

NEVER AGAIN MAGAZINE

ISSUE 19, FALL-WINTER 2011 (SUMMARY)

■ ‘Od redaktora’ – an editorial by Marcin Kornak, is a reflection on the recent growth of far-right tendencies in Europe (in particular, after the terrorist attacks in Norway) and in Poland (including far-right politicians’ presence on electoral lists).

■ ‘«Nie ma litości dla wrogów polskości»? Nowi sojusznicy NOP’ (‘No mercy for the enemies of Polishness? The new allies of the NOP’, pages 2-3) by Rafał Pankowski, discusses the new alliance between the neo-fascist party National Rebirth of Poland (NOP) and a Ukrainian neo-fascist and anti-Polish party Svoboda.

■ ‘Listy’ (‘Letters’ section, page 4) includes correspondence sent by readers and supporters of the NEVER AGAIN magazine, including the U.S. ambassador in Poland, Lee Feinstein, as well as well-known historian Norman Davies.

■ ‘Prezydenckie poparcie’ (‘Presidential support’ section, page 5) contains three pieces: one about honouring Marcin Kornak, the editor in chief of the NEVER AGAIN magazine with the Officer’s Cross of the Order of Rebirth of Poland for his involvement in civil society actions against racism and intolerance; another text is about the support for the NEVER AGAIN Association expressed by the U.S. president, Barack Obama, during his visit to Poland; the third piece reports on honouring the association’s collaborator Rafał Maszkowski with the Gold Cross of Merit for his involvement in democratic opposition in the 1980s.

■ ‘W polskiej rzeczywistości widać margines nietolerancji’ (‘There is a margin of intolerance in Polish reality’, pages 6-9) is an interview with Poland’s ex-president, Aleksander Kwaśniewski, taken by Natalia Sineeva-Pankowska and Rafał Pankowski. Kwaśniewski talks about multiculturalism, Poland’s history of ethnic conflict and coexistence as well as prospects of international cooperation and reconciliation in the future, including Polish-Russian and Polish-Ukrainian relations.

■ ‘Walka z rasizmem na EURO 2012’ (‘Struggle against racism during EURO 2012’, page 10) is a brief report from the Fair Play ceremony that took place in June 2011, when the NEVER AGAIN Association was honoured with the European Football Supporters Award. It also contains a report of a conference on combating racism in football held by NEVER AGAIN at the Polish Parliament and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

■ ‘List Rzecznika Praw Obywatelskich’ (‘A Letter from the Ombudsman’, page 10) is a letter sent by the Polish Ombudsman, Irena Lipowicz, to participants of the Monitoring and Counteracting Racism in Football and Beyond conference. The letter stresses the necessity of counteracting racism and intolerance in sports and other spheres of life.

■ ‘Kronika rasistowskiej przemocy i nienawiści’ (‘A chronicle of racist violence and hatred’, page 11), presents the new edition of the *Brown Book* – a catalogue

WYWIADY: KWAŚNIEWSKI, GRUDZIŃSKA-GROSS I GROSS, APPLEBAUM, GODSON

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BRUNATNA KSIĘGA

of racist and xenophobic events compiled and published by the NEVER AGAIN Association. The official presentation of the *Brown Book 2009-2010* took place in April 2011 during a ceremony of honouring the NEVER AGAIN Association with the Medal of Honour of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

■ ‘Brunatna Księga – reakcje’ (‘The Brown Book – reactions’, pages 11-13), contains excerpts from press reviews about the *Brown Book 2009-2010* as well as its earlier edition for the years 1987-2009.

■ ‘Kto ma problem? Rasizm z perspektywy lokalnej’ (‘Who has a problem? Racism from a local perspective’, pages 13-14) by Katarzyna Pawlik and Marcin Starnawski, is a brief introduction to a field research project and report by the Wrocław-based NOMADA Association. The project, concluded in March 2011, focused on hate crime, discrimination and experiences of foreigners as well as minority members in the local community of Wrocław.

