



THE POLISH INDEPENDENCE MARCH AS A CONTACT HUB AND A MODEL FOR EUROPEAN EXTREMISM

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. The Independence March, held in Warsaw, Poland, on November 11 each year, is the largest nationalist demonstration in the European Union. It recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. For this report, researchers analyzed this phenomenon from a number of different angles to demonstrate the multifaceted functionality of this trans-national violence-oriented right-wing extremist (VRWE) networking hub and its role as an ideological apparatus for neo-fascism.
2. This report analyzes and describes the function of the Independence March as an ideological “apparatus” and meeting hub for European neo-fascist, nationalist, nationalist-revolutionary, and neo-Nazi activists and supporters. The report demonstrates how it serves as a meeting place for VRWEs from the EU and the United States as well as outside the EU area, including several countries of the former Soviet Union (i.e., Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus). The Independence March enables VRWEs to exchange experiences, transfer funds, and conduct recruitment and training. Within the VRWE milieu, the March is used as a multifaceted, all-encompassing quasi-lifestyle-event and is promoted as a model in other countries. The report discusses the main directions of this international cooperation and their current and potential impact on the shaping of the political discourse in these countries.
3. To accomplish this, it was necessary to examine in detail those involved in creating the Independence March. Therefore, the ideological and political roots of the organizers (i.e., Ruch Narodowy political party and Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości, Młodzież Wszechpolska and Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny associations) and the ideological background of participants (both organized in groups and publicly visible individuals) of the March had to be analyzed. As a result, the

main camps forming the March are identified and discussed (i.e., conservative-solidarist, nationalist-free-market, and national-social) as well as ideological currents co-creating them (i.e., national-radicals, nationalists, autonomous nationalists, religious integrists, monarchists, neo-fascists, neo-fascists, neo-Nazis, and third position). In addition, it was necessary to examine those creating this event and what political currents dominate among its organizers and participants as well as foreign guests (mainly: Italy, Scandinavia, Ukraine, Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, the United Kingdom, Germany, the United States, and others).

4. The report also describes what events (i.e., concerts, music festivals, conferences, exhibitions, sports events, book launches, and special issues of magazines) accompany the Independence March. The main entities participating in these events, their political profile, and international associations were discussed, as well as the musical environments (e.g., Rock Against Communism (RAC), National Socialist Black Metal (NSBM), and extreme right hip-hop scenes), sports (e.g., football hooligans, and Mixed Martial Arts (MMA) clubs), and religion (e.g., religiously integrists and neo-fascist neopaganism) involved in creating these events.
5. The March created a whole network of entities—associations, foundations, as well as online and offline media outlets—directly related to the organization of the March, and supported many undertakings organized by entities loosely related to the organizers, creating an ideological “apparatus” with the ability to generate media topics and address important social issues, acquiring an increasingly professional look each year. They are discussed in detail in this report.
6. Finally, the report outlines how the March is a factor and an “apparatus” of ideological radicalization and transnational VRWE cooperation and coordination. Thanks to the identification of numerous links between journalists and politicians—both personal, financial,

and institutional—it was also possible to indicate the reasons for the infiltration of extremist discourse into mainstream media and public discourse in Poland. The March’s basic messaging channels were discussed (i.e., the media network of the extreme right in Poland) as well as their organizations, institutions, and channels for penetrating the milieu of the ruling political party.

DEFINITIONS

Autonomous nationalists are nationalists and national socialists who are not part of a formalized organizational or party structure. They work similarly in many European countries. The first movement of this kind appeared in Germany around 2000 as a separate category of nationalist activities. Departing from the skinhead subculture, they began to utilize schemes and tactics of anarchist movements (including anti-fascist ones like Antifa) such as the black block, incorporating similar costumes and markings.

Eurasianism is a political movement in Russia that posits that Russian civilization does not belong in the “European” or “Asian” categories, but instead to the geopolitical concept of Eurasia. Originally developed in the 1920s, the movement was supportive of the Bolshevik Revolution but not its stated goals of enacting communism. Eurasianists viewed the Soviet Union as a steppingstone on the path to creating a new national identity that would reflect the unique character of Russia’s geopolitical position. Neo-Eurasianism is a Russian school of thought, which gained a following in Russia during the years leading up to the collapse of the Soviet Union and in the period that followed.

Fascists are also in part direct supporters of a system rooted in early fascist formations in Italy (Partito Nazionale Fascista), Spain (Falange Española), and Germany (the left-wing of the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP or the Nazi Party), the so-called “Strasserists”). They put much less emphasis on the racial hierarchy than the Nazis, professing the concept of racial separatism, referring to American racial segregation or South African apartheid. Strongly anti-capitalist, they often declare themselves supporters of corporatism or distributism in economic matters. They also support extensive redistribution.

Identitarianism (from French *identitaire*, concerning the identity of a person or group) is a trend associated with the European New Right movement and its supporters. It advocates the preservation and development of ethnic and cultural

identity as a central ideological principle and criticizes the state of the modern West. Identitarianism has its roots in France but has also spread to Scandinavia and other parts of Europe. The symbol of the movement is the letter lambda of the Greek alphabet. Identitarianism is based on a range of political thought, and there are many differences among its adherents.

Integrism. In politics, integralism, integrationism, or integrism (French: *intégrisme*) is the principle that the Catholic faith should be the basis of public law and public policy within a civil society, wherever the preponderance of Catholics within that society makes this seem to be feasible. Integralists uphold the 1864 definition of Pope Pius IX in his Papal encyclical “Quanta cura” that the religious neutrality of the civil power cannot be embraced as an ideal situation. They also stand by the doctrine of Leo XIII in his papal encyclical “Immortale Dei” of 1885 on the religious obligations of states. The term is sometimes used more loosely to refer to a set of theoretical concepts and practical policies that advocate a fully integrated social and political order, based on a comprehensive doctrine of human nature. In this generic sense, some forms of integralism are focused purely on achieving political and social integration, others on national or ethnic unity, while others are more focused on attaining religious and cultural uniformity. In the political and social history of the 19th and 20th centuries, the term integralism was often applied to traditionalist conservatism and similar political movements on the right-wing of a political spectrum, but it was also adopted by various centrist movements as a tool of political, national, and cultural integration.

National-Bolshevik exhibit a hybrid ideological profile that combines elements of anti-liberalism, Eurasianism, anti-Semitism, national socialism, and nationalism with a revolutionary spirit and a strong social attitude. They also manifest anti-liberalism, anti-Americanism, and Eurasianism, and in the Polish case, call for a close alliance with Russia. It differs from Nazism by virtually omitting racial issues and references to the Third Reich. Their strong pro-Russian orientation differentiates them from Polish fascism, while their declared ultra-Catholicism distinguishes them from nationalist paganism.

National Radicalism (NR, NaRa) is a radical branch of Polish nationalism that emerged in the 1930s, usually classified as extreme-right and nationalist. It does not, however, share the right-wing acceptance of capitalism. The movement at times is associated with fascism or the so-called clerical fascism. Groups and networks associated with National Radicalism use the symbol of the Hand with a Sword (so-called “falanga”).

Nationalism (from Latin *natio*, “nation”) constitutes a belief that the nation is the highest of values and the most important form of socialization, which results in a specific political, economic, or social attitude. Nationalism may be associated with beliefs such as ethnocentrism, patriotism, or national megalomania. It is sometimes contrasted with cosmopolitanism. Nationalism is the conviction that the interest of the nation is superior to the interest of the individual, social groups, or regional communities. The nation is recognized as the supreme sovereign of the state, and the nation-state is the most appropriate form of community organization, united by an affinity of origin, language, history, and culture. Nationalism prioritizes the interests of one’s nation over the interests of other nations, both within the country (national or ethnic minorities) and outside (neighboring nations).

Neo-Nazis are proponents of the racist version of National Socialism. They refer directly to the heritage of the German Third Reich, both on ideological grounds as well as by following their postulates and aesthetics. They come out as supporters of uniting all “white nations” in opposition to migration and minorities, especially those from the Middle East or Africa. They proclaim the concept of overthrowing liberal democracy by violence and the introduction of a hierarchical, racist system in which “racially pure” white men would play a key role. They consider “non-white races” to be inferior. Neo-Nazis are insignificantly connected with the Catholic religion; if linked to any religious movements, they are more likely neo-pagan or occultist.

Right-wing populism, also called national populism and right-wing nationalism, is a political ideology that combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. It employs anti-elitist sentiments, opposition to the establishment, and speaking to or for the “common people.” Populists of the right generally focus

on cultural issues and often aim to defend national culture and identity against perceived attacks by outsiders. Right-wing populism in the Western world is generally associated with ideologies such as anti-environmentalism, nationalism, anti-globalization, nativism, and protectionism. In Europe, the term is often used to describe groups, politicians, and political parties that are generally known for their opposition to immigration, especially from the Muslim world, and for their Euroscepticism. Right-wing populists may support the expansion of the welfare state, but only for those they deem fit to receive it; this concept has been referred to as “welfare chauvinism.” However, populist right-libertarian, communitarian, and liberal-conservative movements that claim to eschew xenophobia also exist.

The far right, also referred to as extreme right or right-wing extremism, is a term used to describe people and groups with right-wing views characterized by radical elements or methods of action. Its followers exhibit primarily anti-communist, authoritarian, and ultranationalist views. They put their nation first and are often guided by populism. Historically, the term is used in relation to fascism and Nazism. Nowadays, it is also applied in the context of neo-fascism, neo-Nazism, the third way, the alt-right, racial supremacy (primarily white), and other similar political ideologies that contain elements of ultranationalism, chauvinism, xenophobia, theocracy, racism, homophobia, transphobia, and reactionism.

Third Position is an anti-liberal and anti-communist extreme-right movement that seeks to be an alternative to both liberal and communist political ideas. Rather, it proposes a hierarchical, patriarchal corporatist system, based on Chesterton’s distributionism, whose structural pillar is pre-Vatican II Catholicism, following the spirit of Lefebvist and sedevacantist groups. It combines ultra-Catholicism, revolutionary anti-capitalism, and fervent anti-communism, anti-Semitism, campism, and anti-liberalism. This political strand exists in Poland since 1983, and since the 1990s its proponents have published the most important formative periodical of the Polish extreme right—*Szczerbiec*. Tercerists from the National Rebirth of Poland and the Third Way emphasize sedevacantist or Lefebvristic integrism, and—in terms of economy and organization of society—Chesterton’s distributionism and traditional fascist corporatism.

INTRODUCTION

Organized every year on November 11 in Warsaw, Poland, the Independence March is a demonstration that arouses great controversy, both in the media and among the general public.¹ It is hailed by the Polish extreme right as a huge success in rebuilding pride in national identity.² At the same time, the Polish left and liberals regard it as a dangerous outbreak of nationalism and xenophobia.³ Both milieus firmly defend their thesis. Polish right-wing extremists and nationalists advertise photos of patriotic families with children,⁴ while the left-wing and liberal observers highlight the presence of masked hooligans, neo-fascists, and other extremists who vandalize the city of Warsaw and clash with the police.⁵ These discussions take place not only in Poland but also among experts and observers around Europe and in the global media. Every year, around November 11, images from Poland circulate in international news outlets, often causing outrage.⁶ International public opinion is disturbed by images of men in balaclavas, shouting nationalist slogans on the streets of Warsaw and waving flares.⁷ Many are shocked by banners with slogans celebrating slogans such as “White Europe,” the “Polish Intifada,” or “pure blood.” The flags and emblems of the organizations participating in the March⁸ are also widely regarded as controversial. Frequently, questions arise whether this could signal a massive-scale revival of fascism in Europe.⁹ In 2017, *The Independent* recognized the March as one of the largest gatherings of fascists and other followers of the extreme right in Europe. The article highlighted the public proclamation of xenophobic views and white supremacy during the March and the anti-Semitic roots of some of the groups organizing it.¹⁰ The *Guardian* reported on an estimated 60,000 nationalists proclaiming the White Europe of fraternal nations¹¹. Al Jazeera drew attention to the anti-Islamic overtones of the March and the vile rhetoric used by participants against refugees, the United States, and people with left-wing or liberal views.¹² In a resolution on Poland adopted on November 15, 2017, the European Parliament (EP) described the 2017 Independence March as

xenophobic and fascist. The EP called on the Polish authorities to strongly condemn the March and to take “appropriate action.”¹³ Such concerns rose several questions: who actually walks the streets of Warsaw during the March? Are there neo-fascists present? Football hooligans?¹⁴ Bandits?¹⁵ Provocateurs?¹⁶ Russian agents?¹⁷ All of these terms have been used by media outlets when describing its participants. On the other hand, the March is accompanied by conferences in the Polish parliament, and in 2018, it was attended by the Polish president and the prime minister.¹⁸ Its honorary committee consisted of deputies and university professors. Is it accurate, as the organizers claim, that the marchers are mainly families with children, scouts, and patriots? Furthermore, it is important to understand that the March itself is the central event, rather than a sole demonstration. It encompasses a network of events that serves as an entire ideological apparatus aimed to promote a specific vision of Poland, Europe, and the world. From the beginning, the event was accompanied by a music festival, sports competitions, and thematic conferences, organized both inside and outside the parliament’s premises. Soon, the demonstration was followed by the formation of its “guard,” which over time turned into a significant independent organization. Funds obtained by the organizers of the March from the government allowed them to bundle together various small nationalist media entities which eventually allowed them to create a both online and offline media outlet with several hundred thousand subscribers. In recent years, the organizers have also purchased cars and real estate for the purpose of the March.¹⁹

As a result, throughout the last decade an efficient, multifaceted, and integrated mechanism has been created. The March supplied a generation with financial resources and an outlet to advertise ideas. It provides entertainment and grounds for recruitment. Moreover, the event resulted in the creation of a media outlet and the formation of a nucleus of a militia. All these elements significantly influenced the political scene in Poland, which for some time had been shifting to the right. It progressively saturated the scene with a growing number of nationalist, religious fundamentalist, and

authoritarian elements. After more than 10 years of this event's existence, it is worth asking: what organizations are building this ideological apparatus?²⁰ How is the cultural hegemony that they strive to build shaped? What makes the Independence March model so effective? What factors made this demonstration grow from several hundred people to an event of over 200,000 participants? Answers to these questions play a vital role in explaining the phenomenon, especially since the Independence March has become one of the most important hubs for the exchange of know-how and a meeting place far beyond Polish nationalists. From the very beginning, numerous delegations from other European countries have participated in it, praising the Polish event and seeing it as a model for activities in their countries. It is crucial to document what kind of participants are attracted to this event, both from Poland and abroad, in order to deduce whether this model can actually be repeated in other settings or countries. Finally, to fully understand the impact of this event on extremist milieus in Europe and beyond, it should be examined whether the March is truly a perfect contact hub for extremists.

