

‘NEVER AGAIN’ Association

Braun’s Hate

Report



Warsaw, December 2023

Summary

The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association has prepared a special report that documents several dozen examples of hateful actions and statements of Grzegorz Braun, Member of Polish Parliament from the far-right Konfederacja (Confederation) party. The hatred expressed by Braun did not start with the infamous 12 December 2023 attack on the hannukiah in the Parliament, using a fire extinguisher. In fact, the Konfederacja MP has for years promoted conspiracy theories about Jews taking over Poland, mocked the victims of Nazi camps, called for violence against LGBT people, and boasted about tearing down Ukrainian flags.

- 'We call on social media platforms to remove the hateful content produced by Grzegorz Braun. He has been propagating hatred against minorities with impunity for many years. His videos on YouTube and entries on Facebook and X (Twitter) promote aggression towards Jews, Muslims, refugees and LGBT people,' says Lukasz Jakubowski from the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association.

The broad reach of Braun's hateful propaganda is evidenced by the number of views of his materials online (e.g. some videos featuring him have over one million views) and the huge amounts of money collected in his fundraising campaigns (for example, on 18 December he received 200,000 PLN, which is more than 50,400 USD, through one of Polish fundraising websites). His actions have a direct impact, too: on 14 December, five perpetrators (minors) tried to destroy a Hanukkah menorah in Wroclaw. They also set fire to an Israeli flag they had brought with them and filmed the entire incident. They were detained and their case has been brought to family court.

Thanks to the intervention of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, the Allegro and OLX internet marketplace platforms removed several dozen offers of gadgets expressing support for the antisemitic act of violence committed by Braun in the Parliament. The deleted items included mugs and t-shirts with an image of a fire extinguisher facing a Jewish candelabra.

Braun's statements have been repeatedly reported by the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association to YouTube, Facebook, and X (Twitter) for promoting hatred. However, these platforms - contrary to their own terms of use - are reluctant to remove this type of content. As a result, Braun can conduct his aggressive campaign without any obstacles.

Examples of statements and incidents documented in the publication of the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association entitled 'Braun's Hate':

- On 2 April 2019, in an interview published on the YouTube channel of wRealu24, online TV, Grzegorz Braun demanded penalties for homosexuality. He said, 'Let's negotiate not the boundaries of tolerance, but of penalisation. [...] If someone comes up with a liberal bill introducing whipping of homosexuals, then we can discuss how to implement it - whether through European Parliament or Warsaw's Parliament.'

- On 9 April 2020, in an interview for the Panta Rhei channel on YouTube, Braun presented xenophobic conspiracy theories about the origins of COVID-19, 'Might it be simply an act of biological warfare? [...] Who might benefit from it? The Chinese, Americans, Muscovites, Jews, or all of them at once?'

- On 14 December 2021, during a demonstration that was held in front of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) MPs from Konfederacja, including Braun, spoke and posed against the background of a banner with an inscription 'Vaccination makes you free' which was designed to resemble the sign above the gate of the former Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp: 'Arbeit macht frei' ('Work makes you free').

- On 24 February 2022, a few hours after the start of Russia's military aggression against Ukraine, Braun posted a comment on Twitter in which he called for Poles not to help those fleeing war-torn Ukraine, 'The humanitarian imperative: DO NOT leave the territory of the Republic of Poland wide open, do not create demand for the migration of refugees/invaders.'

- On 14 March 2022, referring to xenophobic and antisemitic conspiracy theories, Braun condemned the display of Ukrainian flags as a sign of solidarity with the victims of the war. He posted on Twitter, 'Do we already have Ukro-Polin here? Who is the host here?' [Polin means Poland in Hebrew, in this case Braun referred to an antisemitic conspiracy theory according to which 'Ukro-Polin', a Jewish-Ukrainian state, would be formed after overtaking Poland]

- On 25 June 2022, during a demonstration in Warsaw, Braun expressed publicly his thanks to extreme-right activists and YouTube broadcasters Wojciech Olszanski and Marcin Osadowski for their 'very strong voice for Poland. And I repeat it – death to the enemies of the fatherland'. At that time legal proceedings were in progress against Olszanski and Osadowski for issuing death threats to Members of Parliament.

- On 21 November 2022, Braun enthusiastically welcomed the news that a South African court decided to release on parole Janusz Walus – the racist killer who shot Chris Hani, a South African anti-apartheid leader, in 1993. Braun posted on Twitter, 'LIVE: South Africa's Constitutional Court takes its decision to RELEASE Mr. Janusz Walus from prison. Thank heavens!'

- On 27 January 2023, in the Regional Court building in Krakow, Braun destroyed a Christmas tree which was displayed by an association of judges. The tree was decorated with baubles with Ukrainian flags, European Union flags, and the letters 'LGBT' in rainbow colours.

- On 30 May 2023, at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw, Braun disrupted the lecture of Professor Jan Grabowski about Holocaust memory. He moved towards the lecturer, shouting 'Enough of this!', ripped out the microphone from the stand, smashed it against the lectern, and knocked over the loudspeaker.

- On 12 December 2023, in the building of the Sejm Braun disrupted a ceremony on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah. He burst in with a fire extinguisher and used it to put out the candles burning on the nine-branched candelabra (hanukkiah). One of the ceremony participants, Magdalena Gudzińska-Adamczyk, tried to stop Braun, but she was attacked by him and sprayed with the fire extinguisher.

- On 14 December 2023, on Leszek Szymowski's YouTube channel Braun encouraged people to repeat the aggressive act he had committed during Hanukkah celebrations, 'At this time next year, I will be on the lookout for all those who believe that it is necessary to professionally extinguish fires started in public spaces [this is how Braun described his attack]. I applaud all forms of protest and attempts to put an end to such activities.'

In January 2023, the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association published a report on hate speech as well as antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theories propagated on the Media Narodowe (National Media) online TV channel. Upon the publication the channel was removed by YouTube. In August 2022, thanks to cooperation with the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association, the YouTube platform removed the far-right channel wRealu24.

The 'NEVER AGAIN' Association is an independent anti-racist organisation 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.

Additional information:

www.nigdywiecej.org

www.facebook.com/Respect.Diversity

www.twitter.com/StowNIGDYWIECEJ

www.linkedin.com/company/never-again-association

WARSAW. On 18 March 2019, Mr. **Grzegorz Braun**, a candidate in the European Parliament elections from the list of the **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party, when interviewed by **Marcin Rola**, in a live broadcast via YouTube on **wRealu24**, an internet TV channel, made the following statement: *'Nowadays I am in favour of the penalisation of homosexual activity in general.'* When asked to elaborate by the host who asked, *'In general? Completely?'*, he answered in the affirmative, and added, *'Yes, I postulate that sodomy as such is deserves to be punished.'* During the interview he used other abusive expressions for homosexual people, including: *'There will be no perverts raising our children.'* Referring to Robert Biedron, former Mayor of Slupsk and the leader of the Wiosna (*'Spring'*) group, he said: *'A public and professional sodomite – he should go to prison.'* Since the beginning of 2019, internet TV programmes on **wRealu24** have been broadcast from a studio located in the historic building of PAST (the Polish Telecoms company), a symbol of one of the greatest victories of the 1944 Warsaw Uprising. The **'NEVER AGAIN'** Association attempted to intervene in the matter of renting PAST premises to an internet television channel known for the regular spreading of hatred, but the capital authorities neglected to take any action in this matter.

WARSAW. On 2 April 2019, **Grzegorz Braun**, a film director and a far-right candidate in the European Parliament elections from the list of the **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party, in an interview published on the YouTube channel of **wRealu24**, an online TV channel, demanded penalties for homosexuality. He said: *'Let's negotiate not the boundaries of tolerance, but of penalization. If someone comes up with a bill about whipping, then we can discuss how to implement it.'* When talking to **Pawel Jaworski**, Braun linked homosexuality to paedophilia: *'Perverts chasing boys... They want to make molesting children legal.'*

WARSAW. On 11 May 2019, an extreme nationalist march was organised by the **Independence March Association** and the **National Radical Camp (ONR)** on the streets of the capital. It was also attended by representatives of the **Right Wing of the Republic of Poland, All-Polish Youth (MW)** and **Agrounia** with its leader, **Michal Kolodziejczak**. **Robert Bakiewicz** from the March of Independence group spoke to the participants of the assembly, and his comments took the form of threats: *'The government says, for example, that it does not allow immigrants, and yet half of the city already comes from various foreign countries - from Ukraine to Bangladesh and Africa. But if the government does not pass any laws protecting us against Jewish claims, we will take matters into our own hands!'*. **Leszek Zebrowski**, a commentator associated with **Radio Maryja** and the magazine, **'Nasz Dziennik'**, stated that accepting alleged claims relating to heirless assets amounts to *'Talmudisation of the law'*. The Member of Parliament, **Tomasz Rzymkowski**, a member of the **Kukiz'15** movement, stated that he had prepared a bill that would preclude all the claims, and would enable *'a total ban on talks with the Holocaust industry.'* **Grzegorz Braun**, a film director and candidate in the Presidential elections in 2015, said, *'It's not about money: it's about a hostile takeover of Polish statehood. This is a tool to train us, just like all the previous lies that have not yet ceased. It is about a hostile takeover of the Polish state. Please, don't delude yourselves that the Jews will leave us in peace!'*. During the march, the route of which led from the Chancellery of the Prime Minister to the US Embassy, its participants chanted *'Down with Jewish occupation'*, *'This is Poland, not Polin'*, and *'Death to the enemies of our homeland'*. They also carried banners with the inscriptions, *'Jews are the cause of antisemitism'*, *'The Hyenas of the Holocaust'*, *'Stop Jewish occupation'*, and *'End the robbing of Poland by the Holocaust industry bankers from New York'*, as well as the U.S. **Confederate** flag.