■ ‘Wilhelm Sasnal – wyjątkowy benefit’ (‘Extraordinary support by Wilhelm Sasnal’, page 14), is about the well-known artist’s involvement in anti-fascism and his cooperation with the NEVER AGAIN Association.

■ ‘Projekt Sztuka Przeciwko Przemocy’ (‘Art Against Violence Project’, page 14) is an interview by Łukasz Chwalisz with Alicja Jabłonowska, a coordinator of the project organized by the “Generations” Foundation, which addressed young artists in the Pomorskie district in 2010. Volunteers of the NEVER AGAIN Association and the Anti-Nazi Group (GAN) presented their activities during the concluding meeting of the project.

- ‘Walka z rasizmem i harcerze, czyli zlot w Krakowie’ (‘Struggle against racism and scouts – a meeting in Cracow’, page 15) by Wiktor Marszałek, reports on the NEVER AGAIN Association’s participation in the meeting organised to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of the Polish Scouting Association.
- ‘Kolorowy Włocławek’ (‘Colourful Włocławek’, page 15) by Mariusz Sieraczkiewicz, reports on an anti-racist event in Włocławek, which took place in August 2011.
- ‘Antyfaszysta, socjaldemokrata, mąż stanu’ (‘An anti-fascist, social democrat and statesman’, pages 15-16) by Michał Syska, presents the profile of Willy Brandt, ex-chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, who was involved in the anti-Nazi struggle in the 1930s and in German-Polish reconciliation in 1970.
- ‘Lepiej późno niż...’ (‘Better late than...’, page 16) by Mateusz Ross, reports on the removal of Arkadiusz Karbowiak, a controversial politician of the Civic Platform, from the position of deputy mayor of Opole. In the past Karbowiak had been an active publicist of far-right periodicals, and the NEVER AGAIN magazine revealed this fact in 2010.
- ‘Protest przeciwko hańbiącej wycieczce do Treblinki’ (‘A protest against the shameful trip to Treblinka’, page 16), reports on a joint statement of the NEVER AGAIN magazine and the British antifascist monthly *Searchlight* against a visit of a British pseudo-historian, David Irving, known for his Holocaust denial, to the sites of the Holocaust commemoration in Poland (including Treblinka death camp and the former zone of the Warsaw Ghetto). The signatories of the statement considered Irving’s trip a provocation and an attempt to spread antisemitic propaganda.
- ‘Kto hańbi polski naród?’ (‘Who dishonours the Polish nation?’, page 17) by Krzysztof Jarymowicz, critically discusses a profile of Dariusz Ratajczak, a historian known for his Holocaust-denying publications, fired from a post as an academic teacher in the early 2000s. Ratajczak died in 2011, and the article presents some far-right voices concerning his activity, views and the far-right’s attitudes towards the historian and his death.
- ‘Narodowcy o narodowcach’ (‘Nationalists about nationalists’, pages 17, 24 and 29-30) and ‘Uśmiech numeru’ (‘Humour’, pages 19 and 26) are sections that present excerpts from nationalist discourses concerning the far right itself, showing contradictions and internal conflicts among far-right groups, leaders and ideological positions.
- ‘Umysły zniewolone’ (‘Captive minds’, page 18) by Krzysztof Jarymowicz, presents chauvinist attitudes of far-right politicians and other public figures of the nationalist scene towards Czesław Miłosz, a Polish poet and the 1980 Nobel Prize winner.