The purpose of this report is to investigate, analyze, and present the Independence March as an ideological apparatus and meeting hub for European neo-fascist, nationalist, nationalist-revolutionary, and neo-Nazi activists and supporters, and to show how it serves as a meeting place for VRWE individuals, groups, and networks from the EU and North America, as well as those from the outside the EU area, including countries of the former Soviet Union (i.e., Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus). The report will explain how this event enables them to exchange experiences, transfer funds, train, and recruit. The report will also demonstrate that this event is a comprehensive creation, involving many associated events and meetings that VRWE present as a model for the activities of their counterparts in other countries.

The report will outline these issues against the backdrop of the current landscape of the Polish extreme right, highlighting its internal divisions

and main currents as well as its most important international contacts and alliances.

An additional aim of the report is to indicate possible actions that could be undertaken to stymie the penetration of VRWE into the Independence March, and to disrupt their efforts to use this demonstration and its accompanying events to promote VRWE ideologies, conduct recruitment to VRWE groups, and shift the political discourse towards extremist ideas. At the same time, the aim of the report is to indicate the threats it imposes on the public security of Poland and Europe. These risks have increased given the current shape and course of the Independence March. They also exhibit the potential of becoming a growing threat of violence, including possible terrorist attacks. The report is meant to suggest a range of proposals and recommendations for steps that could be taken by both the Polish government, Polish counterintelligence, and the police. This includes security-focused EU policy agendas that could be used by other governments supporting respective mitigation and disruption efforts. These recommendations will be informed by best practices in the field of prevention. The result of the report will also be summarized in separate policy briefs.

Why and How was This Political Machine Created in Poland?

Over the past three decades, the Polish political scene, compared to other European Union countries, has exhibited a general tendency to shift to the right. Left-wing parties are experiencing low electoral support, and the political system is missing a classical liberal party. Those that could be considered part of the liberal political tradition have been largely integrated into right-wing parties. Some similarities can be found within the political landscape of Ireland or the United States.

The reason for this particular political development is primarily the aftermath of the communist period. While the former ruling dictatorships in Greece and Spain were right-wing, which naturally led their opponents to the left-wing camp, in Poland, the nominally left-wing nature of the dictatorship between 1944 and 1989 meant that the opposition was very often oriented toward the right-wing and extreme right. After the restoration of democracy in 1989, state institutions actively engaged in anti-leftist discourse, promoting a nationalist vision of history and the state, launching a 30-year-long process of “de-communization.” In practice, this process entailed the removal of names related to leftism from the public space as well as a highly critical perception of its history, sometimes equating it to “national treason.” Additionally, the curricula in primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions strongly emphasize the crimes and misdemeanors of the communist period.²¹ In effect, even the democratic traditions of the left, such as social democracy that established itself in Poland as a post-communist party, are structurally in an inferior political position. Therefore, political rebellion and radicalization in Poland are to a much lesser extent expressed through left-wing extremism in comparison to other European countries.²² One additional influencing factor is the strong role of the Catholic Church in internal politics. Many regulations have been adjusted to the requirements of the Catholic religion, allowing the Catholic Church to amass large-scale property ownership and enabling a prominent presence of religious media outlets (“Radio Maryja” radio, “Telewizja Trwam” TV, “Nasz Dziennik” daily, and other smaller media entities). Compared to the teachings of the current Pope Francis I, the Polish Catholic Church is particularly conservative, and has a strong Lefebvrist touch among other traditionalist trends. Catholic dignitaries such as bishops and cardinals regularly attack liberals and the left and provide informal support to the right and extreme right parties.

Moreover, nationalist and right-wing extremists regularly penetrate the mainstream of Polish politics, either by joining larger right-wing parties or by forming local coalitions with main parties.²³ After moving into the

mainstream, nationalist and right-wing extremist politicians do not change their views significantly, which further enhances the polarization and the radicalization of political life in Poland. This is also favored by numerous right-wing media outlets that create a transmission belt, amplify nationalist and extreme right-wing views, and promote certain nationalist and right-wing extremist politicians.²⁴ This enables them to regularly meet mainstream right-wing politicians, and thus results in a situation where extremist views blend with mainstream ones.²⁵ In order to accentuate the controversy of their message and thus boost the sale of newspapers and magazines or the online click-through rate, right-wing media publish articles and even entire series that would not have a chance of being published in a more liberal media environment due to their homophobic, sexist, xenophobic, anti-Semitic, or anti-Islamic character.²⁶ Therefore, despite generally insignificant public support for extremist groups, their influence within the mainstream of Polish politics is clearly visible. It stems from the fact that they take up topics that are controversial in Poland, such as migrants, LGBTQ+ rights, abortion, and historical resentments, and will use extremist rhetoric to describe them. In order to capitalize on controversy, the same rhetoric is used by right-wing, nationalist, and right-wing extremist politicians. Through their platforms, these extremist narratives enter key media channels and are later adopted by the dominant political conservative party.²⁷ A similar function of connecting extremist views with the mainstream is also performed by popular nationalist and right-wing extremist YouTubers and bloggers. Moreover, nationalist music festivals also fulfill this function. At these events, nationalist bands mix with those that exhibit neo-Nazi and other extremist sympathies. Often these mixed festivals attract large audiences. However, many of the participants do not come from extremist groups but rather from the mainstream right.²⁸

What is the Independence March?

National Independence Day is a national holiday in Poland, celebrated on November 11, to commemorate the anniversary of the restoration of Poland's sovereignty from the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian Empires and the establishment of the Second Polish Republic in 1918. The holiday was constituted in 1937 and was celebrated only twice before World War II. After the war, the communist authorities of the People's Republic removed the Independence Day holiday from the official calendar. During the 1980s, many cities, including Warsaw, held informal marches and celebrations that involved participation of supporters of the then outlawed Solidarity Movement. Typically, these marches were brutally dispersed by the communist militarized police forces, with many participants being arrested by the security police. As Poland emerged from communism in 1989, the original holiday was restored on its November 11 date. Thus, throughout its existence, this holiday has had a very strong anti-communist character.

Official celebrations include a military parade, guard mounting at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and speeches by the president and the prime minister. This was the extent of the official celebrations for the first years following 1989. However, since the early 1990s, on November 11, nationalist and neo-fascist groups have organized demonstrations in the form of a march through the streets of Warsaw, in parallel to the official ceremonies. The Independence March in its current form was initiated in 2010 by nationalist political organizations: the violence-oriented All-Polish Youth (MW, Młodzież Wszechpolska) and the nationalist-revolutionary violent National Radical Camp (ONR, Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny). From the very beginning, the aim of these two initial organizers of the March was to unite all nationalist groups demonstrating in Warsaw during that day.

Formally, the organizer of this demonstration is the Independence March Association (SMN, Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości).²⁹ The organiza-

tion was registered on December 29, 2011. The leadership of the association consist mainly of politicians who currently (or formerly) belong to MW and ONR.³⁰ On November 11, 2012, the SMN served as a basis for the establishment of a nationalist party, the National Movement (RN, Ruch Narodowy).³¹ Today it functions as a part of the nationalist-free-market violence-oriented umbrella party Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość.³² Despite numerous personal disputes within the SMN and differences of opinion concerning temporary political alliances, to this day, only nationalists sit on the board of the SMN. The Independence March serves not only as a consolidating event for the Polish but also, more broadly, the European extreme right. It is the largest far-right event in Poland and one of the largest annual far-right demonstrations in Europe. It is also a platform for presenting and recruiting a large number of smaller organizations of a nationalist, identitarian, religious integralist,³³ monarchist, national socialist, neo-fascist, and neo-Nazi character. Groups and networks from these ideological strata advertise the event,³⁴ support its message, are present during the March carrying their banners or flags,³⁵ and identify with its message.³⁶ They also take part in the events accompanying the March, such as music festivals, conferences, sports events, and meetings with foreign guests of the March.

When and Under What Circumstances was the Independence March Created?

The March was created through the consolidation of nationalist circles in Poland during the rule of conservative liberals (2007-2015). After a series of electoral defeats by nationalist and right-wing extremist coalitions (i.e., in 2007, the League of Polish Families failed to win parliamentary seats, and in 2009, *Libertas Polska* suffered a defeat in the elections to the European Parliament), the Polish nationalist movement became dominated by a young generation of politicians, such as the former youth leaders of the nationalist League of Polish Families (and its youth organization

called “All-Polish Youth”): Robert Winnicki and Krzysztof Bosak.³⁷ These younger leaders focus on the consolidation of strictly nationalist circles and seek agreement with an organization that originated from the skinhead movement, the ONR. By that time, led by Przemysław Holocher, the ONR had softened its image of aggressive militants, and was trying to break out of the neo-fascist niche.³⁸ As a result, an initially informal, and soon official coalition between the organizations is formed, and the party—the National Movement—is established.³⁹ This party developed into one of the main engines of Polish nationalism. Over time, the Independence March became the main event of this nationalist party, ensuring media attention and enabling it to recruit new members.⁴⁰ Since its inception, the Independence March has experienced a general upward trend in the number of participants and soon was able to penetrate mainstream Polish politics. Until 2009, the Independence March focused only on nationalist circles with several hundred people taking part. During the initial years of the March’s existence, there were riots, clashes with the police, and counter demonstrators.⁴¹ Particularly in 2010, due to harsh criticism from left-wing circles and the liberal daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*, the March became the subject of extensive public discussion. The demonstration was attended by people from various types of extreme right-wing organizations, and by a large group of football hooligans. During the March, a group of 33 people accused of assaulting policemen were detained.⁴² In 2011, according to the organizers, about 20,000 people took part in the Independence March.⁴³ After the participants had gathered and during the counter demonstration organized by forces on the political left and liberals, clashes broke out between the participants of the events and security forces. Attacks against journalists and members of critical media outlets also occurred.⁴⁴ On Constitution Square, where the March participants were assembling, some of the people gathered pressed against the police cordon. The police used gas and water cannons, to which demonstrators responded with stones and firecrackers. At Na Rozdrożu Square, a broadcast car of the liberal television station TVN24 was set on fire and an attempt was made to overturn the vehicle. During the events,

journalists were also attacked by masked perpetrators in various parts of the city.⁴⁵ In 2012, the slogan of the March was “Let’s get Poland back.” Police services and some observers from the media estimated that a maximum of 25,000 people attended the March that year.⁴⁶ Contrary to previous years, left-wing organizations associated with the “November 11 Agreement” decided not to block the demonstration.⁴⁷ The March began near the Roman Dmowski Roundabout. The first clashes took place after the crowd walked just a few hundred meters. On Marszałkowska Street, a group of masked hooligans standing at the front of the March broke away from the rest of the participants and threw flares, firecrackers, and baskets over the police cordon.⁴⁸ The police responded by using pepper spray and smoothbore weapons. Following the clashes between the police and the participants of the March, 176 people were brought to the police stations, of whom seven were charged for attacking police officers.⁴⁹ In 2013, the slogan of the March was “A new generation is coming!” According to statement from the organizers, tens of thousands of people took part in this demonstration.⁵⁰ During the March, there were incidents outside its agreed route. A fire was set to the art installation “Rainbow” at Zbawiciela Square. Participants of the March conducted an attack on the anarchist social center “Przychodnia,”⁵¹ and a riot was instigated in front of the Russian embassy.⁵² Nineteen people were injured in the course of the riots, including 12 policemen.⁵³ In 2014, the March was given the slogan “Army of Patriots.” During the March, a group of several hundred aggressive people emerged. Hooligans attacked the security of the March—the March Guards who were at its head. Later during the day, a clash with the police took place at the Washington Roundabout. More than 275 people were temporarily arrested. Fifty-one policemen and 24 civilians were injured in the riots.⁵⁴

The 2015 March was held under the slogan “Poland for Poles, Poles for Poland.” There were minor incidents during the March, and the attendance was estimated to be between 70,000 and over 100,000 people.⁵⁵ The March in 2016 was given the slogan “Poland as a stronghold of Europe.” Prior

to November 11, the organizers assumed that about 50,000 people would pass through the streets of Warsaw. According to police estimates, 75,000 people took part in the March (the organizers gave an estimate of 100,000 people).⁵⁶ Before the 2017 event, the province of Masovian Voivode, to which the city of Warsaw belongs, decided to register the Independence March as an annual assembly for the following four years, with a fixed route from the Roman Dmowski Roundabout to the grounds of the National Stadium. As a result, according to Polish law, counter demonstrations near the route of the March would be illegal. After 2015, when Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość; PiS) came to power in Poland, the Independence March began to gain an increasingly privileged position. Emails of Minister Michał Dworczyk that were leaked in 2021 revealed that government circles began to build increasingly close relations with the organizers of this demonstration.⁵⁷ The 2018 edition of the Independence March was a part of the celebration that commemorated the 100th anniversary of Poland regaining independence. On November 7, 2018, the conservative-liberal mayor of Warsaw Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz (from the opposition party Civic Platform) announced that she had banned the organization of the Independence March on November 11, 2018. She justified this decision by the inability to ensure security and the alleged aggressive nationalist political agenda of the March.⁵⁸ Following an appeal by the Independence March Association on November 8, 2018, the District Court in Warsaw issued a ruling that revoked the mayor's decision. After a complaint was filed by the office of the Capital City of Warsaw on November 10, 2018, the Court of Appeal in Warsaw dismissed it, upheld the decision of the District Court, and thus the repeal of the ban became final. As a result of the attempted ban, the Independence March Association agreed that there would be a joint community March, co-organized with the government of Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki.⁵⁹ As the demonstration began at the Roman Dmowski Roundabout, the President of the Republic of Poland Andrzej Duda gave a speech and announced his honorary patronage of the March. The slogan of the March was "For you Poland." With the March acquiring a more official character, representatives of the Polish

government also came to take part. In parallel to this more official side of the March, an informal part of the March also took place under the slogan “God, Honor, Fatherland.” It was a record-breaking March in terms of attendance; according to police estimates, it was attended by 250,000.⁶⁰ However, flares were burned en masse, and the flag of the European Union was set on fire.⁶¹

What Factors Influenced the Development of the Independence March?

Apart from the continuing shift of the national political scene to the right, several other elements have also allowed the Independence March to emerge from the extremist niche over the last 10 years. First of all, the build-up of authoritarian sentiment and the weakening of liberal democratic political systems throughout Central and Eastern Europe played a part. Similar trends can be seen in Poland, and the Independence March clearly exemplifies these macro tendencies.