The flag was used in the 19th century during the American Civil War, and is considered to be a symbol of slavery and racial discrimination. Some demonstrators wore t-shirts with the slogan, 'I don't apologize for Jedwabne', and a crossed-out Star of David. They also displayed symbols that are variants of the swastika, racist Celtic cross signs, and symbols known as *Totenkopf*, or the Death's Head symbol, which was used by **SS-Totenkopfverbände** branch members, who worked as guards in German concentration camps. During the demonstration, antisemitic publications were sold, including '**The Protocols of the Elders of Zion**', which promotes conspiracy theories about Jews seeking power over the whole world. Despite these incidents and public announcements from the capital's mayor, Rafal Trzaskowski, that if such content appeared during the march, 'appropriate steps would be taken' - the Warsaw authorities declined to dissolve the assembly.

WARSAW. On 11 October 2019, film director and **Confederation (Konfederacja)** Member of Parliament, **Grzegorz Braun**, appearing on an episode of the programme, 'W cztery oczy' ('Face-to-Face'), broadcast on YouTube channel, **wRealu24**, expressed offensive comments towards Ms. Olga Tokarczuk, recent winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature. Due to her views, she has been under attack from the far right for a long time. The Confederation politician stated: '*She is a witch. She is a person who promotes various forms of the occult. She is ... under such pressure to steer people towards everything that is non-Polish and non-Catholic. ... In place of the true faith we get some quasi-religions of ecology, and, of course, Judaism is likewise surrounded by a divine cult*'. Later on in his appearance, Braun progressed to deliberations on the topic of alleged Jewish ritual murders. The interview was conducted by **Marcin Rola**, creator of internet TV channel, **wRealu24**, which is well-known for publishing materials with xenophobic and antisemitic content.

WARSAW. On 15 January 2020, the YouTube channel of **Monika Jaruzelska** (Warsaw Councillor and a lecturer at the SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities), named **Towarzyszka Panienska (Comrade Miss)**, published an hour-long interview with **Grzegorz Braun**, a Member of Parliament from the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party). It contained numerous instances of antisemitic and homophobic rhetoric. During the conversation, held at the villa of Wojciech Jaruzelski (1923-2014; army general and political leader who served as premier, chairman of the Council of State, and president during the final years of communist rule in Poland), Braun referred to modern Poland as 'a Russian-German condominium under Jewish fiduciary government', adding that '*the Jewish fiduciary government has, of course, its guarantor and protector in the American empire*'. He continued: '*Germans, Jews and sodomites must not rewrite our history and instruct us how to behave in our own home*'. He showed his approval for using violence against pride protesters, announcing on behalf of the Konfederacja party: '*We will not be sending police to remove from the streets those who stand in the way of the regulars at the parade of deviants and offenders. We will be sending the police to arrest those offenders*'. He also called out that '*we don't want perverts to teach our children tolerance in Polish schools*'. Jaruzelska did not react to the hateful content of Braun's speech, on the contrary - she approved, nodded and prompted his arguments, developing the antisemitic and homophobic topics in the conversation. She also congratulated Konfederacja on their online activity. Monika Jaruzelska has been a member of the Warsaw city council since 2018 - the only representative chosen from the list of the Lewica (Left) - she brought up her activity in the council during the conversation. In 2020, she expressed her newly changed ideology, extending invitations to appear on her

programme to multiple far-right activists and propagandists (including **Stanislaw Michalkiewicz** – a broadcaster associated for many years with **Radio Maryja** - chauvinist-Catholic media outlet, **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** – a Member of Parliament representing the Konfederacja party, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** – a commentator for the right-wing **TV Republic**, and others).

WARSAW. On 9 April 2020, in an interview for the **Panta Rhei** channel on YouTube, Member of Parliament, **Grzegorz Braun** (**Confederation** party) presented xenophobic conspiracy theories about the origins of COVID-19. In his argument he offered the following words: *‘Might it be simply an act of biological warfare? [...] If this is an act of biological warfare, is it an initiating act or is it a pre-emptive one? Maybe this is a de-escalation hit that is supposed to freeze the armies or fleets already preparing for conventional operations, in the sense of our idea of a Third World War, in their starting blocks? [...] Who might benefit from it? The Chinese, Americans, Muscovites, Jews, or all of them at once?’* Another conspiracy theory presented by Braun concerned the alleged implantation of chips on recipients of a potential COVID-19 vaccine: *‘When the horn sounds a great victory over the coronavirus, then those allowed out of their homes who go straight to the clinics to get the vaccine will at the same time get in their foreheads [...] a mark of the beast in the form of some electronic component permanently introduced into their bodies’*. In the same interview, Braun also made a number of antisemitic statements. He referred to the alleged *‘Jewish claims’* against Poland. He claimed that *‘Ways to pay up the Jewish demands will be found. There will be overpayment for some super extra army equipment; and the very operation to take us out of this crisis, this rescue programme, will undoubtedly cost us dearly. It will be a great opportunity for shearing the sheep once again to the bare skin. Money lenders will come with a helping hand, and they will save us, and the Warsaw government and the President will be only too ready to fall into the arms of the usurers’*. The comments made by Polish internet users on the video included many antisemitic and xenophobic statements and conspiracy theories, for example: *‘Poles will have to pay the Jewish claims’*, *‘Under the cover of a smokescreen a herd of rams emerges with a Bedouin at the forefront, they come out of forests and parks, flood our cities, administer The Quran in suppositories and rape dogs’*, and *‘The Jews are still waiting for the Messiah, that is our Antichrist. A real apocalypse’*.

WARSAW. On 14 April 2020, **Confederation** Member of Parliament, **Grzegorz Braun** posted a recording on his YouTube channel in which he shared conspiracy theories about the COVID-19 pandemic. During the recording, he said: *‘What is going on here? Do we already have a biological war? Was the virus a de-escalation blow, and who carried out the hit? Was it our American comrades [...] or the Chinese? Was it Bill Gates?’* The MP also suggested that Jews would benefit from the pandemic: *‘Is it really just a coincidence that in a state situated in Palestine [a reference to the State of Israel - Braun does not recognise its existence, and therefore does not mention its name – translator’s note] great success in the work on the vaccine is being seen?’*. He also added: *‘We can see that the big winners everywhere, including in our country, will as always be the big usurers because via their hands, the Polish government will impose transactions and assistance procedures to Polish entrepreneurs’*. In his speech, Braun proposed that a certificate be given to people who have tested negative for COVID-19 called a *‘certificate of kosher standard’*.

WARSAW. On 25 April 2020, **Grzegorz Braun**, a Member of Parliament representing the **Confederation** party, had a conversation with **Tomasz Sommer**, editor-in-chief of the the

extreme-right bi-weekly magazine *'Najwyższy Czas!'* (*'High Time!'*) which was posted on YouTube with the title: *Will they brand us with the mark of the beast?* The two mused over conspiracy theories related to the COVID-19 pandemic, citing Hollywood disaster movies and academic conferences warning about epidemics (including by the Rockefeller Foundation) as evidence that the pandemic was planned. Tomasz Sommer saw in these films the *'prefiguration of a world government'* asking: *'Maybe the organs of the real power, as foreseen in conspiracy theories, are only now coming out in some manner?'* to which Braun replied: *'All this is being fulfilled right now, with an even greater impetus and horror. This reaches with its roots to inhuman theories, for which Protestantism served as the incubator. It should be remembered that Malthusianism, Darwinism, all this would not have come to be without the revolution of Luther and the revolution of masonic lodges in the eighteenth century. They thrived on that ground and attained power ruling souls and bodies. These are people like Bill Gates, and we have to deal with a war which is fought on several fronts [...]. The stage artist, Madonna joined Bill Gates recently. [...] There is talk about looking for a vaccine, but nothing is said about looking for medication that would relieve the discomfort generated by that problematic and legendary virus. [...] And here in our own country and in the rest of the world we hear from unquestioned experts that they doubt the reality of this virus as a phenomenon in human history, and doubt the reality of the pandemic. I cannot divulge the name because my interlocutor demanded anonymity in the course of our internal seminar of the council of the leaders of the Confederation party [...], but the basic facts are a subject of controversy.'* Braun went on to say: *'The force of cosmopolitan projects is becoming real. [...] The question who will rule whom [...], the American – let's use the professional, classical term – Judeo-communism is trying to use the struggle against Coronavirus to get rid of Trump who has done so much for the Jewish cause in the world. [...] We could count all his family's ties. [...] The totalitarian globalists have managed to get their principles to work in most countries on this globe'*. He added: *'Bill Gates is heading for a situation in which each person on this globe will need to legitimise his or her existence with a certificate of kosher standard [that is how Braun referred to the certificate of being vaccinated against COVID-19 – translator's note] and to be monitored [...]. In Liechtenstein this pilot programme has already been launched. [...] We are seeing a return to the realities of life which in our world were most recently known in the 1930s in Soviet Ukraine, when internal passports were reintroduced. [...] A comparison between us and the Stalinist epoch shows that we are worse because we are agreeing to all of it without mass shootings [...], because not all are feeling humiliated by the brutalisation which forces us to wear face masks!'* In the course of Braun's tirade, Sommer butted in with the following statement: *'In this discussion there appeared a figure with a history of 2000 years, the mark of the beast'* to which Braun responded: *'But of course [...], some have already warned that the popularisation of the bar code is a threshold of this hell, of the apocalypse, but now it is absolutely clear that these figures are not overrated, that [...] it is being made true right now before our very eyes [...] that some pilot programmes were already put in motion long ago. There are people who have let themselves be implanted with electronic elements allowing themselves to be localised. The entire technology is already in place. The modus operandi is there and under the pretence of combatting Coronavirus, the stage of infrastructure development is being carried out. [...] It's no coincidence that in the Polish anti-virus shield, 5G masts have appeared to fight Coronavirus. Elon Musk, the next rider of the Apocalypse, besides Gates, Madonna and Mark Zuckerberg predicts the launching of satellites by the thousand, so that there won't be a place where Big Brother cannot see us. [...] This is no conspiracy theory, no hypothesis [...], this is happening right now before our eyes, notice that intensified movement in the sky can be observed each evening [...] you can see*

the hordes of shining light objects flying with angular speed which is not accessible by airplanes [...]. I recommend looking in the sky in the direction of Ursa Major, I have observed this movement in the last few days'