- ‘Na manowcach ekstremalnej polityki narodowej’ (‘Wrong ways of extreme nationalist politics’, page 19) by Rafał Pankowski, is a critical analysis of the far-right periodical *Polityka narodowa* [National Politics] published by the Polish Initiatives Foundation.
- ‘Debata okazała się pomocna’ (‘Debate proved helpful’, page 20) is an interview by Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska with Irena Grudzińska-Gross and Jan Tomasz Gross, authors of the book *Golden Harvest* about anti-Jewish sentiments and actions of some Poles during the Nazi occupation of Poland.
- Page 21 contains two poems: ‘This windmill, this meadow’ by Krzysztof Graboż Grabowski (a popular punk-rock vocalist and songwriter) and ‘Sixty years’ by Marcin Kornak (editor in chief of the NEVER AGAIN magazine). Both poems refer to the anti-Jewish pogrom in Jedwabne in 1941.
- ‘Stanisław Michalkiewicz: «Żadne wyznanie tak nie pierdzi, jak katolickie»’ (‘Stanisław Michalkiewicz: «No other religion farts as much as the Catholic one»’, pages 22-24) by Rafał Pankowski, highlights anti-Catholic and antisemitic contents in publications by one of the leading publicists of the nationalist right associated with Radio Maryja, Stanisław Michalkiewicz.
- ‘Alternatywa Socjalistyczna występuje z Polskiej Partii Pracy’ (‘The Socialist Alternative leaves the Polish Labour Party’, page 24) is an official statement issued on 7 September 2011 by members of the Socialist Alternative group that had decided to break up with the Polish Labour Party due to the latter’s collaboration with far right and antisemitic activists during the 2011 electoral campaign.
- ‘Posłana z Radia: Anna Sobecka’ (‘Sent from the Radio: Anna Sobecka’, pages 25-26) by Rafał Maszkowski, presents a profile of Anna Sobecka, a member of parliament from the ‘Solidarity’ Electoral Action (AWS), the League of Polish Families (LPR) and Law and Justice (PiS). The author describes Sobecka as a figure ‘emble-matic’ for radical nationalist-Catholic political circles associated with the Radio Maryja.
- ‘Dziwni krzyża obroncy’ (‘Strange defenders of the cross’, pages 27-29) by Krzysztof Kasiński, critically analyses the far-right movement that had arisen around the ‘cross case’ and brought hundreds of people to the streets of Warsaw in 2010 to defend the cross put in front of the presidential palace. The author claims that during those protests inspired by nationalist politicians and other far-right ideologues, the cross ‘became an instrument in the struggle for achieving goals motivated by ambition and pride – both private and political.’
- ‘Skrajna prawica w wyborach samorządowych’ (‘The far right in local elections’, pages 30-32) by Rafał Maszkowski, is an analysis of the presence and achievements of the far-right parties and candidates in the 2010 local elections in Poland.
- ‘Ewolucja pamięci’ (‘Evolution of remembrance’, pages 33-34) is an interview by Natalia Sineaeva-Pankowska with Anne Applebaum, a U.S. journalist and writer. The interview focuses on politics of remembrance in Eastern Europe as well as Jewish identity and memory.
- ‘NIGDY WIĘCEJ pomaga rosyjskim antyrasistom’ (‘NEVER AGAIN helps Russian anti-racists’, page 34) – a report from conferences and meetings that took place in November 2010 in Russia, in which representatives of the NEVER AGAIN Association participated.