At the same time, the extreme left was unable to address discontent caused by economic inequalities and faced an increasing ideological crisis, further enabling the strengthening of extremism in the region.⁶² In addition, the Russian Federation, looking for representatives of its soft power, supported various anti-American, anti-NATO, and anti-EU forces throughout Europe. In Poland, this translated into support for the extreme right and its extremism.⁶³ All these factors—the wealth stratification, the collapse of the extreme left, political and ideological patterns in neighboring countries, and often the direct Russian influence—created ideal conditions for the growth of right-wing extremism in Poland. Additional factors were the war in Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea by Russia, as well as the death of Polish President Lech Kaczyński in the 2010 Smolensk plane crash.⁶⁴ The Smolensk catastrophe established a clear symbolic moment and started a spiral of conspiracy theories about the president’s alleged assassination.⁶⁵

There are also internal Polish factors that contributed to the growth of the Independence March from a small nationalist gathering into one of the largest far-right demonstrations in Europe and effectively one of the most important right-wing extremist hubs in the world. The key seems to be the emergence of an extensive network of nationalist and right-wing extremist media in Poland. This network includes newspapers and magazines traditionally issued in paper. It also introduced an innovative use of social media platforms, in particular YouTube and Twitter.⁶⁶ Mainstream political forces based their public presence primarily on print media or exposure via traditional television. The far right focused on newer and cheaper media, reaching the niche strata of society, enabling discussions, and attending protests with cameras and smartphones. They were also the first to use streaming to a greater extent, incorporating it into online and citizen journalism. As a result, the extreme right managed to become practically independent of traditional media in Poland.⁶⁷ Notwithstanding, the extreme right did not experience fluctuations in its popular support and maintained around 12% support consistently. At the same time, the long-lasting, very liberal policy of social media platforms towards extremist content in Polish allowed many grassroots extreme-right groups and networks to grow, gain a permanent audience, and to promote their “brand.”⁶⁸ These networks, although representing very different currents of the extreme right, were allowed to build an anti-democratic, anti-liberal, and anti-leftist message. Their narratives oppose the emancipation of minorities and promote xenophobia. Despite different approaches, these networks were able to frame a new discourse and introduce extreme right-wing approaches to issues such as migration, the LGBTQ+ community, nationality, religion, or war.⁶⁹ At the same time, its online decentralization allowed for the emergence of a network that appeared to be extensive and to include redundant political messaging channels. To counter these networks, it would now be necessary to block off a significant part of the political center that adopted some of the messaging. Furthermore, due to the redundancy, any blocking of a particular channel would only result in the messaging being transferred to other channels.

However, even the most extensive “archipelago” of extremist media could not create a critical mass capable of transferring this content to a more mainstream audience. Here, the Independence March played a key role by establishing a venue to allow the formation of contacts between a fairly diverse group of nationalist and right-wing extremists scholars, intellectuals, artists, sportsmen, and television personalities, while also attracting involvement of several parliamentarians close to PiS. A special institution related to the March was created for them: the Honorary Committee of the Independence March.⁷⁰ The organizers of the March tried to select a wide group of people who either came from the ranks of extremists and over time made a career in mainstream Polish public life or came from other circles but were sympathetic to nationalism and the extreme right. The first group included, among others: PiS MPs,⁷¹ PiS senators,⁷² MEP of the League of Polish Families, leaders of monarchist groups,⁷³ historians from the Institute of National Remembrance,⁷⁴ and even ex-Nazi collaborators.⁷⁵

This group came from nationalist and Neo-fascist movements, but due to their academic and/or political careers, over the years they managed to enter mainstream Polish political discourse. There, given the specifically right-wing leanings of the Polish political discourse, their radicalization did not blunt; on the contrary, they served as a specific “transmission belt,” transferring extremist ideas and approach to social problems into the mainstream. Their contacts and importance in the academia and in political circles (and in Kobyłański’s case, the role of finances⁷⁶) allowed them to transfer the ideas of the March and its entities from the political niche to the political mainstream. The Honorary Committee of the Independence March also attracted known intellectuals and politicians that were not related to nationalist organization, including television personalities, writers and journalist, movie directors, historians, priests, musicians, boxers, and rappers.⁷⁷

As a result of this support, the message of the organizers of the March was able to reach mainstream media and thus ceased to be associated with

a niche extremist party. The above-mentioned personalities gained new audiences and received broader support from the nationalist and right-wing extremist media. Nevertheless, the group of people organizing the March that came directly from nationalist and neo-fascist circles did not change. During this period, the March was accompanied by a range of neo-fascist events. As a result, an efficient “transmission belt” was created. It transferred extremist content produced in small media outlets on the margins of the political discourse into the mainstream right and further into the readership of mainstream opinion weeklies.

What Groups and Organizations Make up the Independence March?

Mainstream media outlets regularly characterize the participants of the March as one homogeneous group, assessed either positively⁷⁸ or negatively.⁷⁹ The reporting, however, often fails to grasp the intricacies of the existing internal divisions. For the liberal and left-wing media, the presence of a dozen to several hundred individuals or groups of extremists and their messages “contaminates” the entire March.⁸⁰ Right-wing media leaning outlets on the other hand considers them folklore with no significant impact on the general overtone of the event.⁸¹ Both characterizations simplify and blur the true nature of the March, which is both a patriotic demonstration and an ideal ground for advertising and recruitment for extreme and extremist right-wing organizations. These groups provide the Independence March with a framework and a structure and build nationalist and fundamentalist religious slogans into it. It is necessary to also emphasize that many people who do not have clearly defined ideological roots also participate in the March. All they need is a flag and the sense of community and belonging. These are the “families with children,” whose presence is central to the narratives that extremists propagate about the March.⁸² However, the decisive factors that shape the character of the March are those forces that are able to release a strong, uniform message

and to develop structures that can change and maintain the new direction of the March. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the main actors involved in the Independence March, to consider who dominates this event, what the effects of their actions may be, and what mutual connections between these entities exist.

To understand the differences among the ideologically motivated participants of the Independence March, it is necessary to identify basic dividing lines between them. Along these lines, internal conflicts within the Polish extreme right manifest themselves. These various ideological camps that cooperate for the March are, among other factors, also embodied by political parties sitting in the Polish parliament.⁸³ Three key elements can be used to identify their position within the Polish political system: their general geostrategic outlook, their attitude towards Catholicism and Christian tradition, and their approach toward the idea of free-market economy. Their attitude towards these three elements can serve as a determinant where the respective individual, group, or network is located within the political spectrum of the Polish extreme right. On the geopolitical axis, the most important issue is the stance on Poland's relationship with the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Israel, the United States, Germany, and the European Union. In terms of their political identity, the key factor is the attitude towards the Catholic religion and Christian tradition. On economic issues, the determinant factor is their approach toward the free-market economy and its regulation. By analyzing their positioning along these three axes, it is possible to adequately describe the tensions within the Polish extreme right and the Independence March itself. Among the ideological participants of the Independence March, three groups can be distinguished: the "right wing of the PiS party," "nationalist free marketers," and "national socialists."

The Right Wing of the PiS Party

Historically, a key element that helped the March to succeed has been the right wing of the Law and Justice (Prawo i Sprawiedliwość; PiS) party. Support for the Independence March was expressed in the media supporting PiS⁸⁴ and by PiS politicians.⁸⁵ It was their support and presence at the March that, to a large extent, introduced this previously niche event to the right-wing mainstream and significantly contributed to its growth through advertising and other information channels (i.e., discussion clubs and associations).⁸⁶ However, these individuals do not constitute a homogeneous or consistent milieu. These structures include right-wing populist NGOs and small nationalist-Catholic parties.⁸⁷ There are also PiS politicians who emerged from the religiously fundamentalist and nationalist League of Polish Families⁸⁸ and the nationalist National Movement.⁸⁹ The above groups compete with each other for a position in the United Right camp (this is the official name of the electoral coalition that governs Poland, in which PiS is the largest party) and influence over the government. At the same time, they all oppose the right to abortion, strive for close ties between the state and the Catholic Church, show nationalist inclinations, and are actively propagandizing against sexual minorities.⁹⁰ Political slogans of these entities are largely modeled on those of the extreme right. For example, they incorporate slogans concerning the fight against “gender ideology,”⁹¹ “the influence of George Soros,”⁹² or expressing critical attitude towards the pressure imposed on Poland by the European Union or Germany.⁹³ At the same time, there is a struggle for dominance within the realm of the March that takes place between the “PiS camp” and groups affiliated with the national-free-market Confederation.

Confederation: Nationalist Capitalism

Confederation Freedom and Independence (Konfederacja Wolność i Niepodległość) is a nationalist and right-wing extremist “umbrella party” founded in early 2018.⁹⁴ It was created as a platform for several extreme-right groups that were unable to win more than 2-3% of the votes individually. The alliance allowed the network to win 11 seats in the parliament during the 2019 election. The Confederation is composed of the ultra-conservative and economically libertarian⁹⁵ violence-oriented Coalition for the Renewal of the Republic of Poland Freedom and Hope (KORWiN, Koalicja Odnowy Rzeczypospolitej Wolność i Nadzieja), the nationalist violence-oriented National Movement, and the religiously fundamentalist, monarchist violence-oriented Confederation of the Polish Crown (Konfederacja Korony Polskiej) led by Grzegorz Braun.⁹⁶ A smaller entity cooperating with the Confederation is the anti-vaccine violence-oriented National Association of Knowledge about Vaccinations STOP NOP (STOP NOP, Ogólnopolskie Stowarzyszenie Wiedzy o Szczepieniach STOP NOP) led by the Kukiz’15 movement leader and former member of parliament Paweł Skutecki and Justyna Socha,⁹⁷ assistant of parliamentarian Grzegorz Braun. This formation features many of the initiators of the Independence March, led by the leaders of the National Movement, Robert Winnicki⁹⁸ and Krzysztof Bosak.⁹⁹

This Confederation differs from the “Right wing of the PiS party” primarily by its attitude towards the United States, Israel, Ukraine, Russia, Germany, and the European Union, as well as its position towards migration and redistribution. It also argues for religious integralism in a manner even more radical than the PiS camp. While PiS seeks to build its international position and advocate for a close alliance with the United States, the Confederation holds an anti-American stance. One of its leaders, Grzegorz Braun, spoke outside the American embassy in March 2020, and shouted “Mosbacher go home!” at the then-U.S. Ambassador to Poland Georgette Mosbacher.¹⁰⁰ Anti-Semitism is clearly present in the statements

of the Confederation's politicians,¹⁰¹ and one of its flagship projects is the collection of signatures for a bill banning the transfer of property of people who died in the Holocaust and left no heirs to other Jewish individuals. Robert Bąkiewicz, the president of the board of the Independence March Association was appointed as a representative of the Legislative Initiative Committee “#STOP447.”¹⁰² The traditional anti-German trait in Polish nationalism¹⁰³ combined with a reluctance towards the trends in the European Union regarding same-sex marriage or civil unions,¹⁰⁴ legal abortion,¹⁰⁵ or the decriminalization of possession of certain types of psychoactive substances, is associated with the Confederates' very negative attitude toward the European Union. The Confederation considers Polish membership in the Union a threat to Polish sovereignty¹⁰⁶ and recognizes the European Union as a mechanism aimed to promote German interests.¹⁰⁷ Despite tense relations with Brussels, the PiS government is far from such declarations. The Confederation is also clearly opposed to programs proposed by PiS that seek to achieve limited economic redistribution, such as financial support for families (called the 500+ program). The Confederation bases its own economic program on liberal solutions, such as educational and cultural vouchers, facilitating business activity, personal income tax of 0%, numerous tax breaks, and voluntary social security contributions.¹⁰⁸ Confederation politicians refer to the right-wing populist/Christian Democrat-Nationalist PiS as “leftist,”¹⁰⁹ accusing it of failing to take any action to limit the activities of sexual minority organizations (such as banning Pride marches and parades).¹¹⁰ They also criticize PiS for failing to tighten abortion laws.¹¹¹ The above-mentioned positions have their ideological foundation in monarchists and religious integralist circles that make up the right-wing of the Confederation. Anti-democratic monarchists are represented in the Confederation primarily by two organizations—the Conservative-Monarchist Club (KZ-M) and the Organization of Polish Monarchists (OMP). The first organization was founded by Artur Górski, a long-time PiS member of parliament. He died in 2016, and the management of the group was taken over by Adam Wielomski, who was associated with the Confederation.

He started in PiS, and then joined nationalist and monarchist movements. He is a supporter of rapprochement with Russia. The Conservative-Monarchist Club claims that democracy “negated the natural order of things about the origin of power from God, introducing in its place an irrational theory of the immanent origin of power from the ruled themselves.”¹¹² KZ-M identifies with monarchism on a metapolitical level. KZ-M understands it “as an expression of radical opposition to democracy.”¹¹³ KZ-M is primarily hostile to Marxism and socialism, in particular condemning the concepts of people’s sovereignty and economic redistribution. An important aspect of this position is the approach toward private property. It is considered inviolable and grounded in the Christian Decalogue. According to KZ-M, “you cannot be a consistent anti-socialist without being an anti-democrat.”¹¹⁴ Their system of values consists of Euroscepticism, Catholic fundamentalism, and the fight against the “ideas of 1789 and the anthropocentric ideology of human rights.” These concepts are perceived as a negation of God’s rights.¹¹⁵ KZ-M publishes the theoretical journal *Pro Fide Rege et Lege*. The journal includes articles on various issues related to contemporary conservative thought. One of them is the concept of the *katechon*, which gained popularity along with the philosophy of Carl Schmitt.¹¹⁶ The *katechon*, as Wielomski explains, in the Christian tradition is “someone who for some time prevents the arrival of the Antichrist and the destruction of the created world.”¹¹⁷ Noticing the difficulties in interpreting this concept in Schmitt’s philosophy, Wielomski points out that “katechons are all power that effectively stops anarchy and revolution.”¹¹⁸ In the article dedicated to the reception and discussions on the works of Schmitt, he drew attention to “the issue of the *katechon* as the archetype of the dictator saving the modern world plunged into intellectual decline from the Bolshevik revolution equipped with modern technology.”¹¹⁹ Political narratives, which are based on such philosophical concepts, can be found on the website konserwatyzm.pl, which addresses the general public. The website states that the *katechon* is the president of Russia Vladimir Putin: “an authoritarian leader who will boldly lead his country towards the future.”¹²⁰ In addition to sympa-

thy for Russia, the texts published on this website express criticism of the United States and liberal democracy. Texts on the website also praise the ultra-conservative dictators Francisco Franco of Spain¹²¹ and António de Oliveira Salazar of Portugal¹²² as well as the nationalist-monarchist Action Française.¹²³ At the same time, they also celebrate Fidel Castro¹²⁴ or the 1981 introduction of martial law in Poland by the communist authorities.¹²⁵ The website also publishes articles by Jan Engelgard,¹²⁶ who was associated with the nationalist pro-Soviet association “Pax” during the People’s Republic of Poland and who is now an editor-in-chief of the nationalist pro-Russian newspaper *Mysł Polska*. The website also published texts by Ronald Lasecki who is linked to the violent pro-Russian group Nationalist-Bolshevist Falanga.¹²⁷ Furthermore the website includes contributions by Dawid Jakubowski from the Communist Party of Poland¹²⁸ or Leonid Sigan, a journalist of the Russian news agency Sputnik, who had worked in USSR/Russian media since 1943 until his death in 2021.¹²⁹ Religious integralism and a pro-Russian attitude permeate from KZ-M to the Confederation. The club also supports the party’s extremely free market attitude.¹³⁰ These unions are not only ideological in nature: KZ-M activist Magdalena Ziętek-Wielomska, Adam Wielomski’s wife, ran in the Confederation’s primary election for a nomination as a candidate in the 2020 presidential election. The second monarchist organization in the orbit of the Confederation is OMP, established on November 16, 1989, in Wrocław. The founder of the organization and its formal leader is Adrian Nikiel, bookseller, political scientist, and a longtime activist of the ultra-conservative-libertarian Union of Real Politics. The official OMP magazine is *Rojalista - Pro Patria*, but the main media outlet is the website “Portal Legitymistyczny” legitymizm.org. The main ideas of this organization are legitimism, economic liberalism, as well as Catholic traditionalism. The OMP criticizes democracy, which, in their opinion, “creates ... uncertainty for the future of citizens, destroys prosperity, morality, and culture, leading to the collapse of states and nations to the wilderness over time.”¹³¹ Nikiel said in an interview that democracy is “death, the triumph of stupidity, rebellion and pride, the rejection of God’s power over people, a