WARSAW. On 6 May 2020, during a speech in the Polish Parliament, **Grzegorz Braun**, a Member of Parliament representing the **Confederation** party made threats of death by hanging to the Minister of Health, Lukasz Szumowski, with reference to sanitary measures introduced in the preceding weeks in connection with the COVID-19 epidemic. Braun said: *'Free the nation out of quarantine. If you do it now, maybe you will somehow get away with it, maybe not all of you will get to face the Tribunal of State. Maybe Minister Szumowski will not be hanged from a lamp post by the people of Warsaw on Three Crosses Square'*. Braun's speech was cut short by the Speaker of Parliament, and his threats were condemned by representatives of other parliamentary groups. Grzegorz Braun is an activist of the extreme right, who has been particularly involved in promoting hateful conspiracy theories connected with the COVID-19 pandemic.

WARSAW. On 7 May 2020, **Grzegorz Braun**, a Member of Parliament representing the **Confederation** party, appearing on **wRealu24**, a YouTube channel, once again voiced conspiracy theories about the COVID-19 pandemic. He referred to, amongst other things, the question of the alleged 'Jewish claims' against Poland: *'If you think that coronavirus has caused an annulment of programmed interference of the Eurokolhoz [a derogatory term used to describe the European Union – translator's note] in Polish affairs, you would be mistaken. If anyone thought that coronavirus caused the Jewish state and the Jewish diaspora to forget their most insolent claims against Poles, it would also be a mistake'*. Referring to his scandalous statement in Parliament on 6th May in which he made threats of death by hanging towards the Minister of Health, Lukasz Szumowski, Braun once again stated: *'I am kindly and courteously warning that such things have happened in history, and [...] I think that he [Minister Szumowski – translator's note] should find a safe place for himself as soon as possible, best under the prison cell on Rakowiecka street [a street in Warsaw known for the state prison it hosts – translator's note]. There we could at least be more or less certain that he will live to see the moment when he can face the State Tribunal, as well as common courts of law'*.

WARSAW. On 22 May 2020, in a broadcast on the **Media Narodowe (National Media)** channel on YouTube the **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** gave a particularly passionate homophobic rant lasting many minutes. He criticized representatives of US and Israeli embassies in Warsaw for taking part in 'parades of perverts' (Equality Marches). He claimed that, *'the phenomenon of pedophilia is not separate from the phenomenon known as sodomy, homosexuality, pederasty. [...] It is not an incident, in the world of perverts it is a normal and desired situation'*. He added that the electoral campaign of Warsaw mayor Rafal Trzaskowski had been *'a major success for the perverts and promoters of perversion, the promoters of the sodomization of public life'*. Braun alleged that *'the perverts'* are influential *'also in the current power structure'*, including in the sphere of *'management of state-owned companies'*.

WARSAW. On 25 May 2020, MPs of the far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party **Krzysztof Bosak** and **Grzegorz Braun** used the anniversary of the death of Witold Pilecki (one of the organizer of resistance against the Nazis among Auschwitz inmates) for electoral

propaganda containing elements of antisemitism during a press briefing they had organized in front of the former prison in Rakowiecka Street. Krzysztof Bosak, a presidential candidate from the Konfederacja party, called for resistance against the so-called 447 Act (it pertained to American Congress JUST Act, known in Poland as No. 447 Act, which in Poland is used by adherents of the extreme right as a pretext to propagate antisemitic conspiracy theories). He also criticized changes in the controversial law on the Institute of National Memory for *'giving in to external power centres'*. Grzegorz Braun, who is also a member of the Konfederacja party exclaimed, *'Down with Euro-communism, down with Judeo-communism!'* These antisemitic statements during the electoral campaign were not noted, nor condemned, by media or the other presidential candidates.

WARSAW. On 6 July 2020, on **Grzegorz Braun's** YouTube channel, a video entitled *'Claims Closer and Closer to the Realisation'* was posted, in which a far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** Member of Parliament preached conspiracy theories regarding alleged Jewish claims against Poland. Braun referred to the *'Report on the Observance of Religious Freedom around the World in 2019'*, published by the U.S. State Department, saying, *'With a certain pride in fulfilling my duty, I am finding here my own name. [...] One of the examples of my alleged antisemitism is, among others, my sentence: «The American Empire is a political as well as military tool of Jewish blackmail against Poland». Nothing more, nothing less. Still today I can sign my name under this'*. He continued, *'Anyone who thinks that the anti-virus campaign erased the Jewish claims against Poland, is naive'*, declaring that *'Jewish interests are radically inconsistent with the Polish national interest'*. Afterwards the MP addressed the audience, as follows: *'That's us, who do not hesitate to call the Jewish claims illegal and their traditions wild, tribal, barbaric and racist'*. During his speech, Braun did not mention the name of the State of Israel, but instead used the phrase *'State located on the Palestinian territory'*, thus questioning its very existence.

WARSAW. On 14 December 2021, a demonstration was held in front of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) against sanitary restrictions related to COVID-19, organised by the **Stop NOP** Association (striving to abolish compulsory vaccinations for children against infectious diseases), led by **Justyna Socha**, volunteer assistant of the **Konfederacja (Confederation)** Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** (who is known for disseminating antisemitic conspiracy theories). Participants of this gathering displayed a banner with an inscription *'Vaccination makes you free'* which was designed to resemble the sign above the gate of the former Auschwitz concentration camp *'Arbeit macht frei'* (*'Work makes you free'*). During the demonstration, MP's from Konfederacja: Braun, as well as **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** (well-known extremist and chauvinist), **Artur Dziambor**, **Robert Winnicki** and **Konrad Berkowicz** spoke and posed against the background of this banner. A statement on this matter was issued by the Auschwitz-Birkenau State Museum: *'[This inscription] is one of the icons of human hatred. The instrumentalisation of the symbol of suffering of the victims of Auschwitz – the largest cemetery in Poland and in the world – is a scandalous manifestation of moral corruption. It is especially embarrassing when Polish MPs do it'*.

In response to the words of condemnation from the Auschwitz Museum, on 15 December, Janusz Korwin-Mikke posted an image on Twitter in which he used the symbolism of the Auschwitz camp to mock vaccination against COVID-19. This illustration caricatured the barracks and the

entrance gate with the inscription *‘Impfen macht frei’* (*‘The vaccine makes you free’*). The guards held syringes instead of weapons, and in the distance there was a stereotypical Chinese man and Bill Gates (a reference to conspiracy theories blaming the Chinese for the pandemic, and Gates – for chipping vaccinated people and seeking to take control over humanity). This image was provided by Korwin-Mikke with a commentary in which he considered anti-epidemic principles manifestation of genocidal actions and compared them with the Holocaust, *‘Of course there is a HUGE moral difference between the Holocaust, that is, a murder intentionally planned by **Henric** [sic!] **Himmler** – and the actions of today’s governments that kill out of stupidity. Nevertheless, the number of victims of the HECATOMB is already higher and the Museum is furious because it has dropped to the second place’* (original spelling).

In turn, on 15 December 2021, in an interview with *‘Rzeczpospolita’* (nationwide daily) Konfederacja MP Artur Dziambor said that he did not regret his appearance at the demonstration under the *‘Vaccination makes you free’* banner. He referred to it, *‘The fact that the left-wing part of the internet is outraged and that they call me vile and so on, does not affect me much’* [sic!].

On 15 December 2021, in front of the Sejm Justyna Socha’s Stop NOP Association again organised a demonstration against sanitary restrictions, during which participants displayed a banner with the inscription *‘Vaccination makes you free’*, designed to resemble the sign above the gate to Auschwitz. The assembly was attended by the members of Konfederacja Grzegorz Braun and Artur Dziambor.

WARSAW. On 15 January 2022, the Parliamentary Team for the Defence of Freedom of Speech and the Parliamentary Team for the Freedom of Research, Publication, and Public Debate held a meeting in the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament). The discussion, chaired by **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) Members of Parliament **Dobromir Sosnierz** and **Grzegorz Braun**, was devoted to the problem of alleged ‘censorship’ on the internet. It was attended by representatives of internet channels known for hosting hateful content (for example, **Marcin Rola** from the far-right YouTube channel **wRealu24**, which broadcast the event), members of Konfederacja, as well as the Deputy Minister of Justice **Sebastian Kaleta**. MP Braun delivered antisemitic conspiracy theories and homophobic content, saying, inter alia, *‘Statesmen and heads of state, including the President of the Republic of Poland, not only ritually bow to Jews in New York, but they also go to California to talk to people sitting somewhere there at the tops of the pyramids, the managers of the so-called social media. [...] The purpose of this operation is not to get rid of this or that book from Allegro [the biggest online e-commerce platform in East-Central Europe – translator’s note] or to close another Facebook profile, the purpose is [...] the canon of political correctness [which] is easy to define: let no one dare speak about Jews, sodomites, and communists in a way that is not sentimental or idealising, because they will get hit’*. He also trivialised the historical memory of the crimes of Nazism, speaking of organisations fighting against hate speech, *‘This Big Brother’s Internet Gestapo has blackmailers at its service’*. None of the other discussion participants reacted to Braun’s statements.