- ‘Wyszczerbiona historia Po-Lan-Yah’ (‘Jagged history of Po-Lan-Yah’, pages 35-37) by Marcin Kornak, discusses the uses of the symbol of Szczerbiec (the legendary ‘jagged sword’ of the Polish king Bolesław Chrobry; the sword was used in crowning ceremonies from the 14th to the 18th century) by the nationalist and antisemitic movement in Poland throughout the 20th century. The author reveals, however, that the sword contains a Hebrew inscription, which indicates that it could have been made by a person influenced by Jewish mystic tradition – a fact that stands in contradiction to anti-Jewish discourses of those on the far right who claim the sword as their symbol. The word ‘Po-Lan-Yah’ from the article’s title means in Hebrew ‘Here-Rested-the God’ and had been a common Jewish name for Poland.
- ‘Orientalizm a sztuki wizualne XVIII-XIX wieku’ (‘Orientalism and visual arts in 18th-19th centuries’, pages 38-41) by Zbigniew Michalczyk, is a discussion with Edward Said’s famous book *Orientalism*. The author argues that Said ignored visual arts in his account of ‘oriental’ discourses in Western culture, and provides historical-cultural analysis of paintings from the 18th-19th centuries.
- ‘Strach’ (‘Fear’, pages 42-45) by Tomasz Kamusella, is a record of the author’s conversation with a Bulgarian historian. The author writes in his introduction: ‘What surprised me (...) and was distinct about that conversation, was prejudice that she expressed about her neighbours from Bulgaria and ethnic non-Bulgarian citizens of that state, and mostly her absolute lack of understanding and empathy as well as my interlocutor’s disregard for Muslims and Islam and especially for the Roma people.’
- ‘Takie mam zasady’ (‘These are my principles’, pages 46-47) is an interview by Natalia Sineeva-Pankowska and Anna Tatar with John Godson, a Nigerian-born deputy to the Polish parliament, about his experience in Poland from his arrival in the early 1990s until today, and his activity for tolerance.
- ‘Heil-hop’ (pages 48-49) by Wiktor Marszałek, is an analysis of far-right, neo-fascist, racist and homophobic inspirations and contents in contemporary Polish hip-hop music.
- ‘Kukiz, ONR i Powiernictwo Polskie’ (‘Kukiz, ONR and the Polish Trust’, page 50) by Wiktor Marszałek, reveals far-right connections of Paweł Kukiz, once a popular alternative rock singer, nowadays a supporter of the nationalist Independence March.
- ‘Nergal na rozdrożu’ (‘Nergal at the crossroads’, page 51), presents a popular black-metal artist, Nergal, and his renewed links to the neo-fascist black metal scene (more precisely, his collaboration with Robert Rob Darken Fudali, the leader of the Graveland band). However, the author also quotes and discusses a recent statement by Nergal, in which the artist distanced himself from his past far-right influences.
- ‘Wszyscy ten kawałek znali’ (‘Everyone knew this song’, page 51) is an excerpt from a book by Krzysztof Grabaż Grabowski and Krzysztof Gajda, titled *Gościu. Auto-bio-Grabaż* (Poznań 2010). The text refers to a popular anti-fascist song by Grabaż.
- ‘Odszedł Maciej Zembaty’ (‘Maciej Zembaty died’, page 51) by Marcin Kornak commemorates the late Polish songwriter and singer, Maciej Zembaty, highlighting his involvement in the Music Against Racism campaign.
- ‘Odzyskać ważne słowa: ojczyzna i patriotyzm’ (‘Reclaim important words: homeland and patriotism’, pages 52-53) is an interview by Wiktor Marszałek with Piotr Wróbel (vocalist of the band Akurat) and Konrad Sielak Siedlecki (vocalist of the band Radio Bagdad). Both bands went on tour together in spring 2011, inviting the NEVER AGAIN Association to collaborate during concerts under the banner of the Music Against Racism campaign. Both musicians talk about their musical inspirations as well as their views on racism, xenophobia and intolerance.
- ‘Biały, żółty, czerwony, czarny. Muzyka Przeciwko Rasizmowi’ (‘White, yellow, red, black. Music Against Racism’, page 53) – a report on the release of ‘White, yellow, red, black’ – an album by the anti-racist band Qulturka. The album is distributed with the Music Against Racism logo and some songs can be downloaded for free from the website of the NEVER AGAIN Association that has cooperated with the band for many years.
- ‘Wszystkie cztery kolory Qulturki – wybór należy do Was’ (‘All the four colours of Qulturka – the choice is yours’, page 54) by Agnieszka Świderska, is a review of the album ‘Biały, żółty, czerwony, czarny’ (‘White, yellow, red, black’) recorded by the music band Qulturka.
- ‘Posłuchaj mnie’ (‘Listen to me’, page 55) is an interview by Agnieszka Świderska with Aśka Naranowicz, a vocalist from the band Qulturka.
- ‘Obnażam się przed Wami, czyli geneza tekstów’ (‘I expose myself for you, or the origins of the lyrics’, pages 56-57) by Joanna Naranowicz of the band Qulturka, is the author’s interpretation and story of her song lyrics performed with the band.
- ‘Wolność – znaczy Freedom’ (‘Wolność means Freedom’, pages 58-59) by Arkadiusz Zacheja, reviews several albums of popular Polish bands, which contain lyrics touching upon questions of nationalism, racism and struggles for tolerance.
- ‘Biblioteka antyfaszysty’ (‘Anti-fascist’s library’ section, pages 62-73) presents reviews of books, films and comic books. Among the reviewed books are Rafał Pankowski’s *The Populist Radical Right in Poland*, Omer Bartov’s *Erased. Vanishing traces of Jewish Galicia in present-day Ukraine, Radical Russian Nationalism* published by the Sova Centre in Moscow, as well as a number of other books concerning nationalism, tolerance and intolerance, inter-ethnic dialogue, situation of immigrants etc.
- ‘Katalog Wypadków – Brunatna Księga’ (‘Catalogue of Incidents – The Brown Book’, pages 75-108) by Marcin Kornak and Anna Tatar, is a detailed record of violent acts and other incidents of racism, xenophobia and discrimination, in particular those committed by members and sympathisers of racist and neo-fascist groups in Poland in the period between January 2009 and September 2011.