crypto-satanic rebellion.”¹³² This ideological strain of monarchists aims to build a Catholic, hierarchical, decentralized, anti-parliamentary, and anti-democratic political system.¹³³ Jacek Bartyzel is a key figure for Polish monarchists.¹³⁴ During the Polish People’s Republic (1947-1989), he was a conservative opposition activist. He currently publishes research on ultraconservative trends in political philosophy, such as Spanish Carlism (Spanish clerical traditionalist trend), monarchist and Catholic counterrevolutionary thought, as well as the monarchist nationalism of the Action Française. He can be considered a supporter of the concepts of these movements. In his journalistic texts he postulates “the restoration of Tradition in the Church, the restoration of the universal Holy Empire, the rebuilding of all Catholic monarchies (and the re-Catholicization of the others), including the restitution of the Kingdom of Poland and the Balto-Slavic Empire with the Triple coat of arms.”¹³⁵ In his views the ideological opponents are Jews, freemasons, atheists, and democrats.¹³⁶ Numerous religious fundamentalists also cooperate with the Confederation. These forces are mainly associated with the Fr. Piotr Skarga Foundation Institute of Social and Religious Education, Fr. Piotr Skarga Association of Christian Culture, the Ordo Iuris Institute for Legal Culture (OI), the “Kultura Prawna” magazine, and the pch24.pl website. The core of these organizations is a group of lawyers and lobbyists associated with the Brazilian religious organization TFP (Tradição, Família e Propriedade, Port. Tradition, Family and Property).¹³⁷ This group was recognized by the French parliament’s inquiry committee as one of the most active pseudo-Catholic organizations.¹³⁸ The Catholic publication *Journal Chrétien* described “the main charges against TFP are indoctrination and destruction of the independent personality of believers by separating them from the family, as well as the cult of the founder.”¹³⁹ At their general assembly in 1985, the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil criticized TFP for “lack of communion ... with the Church in Brazil, its hierarchy and the Holy Father” and for its “esoteric character, religious fanaticism, and the cult of the leader and his mother.”¹⁴⁰ The sociologist and philosopher Michael Löwy describes TFP as the most conservative representa-

tive of the four mainstream Catholic movements in South America. In his opinion, TFP “defends ultra-reactionary and sometimes semi-fascist views.”¹⁴¹ The most publicly visible politicians of the Confederation are Grzegorz Braun and Janusz Korwin-Mikke. Braun is a director, screenwriter, university teacher, publicist, and politician. A candidate for the office of the President of the Republic of Poland in the elections in 2015, Member of Parliament of the 9th term, president of the political party Confederation of the Polish Crown (Konfederacja Korony Polskiej), and one of the leaders of the federal party Confederation Freedom and Independence. Between 1990 and 1994, he was a journalist and a member of the editorial board of the quarterly “Fronda.” Later, he worked, among others, for Radio Wrocław. As a film director, he produced over 20 titles, including a documentary film created in 2005, entitled “Positive advantages, negative advantages” (“Plusy dodatnie, plusy ujemne”) about Lech Wałęsa’s contacts with the communist secret police. He became a publicist for the monthly “Opcja na Prawo” and the bimonthly magazine “Magna Polonia.”¹⁴² He is a well-known Polish anti-Semite, conspiracy theorist, homophobe, monarchist, and Catholic integrist.¹⁴³ The second key leader of the Confederation is Janusz Korwin-Mikke. He is a widely known in Poland as a misogynist and sexist, racist, anti-Semite, homophobe, and supporter of the politics of Vladimir Putin.¹⁴⁴

Nationalist Neo-Pagans, Neo-Fascists, and National Socialists

In 2017, a group called “Black Block on the Independence March” attracted a lot of media attention. This group displayed fascist symbolism (i.e., Celtic crosses, yoke and arrows referring to Spanish national syndicalism, and swords and hammers referring to Strasserism). The marchers of this group carried banners reading, “Pure blood - sober mind,” “White Europe of brother nations,” and “Europe will be white or deserted.”¹⁴⁵ The group caused outrage among the conservative right-wing supporters

loyal to the March for many years. This caused the organizers to distance themselves from the group.¹⁴⁶ However, it is important to emphasize that such extremist milieus had always been present at the March in previous years as well. The main core of the National Socialist bloc in the Independence March are tercerists, national paganists, national Bolsheviks, and autonomous nationalists. They are divided into numerous small groups and parties, most of them taking a very critical position towards the concept of a free-market economy. This issue brings them closer to the radical left, to the extent that they sometimes enter into tactical alliances with Maoists,¹⁴⁷ communist-Stalinists, and even join socialist groups on electoral lists.¹⁴⁸ Particularly eager to take such steps is the National-Bolshevik Falanga, combining in its hybrid ideological profile elements of nationalism, anti-liberalism, neo-Eurasianism, anti-Semitism, national socialism, and the demand for a close alliance with Russia. The latter distinguishes this organization from most of the groups in the national-socialist bloc. While national-liberal formations also regularly express sympathy for the Russian regime and the form in which power is exercised in the Russian Federation, most national-socialist organizations manifest rather pro-European inclinations, in the spirit of pan-European fascism of Mosley,¹⁴⁹ Yockey or the New Right (Nouvelle Droite).¹⁵⁰ Some groups and activists in this spectrum also demonstrate sympathies for Nazism, the ideology of the SS and the NSDAP¹⁵¹ or for Julius Evola.¹⁵² The key element of this sub-milieu's ideology is an underlying sense of the decline of Europe's culture and political strength as well as the palingenetic need for rebirth.¹⁵³ To a large extent, this is a feature common to all groups in this subset. The Falanga points to Russia as the center of a European revival and chooses Thiriartist-Duginist neo-Eurasianism ("Europe from Lisbon to Vladivostok") as an ideological basis, with the religious component as a cultural backbone that the Falanga deems important for maintaining social cohesion. The Falanga also flirts with Limonov's national bolshevism. Tercerists from the violent National Rebirth of Poland (NOP, Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski) and the violent Third Way put emphasis on sedevacantist¹⁵⁴ or Lefebvristic Catholic integralism. These groups also

promote economic and political models oriented towards Chesterton's distributism and traditional fascist corporatism.¹⁵⁵ Nationalist neo-pagans associated with the violent Niklot Association for Tradition and Culture, the Neopagan religious association Rodzima Wiara (Native Faith), the violent Nationalist Zadruga Association, and violence-oriented Whitfire Group (Gromada Białożar) postulate a return to paganism in the spirit of the New Right and the political thought of the Polish nationalist Jan Stachniuk. Stachniuk's organization Zadruga was a Polish pan-Slavic, neo-pagan, and nationalist movement established in the interwar period between the first and the second world-wars, postulating a "cultural revolution" and a national revival based on pagan beliefs, which can be characterized as Polish Volkism. Stachniuk aimed at building the "Slavic Empire" (Slavia), which would bring together the Pan-Slavic "supernational" in one theocratic state,¹⁵⁶ organized according to the assumptions of the national-Bolshevik ideology.¹⁵⁷ For contemporary adherents of these ideas, an additional model is the French New Right (Nouvelle Droite), with its ecologicalism, a hybrid ideological formula combining elements of the extreme right and the extreme left; ethnopluralism;¹⁵⁸ and attempts to refurbish culture in the Gramscian sense, i.e., transform the language, perspectives, and meanings and achieve hegemony. Members of the Niklot association declare themselves to be enemies of liberalism, globalization, Americanization, Christianity, and of mixing people of different ethnic origins.¹⁵⁹ Various extremist groups from this spectrum are associated with the Native Faith, such as Gromada Białożar (Whitfire Group) which includes young Neo-fascist extremists from Warsaw. They are an important part of the youngest generation of contemporary National Socialists—horizontally associated, among others, in the national-social labor organization Praca Polska or the ecological group Ecolektyw. The whole of the Polish National Socialist extreme right is close to violence-oriented neo-Nazi and extreme right-wing transnational networks such as the violent Blood and Honour, Misanthropic Division, or the terrorist group Combat 18. Another important group of the national-social part of extremists is the violent Autonomous Nationalists (AN). This group bases its structure on

the strategic concept of “leaderless resistance” developed in Germany,¹⁶⁰ and has also adopted some concepts of the radical left, such as the “black block,” building networks of independent groups or anarchist fashion and clothing style.¹⁶¹ In Poland, AN emerged between 2009 and 2010 and immediately established foreign contacts, starting with the appearance of the Czech AN¹⁶² at the Independence March. The Polish AN is opposed to globalization, migration,¹⁶³ U.S. hegemony,¹⁶⁴ and the policies of Israel and of the Jewish community, which they accuse of supporting Israel.¹⁶⁵ They also criticize the existing political parties¹⁶⁶ and emphasize the international cooperation of nationalists against “chauvinism” (animosities between European nations) and what they call “imperialist tendencies.”

In a report published by AN following the Independence March in 2011, they stated that “they planned to establish their own bloc during the March, in which the flags of AN from neighboring countries (including the Lithuanian flag) were to be flown, but clashes with the police and their consequences thwarted these plans.”¹⁶⁷ Clashes between AN and the police during the March took place each year until 2015, and their foreign guests publicly took pride in participating in them. For example, the violent Strasserist organization Volnica from Russia, present at the Independence March in 2012, described the riots in the following manner: “a unit of several hundred radicals from the group of autonomous nationalists and fans is separated from the main body of the March, we run along the distance between us and the policemen. Violent attack and ACAB (All Cops Are Bastards).”¹⁶⁸ AN is primarily oriented toward the eastern and the southern neighbors of Poland—the Slavic countries. Relations with Ukrainian and Lithuanian nationalists are an issue that distinguishes AN from other groups organizing the Independence March such as the All-Polish Youth (*Młodzież Wszechpolska*), ONR, and the National Movement. These are largely guided by resentments about the loss of Polish territories to Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine after the Second World War.¹⁶⁹ The following foreign organizations come to the Independence March at AN’s invitation: Volnica (Russia), violent Radical

Boys (Czech Republic), violent Svoboda (Belarus), violent Autonomiczny Opór (Ukraine), violent Autonomous Resistance (Lithuania), and violent Slovak Autonomic Nationalists.¹⁷⁰ AN closely cooperates with neo-fascists associated with the violent Szturm magazine, and also has close contacts with the Ukrainian “Azov” Regiment and its party, the National Corps.¹⁷¹ All these organizations are ideologically united by racism of varying intensity (ethnic and racial separatism, ethno-pluralism, cultural racism, biological racism), anti-Semitism (or anti-Zionism), and fantasies about the rebirth of Europe based on their revolutionary ideology, while also sharing a highly critical image of contemporary capitalism and globalization. The most important outlet and public rallying point in this sub-milieu is the aforementioned magazine “Szturm,” which has existed since 2014. Due to the lack of electoral success of the National Movement between 2012 and 2018, parts of the younger generation of the All-Polish Youth movement radicalized and moved towards AN. Along with other anti-capitalist nationalists, these combined forces co-created the online magazine “Szturm.”¹⁷² This is a neo-fascist journal, edited primarily by nationalist radicals and AN. The magazine follows the same ideological lines that have been promoted for the past quarter-century in “Szczerbiec,” the official magazine of the neo-fascist party the National Rebirth of Poland. In terms of the content, “Szturm” promotes the most common motifs in the contemporary neo-fascist movement, including praise of the hierarchical spiritual fascism of Baron Julius Evola, Polish national Bolshevism by Jan Stachniuk and his organization Zadruga, religious fascism of the Romanian Iron Guard by Corneliu Codreanu, eco-fascism in the spirit of Savitri Devi, fascism in the spirit of Benito Mussolini, as well as the praise of the Iranian Islamic revolution, militarism, “Knights” of the Ku Klux Klan, admiration for the “warrior spirit” of the soldiers of the Third Reich, rejection of “Semitic usury” and legalism, push for a crusade against communism, and support for “holy war” against race-mixing. The publication also defends the Nazi salute, the use of the Celtic cross and the sword and hammer symbol, the fasces, and the Slavic swastika tradition.¹⁷³ Texts by members of the ONR board and important members

of the All-Polish Youth were also published in the magazine. Production of “Szturm” has gathered a community that created an informal entity operating under the name Szturmowcy. Unlike authors belonging to AN, they signed their articles in the magazine with their surnames and officially registered “Szturm” as a media product.

What Function Does the Independence March Have for Participating Nationalists?

The Independence March is, above all, an important formative event for its participants. The March is an ideal recruitment opportunity for extremist right-wing organizations. The event allows extremist participants to publicly state their extremist ideological views in a group setting. It gives these individuals a sense of strength and power, enabling them to become fully involved in the activities of far-right nationalist and right-wing extremist organizations. Participation in the event and its organization further radicalizes extremists and gives them the feeling of belonging to a wider network of similar-minded individuals.

For example, this was the case with Roman, an activist of the nationalist youth organization the All-Polish Youth. He explains, “It was a breakthrough of 2012 and 2013. Then there was such a surge of the so-called ... street patriotism. The Independence March and other demonstrations, and so on. And I ran with this boom. I actually went to the Independence March in 2013, out of curiosity. I started to become interested in it in 2012, what it looked like, how it was shown on TV, and how it was shown on the Internet. And this is ... that was the main reason for the greater interest in this subject. Due to the fact that I saw something on TV and something else on the Internet. Well, I wanted to see what it really is. I went to the Independence March in 2013. And after returning, for six months, somehow, I was still wondering if not ... just join or not ... help the organizations that organized this.”¹⁷⁴ Supporters of extreme right ideas

meet more experienced activists at the Independence March, exchange contacts, and often begin further cooperation from that point on. They learn from like-minded, more experienced extremists, and perceive them as positive role models. This enables them to envision their extremist ideas no longer just as theoretical constructs outlined in books, but as a real-life struggle embodied by specific people who become mentors and guides to more professional activities. This was the case with Agnieszka, a future activist of the far-right Confederation: “I remember when I came up with the idea of signing up for the Independence March in Warsaw. This was either in 2010 or 2011 ... At that moment, there was a coach full of people I didn’t know. They were probably nationalists, All-Polish Youth, just calm people. I just got on a paid coach. I was on the list, but I didn’t know anyone. Everyone already had someone next to them, and I had a free chair, a free armchair, and at the last moment, a mature man comes in and asks if it is free, I say yes. We started talking and it turned out that he is a monarchist [...] and he says that he has a monarchist banner with him and it is in the trunk of the bus. He was looking for people to help him carry it. We exchanged contacts ... and this is how my kind of monarchical activity in the structures began.”¹⁷⁵ The March gives the participating extremists a strong psychological reinforcement and evokes strong emotions, the effects of which often remain with the participants for a long time. The experience gives them the feeling of being a part of a greater whole. It gives the individuals greater strength and guidance and therefore mitigates feelings of being lost in a complex world. Due to the participation of thousands of demonstrators, participants begin to feel that their actions are of great importance. This reinforces their motivation to continue their activities in radicalized circles and extreme right-wing organizations. As time goes on, it leads them further into radicalization and towards even more extremist groups.