WARSAW. On 24 February 2022, a few hours after the start of Russia’s military aggression against Ukraine, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) MP, **Grzegorz Braun** (a nationalist known for antisemitic statements), posted a comment on Twitter, in which he called for people not to help those fleeing war-torn Ukraine: *‘The humanitarian imperative: DO NOT*

leave the territory of the Republic of Poland wide open, do not create demand for the migration of refugees – it could be possible to organise shuttle trains... to the western border’.

WARSAW. On 25 February 2022, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party MP **Grzegorz Braun** (a nationalist known for several scandals and antisemitic statements), condemned on Twitter the aid campaigns organised for refugees leaving Ukraine. Commenting on a statement made by the Mayor of Zamosc about preparations for the arrival of Ukrainians in the city, Braun presented a conspiratorial version of events: *‘I’m warning you, this joyful hyperactivity of the Zamosc authorities specifically means the creation of demand for migrants – today from Ukraine, tomorrow from God knows where. Over time, they could radically change, not only the social structure, but also the balance of political forces in the Republic of Poland’.* Braun also called for ethnic discrimination in favour of Poles: *‘If the Polish authorities are to engage in any «humanitarian actions», these must be primarily humanitarian actions to assist Poles [in Poland or Ukraine]. It is a scandal to prioritise the safety, health and educational problems of neighbours and guests over those of one’s own compatriots and citizens’.*

PRZEMYSL. On 1 March 2022, near the train station, football hooligans armed with baseball



bats and glass bottles attacked dark-skinned refugees from war-torn Ukraine. Aggressive men were ‘patrolling’ the streets in groups and shouting xenophobic slogans, including ‘Przemysl always Polish’ and ‘Get the f*ck out!’ Among them were football fans of the clubs **Polonia Przemysl, Czuwaj Przemysl,**

JKS Jaroslaw, Lady Bilgoraj and Karpaty Krosno.

Four attackers beat up three men of Indian origin. One of the injured suffered a hand injury and required medical attention. The police were informed about the incident.

Another attack was reported by a volunteer who was helping refugees in Przemysl. In an interview with a journalist, he reported, *‘I met a few refugees from Ukraine on the street. They asked for directions to the station. As I showed them where to go, a few cars stopped next to us. Through the open windows we heard: «Get the f*ck out of Poland»’.* The men managed to escape, but three of them were attacked by football fans later that day. The volunteer described the incident: *‘They [the refugees – translator’s note] were attacked by men with baseball bats and bottles [the perpetrators were football fans]. Two of them [the refugees] were hit and the firefighters helped them [there were uniformed services on the streets that day, with firefighters among them]. They [the firefighters] escorted them [the refugees, who were attacked] to the station. At Biedronka supermarket there was a third man, who had also been attacked, and his friends. While we were waiting for the patrol, the shop’s customers began to comment loudly that black people had allegedly attacked a woman in Przemysl with a knife. The atmosphere was getting more tense’.*

As reported by the news website Oko.press, another aggressive group of masked men also attacked three dark-skinned foreigners. When reporters started recording the incident, one of the attackers shouted, *'Okay, don't hit them!'* and turned to the journalists to say, *'We are defending our women!'* It turned out that the victims were workers from the German branch of Humanity First, an organization helping refugees from Ukraine. One of the workers reported, *'We were stopped by some people telling us to «go back to the train» and to «leave the country». We turned back, we wanted to wait until they were gone but they came again and attacked us'.* The second activist added, *'We tried to talk to the police and have them escort us to the car. But they refused, saying we were the ones who had to take the risk'.*

In a statement for the British daily newspaper *'The Guardian'*, a 22-year-old Egyptian student, who had come from Ukraine, reported, *'I was with my friends, buying something to eat. These men came and began harassing a group of Nigerian men. They did not allow the African boy to enter the premises so that he could eat. Then they came up to us and shouted: «Go back to your country»'.*

The thugs also attacked a female student from Sudan, using racist insults. They shouted, *'Black b*tch'* at her.

On the same day, a journalist from Israel was attacked near the train station by a group of hooligans.

A recording of another act of aggression, whereby two attackers accosted a black man, was posted on a far-right Twitter account. On camera, the attackers announced that they had used force against the man: *'Good evening, Przemysl civic patrol. We are just escorting the gentleman who is walking around Przemysl without documents, he does not know what for'.* The rest of the video has not been made public.

Konfederacja MP **Grzegorz Braun** approved of the acts of racist violence that took place in Przemysl. On the evening of 1 March, he stated on Twitter: *'I support #PatroleObywatelskie [civic patrols – translator's note] in Przemysl and other places! I wish you safe service and a peaceful night'.*

WARSAW. On 8 March 2022, in an interview on the far-right **wRealu 24** YouTube channel, presenter **Marcin Rola** and MP **Grzegorz Braun** from the **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party talked about the alleged privileges afforded to Ukrainians at the expense of Poles. Braun asked, *'Is it acceptable for a citizen of Poland to be a citizen of an inferior sort? Is it acceptable for Poles to be second-class citizens in their own country? [...] Hundreds of thousands [refugees – translator's note], more than a million today and potentially millions of people in the future, who are going to change, let's call it the cultural landscape of Poland, who have already changed it'.* Braun further referred to antisemitic stereotypes (equating Jews with Nazis), addressing the matter of Israel's aid to Ukrainian refugees: *'They segregate the newcomers at home, allow the Jews in and send back those who have not shown that they have Jewish roots. [...] they carry out selection just as on the ramp of Auschwitz'.*

WARSAW. On 14 March 2022, referring to xenophobic and antisemitic conspiracy theories, **Konfederacja** (far-right party **Confederation**) MP **Grzegorz Braun** condemned the display of

the Ukrainian flag in the Polish Sejm [lower chamber of Polish Parliament] as a sign of solidarity with the victims of aggression. Braun posted the following words on Twitter: *'Do we already have Ukro-Polin here [Polin means Poland in Hebrew, in this case it is antisemitic conspiracy theory according to which 'Ukro-Polin' would be a Jewish-Ukrainian state, formed after overtaking Poland – translator's note]? Who is the host here?'* The politician attached a photo from the Sejm with the flags of Poland and Ukraine, under which he posed together with **Roman Fritz**, Vice President of Braun's party.

TORUN. On 15 March 2022, prof. **Jacek Bartyzel** (lecturer at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Torun and the **Academy of Social and Media Culture** in Torun founded by **Tadeusz Rydzyk**, a Roman Catholic priest and the director of the **Radio Maryja** station and TV station, known for antisemitic statements) posted a comment on Facebook fueling hostile sentiment towards Ukrainians coming to Poland. He wrote: *'This is not humanitarian aid for people fleeing war or refugees [...], but a great resettlement action – comparable to the one after 1945 – which may irreversibly change the ethnic structure of Poland, because the newcomers who receive privileges greater than those of the Polish population, have no motivation to return to a ruined country, even if the war ends'.*

These xenophobic words were repeatedly quoted in public statements by **Grzegorz Braun** a member of the **Konfederacja** (far-right party **Confederation**). Braun is a nationalist known for antisemitic statements. Among other things, on 17 March Braun posted a graphic on Twitter with the above quote and a photo of Bartyzel along with a comment *'I share these concerns'.*

WARSAW. On 17 March 2022, the far right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) organised a press conference in the Sejm [lower chamber of Polish Parliament] aimed against Ukrainian refugees, under the slogan *'Yes to help, no to privileges'*. In their speeches, the members of Konfederacja fueled xenophobic prejudices, arguing about the alleged privileges of Ukrainians at the expense of Poles. MP **Michał Urbaniak** criticised the support shown to people who escaped the war: *'The refugees are allowed to use public transport for free. [...] The city of Lodz is an interesting example, because some people will have free public transport there, and the citizens of Lodz will see ticket prices increase'*. Urbaniak also warned against *'dilapidated'* aid, *'through which someone received privileges that currently do not belong to Poles'*. In turn, **Grzegorz Braun**, referring to Prof. **Jacek Bartyzel** (a lecturer at the **Akademia Kultury Społecznej i Medialnej** – the **College of Social and Media Culture** in Torun, founded by **Tadeusz Rydzyk** – a Roman Catholic priest and the director of the **Radio Maryja** station and TV station, known for antisemitic statements), said, *'This is no longer helping war refugees, this is resettling people'*. He also added, *'This is aimed at a radical transformation of the Republic of Poland into some other country. [...] These are not war refugees, but displaced people'*. Due to its xenophobic nature, the press conference was boycotted by journalists. Jan Strzeżek, spokesman for the Porozumienie (Agreement party), said of Konfederacja's actions: *'It is disgusting to rescue your ratings in the polls by attacking women, children and seniors who are constantly on the run from Putin's military machine'*.