“NEVER AGAIN”

ASSOCIATION

MISSION

The mission of “NEVER AGAIN” Association is to promote multicultural understanding and to contribute to the development of a democratic civil society in Poland. “NEVER AGAIN” is particularly concerned with the problem of education against racial and ethnic prejudices among the young.

It had existed as an informal group since 1992 and it was officially registered in 1996.

OBJECTIVES

The major objectives of “NEVER AGAIN” Association include:

- ▶ breaking the silence and raising awareness of the problem of racism and xenophobia in contemporary Poland;
- ▶ building a broad and inclusive movement against racism and discrimination;
- ▶ eliminating or marginalizing racist, xenophobic and antisemitic tendencies in various spheres of life.

“NEVER AGAIN” is an independent organization, not linked to any political party.

ACTION

Since 1994 “NEVER AGAIN” has produced a regular publication in the form of “NEVER AGAIN” (“NIGDY WIĘCEJ”) magazine, providing reliable information and in depth analysis on hate crime and on extremist and racist groups operating in Poland and in the rest of Europe.

“NEVER AGAIN” closely monitors racism and xenophobia on the ground. Through its national network of voluntary correspondents and regular grassroots contacts with various minority communities, “NEVER AGAIN” has built the most extensive register of racist incidents and other xenophobic crimes committed in Poland, the “Brown Book”.

The “NEVER AGAIN” Association also provides information directly to journalists and researchers interested in the problem of racism and xenophobia. “NEVER AGAIN” has consulted numerous programs on the national television, as well as assisted in writing many articles for the national and international press. About 2,000 press articles, books, TV and radio broadcasts have been prepared with the assistance of “NEVER AGAIN”.



“NEVER AGAIN” has cooperated with international organizations, including the Council of Europe, the United Nations, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. It has actively participated in international networks, including UNITED for Intercultural Action, the International Network against Cyber Hate (INACH), Football against Racism in Europe (FARE), Helsinki Citizens’ Assembly (hCa), and the Anti-fascist Network for Research and Education (Antifa-Net).

“NEVER AGAIN” has launched the “Delete Racism” project to combat racism and antisemitism on the Internet. It has also conducted successful high profile educational campaigns in the field of popular culture, “Music Against Racism” and “Let’s Kick Racism out of the Stadiums”. It is currently planning major educational activities to take place before and during the European Football Championship in Poland and Ukraine in 2012.

Moreover, “NEVER AGAIN” has participated in important initiatives to commemorate the Holocaust and other historical events such as the Spanish Civil War.

The wide ranging activity of “NEVER AGAIN” has achieved broad national and international recognition. Nevertheless, the Association has struggled with a severe lack of funding for its anti-racist activities. Your donation, however small, will help us continue the fight against racism, antisemitism and discrimination in Poland.

“NEVER AGAIN” ASSOCIATION

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