This was the case with Tomasz, a member of the All-Polish Youth: “I think that this unity, pride for sure, perhaps a sense of a certain strength, but strength in the sense that we are the weak. We are ridiculed, we are

sometimes called crazy and strange. However, we get together and create something, something that's generally fun. It is known that the demonstration is, let's say, the icing on the cake when it comes to activities. However, it has such significance that it evokes certain emotions. These emotions allow people to somehow activate, they allow themselves to be counted, allow them to check how many ... different forms of activism exist. ... It is not just about the manifestations, but the event and the experience are useful in the sense that they trigger some emotions, it somehow mobilizes people, for sure, some sense of unity ... it is known that this is not the way one works in principle. A specific year, I remember, was the year 2010, and the first Independence March. At that time, it was still relatively small, I mean, little. Then more people came and there was a breakthrough, ... it was something so fresh because we were usually in our own sauce, and here came people from the outside and it looked very, very nice, and it was okay, you could see that the nation came, not just the activists."¹⁷⁶

Many remain unfazed by the clashes between the participants and the police. On the contrary, for people like Roman, a member of the All-Polish Youth, it is an additional factor that strengthens the process of accession into the radicalized group. These incidents during the March provide him and others with an impression of fighting the "system," of channeling the rebellion. As he himself points out: "Well, it was such a big wow, because it was the Independence March, where thousands of people really were there around me. And it was so addictive. If it wasn't for that, I don't think there would be this adventure with the All-Polish Youth. Enthusiasm, for sure. Some form of rebellion against the authorities... Those were the times when there were some clashes with the police and so on. I have never participated in any fights ... but it was also a form of broadly understood rebellion. You don't have to rebel physically... to rebel."¹⁷⁷ Another participant, Jerzy, also a member of the All-Polish Youth, was particularly delighted with the feeling of impunity and the possibility of contradicting the opinion of the elite about this event. He was fascinated by the fusion with other like-minded extremists: "Fusion with the human mass, the joy of feeling similar to the group, right? What do you call it ... A full range

of positive feelings that are associated with the possibility of participating in one collective experience, of similar emotions, in a similar way. I think so. Great joy, curiosity. Before that, being curious about what it will look like. Certainly, the joy and the seriousness of taking part in something that seems [to be] important ... Somewhere out there, ... on TV here, and we're going here, and what are they gonna do to us, right? (laughter).¹⁷⁸

The participants also recognize the influence of the Independence March on the formation of the political views of others. Their participation in the demonstration is not only significant for them, but also for the viewers of this event as well as the political scene in Poland. As a result of the March, the overall political scene in the country became more polarized. Radomir from Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny says: “The Independence March promoted a certain model of behavior, ... a certain model of patriotism, and a lot of people are attracted to this event ... due to the fact that this event ... becomes something in the minds of Poles that it is getting harder and harder to pass it by indifferently. People have to take a stance on this March ... either someone is against it, or for it ... also ... the [political] center is dying ... the center ceases to exist ... I think that this March caused such a patriotic mood ... the spirit of the nation was awakened to some extent if you could call it that ... and ... it certainly attracted people toward some kind of activity.”¹⁷⁹ The activists of extremist organizations also acknowledge the progress in new activist recruitment for their organizations resulting from the March, directly linking the significant increase in their numbers to the existence of this “ideological apparatus.” As Eryk, a member of the National-Radical Camp points out: “Well ... at the local level there is enormous progress [in terms of numbers in the organization] and we are on the right path ... when it comes to the national situation. ... Let's say five, six ... or even more years ago we were perceived as the brown ones, i.e. bald fascists, bandits and so on ... well, the Independence March changed a lot here, because it turned out that only the bad bald ones do not go to the Independence March, but people who agree or disagree with them, but criticize the same as they do and let's say many people who have

... been [to the March] or seen it ... [understand] that we really represent something, and we are not what television portrays.”¹⁸⁰ Andrzej from the same organization (National-Radical Camp) thinks in a similar manner: “I don’t know ... four years ago I had no great hopes that anything would change ... well, it was just so primitive, not that large in number, but today, you know, suddenly it turns out ... that it was a bull’s eye, this Independence March ... last year there were twenty thousand people, who would have thought a few years ago at our demonstrations of two hundred people that something like this could be done. Nobody would have thought that but I mean, you can, you just have to change the language, start talking to people and then something can be done.”¹⁸¹

The Independence March thus plays an activating, consolidating, and invigorating role both for the ideological message of extremist groups, and for the recruitment process of these groups. This is recognized in the statements of the members of these radicalized groups themselves. The participation in the March and its organization allows for the transfer of know-how for action, connects extremists with other like-minded people, and builds emotions that remain with extremists after the demonstration. The March energizes these extremists, making them more willing to become active in their regions and to engage in activities beyond the Independence March.

Who Were the Foreign Guests of the Independence March?

The Independence March is not only an event that integrates the Polish extreme right. In recent years, November 11 has become an important date on for right-wing radicals from all over Europe. Foreign guests appeared at the Independence March as early as 2011, despite the fact that the March in its current form was held for the first time just a year earlier.

Foreign guests of the Independence March can be divided into three groups. The first includes the guests invited by the organizers, i.e., the All-Polish Youth and the National-Radical Camp (until recently jointly forming the Independence March Association). All-Polish Youth and National-Radical Camp also announced the creation of the National Movement in 2012. Foreign groups invited by the organizers include, inter alia, Jobbik, HVIM, Mi Hazánk Mozgalom, Forza Nuova, Democracia Nacional, Renouveau Francais, Slovenská Pospolitost, Kotlebovci - Ľudová strana - Naše Slovensko, Nordisk Ungdom, Voorpost, Resistance Helvetique, Cervenobili, Sinine Arvatijai, and Visine Arvatijai.

The second group of foreign guests consists of informal groups associated with the neo-fascist AN and Szturmowcy, which form the so-called Black Block of the Independence March. Foreign groups in this category include, inter alia, CasaPound, Hogar Social, Serbian Action, Ruskie Centrum, National Corps, Bastion Social, Identitäre Bewegung, Generation Identity Europe, Ukrainian National Assembly - Ukrainian People's Self-Defense, Russian Imperial Movement, English Defense League, PEGIDA-UK, White Rex, Ruskie Centrum, Junge Nationalisten, Propatria, Kormilo, and Narodni a Socialni Fronta.

Their role in the first years was explained by the website Autonom.pl: “In 2010-2014 there were regular clashes between the extreme left and the police, which aimed at having the March destroyed. Let us ask ourselves - who then fought in defense of the March? Of course, the Autonomous Nationalists, together with the football hooligan communities. The organizers themselves were not disturbed by the rhetoric of the street struggle with the system, and it is worth mentioning how the Autonomous Nationalists regularly protected and escorted activists returning home after demonstrations and demonstrations by activists associated with the National Movement or other national organizations.”¹⁸²

The third group of foreigners involves members of the neo-Nazi music

scene. For several years, the March has been accompanied by the “Towards Independence” (“Ku Niepodległej”) festival. During the festival, Polish and foreign bands cultivate the heritage of the Third Reich under the joint patronage of the organizers of the Independence March in cooperation with initiatives related to the neo-Nazi underground.

Guests invited by the organizers in this category include important political partners of Polish nationalists who were Hungarian nationalists from the Movement for a Better Hungary (Jobbik).¹⁸³ In general, such contacts with Hungary have interesting roots. On May 2, 2010, by the initiative of the All-Polish Youth, a concert by the band Hungarica was organized in Katowice. This band is led by Balázs Sziva who published the skinhead magazines “Pannon Bulldog” and “Kopasz” in the 1990s. He also belongs to the violent Aryan Greens, a gang of fascist fans of Ferencváros Budapest. In 2010, he released a solo album entitled *A Holnap Már A Miénk*, a musical tribute to Ian Stuart Donaldson, founder of the Blood & Honour network. Bands Malchus and Irydion played as support acts at the concert. Among the guests was Laszlo Toroczka, the leader of the violence-oriented 64 County Movement (HVIM), the vice president of Jobbik since 2016, and the organizer of the Magyar Sziget festival in Verőce, held annually since 2001. All-Polish Youth activists at the festival included the future Polish parliamentarians Robert Winnicki, Michał Urbaniak, and Witold Tumanowicz, and the incumbent director of the NBP’s internal audit department, Piotr Głowacki. At that time, the Magyar Sziget festival was one of the international focal points for the far right. Music groups associated with the extreme right, including the infamous Categories C from Germany, distributors of fascist propaganda (who issued merchandize with Nazi symbols and books, including *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler), and right-wing politicians attended the festival. Polish nationalists met Gabor Vona, the leader of the Jobbik¹⁸⁴ party that Toroczka was affiliated with. This festival also strengthened contacts of the milieu with Italy’s Forza Nuova, whose leader Roberto Fiore had been building a pan-European contact network for many years. Partners of the event

also include Slovaks from the violent Our Slovakia People's Party, whose representatives have been visiting Warsaw since 2016. In 2011, the delegations of Jobbik and HVIM attended the Independence March for the first time, without gaining significant publicity. In June 2012, Bela Kovacs and Nick Griffin came to Warsaw to announce the opening of an office of the Alliance of European National Movements (AENM) (an ultranationalist political party formed in Hungary in 2009). The opening of the office was done in cooperation with the Polish National Movement.¹⁸⁵ Hungarian participants managed to attract notoriety during the 2012 March. Around 40 Hungarians took part, headed by far-right Hungarian parliamentarian György Gyula Zagyva. Upon their arrival, they were identified by the Polish Border Guards and police and were initially held at the airport in Okęcie, only to be released.¹⁸⁶ During their time in Warsaw, members of the group started a riot at a hostel in Śródmieście district that led to their arrests.¹⁸⁷ Zagyva stated that such arrests "are not a European standard of behavior." He announced that he would try to find those guilty in Poland, but he was also considering submitting a complaint to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg.¹⁸⁸ Zagyva was the co-chairman of HVIM, gaining notoriety two years earlier after journalists pressed criminal charges for punishable threats against authors of the articles that criticized the Magyar Sziget festival. He was convicted in 2014.¹⁸⁹ Gabor Vona took part in the 2013 March. During the March he made a speech urging its participants to take part in the elections to the European Parliament. He said, "Our common goal is the resistance against the East and the West. That is why the strength of the Polish National Movement is so important for Jobbik. We cannot be the puppets of the West, nor of the East. Let us fight hand in hand against the attempts to destroy our nations and against globalism. For us, the most important goal of foreign policy is to establish the Polish-Hungarian-Croatian axis (sic!)."¹⁹⁰ Two important recent international events also greatly influenced the discourse of the Hungarian and Polish extreme right and thus the Independence March. These were the protests in the Maidan and the outbreak of war in eastern Ukraine in 2014, as well as the migrant

crisis after 2015, caused by the civil war in Syria. The Polish National Movement and the Hungarian Jobbik party clearly spoke out against Ukrainian nationalists and were in favor of Bashar Al-Assad's policy in Syria.¹⁹¹ They have also adopted a hostile stance towards refugees and immigrants. While Gabor Vona repeatedly spoke positively about Islam, contrasting it with liberalism and Zionism, during the migrant crisis, his party began to speak of the necessity to fight against what they called "Islamization."¹⁹² Similar positions were adopted by the Hungarian nationalist parliamentarian Laszlo Toroczkai. During his participation in the 2015 March, he stated: "Emigrants who wanted to force their way in were repelled by the Hungarian police and army. This is exactly how we defend Europe against the Islamic invasion today, just as we did 500 years ago."¹⁹³ He also praised the police and border guards of the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Poland, and said that "four valiant nations" defended the entire continent and that "without Hungarian-Polish cooperation, Christian Europe would perish."¹⁹⁴ The 2014 European Parliament elections and international conflicts coincided with a crisis in Jobbik. The party's deputy leader Bela Kovacs was accused of spying for the Russian Federation. Gabor Vona undertook an unsuccessful attempt to de-radicalize the party and to distance it from fascism and the Kremlin while toning down its anti-Semitism.¹⁹⁵ In effect, László Toroczkai appeared in the Polish right-wing magazine "Polityka Narodowa," where he accused Jobbik of treason and cooperation with the left and the liberals.¹⁹⁶ Since then, Hungarian contacts with the organizers of the Independence March have gradually faded into the background. In 2018, Vona resigned as party chairman and soon left the party. Toroczkai was removed from it, and now heads a new party, the violence-oriented Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (Our Homeland Movement), which advocates against migration, supports the death penalty, and has its own paramilitary organization, the violent Nemzeti Légió, modeled on Magyar Garda. Toroczkai continues to participate in the Independence March. Other notable regular guests of the Independence March are representatives of the Italian violence-oriented Forza Nuova and the Spanish violence-oriented Democracia Nacional.¹⁹⁷