ZIELONA GÓRA. On 18 March 2022, on Głogowska Street, in the **ForRest** hotel, a meeting was held by the far-right **Konfederacja** (**Confederation** party) MP **Grzegorz Braun** (a nationalist known for antisemitic statements), during which he mocked the victims of Russia's aggression against Ukraine and presented Ukrainian refugees as a threat to Poland. He spoke about the

ongoing war on the territory of Ukraine: *'My appeal: ignore it!'* [i.e. ignore the war – editor's note]. He also condemned the provision of humanitarian aid to Ukrainians: *'Whoever rushes to the aid of the hungry in distant corners of the world, and has his own children malnourished, sins'*. He argued about the alleged privileges of Ukrainians at the expense of Poles: *'The Ukrainian Plus Act is an act of explicit discrimination against Poles'*. Fostering a xenophobic mood, Braun once again referred to the statement of Professor **Jacek Bartyzel** (a lecturer at the **College of Social and Media Culture** in Torun, founded by **Tadeusz Rydzyk**, a Roman Catholic priest and the director of the **Radio Maryja** station and TV station, known for antisemitic statements), saying *'This is no longer helping war refugees, this is resettling the population. [...] This is the Vistula Operation 2.0'*. He later said, *'In a moment we will have a completely different country, but I do not know if this will be Poland'*. He also said that it was necessary to *'set conditions'* for Ukrainians coming to Poland, *'They should decide who they want to be, whether they want to be a nation of special care until the end of the world?'*

PILA. On 19 March 2022, the **Salesian Society of St. Jan Bosko** made the auditorium available for a meeting with MP **Grzegorz Braun** (a nationalist known for spreading antisemitic conspiracy theories), member of the **Konfederacja** (**Confederation**, far-right party). It took place within the walls of the Secondary School of the Salesian Society of St. Jan Bosko on Dembowski Street, the director of which is priest **Artur Kucharski**. Originally, the meeting was supposed to take place at the Gromada Hotel, but due to numerous objections from the guests and residents of the city, it was canceled. The hotel owners publicised the decision in a statement and additionally stressed: *'We would like to inform you that the Gromada Hotel in Pila supports refugees, for whom we have allocated several dozen rooms for accommodation'*. Since the first days of the war in Ukraine, Braun has been making xenophobic comments and promoting conspiracy theories during meetings organised in various localities, as well as criticising the aid provided to refugees. His speech in Pila with the Salesians was boycotted by the local media. The editorial office of *'Glos Pilski'* newspaper sent questions to the school's headmaster, Father Kucharski, asking whether they were *'not disturbed by the views of MP Grzegorz Braun on helping refugees from Ukraine, which have little to do with the attitude of hospitality and kindness encouraged by the Polish Church? Isn't the school, in his opinion, appropriate place for political rallies? Did the parents of the students know about the meeting?'* These questions remained unanswered.



Meanwhile, on 18 March, the Rector Major of the Society of St. Francis de Sales, priest Ángel Fernández Artime SDB, wrote a letter to the Salesians in which he called for action on behalf of Ukraine and refugees. The priest expressed special thanks to the Salesians from Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, Moldova and Romania: *'I know that many Salesian houses welcome refugees, bestowing them with great dignity'*.

WARSAW. On 26 March 2022, during a meeting at the Hybrydy club, a far-right commentator **Stanisław Michalkiewicz**, devoted a scandalous speech to jokes and ironic comments about the aggression against Ukraine, which he compared to the coronavirus pandemic (in which he does not believe). He minimised and challenged the war crimes committed against the civilian population. He complained about the alleged censorship of views unfavourable to Ukraine. He said, among other things: *'Is the Ukrainian Pravda [truth, name of major news source – translator's note] really true [play on words – translator's note]? [...] You can see that the experts in shaping opinions of the masses got down to work. [...] We are forced to accept this truth and everyone who does not believe in this truth, is totally ostracised'*. In agreement with the views of **Janusz Korwin-Mikke** (a Member of Parliament representing **Konfederacja – Confederation** party), he also warned against the *'superpower Ukraine'* allegedly threatening Poland, linking it with the presence of Ukrainian refugees: *'If Ukraine were a superpower, we would be surrounded by superpowers. [...] If Ukraine wins, it will undoubtedly become a superpower and then Poland could be conquered by Ukraine [...], especially if we have a Ukrainian diaspora – maybe five, maybe six million, and this diaspora may not want to return there anymore, which is when the European Union can grant EU citizenship to this diaspora. Then these people, not being Polish citizens, would have active and passive voting rights in elections for local governments, so at first local self-governments, and then all the rest'*. In his speech, Michalkiewicz also included anti-American themes: *'President Biden used this war to grab the whole of Europe by the face'* and antisemitic ones: *'Jews do not expect us to settle claims in return for the supply of some goods, no, but in exchange for nothing. The United States have made a commitment to ensure that Poland meets these claims'*.

The meeting at the Hybrydy club (managed by the **Universitatis Varsoviensis Foundation** for the benefit of students and graduates of the University of Warsaw) was organised under the pretext of celebrating the 30th anniversary of the extreme-right bi-weekly magazine *'Najwyższy Czas!' ('High Time!')*. It was attended by politicians and commentators associated with **Konfederacja (Confederation, far-right party)**: Tomasz Sommer (editor-in-chief of *'Najwyższy Czas!'*), **Janusz Korwin-Mikke**, **Slawomir Mentzen**, **Rafal Ziemkiewicz** and **Grzegorz Braun**. During this event, the film *'Jedwabne. True story'* by **Wojciech Sumlinski** (a far-right activist, anti-vaxxer involved in conspiracy theories on COVID-19 and Jewish lobbies) was also broadcast, in which the responsibility of Poles for the anti-Jewish crime in Jedwabne in 1941 is questioned.

WARSAW. On 28 April 2022, during the sitting of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** made a statement in which he ridiculed and condemned Poland's involvement in helping war-torn Ukraine. At the same time, he named minority groups which, according to this conspiracy theory, were to constitute danger to Poland. Braun said, *'Adam Slodowy advises: today I will show you how to change, redesign the face mask into a Ukrainian flag. [...] but we have seen more of these flags. Red, rainbow [a LGBT symbol], in the form of daffodils [symbol of Jewish insurgents fighting in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising in 1943], and this is Poland and not a Banderland, Polin'*. [Adam Slodowy was a Polish popular inventor and DIY populariser, he passed away in 2019. 'Banderland' is referring to **Stepan Bandera**, a Ukrainian nationalist leader in the 20th century, and it would mean Poland allegedly to be taken over by the Ukrainians. 'Polin' – the word means Poland in Hebrew, in this case it'd be a Jewish state that would emerge after the conquest of Poland – translator's note].

WARSAW. On 23 June 2022, during the sitting of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** delivered a statement in which he disseminated antisemitic conspiracy theories. He said, *'I am worried about the visit to Warsaw by Mr. David Harris, the head of something which is called the American Jewish Committee. For many years he has also been a champion of Jewish interests [...]'*. Further on, Braun referred to the so-called Act 447 [passed by US Congress in 2018] which is falsely presented by supporters of the far right as an order for Poland to pay the alleged *'Jewish claims'*. He ranted on, *'I am reminding you again of the question of Act 447, in other words to this infamous law, a declaration of the American legislative body, which we fought against in every way we could. Of course, this means claims or fancied claims, in other words cessions of our estate, forced on us by ways pretending to be legal. [...] The Act 447, the war in Ukraine, forced Jewish claims against Poles, possibly transmitted to Ukraine. [...] My swallows passed on to me that in Washington, the Ambassador [Marek] Magierowski involved himself – obviously hiding from Polish public opinion, I don't know whether it's known to the Polish government – in negotiations of payments of imaginary Jewish claims, having been blackmailed for years, and that these payments have been somehow decided in the range of several billion'*. Ending off his statement, Braun connected these antisemitic visions with the war in Ukraine, *'Is the Polish government negotiating with Jews about payments in cash or in kind, in the form of public transfers or hidden ones, under the guise of helping Ukraine – and how big are the sums? Is this what Mr. Harris is talking about in Warsaw, about how to squeeze out money from Poles, and how much from Ukrainians? Is this what's in the works?'*

WARSAW. On 25 June 2022, a march in honour of **Roman Dmowski** (1864-1939), the founder of modern Polish antisemitism, took place in the capital city. It was organised by far-right propagandists **Wojciech Olszanski** and **Marcin Osadowski** (at that time legal proceedings were in progress against both of them for, among other things, sending death threats to the Members of Polish Parliament) and **Rodacy Kamraci (Compatriot Companionship)** group. Participants of this gathering chanted antisemitic and anti-Ukrainian slogans.

- Wojciech Olszanski spoke publicly several times and shouted with the crowd, *'It is Poland here, not Polin'* [the word means Poland in Hebrew; antisemitic conspiracy theory, according to which 'Polin' would be a Jewish state formed after overtaking Poland – translator's note] and *'Death to the enemies of the motherland'* (a slogan calling for ideologically motivated violence), to which the crowd replied *'Death!'* At the Charles de Gaulle roundabout, Olszanski gave an antisemitic speech, demanding the removal of the palm tree from the Jerusalem Avenue (this installation commemorates Jewish residents of Warsaw): *'There will be no trace left of this palm tree! We will build a great Slavic house here. This is the tree of our national shame. It should not be here! [...] Down with the palm trees, this is a symbol of domination over us'*. During the march, an exhortation was also heard through a megaphone, *'We don't want these palm trees here, a symbol making Jews and Blacks feel at home! [...] This is Poland, not Israel!'*

- At the Castle Square, **Grzegorz Braun** from **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party spoke and expressed publicly his thanks to the two 'patostreamers' [Polish word referring to people who are involved in video live streams containing socially pathological content – translator's note] Wojciech Olszanski and Marcin Osadowski (they had been released from pre-trial custody shortly before the march) for their *'very strong voice for Poland. And I repeat – death to the enemies of the fatherland'*. Braun went on to condemn the President of Poland *'who declares an interest in the project of «Republic of Friends of Polin»*. *Some others want the Ukro-Pol'* ['Ukro' – stands for

Ukraine, 'Pol' for Poland, and refers to a creation of a new nation – translator's note]. Thus, in a single speech, he included antisemitic content and promoted a conspiracy theory that Poland would be taken over by the Ukrainians.

