon is accompanied by a growth of awareness of national differences amongst citizens of the former USSR.

In the whole study there is none text by an immigrant. The question is if it results from existing barriers in the access to media, or immigrants' lack of interest and dislike to auto-presentation.

K. Iglicka and A. Weiner<sup>17</sup> disclose entirely different picture of one of the other categories of *others – specialists that came from the West*. They appear in articles usually referring to economy, legalisation of stay or cultural activity. Americans, who are usually seen positively and who are the only nation not making a homogenous group, are being

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<sup>16</sup> M. Dobrowolska *Picture of Refugee on Columns of Polish Press*, master's study wrote under the leadership of M. Mrozowski, Warsaw 2000, analyse was conducted on 61 cuttings from years 1990 – 93 and 112 cuttings from years 1997 - 98.

<sup>17</sup> K. Iglicka, A. Weiner, *Foreigners – Specialists in Warsaw Urban Area* under preparation, *Influence of Foreign Migrations in Warsaw on the Situation of City's Labour Market* – co-ordinator M. Okolski, in the framework of the study over social Space of Warsaw Metropolis ([www.iss.uw.edu.pl/bpmsw/pdf/moduly/spe.pdf/](http://www.iss.uw.edu.pl/bpmsw/pdf/moduly/spe.pdf/))

Analyse was done on 81 cuttings from local press (*Gazeta Wyborcza*, *Zycie Warszawy*, *Zycie*, *Dzien Dobry* weekly) from the period between January 1998 – November 2001)

mentioned most frequently. Strong homogeneousness characterises the picture of the French, who are presented as *closed group of investors*, whose economic activity wakes susceptibility and dislike. All newcomers from Asia are not to be distinguished with the only exception of the Japanese, who are pictured positively (*reliable, clean, they love Chopin*). There is the lack of a distinct image of Germans, who appear in the press only on a margin of information on their new investments.

Attributing definite features to individual nation is still not a dominant tendency. Usually foreigners from highly developed countries create one *community of foreigners from the West*, that is separated from Warsaw inhabitants by language and financial barriers. The lack of a distinct image of individual nation is replaced with a few images:

- of foreigner – specialist (desirable others);
- wealthy person (better housing estates, higher wages);
- crime victim;
- an ideal of cultural and civilisation superiority (here discloses journalist complex).

Similarly as in case of former studies discloses journalists' tendency to vertical evaluation of a *other* – in a context of his or her being *better or worse* than a Pole.

It must not mean that newcomers from the East are entirely disregarded by media. The proof is a press discussion accompanying passing of a new law on foreigners in 1997<sup>18</sup>. The presentations of journalists concentrate on the *tightening of Poland's Eastern border*, usually in a context of the necessity of adjusting to European Union's recommendations which is linked with negative consequences: economical (restriction of border and local market trading) and political (worsening of relations with our eastern neighbours, mainly with Russia and Belarus).

The problematic of foreigners appears also in media in the context of researching the level of openness of Polish society toward others. One of examples is a poll on the evaluation of admitting black player (already citizen of RP) Emmanuel Olisadebe to the representation of Poland organised by the weekly *Pilka Nozna (Football)* or the participation (and victory) of Erica Alira originating from Africa in the second edition of *Bar – "hot chairs" reality show*.

Sergiusz Kowalski and Magdalena Tuli in their book titled *The Speech of Hatred, Report 2001*, accessible in the internet on pages of the above mentioned Association *Open Republic*<sup>19</sup>, analysed **annual contents of selected rightist press only**. They explained: *We have passed over known, extreme neo-fascist and anti-Semitic publications including "Szczerbiec" – the bulletin of the National Revival of Poland, "Tylko Polska" (Only Poland) – Leszek Bubel's periodical and numerous fascist fanzins (groups of youth sub-cultures). We have excluded them just due to their absence in the main stream of public discussion. We wanted to reveal that the range of hate speech in its radical edition is not limited only to identified, isolated extremes.*

The authors recognised **as not-tolerant but still fitting to the central stream of public debate** five titles, and among others *Nasz Dziennik (Our Dayly)* – linked with Radio Maryja and, unfortunately, the title which used to serve democracy well in the past - the weekly *"Solidarnosc" (Solidarity)*. *The evidence of their position is the fact that they are easy*

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<sup>18</sup> S. Lodzinski *Press discussion concerning effects of the new law on foreigners coming into effect* (December 1997 – May 1998) Materials and Documents: Research and Expertise Office – Parliament Office – July 1998. Over 50 cuttings were gathered, mainly from *Rzeczpospolita* (50 per cent) and *Gazeta Wyborcza* (25 per cent), unfortunately, no deeper analyse of the gathered material was conducted.

<sup>19</sup> [www.or.icm.edu.pl](http://www.or.icm.edu.pl)

*accessible in every newspaper kiosk (...) and that many famous personalities from the world of politics, science and culture gave them interviews. Those were publications in which within the studied period numerous manifestations of hate speech occurred (and not only incidental and less drastic, although sometimes similar expressions).*

Their conclusions were similar to those stemming from the analysis of “Radio Maryja” programmes. But printed word is easier to undergo quantitative analyse. What draws the attention is *the domination of topics concerning Jews and Israel (407 cases) and that a considerably smaller attention was paid to other nationalities and countries. Germans (and also Hitlerites, Gestapo etc.) were talked enough frequently (131) but generally in Jewish or referring to Jews contexts so in result the number of articles dealing with Germans themselves counts only 28. It is caused, at least partly (it’s enough to analyse contexts), by the concentration on Jedwabne crime in which Poles, Germans and Jews co-appear.*

The authors could submit texts for language analyse and precisely reproduce communication code comprehensible for the writer and for readers. They reproduced vocabulary that was used there and also a repertoire of qualifiers, symbols and arguments. At the lexical level such qualifiers as *only the natives* or *always the same people* or *certain nation* or *non-Poles are comprehensible and reader knows, that they refer to Jews, even though there are no any more specific explanations needed.*

A sense of harm seems to be an emotional binder of these scheme. The image of Poland as a uniform community of Poles, threatened by Europe – and the Germans in particular; minorities - and Jews in particular and a so called “civilisation of death” - are its central point. We can find numerous texts in which categories “ours” and “others” occupy absolutely dominating position. With these few words one can explain the whole complexity of the World.

While analysing the relation of media to foreigners one should mention the **internet**, where under such watchwords as *foreigners in Poland* and *others in Poland* there are close to 7 thousand items. A part of them make different fragments of studies, articles and advertisements. But there are also *sites brochures / guides* for foreigners staying on the territory of the Republic of Poland (e.g. page concerning bi-national couples), sites of previously mentioned associations dealing with the problems of racism and xenophobia as well as sites presenting the culture of other nations (as for example *Panorama of Cultures* containing information on cultural events and publications from the territory of Baltic countries, former republics of former USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania and Slovakia).

## **INFLUENCE OF INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT**

### **Dispute over European integration**

#### **Euro-hatred of the radical Right**

A dispute lasts, arguments are being presented. It seems that in Poland accession (although not the one *made on knees*) supporters prevail. It is worthwhile to draw attention to those, who express their hostile opinions on a perspective of Polish accession to the European Union, reaching for the argument that it’s the European Union that is xenophobic towards Poles, that is governed by *anti-Polonism*.

For example on pages of one of miniature national parties we could read: *fifty years of tears and dilemmas passed (1939 – 1989), here came the time of liberty but suddenly new*