Delegations from these two parties would even attend the 2020 March, despite COVID-19-related restrictions. Both parties have been closely cooperating for a number of years. The cooperation of Polish organizers with right-wing extremist partners that attended the March extends beyond Poland and the event on November 11. For example, in the summer of 2018, the Polish website OKO.Press reported that Polish ONR activists were joining anti-immigrant patrols organized by the Forza Nuova in Rimini.¹⁹⁸ In addition to members of Forza Nuova and Democrazia Nazionale, extremists from other European countries have taken part in the March. In 2013, Thibaut de Chasse, the leader of *Renouveau Français*, appeared at the March. Standing next to Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore, de Chasse stated: “Seeing how many of you have gathered here, we tell ourselves that in Poland there may be a national revolution. It is starting to change all over Europe, and even in France. Europe is waking up, and Poland should be among the first nations to recreate a government that deserves its name.”¹⁹⁹ Another right-wing Slovak participant of the Independence March is the violent *Slovenská Pospolitost* (SP). This group was initially a legally registered political party in Slovakia. It was founded by a mathematics teacher, Marian Kotleba. *Slovenská Pospolitost* operated as a party for just over a year, until the Slovak constitutional court declared it illegal. Therefore, since 2006, the group has been operating as an association. Kotleba left the group in 2016 but did not break ties with it. Today, he is the leader of the violent nationalist party *Kotlebovci – Ľudová strana - Naše Slovensko*. In October 2020, Kotleba was convicted of promoting fascism by providing a poor family with a check for EUR 1,488 (referring to the manifestos of the “14 words” of the American neo-Nazi terrorist David Lane and HH, i.e., Heil Hitler). He was sentenced to four years and four months of imprisonment. He appealed against the verdict. On appeal, the Supreme Court reduced his sentence while upholding his conviction for neo-Nazi sympathies. The ruling means he will lose his seat in Slovakia’s parliament.²⁰⁰ In 2013, representatives of both the SP and *Ľudová strana - Naše Slovensko* attended the Independence March.²⁰¹ These Slovak nationalists postulate the construction of a “new,

sovereign-Christian Slovak state” and withdrawal from NATO and the EU.²⁰² They are against democracy, the Roma minority that they describe as “parasites,” the “Zionist lobby,” and Hungarian nationalism.²⁰³ Like others, Ludová strana - Naše Slovensko opposes Israel and considers Zionism to be a totalitarian ideology. The party supported the Syrian regime and supported Russia during the protests in Kiev’s Maidan.²⁰⁴ Following meetings during the Independence March, various extremist groups were able to intensify their coordination and establish new structures. For example, on February 4, 2015, various leaders of neo-fascist groups established a new pan-European organization, Alliance for Peace and Freedom (APF), chaired by Roberto Fiore and his deputy Nick Griffin. The core of the organization is Forza Nuova, Democracia Nacional, the violence-oriented National Democratic Party (NPD) of Germany, and Ludová strana - Naše Slovensko.²⁰⁵ The activities of the APF are largely focused on supporting Russia and Syria. However, Hungarian and Polish nationalists did not participate in the pan-European project.²⁰⁶ Currently, the APF remains inactive. Other foreign groups that participated in the March were representatives of the Swedish violence-oriented Nordic Youth - Nordisk Ungdom (NU), the violence-oriented Croatian Pure Party of Rights, as well as Bulgarian violence-oriented nationalists from the Bulgarian National Movement (VMRO). Founded in 2010, until its reorganization in 2019, NU was a youth organization that drew its roots from the youth team of the Swedish National Democracy party. NU bases its ideology on opposition to race mixing and the “uncompromising struggle against Zionism.”²⁰⁷ Its name refers to the youth group of the Swedish National Socialist Workers’ Party, which was active between 1933 and 1950. NU emphasizes that the issue of migration is a racial and not a religious problem. It supports the actions of Islamic radicals against Israel. Most likely as a result of contacts with Polish nationalists, after 2013 NU changed its logo from a motif based on the Forza Nuova party logo to a golden lion. Over the past years, NU has strengthened its contacts with the All-Polish Youth and has put emphasis on Catholicism as a part of its ideology while advocating for the “traditional” model of the family. Its

leadership also visited Ukraine three times following the Maidan protests: “Europe has always been mostly white and should remain so. And it is not a racist factor. It is a natural aspect of our identity. This is our heritage.”²⁰⁸ An article by NU members featured in the Polish magazine “Szturm” outlines the group’s attitude toward racial issues.²⁰⁹ The organization disbanded in August 2019, and its leaders announced the creation of a new entity modeled on the CasaPound Italia (CPI).²¹⁰ The Croatian Pure Party of Rights, which also takes part in the March, follows the traditions of the Croatian pro-independence Party of Rights, established in 1860.²¹¹ In its program, the Pure Party of Rights emphasizes the fight against the European Union, NATO, and LGBTQ+ rights. It glorifies the Croatian Ustashe regime that collaborated with fascist regimes in Italy and German National Socialism during World War II. Party members are fully obedient to their leader (paglavnik) Ante Pavelić²¹² and protest against the commemoration of the victims of the Jasenovac extermination camp (concentration camp located in Croatia during World War II).²¹³ Since 2014, Bulgarian violence-oriented nationalists from the VMRO have taken part in the March, and have cooperated with the Polish National-Radical Camp.²¹⁴ The VMRO’s name is a reference to the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization, which was established in 1893 to liberate Bulgarians in Macedonia and Thrace from Turkish rule. Today, there are two organizations that use the VMRO sign. One is the Macedonian conservative VMRO - Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity, while the other is the already mentioned Bulgarian National Movement. The current relationship between Macedonian and Bulgarian nationalists remains antagonistic. The Bulgarian VMRO was founded in 1989 and is one of the few far-right nationalist parties present in mainstream Bulgarian politics. The VMRO is led by Krassimir Karakachanov, a lawyer and a former agent of the communist secret services.²¹⁵ Between 2016 and 2021, the VMRO co-founded and cooperated with the United Patriots coalition with Ataka and the National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria. The United Patriots coalition joined the Bulgarian government of the conservative GERB party in 2017. Karakachanov was appointed

deputy prime minister and minister of defense until May 12, 2021. The VMRO advocates for “the spiritual unification of Bulgarians” and “the protection and rebirth of the Bulgarian spirit.”²¹⁶ Karakachanov is a supporter of the presidential system, the nationalization of privatized monopolies, the imposition of a legal obligation to defend Bulgarian citizens both at home and abroad,²¹⁷ and “the final solution to the Gypsy question.”²¹⁸ The VMRO considers its enemies to be “sorosoids [individuals allegedly connected to George Soros] wanting to introduce gay marriage and a gender republic,”²¹⁹ the European Union, and “immigrants disturbing the natural way of life for white people in Europe.”²²⁰ The VMRO sees Hungarian and Polish nationalists as well as nationalist groups and individuals from the Balkans as its allies. The VMRO has ties to neo-Nazi organizations, such as the Bulgarian National Union, Blood & Honour, and the Scandinavian Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM). The VMRO cooperates with them, co-organizing sports and street events,²²¹ such as the Lukov March.²²² This demonstration is named after Lieutenant General Hristo Lukov, the Bulgarian minister of war between 1935 and 1938, and during World War II. Łuków supported close cooperation with the Third Reich during the war and advocated for increased repressions against the Jewish population in Bulgaria. He was killed by the Bulgarian resistance in 1943. Anhel Dzhambazki, vice-president of the VMRO, is a member of the European Parliament and the treasurer of the group of European Conservatives and Reformists.²²³ As vice president of the party and city councilor of Sofia, Dzhambazki published articles with titles such as “Gypsyism and the Gypsy question in Bulgaria and Europe” and “Chronology of the desocialization and self-isolation of Gypsies in Bulgarian society. Causes and consequences. Possible solutions to this problem in Bulgaria and Europe.”²²⁴ In 2013, he called the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee a “tool for destroying the nation” for its criticism of anti-immigrant slogans at VMRO and football hooligan demonstrations.²²⁵ He advocated for the organization of civil patrols in Bulgaria.²²⁶ As a member of the European Parliament, he called for fighting against LGBTQ+ rights and the Istanbul Convention and accused the European Parliament of

being dominated by Bolshevism.²²⁷ The alliance between Polish nationalists and the VMRO, however, seems quite loose, and the party also has a history of international cooperation with many less radical, albeit more influential groups in Europe.²²⁸ In 2021, the Independence March was also visited by a delegation from the Spanish right-wing populist Vox party, which has close ties with PiS and is to a lesser degree connected to the Polish National Movement or the Confederation.²²⁹ Its representatives also took part in government-organized celebrations in Kraków.²³⁰ The 2021 March was the first to feature a delegation of the Young Front, a nationalist Belarusian organization.²³¹

Informal Groups Invited by Polish VRWEs

The activities of various extreme-right organizations and circles have overlapped for years. “Szturm” magazine went on to become the main publication related to the Polish neo-fascist movement. It published works of activists associated with the ONR, such as Tomasz Dorosz and Aleksander Krejckant, both former leaders of ONR; former ONR press spokesman Witold Stefanowicz; and Adrianna Gąsiorek, member of the ONR main board. Furthermore, the magazine published articles by the leader of the Women’s Section of the Polish National Movement and the head of the group’s media activities. It also featured numerous pieces by authors associated with the All-Polish Youth, including Konrad Bonisławski and Jakub Siemiątkowski, the editors-in-chief of the most important all-Polish Youth magazine, “Polityka Narodowa.”²³² During the 2017 Independence March, the All-Polish Youth presented a banner with the words “All Different. All White.”²³³ In 2016, using one of its social networking sites, the Subcarpathian Branch of the All-Polish Youth posted a modified photo of Poland’s national football team with the slogan “All Different. All White,” also adding an armband with the Polish national colors to one of the players. This resulted in a lawsuit by the Polish Football Association.²³⁴ Their social media accounts also featured other racist content. Former spokesman of the All-Polish Youth, Mateusz Pławski, publicly described

himself as a supporter of “racial separatism” (apartheid),²³⁵ and using the official All-Polish Youth profile on Twitter, the organization declared that a person with black skin cannot be Polish.²³⁶ Members of All-Polish Youth, ONR, and other activists of the Polish neo-fascist movement jointly organized the National and Social Congress conferences. Between 2016 and 2018, according to activists associated with the neo-fascist movement, the slogans and the route of the so-called Black Block were officially approved by the leaders of the Independence March Association. However, the Independence March Association denied this.²³⁷ According to an [Autonom.pl](https://autonom.pl) report, in 2018 Robert Winnicki, a Polish parliamentarian and a member of the Confederation of Independent Poland, was delegated to ensure that the Black Block was not a problem at the March. He himself went on to call the group and its behavior “racist” and unacceptable in the Polish media.²³⁸ The younger generation of Polish neo-fascists, i.e., primarily AN, revolutionary nationalists, neo-pagans, and the violent “Stormtroopers” (“Szturmowcy”) movement (created around the monthly magazine “Szturm”), call for a union of European nationalists. In their view, an effective fight against globalization, capitalism, and liberalism, as well as opposition to LGBTQ+ rights, abortion, and women’s emancipation, and the “utopian ideology of a multiracial society”²³⁹ can only be achieved through such an alliance. In their opinion, this alliance would defend the continent’s identity and the white race.²⁴⁰ “Szturm” wants to build such a network. Around Europe, allies of the young neo-fascists from the Independence March come primarily from regions around the economically strong areas in the center of the European Union such as Spain, southern France, central and southern Italy, Greece, and Poland. In the view of these extremists, the model of CasaPound Italia is the ideal structure, promoting socialism but only for its “own”—the white European people.

“Szturm” regularly publishes interviews with nationalists from other countries, co-organizes the Europe of the Future conference, takes part in activities such as Zentropa and Defend Evropa, and is involved in

publishing the Euronationalist magazine “The Spear.”²⁴¹ They also invite their allies to the Independence March.

Together with AN, the editors of “Szturm” organized the so-called violent “black block” that caught the attention of Polish and foreign media. Over the years, the following foreign extremist groups became a part of the black block: the violent CasaPound (Italians), the violence-oriented Hogar Social (Spaniards), the violent Serbian Action (Serbs), the violent Ruskie Centrum (Russians), and the representatives of the violence-oriented National Corps, the political arm of the Ukrainian Azov Regiment.²⁴² In addition to taking part in the black block, Italians from CasaPound Italia also participated in the March, as did the Spaniards from Hogar Social Madrid, the French from the violence-oriented Bastion Social, as well as individuals close to the German Identitäre Bewegung.²⁴³ Among the latter was David Ratajczak, who registered the Generation Identity Europe²⁴⁴ foundation in Szczecin, Poland. Networks and groups in Central and Eastern Europe offer additional inspiration for the young generation of neo-fascists. Consequently, right-wing extremists from these regions also take part in the March.²⁴⁵

In 2011, representatives of the Lithuanian community of violent Autonomous Nationalists, the Lithuanian Youth National Union, and the Lithuanian National Center came to the Independence March, primarily to establish closer cooperation with Polish nationalists.²⁴⁶ A representative of the Ukrainian nationalist party UNA-UNSO (Ukrainian National Assembly - Ukrainian People’s Self-Defense)²⁴⁷ boasts of his annual presence at the March. Serbian nationalists and war criminal apologists from the SNP²⁴⁸ provided reports from their trips to Warsaw to take part in the March in 2011. In 2013, in connection with anti-Russian slogans present during the March, a message to its organizers was issued by the violence-oriented Russian Imperial Movement (RIM): “Nationalists in Russia are fighting today to create a Russian nation-state. The Russians are not going to attack Poland or any other country. On the contrary, we have common enemies today – Zionist and Islamist globalism. They strive to enslave our nations, destroy traditional cultural and religious values,

and settle our countries with immigrants from Asia.”²⁴⁹ However, RIM did not take part in the March in Warsaw, and contacts established with it via the All-Polish Youth did not last long.²⁵⁰ In 2015, a delegation of the Parti de la France, a splinter group from the National Front attended the March. In 2017, violence-oriented Tommy Robinson, former leader of the English Defense League and PEGIDA-UK, came to Warsaw for the March,²⁵¹ as did Jacek Posobiec, an American who is associated with the conservative student organization Turning Point USA and the U.S. alt-right community.²⁵² In 2019, American neo-fascists from the French Patriot Front organization appeared at the Independence March, as reported by the All-Polish Youth website Narodowcy.net. The article states that “many nationalists in Europe are considered the last voice of reason in the United States.”²⁵³

The aforementioned groups are not the only ones that can be found on the streets of Warsaw on November 11. There are many more of them. During the more than 10 years since its inception, the Independence March has developed into a pan-European festival of right-wing extremism and the largest public nationalist event not only in Europe but globally. Among the foreign guests of the March, the representatives of neo-fascist parties coming to Poland to establish political contacts play the most important role. The second group consists of groups operating outside such parties, although not always without them. They, in turn, use this time to exchange ideas and train with each other. For entertainment purposes, the March and the accompanying conferences feature a range of concerts by right-wing extremist music groups, often promoting the heritage of National Socialism and the Third Reich.

What Events Accompany the Independence March?

The program of the Independence March is not limited to the demonstration on the streets of Warsaw. The extreme right also organizes events accompanying the March. These are as important, if not more important than the March itself, cementing the March as a right-wing extremist lifestyle event. The key elements of this far-reaching event include political conferences and meetings in the Polish parliament, a music festival, thematic conferences, and sports events.

Conferences and Meetings in the Polish Parliament

Among the foreign guests of the March, the representatives of neo-fascist parties coming to Poland to establish political contacts play the most important role. One of the key activities during their visit to Warsaw are speeches in the Polish parliament, organized by Robert Winnicki and other politicians of the National Movement who hold or held parliamentary seats as members of the far-right Confederation and in the previous term the right-wing populist Kukiz '15 movement.