- A speech was also given by **Piotr Rybak** (convicted of public incitement to national hatred) who stated, *'There is no agreement of the Poles in our homeland to let a foreign nation tell us what to do!'* (this referred to Jews). And further he said, *'The communists made a deal with the commie Jews [aka Judeo-Bolsheviks, antisemitic stereotype of Jews as communist traitors – translator's note] and they betrayed us all'*. Marcin Osadowski also publicly attacked the Jewish emigrants forced to leave Poland as a result of the antisemitic campaign in March 1968. He raved on about the conspiracy, *'They can say with impunity that Poles murdered the Jews. [...] History has outlined a completely different framework, that the history created by those who took with them more than they could in '68 created a completely different picture from what we are being taught today'*. Later on, **Michal** from the **Bydgoskie Kamracto Rodakow (Bydgoszcz Compatriot Companionship)** addressed the gathering, *'A president who says that it's Polin here, is he really pursuing the Polish national interest?'*

- During the gathering which lasted several hours its participants also chanted, *'This is Poland, not Ukro-Pol'*, *'They made us Ukro-Polin'* and *'There is no consent for Ukro-Polin'* (a reference to the conspiracy theory according to which Jews and Ukrainians seek to take over Poland). They also displayed flags with the Slavic swastika symbol.

WARSAW. On 21 July 2022, during the sitting of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** perpetuated conspiracy theories of anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic nature, condemning, in this way, the support offered to the refugees from war-torn Ukraine. In his statement he painted the following phantasmagorical vision, *'Poland will return in its full might and majesty, as long as you do not turn it into Ukro-Pol [Poland allegedly taken over by Ukrainians – ed.] or Ukro-Polin [Polin means Poland in Hebrew, in this case it is antisemitic conspiracy theory according to which 'Ukro-Polin' would be a Jewish-Ukrainian state formed after overtaking Poland – translator's note]. And at this point, General, I turn in all seriousness to the Penitentiary Service, [...] think about whether you really want to click your general's heels in front of somebody unknown [...] in front of a new authority of some new firm, some new state project which is already publicly proclaimed and installed? There is talk of dismantling the Polish-Ukrainian border. [...] [Polish territory] has, alas, become a feeding ground, a licenced feeding ground, among others for the Ukrainian Security Service. [...] I hope that you will be Polish statesmen and not Ukro-Polish statesmen'*.

WARSAW. On 24 September 2022, the streets of Warsaw witnessed the protest march under the slogan: *'Stop Ukrainisation of Poland'*, organised by **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)**, a far-right party headed by the Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun**. The participants of this demonstration chanted xenophobic slogans and propagated anti-Ukrainian conspiracy theories. They unfurled banners that contained the following: *'This is Poland*



and not Ukropol!' (a conspiracy theory name for Poland seized by Ukraine), *'Stop exchanging the ethnic structure of Poland'*. They also shouted slogans calling for violence, *'A stick will be found for Bandera's snout'* (**Stepan Bandera** was the leader of the **Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists**, which led an ethnic cleansing campaign against Poles in Volhynia during 1943-44; in practice, 'Bandera' is an ethnic slur frequently used against all Ukrainians in Poland today). In front of the Presidential Palace, Braun spoke to those who gathered there, standing against a backdrop of Konfederacja's banner containing the slogan *'Stop Ukrainisation of Poland'*, as well as the expression *'Ukropol'* with a poster showing a map of Poland covered in Ukrainian colours and crossed out. Braun stated, *'I once again bring to you the motto «Stop Ukrainisation of Poland». [...] This autumn already, some legal automatic procedures will begin to function which within a short time may lead to a change in structure, not only of population but pertaining to vast crowds of Polish citizens who acquire rights and by acquisition of these rights start demands. [...] Soon they will reach for political rights. [...] Such, then, is our right and our patriotic duty to voice: «Stop Ukrainisation of Poland»'*.

This slogan is the motto of an action carried out by Braun and Konfederacja. The initiative Stop Ukrainisation of Poland was discussed on 14 July 2022, during the session of the Parliamentary Group for International Relations and Interests of Poland and Polish Diaspora, comprising only three MPs, all from Konfederacja, i.e. Braun, **Artur Dziambor** and **Konrad Berkowicz**. They vowed to halt a *'process of Ukrainisation of Poland, transforming Poland into a hybrid entity called Ukraino-Polonia.'*

On 25 September, Tomasz Terlikowski, a Catholic intellectual and author, informed on Twitter about antisemitic posts which appeared in response to his critical commentary about the manifestation in Warsaw. Terlikowski wrote, *'When I see Konfederacja people protesting under the sign #stopukrainisationofpoland, I have the urge to write #stopputinisationofpoland. The problem is deeper, because it involves not only proper support of Putin, but also total lack of moral and humanitarian judgement. Thus #stopbeastliness!'* In response, the following were posted: *'Get the f*ck out of here, you Jewish c*nt'* and *'#StopUkrainisationofPoland, you f*cking wart'* (the word 'wart' is traditionally used by Polish antisemites to dehumanise Jews).

WARSAW. On 11 November 2022, during the Polish Independence Day, a so-called Independence March organised by **Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodleglosci (March of Independence Association)** led by **Robert Bakiewicz** passed through the streets of the capital city. Participants of the demonstration were shouting insults towards minority groups and were waving flags promoting hatred.

Grzegorz Braun, a member of **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown party)**, took part in the march. His supporters carried banners with a slogan *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'*. In addition, one of the flags bore a crossed-out map of Poland in Ukrainian colours and the word *'Ukropol'* marked with a ban sign ('Ukro' – stands for Ukraine, 'pol' for Poland). Since mid-July 2022, Konfederacja has been conducting a campaign entitled *'Stop Ukrainisation of Poland'*, aiming – according to conspiracy theories spread by its supporters – to stop *'the process of Ukrainisation of Poland, transforming it into a hybrid state – Ukraino-Polonia'*.

KRAKOW. On 21 November 2022, at the International Cultural Centre, representatives of **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)** prevented a meeting with the Prominent Ukrainian writer Oksana Zabuzhko, recent winner of the Stanislaw Vincenz Prize of the City Council of

Krakow, from taking place. They shouted at her, *'Bandera go back to the river Don!'* and *'Stop the banderisation!'* (these slogans are an example of how the far right use the Volhynian crime of 1943-1945 to incite hatred against modern Ukrainians). Members of *Młodzież Wszechpolska* behaved aggressively, booed loudly, and didn't let Zabuzhko speak. The police were called. The organisers decided to end the meeting. In an interview for a *Presserwis* website, Vyacheslav Wojnarovsky, Consul General of Ukraine in Krakow, reported that the demonstrators were also abusive towards a Ukrainian diplomat present during the meeting. A statement regarding the incident was issued by the Polish PEN Club (distinguished cultural association): *'The aggressive far-right militias that [...] led to the breaking off of the meeting with Oksana Zabuzhko remind us of the worst tradition of ONR-Falanga (Falanga National Radical Camp) of the interwar period [a Polish fascist organisation active before World War II – translator's note]. The Polish PEN Club condemns this brutal attack, which is an unacceptable act of violation of freedom of expression and freedom of assembly'*. The following day, the writer referred to the protests aimed against her, *'Russia does not like the escalation of the Polish-Ukrainian agreement that we are seeing after 24 February. I have no doubt that more similar provocations await us in the nearest future. We know something about this in Ukraine'*. Zabuzhko is a Ukrainian writer, poet, and essayist. Her work explores themes related to self-identification of Ukrainians, issues of post-colonialism, and feminism.

Marcin Rola, founder of the far-right online TV channel **wRealu24** (deleted by YouTube in 2022), congratulated the aggressive demonstrators, *'A big round of applause goes to the girls and boys from Młodzież Wszechpolska for this beautiful action they took today by blocking a meeting in Krakow with a pro-Bandera writer named Oksana Zabuzko. Only anti-Polish traitors and real scum can promote such people'* (Twitter, 21 November).

In a similar tone, radical right-wing activist and newspaper columnist **Wiktor Gadowski** said, *'We will not allow the victims of murderers to be insulted. We [...] will not allow history to be falsified and Poles to be mocked, madam writer. Please remember this lesson!'* (Twitter, 21 November).

Grzegorz Braun, MP of **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party), also enthusiastically referred to the cancellation of the meeting with Oksana Zabuzhko by **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)** and encouraged such behaviour to be used as example, *'Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, Krakow has shown a beautiful pro-Polish attitude. Bravo!! It is worth taking an example. #StopUkrainisationOfPoland'*.

POLAND. On 21 November 2022 and in the following days, there were many voices of support for **Janusz Walus**, the racist killer who shot Chris Hani, a politician and social activist fighting for the abolition of apartheid, in South Africa in 1993. Walus was sentenced to life imprisonment and never expressed remorse. On 21 November 2022, the South African court decided to release him on parole. Supporters of the extreme right in Poland reacted enthusiastically to this decision. For several years they had been demanding Walus's 'liberation' and praising the murder he had committed. Here are some examples of such statements:

- **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun**: *'LIVE: South Africa's Constitutional Court takes its decision to RELEASE Mr Janusz Walus from prison [graphic symbols of thumbs up and hearts followed – ed.]. May God be thanked!'* (Twitter, 21 November)

- Konfederacja press conference at the Parliament, **Piotr Heszen**: *'Mr Janusz [Walus] [...], I can't salute you because I don't have a cap with an eagle [the coat of arms of Poland is a white, crowned eagle – translator's note] [...], but I have a badge of Konfederacja Korony Polskiej [Confederation of the Polish Crown] with me. I will put my hand close to it [i.e., as if when singing the anthem, on the heart – ed.]. Welcome soldier! And God bless you. [...] For me, you are a soldier. A soldier who aims exactly at the target at which every soldier fighting for Poland or for civilisation should aim his gun'*. Grzegorz Braun MP: *'Personally, I place myself on the side of those who consider the shooting of communist party secretaries as an act that does not necessarily call for punishment, and in some cases, it could be an act of higher necessity'* (23 November, recording published on Braun's YouTube channel).