For example, on November 10, 2016, the day before the Independence March, Robert Winnicki and Krzysztof Bosak organized a conference in the Polish parliament with the participation of Forza Nuova leader Roberto Fiore; Manuel Canduela, who at that time was the leader of the Spanish party Democracia Nacional; the Swedish spokesman for Nordisk Ungdom Frederik Hagberg; and the representative of the People's Party Our Slovakia (LSNS) Milan Mazurek.²⁵⁴ Milan Mazurek publicly denies the Holocaust and that there are lies circulating around Hitler.²⁵⁵ Furthermore, Mazurek's party, the LSNS, defines tax increases as "plunder," privatization as "crime," the activities of foreign banks as "slavery," the

Roma community as “parasites,” NATO as a “criminal organization,” and the European Union as a “Brussels dictate.”²⁵⁶ Mazurek, who is currently a member of the Slovak parliament, took over the seat after his predecessor Andrej Medvecký was accused of assaulting a Dominican citizen and sentenced in 2019 for spreading racial hatred towards Roma.²⁵⁷ Thus, Medvecký became the first deputy in the history of the Slovak parliament to be deprived of a mandate due to a court sentence. Also in 2016, Polish parliamentarians Robert Winnicki, Sylwester Chruszcz, and Adam Andruszkiewicz helped the All-Polish Youth to organize an international conference in parliament.²⁵⁸ The event, entitled “Crisis in Europe, Opportunities and Threats,” took place the day after the March with hundreds of nationalists from 11 countries attending. In addition to Forza Nuova, Democracia Nacional, National Union, and LSNS, there were Voorpost (an ethno-nationalist group founded in Flanders, Belgium), Resistance Helvetique (right-wing extremist group from Switzerland), violence-oriented Cervenobili (right-wing extremist student group from the Czech Republic), Sinine Aratus (far-right youth wing of the Estonian Conservative People’s Party), and Latvians from Visu Latvijai (nationalist, right-wing political party in Latvia). In addition, far-right nationalist and right-wing extremist media representatives also attended. For instance, journalists from Visegrad Post and the Arktos publishing house were also present at the conference. In addition to Flanders, Voorpost also operates in South Africa. It aims to unite all areas inhabited by the Dutch-speaking population under the banner of the Dutch royal family. It also opposes immigrants from Muslim countries²⁵⁹ and the actions of American corporations.²⁶⁰ Individual members are accused of having links to the neo-Nazi movement.²⁶¹ Resistance Helvetique is a French-speaking group that opposes migration, the European Union, the United Nations, and NATO.²⁶² The group sees the Identitarian movement and CasaPound as its ideological allies and as inspiration. It identifies itself with the idea of the “third way.”²⁶³ Cervenobili operated from 2010 until 2017 and translated texts by Aleksander Dugin, Franco Freda, Julius Evola, and Carl Schmidt into Czech, and promoted these works on the web. It was active among

students and organized discussion meetings and conferences. Among the group's ideological partners were the Serbian Radical Party, All-Polish Youth, the National-Radical Camp, and the Polish National Movement.²⁶⁴ Sinine Aratus is the official youth of the Conservative People's Party of Estonia.²⁶⁵ It is led by its founder Ruuben Kaalep, the youngest member of the Estonian parliament since 2019. Its long history of racist and anti-Semitic activity, including the promotion of Holocaust denial, has been documented in detail in media reports.²⁶⁶ While the party is situated in the group of Eurosceptic right-wing populists, its youth organization belongs to the milieu of European neo-fascists. Sinine Aratus bases its ideology on the philosophy of integral traditionalism by Julius Evola and Rene Guenon and supports the construction of an "ethnostate."²⁶⁷ The group maintains contacts with the European Identitarian movement and American white supremacists, including the violence-oriented Richard Spencer.²⁶⁸ In the summer of 2017, the European Young Conservatives, associated with the party of European Conservatives and Reformists, decided to exclude the group from their ranks.²⁶⁹ Visu Latvijai is known for the organization of demonstrations commemorating the Latvian Waffen SS.²⁷⁰ The party is in favor of restrictions on the granting of Latvian citizenship and the voluntary repatriation of Russians. Visu Latvijai enjoys only very limited electoral support in Latvia. Another similar conference in the Polish parliament was organized by the organizers of the Independence March in 2021. The leader of the Hungarian violence-oriented Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (Our House Movement), László Toroczkai,²⁷¹ spoke in the Polish parliament. During a press conference in the Polish parliament a day before the 2021 March, Robert Winnicki, member of the parliament for the Confederation, welcomed the presence of László Toroczkai and highlighted that Toroczkai was a politician known in Hungary as a border defender because he had built a fence on the Hungarian-Serbian border during the migration crisis of 2015 and 2016. At that press conference, László Toroczkai said that he had come to Poland to convince people to build the walls needed to defend the borders. The defense of Europe would be necessary not only on the Hungarian-Serbian border but also on the

Polish-Belarusian border. According to him, the phenomenon of mass immigration is not accidental. He stressed that this was a planned action by the European left and liberals and that such a policy would mean a huge risk for European nations. He claimed that 99% of illegal immigrants on the Serbian-Hungarian border were young men, which according to him means that they are not refugees but rather invaders. Toroczkaï stated that Poles and Hungarians are historical friends who should fight such problems and resist the anti-European, left-liberal leaders who rule the European Union today.²⁷²

Towards Independence (“Ku Niepodległej”) Music Festival

For decades, the music scene has been one of the most important sectors of extreme-right activity. It was an integral part of the Italian neo-fascist movement in the 1970s and the British extreme right during the 1980s and 1990s, when the Rock Against Communism, White Noise Music Club, and Blood & Honour movements were born. These inspired right-wing radicals around the world, including in Poland. In the past, two regular musical events were organized in parallel to the Independence March. The first were the Hungarika’s concerts, which took place at the Progresja club in 2015²⁷³ and 2016²⁷⁴ and at the Remont club in 2017.²⁷⁵ The right-wing Hungarian band Hungarika tried to gain popularity in Poland that would go beyond nationalist circles. In addition to these concerts, they also recorded the album *Come Freedom* in Polish with a guest appearance by the famous Polish rock musician Grzegorz Kupczyk.²⁷⁶ For many years, the Towards Independent (“Ku Niepodległej”) festival was the main musical event accompanying the March. This event was organized by Tomasz Szczepański a.k.a. Barnim Regalica. He began his extremist “career” in the 1980s as an anarchist and later a Trotskyist.²⁷⁷ He was then a member of the Polish Socialist Party,²⁷⁸ later with Piłsudski’s Confederation of Independent Poland²⁷⁹ and the nationalistic Polish

Reconstruction Movement,²⁸⁰ and subsequently with Catholic integralists from the League of Polish Families.²⁸¹ At the same time, his rhetoric was becoming increasingly anti-Semitic²⁸² and anti-EU. Currently, he leads the neo-pagan national Bolsheviks group the Association for Tradition and Culture “Niklot.” Members of this group come from skinhead circles of the nineties and see themselves as enemies of liberalism, Americanization, mixing people of different ethnic origins, and Christianity.²⁸³ According to their own views, they are the Polish equivalent of the French New Right.²⁸⁴ The French New Right is a neo-pagan and extreme-right intellectual formation, with a strong anti-modern and anti-EU character, led by the philosopher Alain de Benoist.²⁸⁵ As of today, the network of this French movement spans across the European continent, and Niklot is its Polish arm. The leader of Niklot, Szczepański, defends apartheid as well as the Polish terrorist from South Africa Janusz Waluś.²⁸⁶ He considers the European Union a paradise for crime, drug addiction, and corruption and demands the return of the death penalty.²⁸⁷ He says that he would gladly execute the editor of the liberal Polish daily *Gazeta Wyborcza*, Adam Michnik, and the chief of the left-wing satirical newspaper *Jerzy Urban* for being enemies of Poland.²⁸⁸ Between 2014 and 2017, bands belonging to the Rock Against Communism (RAC) scene from Hungary, France, Finland, Italy, and Sweden played at the “Ku Niepodległej” festival. For example, the festival featured the Polish band *Irydion* associated with ONR, *Nordica* which promotes racism, the skinhead band *All Bandits*, as well as *Oblęd*, *Legion Twierdzy Wrocław*, and *Omerta*, which belong to the Blood & Honour network. There were also nationalist rappers (*Damian Bujkowski* a.k.a. *Bujak* and *Jonasz Sowa* a.k.a. *CR*) and a black metal band (*Decline*).²⁸⁹ In 2014, the festival was held under the joint patronage of the Independence March Association (SMN), the “Orle Gniazdo” festival, the “*Nasza Scena*” blog, the neo-Nazi music label *Strong Survive Records*, and the Autonom.pl website, which is affiliated with the AN in Poland.²⁹⁰ The French right-wing band *Lemovice*, which is associated with the local structures *Blood & Honour*, and the Hungarian right-wing band *Feher Toverny*, also appeared on the poster of the festival. Both bands are part

of the NSHC (National Socialist HardCore) music scene. The next edition of the festival in 2015 was held under the patronage of the Independence March, Strong Survive Records, the Niklot Association, the [Autonom.pl](#) website, as well as the Orle Gniazdo Festival and the violent Duma i Nowoczeność Association. In 2015, only Polish bands played.

In 2016, two well-known foreign right-wing bands performed: Bronson and Mistreat. Bronson is associated with CasaPound. The Finnish band Mistreat is notorious in the international Blood & Honour scene, and its repertoire includes songs such as “Hang a nigger,” “Save our race,” and “Fourth Reich.” This time, the poster announcing the event during the March did not bear the logo of the Independence March. However, the festival was supported by the “Polityka Narodowa” magazine, which is published by the organizers of the March. The event was also sponsored by Keep it White, a racist clothing brand of neo-pagan and neo-fascist clothing designs. Keep it White regularly uses fashion models that have tattoos of 18, 88, Blood & Honour symbols, the Black Sun, and other Nazi symbols. The neo-Nazi music label Strong Survive Records (SS Records) was the third sponsor of the event.²⁹¹ In 2017, the Towards Independence festival took place twice, the first one on April 30. Swedish right-wing band Tors Verede performed during the concert. The band leader of Tors Verede Jonas boasted in the magazine “Szturm” that he is a member of the Nordic Resistance Movement (NRM), a right-wing extremist network operating in Scandinavia.²⁹² The headliners at the concert were Wafflor Waffen (Sweden), Legion Twierdzy Wrocław (Poland), Old Firm (Slovakia), and Feher Vihar (“White Storm”) (Hungary). The April event was also supported by the Polish branch of Blood & Honour, i.e., Club 28.²⁹³ On November 10, 2016, the festival was organized for the second time during that year. At that time Nessun Pentimento from Italy played with a guest appearance by Luigi Guerzoni from Legittima Offes, which is the most popular group on the Nazi-skinhead scene in Italy.²⁹⁴ The headliner band was from Sweden, Code 291, which refers to the Swedish internal police code for crimes committed by immigrants. The leader of the band

is Joakim “Joke” Karlsson, who is quite an unusual neo-fascist and skin-head. Before joining Code 291, Karlsson played in the Swedish right-wing band Pluto Svea and was an activist in the organization violent National Socialist Front (NSF). He subsequently left NSF but claimed that this was not a result of a change in his ideological views. Nevertheless, for some in the milieu in Sweden, this move made him a “race traitor.”²⁹⁵ He also caused controversy in the milieu due to a photo circulating online that shows him with black rapper Ken Ring. In his response, Karlsson publicly asked for “understanding” from his right-wing counterparts, highlighting that he had “issued some really strong positions against immigrants and verbally attacked other artists using anti-Semitic epithets like - he is a fucking Jewish shit.”²⁹⁶ When Karlsson was to play again on the occasion of the 2016 Independence March, this time with Hungarika’s band leader Romanticus Eroszak, the concert organizer was detained by Polish counterintelligence, and therefore Karlsson and Hungarika were not allowed to perform.²⁹⁷ In November 2016, the festival was under the patronage of two Nazi clothing brands Keep It White and “Walknvt,” associated with the violent Misanthropic Division, a paramilitary right-wing extremist group in Ukraine. The poster also featured logos of a number of nationalist websites and magazines: Narodowcy.net, Autonom.pl, Trygław, the national-socialist Praca Polska group, as well as the Capital Book Publishing House.²⁹⁸ In July 2017, the Independence March brought upon a fifth right-wing extremist music event, the Orle Gniazdo (“Eagles Nest”) Festival. Many groups that had previously taken part in events accompanying the Independence March performed once again: Romantikus Eroszak, Irydion, Nordica, Obłąd, Legion Twierdza Wrocław, and All Bandits. Additional right-wing music bands that played in July 2017 were Marder (Finland), Tors Vrede (Sweden), and Kategorie C (Germany).²⁹⁹ The Orle Gniazdo festival became one of the topics of a famous TV report by Anna Sobolewska, Bertold Kittel, and Piotr Wacowski entitled “Polish neo-Nazis.”³⁰⁰ Following the publicity generated by the TV report, the organizers suspended further activities of the festival and have not revived it at the time of writing (November 2022). From its very

onset, one characteristic of the Independence March was accompanying right-wing extremist music festivals and concerts. This also attracted fans of right-wing extremist music to the March. In 2017, several Polish right-wing rappers released an album devoted to the Independence March. The album was a collaboration between the Polish nationalist rappers Zbigniew Woźniak a.k.a. Basti, Dominik Gudowski a.k.a. Sova, Paweł Michalik a.k.a. Karat NM, WUEM ENCEHA, Mateusz Muszyński a.k.a. Bzyku, Mariusz Chojnacki a.k.a. Evtis, Konrad Rosicki a.k.a. Stopa, Adam Piechocki a.k.a. PiH, Tadeusz Polkowski a.k.a. Tadek, Łukasz Łojek a.k.a. Rete, and Maciej Ptasznik a.k.a. Ptaku.³⁰¹ The Polish right-wing rap scene was supportive of the March more or less from its inception. In 2012, as many as 10 rappers were members of the support committee for the Independence March. These were, among others, Ciecchosław Kuczys a.k.a. Ciech, Kamil Migoń a.k.a. Kamel, Karol Nowakowski a.k.a. Pjus, Adam Piechocki a.k.a. PiH, Łukasz Pietrzak a.k.a. Young M, Tadeusz Polkowski a.k.a. Tadek, Piotr Siara a.k.a. Kęka, Łukasz Szymański a.k.a. Lukasyno, Jerzy Wroński a.k.a. Juras, and two members of the United Ursyn squad Sobiepan and Jarus.³⁰² In 2021, Basti and Karat NM performed at the Independence March itself. They played their most famous songs before and after the March. Basti recorded a song entitled “Independence is Not for Sale” for the March, which was also the motto of the 2021 event.³⁰³ Other right-wing extremist musicians and bands participating in the festival, recording CDs in tribute of the March, and thematically related to or in close contact with the Polish extremist right-wing camp include:

- Polish bands from the National Socialist Black Metal (NSBM) scene: Casus Belli,³⁰⁴ Kataxu,³⁰⁵ Sunwheel (f.k.a. Swastyka),³⁰⁶ Dark Fury,³⁰⁷ Gontyna Kry,³⁰⁸ Selbstmord,³⁰⁹ OHTAR,³¹⁰ Graveland,³¹¹ Antisemitex,³¹² Decline, Saltus,³¹³ Iperyt,³¹⁴ Infernal War,³¹⁵ Biały Viteź,³¹⁶ and Selbstmord³¹⁷
- Polish bands from the Rock Against Communism (RAC) milieu: MAT Project,³¹⁸ Legion Twierdzy Wrocław,³¹⁹ Omerta,³²⁰ Obłąd,³²¹