WARSAW. On 14 December 2022, three **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Members of Parliament walked out of the Sejm chamber during the reading of a resolution commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the tragic death of the first President of Poland Gabriel Narutowicz. He was murdered on 16 December 1922 by an extremist and chauvinist **Eligiusz Niewiadomski**. Since Narutowicz had the support in voting from Members of Parliament representing ethnic minorities, the press connected to the right side of the political scene (i.e. **Narodowa Demokracja – National Democracy** movement) unleashed a nationalistic and antisemitic campaign.

Originally, the resolution commemorating Narutowicz was to be passed by acclamation, but Konfederacja MP **Grzegorz Braun** opposed this. He voted against this resolution, same as another MP from that same party, **Konrad Berkowicz**. Five other representatives of Konfederacja abstained from voting. These were **Krzysztof Bosak** (presidential candidate in the 2020 elections), **Krystian Kaminski**, **Krzysztof Tuduj**, **Michal Urbaniak**, and **Robert Winnicki**. For many years, the adherents of extreme right in Poland have manifested their support for Niewiadomski and the murder committed by him on the President.

KRAKOW. On 27 January 2023, in the Regional Court building, far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** destroyed a Christmas tree set up by judges from the Iustitia and Themis associations. The tree was decorated with baubles with

Ukrainian flags, European Union flags, and the inscription 'LGBT' in rainbow colours. Braun took the Christmas tree and dragged it through the courthouse hallways, destroying decorations and shattering glass. Ultimately, he threw the tree into a rubbish bin on the street and commented on his own behaviour, *'I restored the state of seriousness and normality.'* The police were called to the scene. On the same day, an investigation was launched at the Krakow-Srodmiescie Wschod District Public Prosecutor's Office into the offense of 'destruction or damage to property belonging to another.' Braun's behavior was condemned, among others, by the judge Waldemar Zurek, *'This Christmas tree [...] was decorated with symbols of Poland and Ukraine, which is important to us in times of war abroad. The colours of the tree were white-red and yellow-blue. It has been desecrated. The accusations that we are insulting the symbol of Christmas are also absurd. For us, it is a symbol of important social issues.'*



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

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

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

- *'Down with the Banderites'* [referring to Stepan Bandera, a leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); in practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today – translator's note].

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

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

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

WARSAW. On 30 May 2023, at the headquarters of the German Historical Institute at Al. Ujazdowskie, **Konfederacja** (Confederation party) Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** disrupted the lecture of Prof. Jan Grabowski entitled 'Polish (growing) problem with the history of the Holocaust.' During the lecture, Braun moved towards the lecturer, shouting



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

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

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

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

BYDGOSZCZ. On 20 July 2023, during a press conference by the monument of Casimir the Great (King of Poland in 14th century) **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** presented its first three from the list of candidates for the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) in the Bydgoszcz constituency. Among them was Dr. **Slawomir Ozdyk**, member of **Grzegorz Braun's Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)**, owner of a security company in Berlin, and commentator in the far-right media. During the conference, he



presented a xenophobic, even grotesque vision of life in Western European countries. He said, *'It cannot be that mass, uncontrolled immigration sweeps through our country. [...] Look at what is happening in Western Europe: in Germany swimming pools have to be closed. [...] The German mainstream media describe what is happening there by saying that entire city districts have been taken over by migrant gangs. Let me repeat, by Arab-Chechen gangs, to be precise, if we are talking about Berlin. Ladies and gentlemen, look at what is happening in Sweden: a day without a shooting, a day without an explosion is a day wasted. Do we really want to cause a culture war in Poland?'*

A recording from the conference was published on **Grzegorz Braun's** profile on YouTube. In reaction to this material, xenophobic and antisemitic comments appeared [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator's note]:

- *'Immigration has already covered us and the lazy guys are still entering as if it was their own place, uncontrolled, there are no borders in Poland, there is no Poland... not anymore. Dydzzyd [implied: 'Polish president Duda, the Jew'] sold our Poland.'*
- *'STOP the Ukrainisation of Poland.'*
- *'F*[ck the] immig[rants].'*
- *'and it's already starting here – yesterday I took a walk through Katowice, there are a lot of Turks and other nationalities, Ukrainians shouting so damn loud that you can hear them everywhere. All kebabs [referring to people – translator's note], is this stupid Polish society asleep?'*
- *'Poland for Poles!!!'*
- *'Mr. Ozdyk: freedom first and foremost, because these Jewish scoundrels are taking away our freedom piece by piece under the pretext of security.'*

WARSAW. On 28 July 2023, **Konfederacja (Confederation party)** Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun**, during his speech in the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) on the resolution establishing 2024 as the Year of the Ulma Family, delivered a tirade insulting the memory of the Polish Righteous, also tinged with antisemitism. He declared that *'presenting the Ulma family as a role model for future generations would be contrary to the principles of our civilisation.'* And then he declared, *'Clearly, you do not understand the mockery and abomination that results from spreading throughout the world the doctrine known and popularised under the banner of the Righteous Among the Nations. You do not understand, ladies and gentlemen, that a*

hideous, Talmudic, racist, Satanic cult allows a non-Jew to obtain human rights before God - only if such a person serves Jews. He also included threads of conspiracy theories in his speech (about the alleged hostile attitude of Jews towards Poland), *‘Do you think that you will redeem your guilt, which is being Poles, goyim, non-Jews - in the international environment, that you will keep on showcasing Ulma, Pilecki, and Sendler until the end of the world and you will be forgiven for being Poles and wanting to live in an independent country?’* [Witold Pilecki – one of the organisers of resistance against the Nazis among Auschwitz inmates; author of secret reports detailing German atrocities at the camp, smuggled out and shared with the Western Allies; Irena Sendler – humanitarian and social worker, she helped in smuggling the Jewish children out of the Warsaw Ghetto – translator’s note]

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

WARSAW. On 22 August 2023, **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej Grzegorza Brauna (Confederation of the Polish Crown led by MP Grzegorz Braun)** published an open letter to the President of the Republic of Poland and the Mayor of Warsaw which contained a demand that was offensive both to refugees from Ukraine and to a significant part of Polish society involved in helping Ukrainians. The letter contained the following: *‘As Konfederacja Korony Polskiej, we state that we do not give our civic consent to the organisation of celebrations on the occasion of the «Ukrainian Independence Day» in Warsaw on 24 August 2023. There are no moral grounds for the above-mentioned celebrations to take place.’* Additionally, in the letter, Konfederacja’s representatives argued to stop displaying blue-and-yellow flags in public spaces (as a gesture of solidarity with Ukrainian neighbours), *‘[...] there are moral reasons why such a holiday should NOT be celebrated in Poland. Let’s take the example of Singapore (one of the richest countries in the world), where publicly displaying a flag of a foreign country is punishable by a fine or imprisonment of up to 6 months.’* MP Braun himself has repeatedly demanded the removal of Ukrainian flags from the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) or city offices, referring to threads close to Putin’s propaganda. For example, on 6 July, during a speech in parliament, he demanded that *‘the session be postponed until the flags of a foreign country that hang on this building are removed, and in the context of the anti-Polish policy of the Kyiv regime, these flags insult the memory of the murdered and the living [manipulative reference to the ethnic cleansing of Poles by Ukrainian nationalists in Volhynia in 1943-1944 – ed.]’*

Braun’s speech was published on the YouTube channel of Wirtualna Polska [mainstream website] (over 249,000 views within three months), and anti-Ukrainian and antisemitic comments appeared under the material [original phrasing retained as much as possible – translator’s note]:

- *‘Down with the Ukrainian flags. [...] This is Poland!!!’*
- *‘Either we now put pressure on the arrogant Ukrainians or never, Mr. Duda [president of Poland – ed.]’*
- *‘Way to go!!! Commie Jews [antisemitic stereotype of Jews as communist traitors – translator’s note] have gone too far.’*
- *‘This is a nation that can repay for help and care with an axe’*
- *‘Get out with those flags. They murdered us systemically with pitchforks... Out out out.’*
- *‘Kh*khly [Russian ethnic slur for Ukrainians – translator’s note] go home!’*
- *‘*kry [Polish ethnic slur for Ukrainians] go home. To Little Russia. Out!’*

- *'This is not Ukropolin!'* [the word means Poland in Hebrew; according to the conspiracy theory, Polin is Poland appropriated by Jews – translator's note].

RADOM. On 17 September 2023, during an election meeting with candidates of far-right **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party), the MP **Grzegorz Braun** uttered words insulting the memory of the Auschwitz Nazi camp victims. Spinning a conspiratorial vision of reality he declared, *'There is no freedom or security without property. A Pole needs to be at his home, on his own, otherwise this Pole will either be a slave, or chosen ones will have the opportunity to be promoted to slave guards. It will be the peak of a Pole's career to be able to beat another Pole with a stick, just like in some concentration camp. It's a concentration camp now, a nice one, right, Auschwitz with Netflix installed in each barrack, but this is the future.'* The video was posted on Braun's YouTube channel.

WARSAW. On 8 November 2023, the **wRealu24** channel (broadcast on the **BanBye** platform) featured a broadcast with the participation of **Konfederacja (Confederation)** MP Grzegorz Braun, which was hosted by **Marcin Rola**. During the conversation, Braun made comments tinged with antisemitism and xenophobia. He also spoke out against helping refugees from Ukraine. He stated, *'Since the world began, no Jew or Ukrainian will be a brother to a Pole, we should get this idea out of our heads.'* Later in the broadcast, Braun spoke offensively about LGBT people, *'Deviants will not teach tolerance to our children. Stop the sodomy propaganda in Polish schools [...]. The so-called equality parades are manifestations whose [...] aim is to tame public opinion and desensitise it to the criminal nature of sodomy practices.'* He also added, *'Stop the propaganda of deviations in public space [...]. Propaganda of deviations [...] is simply incitement to crime and this is what the police and the public prosecutor's office should be interested in.'*

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

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

WARSAW. On 11 November 2023, the so-called Independence March took place, which was attended by, among others, representatives of **Młodzież Wszechpolska (All-Polish Youth)**, **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny (National Radical Camp)**, **Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland)**, **Autonomiczni Nacjonalisci (Autonomous Nationalists)** and football hooligans. The following MPs also participated: **Grzegorz Braun**, **Krzysztof Bosak**, **Włodzimierz Skalik** and **Witold Tumanowicz** (all from **Konfederacja – Confederation** party), **Janusz Kowalski** and Member of the European Parliament **Patryk Jaki** (both from **Suwerenna Polska – Sovereign Poland** party), as well as MEP Dominik Tarczynski (**Prawo i Sprawiedliwosc – Law and Justice** party). Participants in this gathering engaged in behaviour promoting hatred towards minorities.

Supporters of Grzegorz Braun's **Konfederacja Korony Polskiej (Confederation of the Polish Crown)** carried banners with the slogan *'Stop the Ukrainisation of Poland'* (a conspiracy theory

according to which Poland would be taken over by Ukrainians) and the slogan ‘*Stop the USraelisation of the Polish raison d’état*’ (a conspiracy theory according to which Poland would be ruled by Jews and Americans). The latter banner was condemned by Israel’s Ambassador to Poland Yacov Livne, who on 12 November posted photos of Konfederacja’s banners on Twitter with a comment: ‘*They are fighting triple «evil»: the USA, the EU, and Israel... No words for that.*’ In response, Braun wrote, ‘*Go home, Your Excellency, go home as soon as possible – or to hell, whichever you prefer.*’ On the same day, **Piotr Heszen** from Konfederacja Korony Polskiej made offensive comments on the Ambassador's statement. He said on Twitter, ‘*The Jew is flabbergasted.*’

WARSAW. On 23 November 2023, during a speech in the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** expressed support for **Andrzej Lukawski**, extreme right-wing activist convicted in 2021 for hate speech, and with appreciation repeated his words inciting violence, ‘*Mr. Andrzej Lukawski formulated a thought which is from my point of view noble, bluntly stated, «We’ll find a stick for Banderite snouts.»*’ [referring to Stepan Bandera, a leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); in practice it is a frequent ethnic slur against Ukrainians in Poland today – translator’s note] At the end of the speech, Braun again made anti-Ukrainian threats, ‘*Mr. Andrzej Lukawski is to be imprisoned for writing on the internet, «We’ll find a stick for Banderite snouts.» Well, I hope, honourable Madam Speaker, that we will find it.*’ (Lukawski was sentenced in 2021 to 7 months of imprisonment, suspended for 3 years. The court additionally obliged him to ‘*refrain from publishing on the internet statements that are «insulting and with discriminatory content based on national and ethnic affiliation».*’ In August 2023, the District Court for Warsaw-Mokotow revoked the suspension of the sentence, and in October the District Court in Warsaw upheld this decision. Lukawski was sent to prison, from which he was released after a few days. **Dariusz Matecki, Suwerenna Polska (Sovereign Poland)** party MP, intervened in his case.

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

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



CZESTOCHOWA. On 5 December 2023, **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** published a video on his YouTube channel encouraging financial support for Janusz Walus, racist extremist who murdered a Black anti-apartheid politician Chris Hani in South Africa in 1993. Walus was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder, he has never expressed remorse. In November 2022, South African court decided to release him from prison on parole.

The campaign to support Walus was initiated by the **3dom** publishing house from Czestochowa, known for publishing antisemitic books. The video shared on this occasion contained the following statement: *'All profits from sales of the 3dom publishing house shop on 6 December will be allocated to support Janusz Walus. Hang in there, Brother!'* and a photo of Walus. In addition to Braun, the following people encouraged to participate in this initiative, related to the sale of books: **Tomasz Stala** (owner of the 3dom publishing house, Konfederacja candidate in the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament) October 2023 elections - he was unsuccessful; in July 2023 he openly admitted that his views *'have evolved towards [...] fascism'*), **Przemyslaw Holocher** (head of the far-right **Magna Polonia** foundation and former leader of **Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny – National Radical Camp**), **Marcin Rola** and **Piotr Szlachtowicz** (editors of the far-right **wRealu24** channel, where content inciting hatred was promoted – in August 2022 this channel was removed by YouTube in cooperation with the 'NEVER AGAIN' Association), and **Radoslaw Patlewicz** (author of books perpetuating antisemitic messages about alleged murders committed by Jews on Christians). At the end of the film, Stala turned directly to Walus, *'Hang in there, Brother!'*

Under the material uploaded by Braun on YouTube, expressions of support for Walus were shared, for example: *'Regards, White Wolf! Come back to Poland, we are waiting!'*

WARSAW. On 12 December 2023, in the building of the Sejm (lower chamber of Polish Parliament), **Konfederacja (Confederation)** party Member of Parliament **Grzegorz Braun** disrupted a ceremony on the occasion of the Jewish holiday of Hanukkah, and committed acts of violence. He burst in with a powder fire extinguisher and used it to put out the candles burning on the nine-branched candelabra (hanukkiah). One of the ceremony participants, Magdalena Gudzińska-Adamczyk, tried to stop Braun, but she was attacked by him. She reported the incident, *'I grabbed his sleeve, trying to stop him, shouting what he was doing, asking him to stop. He aimed the nozzle of the activated fire extinguisher at my face and hit me in the chest with his hand, near the collarbone. For a moment, I stopped seeing anything, but I kept shouting for him to stop and saying that it was a shame to attack a religious ceremony and to hit a woman.'* Confusion broke out and the corridor in front of the entrance to the Assembly Room gallery was covered with smoke. Among participants of the meeting there were also children, who had to be led by the Sejm Speaker's Guard to a safe place.



Shortly after this incident, Braun spoke the following words from the Sejm rostrum, *'There can be no place for acts of racist, tribal, wild, Talmudic worship on the premises of the Sejm of the Republic of Poland. [...] You, ladies and gentlemen, are not aware of the message of the content of*

this act which is innocently called Hanukkah. [...] Racist motives have been attributed to me here, whereas I am restoring a state of normality and balance, putting an end to acts of satanic, Talmudic, racist triumphalism, because this is the message of these holidays.' Braun's statement was interrupted by the Sejm Speaker Szymon Holownia, who excluded him from the debate.

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

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

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

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

On 12 December, **3dom** publishing house from Czestochowa (known for publishing antisemitic books; its owner is **Tomasz Stala**, who unsuccessfully ran for the Sejm as Konfederacja [Confederation party] candidate) shared on their YouTube channel a video material entitled 'Braun: why should Hanukkah candles be extinguished?!', which included fragments of the MP's speech from 2017. During the meeting with the audience, Braun mocked the holiday of Hanukkah and falsely attributed to it alleged fueling of hostility towards non-Jews. He appealed to '*a certain contemporary American commentator on the Jewish tradition*' and declared that '*Hanukkah is essentially a celebration of Jewish intolerance.*' He continued, '*Its intolerance towards everything that is not orthodox, everything non-kosher. It is not a celebration of fraternisation of everyone with everyone else, it is a celebration of strict diagnosis of who is ours and who is not ours, who was associated with Greeks, whoever became Hellenised, we will chop off his head, like Judith.*' In his speech, Braun emphasised that Hanukkah is '*a holiday of Jewish intolerance, a holiday of strict divisions, divisions marked with the sword by Judith. So what do we celebrate here? We celebrate the response of American Jews to Christmas, we celebrate the holiday of intolerance.*'

On 14 December, on the YouTube channel of **Michał Cichy** (editor of martial arts website MMA.pl, who unsuccessfully ran for the Sejm as **Konfederacja** [Confederation party] candidate), a conversation with MP **Grzegorz Braun** about the incident he committed in the Sejm was shared. In this interview, he called his aggressive behavior a '*parliamentary intervention*' and made a number of antisemitic comments. He described the celebration of Hanukkah in the Sejm as an '*excess*', '*an act of dark, wild, racist, tribal, Talmudic worship*' and also '*an act of racist resentment, Jewish triumphalism over non-Jews. This is, to put it briefly, a*

celebration of genocide. [...] All this lighting of candles is [...] a triumph of Jews over slaughtered non-Jews. Later in the conversation, Braun called members of the Chabad-Lubavitch organisation (Hasidic movement that was founded at the turn of the 19th century and operates within the Orthodox branch of Judaism) *'Talmudists-Satanists'*, other religious Jews - *'Jewish sectarians'*, and called non-religious Jews believers in the *'religion of the Holocaust'*. Moreover, during the interview, the Konfederacja MP painted a conspiratorial (and bizarre) vision of the future, containing also homophobic accents: he expressed the belief that children would have to *'be taught tolerance by deviants and promoters of deviation'* (both insults referred to LGBT people). Within five days, this material was viewed over 1,039,400 times and almost 14,000 comments were posted underneath, most of them expressing support for Braun.

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

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

Sommer's conversation with Braun has been viewed over 68,000 times in one day. The description of the broadcast on YouTube included the tag *'#TuJestPolskaNiePolin'* (*'#ThisIsPolandNotPolin'*; Polin means Poland in Hebrew).