Odwet,³²² Honor,³²³ OWK,³²⁴ October 15,³²⁵ All Bandits,³²⁶ Nordica,³²⁷ Pozytywka, Gammadion,³²⁸ Zadruga,³²⁹ GAN,³³⁰ Stalag,³³¹ Sztorm 68,³³² Horytnica,³³³ and Tormentia³³⁴

- Musicians from the nationalist rap scene: Zbigniew Woźniak a.k.a. Basti,³³⁵ Dominik Gudowski a.k.a. Sova,³³⁶ Konrad Rosicki a.k.a. Stopa,³³⁷ Damian Bujkowski a.k.a. Bujak,³³⁸ Jonasz Sowa a.k.a. CR,³³⁹ Paweł Michalik a.k.a. Karat NM,³⁴⁰ Mariusz Chojnacki a.k.a. Evtis,³⁴¹ Adam Piechocki a.k.a. PiH,³⁴² Mateusz Muszyński a.k.a. Bzyku,³⁴³ Tadeusz Polkowski a.k.a. Tadek,³⁴⁴ Łukasz Łojek a.k.a. Rete,³⁴⁵ Maciej Ptasznik a.k.a. Ptaku,³⁴⁶ WUEM ENCEHA,³⁴⁷ Ciechosław Kuczys a.k.a. Ciech,³⁴⁸ Kamil Migoń a.k.a. Kamel,³⁴⁹ Karol Nowakowski a.k.a. Pjus,³⁵⁰ Łukasz Pietrzak a.k.a. Młody M,³⁵¹ Łukasz Szymański a.k.a. Lukasyo,³⁵² Jerzy Wroński a.k.a. Juras,³⁵³ and Zjednoczony Ursynów³⁵⁴

Thematic Conferences

Until 2018, another set of key events co-organized by groups associated with the organizers of the Independence March were thematic conferences. Originally, the initiative was called the National and Social Congress. It was launched in 2016 in Poznań by activists of the All-Polish Youth who organized a series of meetings with politicians of the National Movement.³⁵⁵ On May 10, 2017, the conference “Europe of the Future” was organized in Warsaw. The main topic of the event was a discussion about the “vision after the fall of the west or the old world after the collapse of the European Union. Social and economic changes, a shock to the future.”³⁵⁶ The event was co-organized by the editors of “Szturm” and the Niklot association. It featured right-wing speakers from Estonia, Croatia, Sweden, Latvia, and Ukraine. The conference also focused on the cooperation between nationalists from the so-called Intermarium.³⁵⁷ Intermarium is a concept used by right-wing extremists in Central and Eastern Europe and describes an intention to create a new “geopolitical block of countries from the Baltic

until the Black Sea.”³⁵⁸ Follow-up conferences to this event were held on the occasion of the Independence March. The first follow-up event “Europe of the Future 2” was organized by the National and Social Congress under the patronage of “Szturm” and “Polityka Narodowa,” and took place on November 10, 2017. Speakers at the event were Ruuben Kaleep, Denis Nikitin from the Russian mixed martial arts (MMA) White Rex network, representatives of the Ukrainian National Corps (Azov Movement), the Russian Center, and Brandon Jackson a.k.a. Aspir Leonis Befreier.³⁵⁹ Befreier, an American figure in the U.S. alt-right movement,³⁶⁰ replaced leader Richard Spencer, who was invited but not allowed to enter Poland.³⁶¹ The presence of people associated with extreme-right sports clubs is the result of the contacts of Autonomous Nationalists, who organized the “First To Fight” MMA tournament in 2015 and 2016, associated with White Rex in Poland.³⁶² On November 10, 2018, on the centennial of Polish independence, the National and Social Congress, “Szturm,” [Autonom.pl](#), and the periodical “Trygław”³⁶³ published by Niklot, organized two conferences. The first was the third edition of the “Europe of the Future” conference. Representatives of violence-oriented Ruskie Centrum,³⁶⁴ the violence-oriented German NPD youth group Junge Nationalisten, and the Greek sports association Propatria³⁶⁵ took part. The second conference in November 2018 was entitled “Nation of Work” and was co-organized by the Praca Polska organization, the platform [Autonom.pl](#), and the nationalist magazine “Droga Legionisty.” The event included representatives of Kormilo (Serbia), Narodni a socialni fronta (Czech Republic), and CasaPound Italia.³⁶⁶ The discussions during the conference focused on the condition of the workers’ movement and its links with nationalism.

Sports

Autonomous nationalists, according to their statement from November 7, 2018, regularly protected and escorted people and National Movement leaders such as Robert Winnicki or Krzysztof Bosak returning home from demonstrations associated with the movement. They also protected other nationalistic organizations, including the Independence March.³⁶⁷ These bodyguards were allegedly provided by the neo-fascists between 2007 and 2014.³⁶⁸ The base for the recruitment of these bodyguards and, more broadly, the militias of that time cooperating with the National Movement, was an MMA sports competition organized by the Autonom.pl website First to Fight (similar to the events organized by White Rex). The center of sports activities of Polish right-wing extremists is the former Warsaw working-class district of Wola, where their MMA sports club “Fanga” is located. Their headquarters consists of a large, multi-story building with a huge yard. The club’s owner, Radosław Brzuszczyński, is a committed nationalist. He works closely with White Rex; maintains contacts with the Azov Movement, CasaPound Italia, and Pride France (regular guests of the March and other events accompanying the March); and frequently invites Niko Puhakka, a famous Finnish martial artist to Poland. Puhakka has been excluded from many sports competitions because of his tattoos featuring the Blood & Honour logo, Algiz runes, and flags with a Celtic cross. Puhakka is also a regular guest of events by the Polish Blood & Honour chapter.

Ultimately, these contacts resulted in the creation of a martial arts tournament called “First to Fight.” The leaders of the National Movement, including Krzysztof Bosak³⁶⁹ who was at the time a member of the board of the Independence March Association and future candidate for the presidency of Poland from the Confederation party, were present during the tournament and advertised it.³⁷⁰ The festival is similar to existing right-wing MMA events in Germany (“Kampf der Nibelungen”), Greece (“ProPatria Fest”), France (“Hexagone”), and Italy (“Tana delle Tigri”).³⁷¹

So far, the event has been held three times. The first one took place in Warsaw in 2015, the second in Poznań in 2016, and the third one in Radom in 2016. At the third “First to Fight” event, organizers introduced a competition for women. Additionally, under the slogan “Work for Polish Women,” the national-socialist group Praca Polska set up a martial arts seminar for women in the “Falanga” sports club. It was combined with a lecture by the leader of the organization, Maria Pilarczyk, who presented a nationalist position on violence against women, with particular emphasis on violence perpetrated by immigrants.³⁷² Women’s seminars took place regularly until 2018.

Disputes Within the Independence March

For many years the National Radical Camp (ONR) was the key space in which these various right-wing extremist milieus and environments intertwined. However, in 2019, ONR split into two organizations, and four key leaders left the ONR board: a) the former deputy head of the ONR and president of the Independence March Association, Robert Bąkiewicz; b) Tomasz Kalinowski, the editor-in-chief of the National Media, former editor of the website medianarodowe.com; c) the former spokesman, former ONR secretary, former Head of ONR, and editor of medianarodowe.com Tomasz Dorosz; and d) Michał Jelonek, former ONR spokesman. Under the leadership of Bąkiewicz, a new group named ONR ABC was formed. Subsequently, the group renamed itself Independence March Squadrons Association.³⁷³ The leadership of ONR was taken over by activists who by that time had held only minor leadership roles. Dorosz’s deputy, Adrian Kaczmarkiewicz from the Łódź brigade, became the new leader of the ONR. Adrianna Gąsiorek, the head of the women’s section of the National Movement from Bielsko-Biała, became the ONR secretary-general. Adam Seweryn from Kraków, head of the ONR science and training section; Michał Szczubiał from Łódź; and Barbara Noculak from Pszczyna, the ONR treasurer, also joined the board. The new ONR leadership announced that Bąkiewicz, Kalinowski, Dorosz, and Jelonek had not left the ONR

voluntarily but were removed.³⁷⁴ The main reason for the split was a serious disagreement related to the 2018 Independence March. The President of Poland Andrzej Duda and Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki decided to participate in the March, which also commemorated 100 years of Polish independence. However, PiS was afraid of international reactions to a situation in which the Polish authorities would be accompanied by neo-fascist activists with racist or anti-Semitic banners. After negotiations between PiS and the Independence March Association, the leaders of the association publicly condemned the racists and neo-fascists within their milieu.³⁷⁵

The PiS leadership, while present at the March, formally participated in a separate event. Furthermore, as a result of an agreement concluded between PiS and the Independence March Association, the texts on “racial separatism” were removed from the *kierunki.info* website, related to ONR and the Masovian brigade. National Media, the media channel of the association repeatedly supported the actions of the police and the counterintelligence against nationalists who did not accept the agreement.³⁷⁶ As a result of this, neo-fascist ONR activists began to accuse the leaders of the Independence March Association of servitude to PiS and opportunism, calling their former allies provocateurs and agents and even described them as “selling out” the *Szturmowcy*, the Autonomous Nationalists, and the neo-pagans to Polish counterintelligence and police.³⁷⁷ A strong hostility developed between the Independence March organizers and the neo-fascists and their cooperation was severed. At the same time, PiS, which felt increasingly politically threatened by competition on the right,³⁷⁸ also took further action against some extremists in 2018. While Catholic integralists remained untouched, extremists associated with the nationalist neo-pagan groups and the neo-fascist movement became the target of Polish state police and counterintelligence.³⁷⁹ Prior to the 2018 Independence March, about 200 people were detained for 48 hours under the Antiterrorist Act. Those held were mainly associated with the magazine “*Szturm*,” the *Niklot* association, and national socialist groups.³⁸⁰ At the

same time, the Internal Security Agency and the Border Guard prevented the entry of foreign activists³⁸¹ connected with, inter alia, Ukrainian neo-fascists and Nazis from the violence-oriented Azov Movement, violence-oriented Carpathian Sich, violent Misanthropic Division, nationalist violence-oriented Svoboday,³⁸² neo-fascists from the Scandinavian violent Nordisk Ungsdom, and the Italian CasaPound Italia.³⁸³ Counterintelligence and the police also managed to block the Towards Independence music festival. The event did not take place because the organizers of the concerts (members of the Niklot association) were detained for a week under the provisions of Polish anti-terrorism laws. Niklot lost over 40,000 zlotys (about 9,000 U.S. dollars) that the group had spent on advance payments, renting rooms, equipment, etc.³⁸⁴ After the March, the Internal Security Agency also searched the apartment of stormtrooper activists. It found “an assortment of items relating to the promotion of extremist ideology: clothing, emblems, stickers, flags, banners, as well as publications and books,” and secured them as evidence in a case against the activists based on their promotion of the fascist system.³⁸⁵ The online publication of the “Lone Wolf Manual” Szturm also caused Polish security services to react. The text contains numerous references to neo-fascist texts and authors (such as Corneliu Codreanu and Leon Degrelle). The term “lone wolf,” used in the title of the text, is a well-known concept that describes solitary terrorist attackers.³⁸⁶ It is worth noting, however, that so far trials of right-wing extremists in Poland have rarely ended in convictions, and activists, after being released from custody, immediately resume their political activities.

How Does the State Finance the Independence March?

PiS generously supports those nationalists who the party finds politically useful, including by allocating public funds. The network of entities established by the organizers of the Independence March has served this

purpose for PiS throughout the past few years. The current network of organizations, associations, foundations, and media directly connected to the Independence March includes:

- *Independence March Association (SMN, Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości)*³⁸⁷
- *Independence March Squadrons Association (Stowarzyszenie Roty Marszu Niepodległości)*³⁸⁸
- *National Guard Association (Stowarzyszenie Straż Narodowa)*³⁸⁹
- *Victory March Association (Stowarzyszenie Marsz Zwycięstwa)*³⁹⁰
- *The National Social Institute think tank (Narodowy Instytut Społeczny)*³⁹¹
- *The “Media Narodowe: YouTube channel (National Media)*³⁹²
- *The “Polityka Narodowa” magazine*³⁹³
- *The youth organization All-Polish Youth*³⁹⁴

The central entity in this network remains the Independence March Association, which was founded in 2011 by activists of the All-Polish Youth and the ONR. Former ONR board member Robert Bąkiewicz has been its president since 2017. The vice presidents of the association are Witold Tumanowicz (member of the National Movement governing body) and Michał Melon (ONR activist).³⁹⁵ At one time, Krzysztof Bosak, a parliamentarian from the Confederation, was also a member of the board and the audit committee of the Independence March Association. In addition to the Independence March, the association organizes other marches related to various historical anniversaries. It also has a network of associations that cater to other seg-

ments of the nationalist “market.” These have established nationalist media outlets, bought real estate, and developed paramilitary structures. There has been an increase in cases where some extremist groups and media outlets not only receive public political support³⁹⁶ but also public funding for their activities. This has led to the development of state-funded organizations, research institutes,³⁹⁷ and sporting events³⁹⁸ that can be considered propaganda vehicles for extremist ideologies. In recent years, the nationalists organizing the Independence March have mainly received funding from two sources of public money. The first is the National Freedom Institute Center for the Development of Civil Society (NIW, Narodowy Instytut Wolności). The second is the Patriotic Fund (FP, Fundusz Patriotyczny).³⁹⁹ The NIW is a government executive agency, established in 2017, to support the development of civil society and to promote civic activities and volunteering. The Patriotic Fund was launched in March 2021 per the initiative of Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki and Deputy Prime Minister Piotr Gliński. It is operated by a state cultural institution, the Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Paderewski Institute for the Heritage of Nationalist Thought.⁴⁰⁰ The director of the Institute is Jan Żaryn, a former PiS senator and nationalist.⁴⁰¹ The Patriotic Fund plans to allocate 30 million zlotys for activities (about 6.6 million U.S. dollars). Money from the Fund is granted for cultural, educational, and scientific projects, such as conferences, lectures, concerts, etc. Large investments have also been into infrastructure and training projects, which are aimed at strengthening the institutional and organizational “base of the patriotic camp.”⁴⁰²

Three associations linked to the Independence March received 880,000 zlotys (about 200,000 U.S. dollars) in subsidies from the NIW and 3 million zlotys (about 700,000 U.S. dollars) from the Patriotic Fund.⁴⁰³ Altogether, in 2021, organizations related to Robert Bąkiewicz, the head of the Independence March Association, received almost 4 million zlotys (about 1 million U.S. dollars) in subsidies.⁴⁰⁴ At least one of the organizations linked to Bąkiewicz is likely to receive additional support in an amount between 700,000 and 1.2 million zlotys (from about 150,000 to 250,000 U.S. dollars).⁴⁰⁵

Independence March Association

The association intends to spend funding obtained from the Patriotic Fund in the following manner:⁴⁰⁶

- 644,000 zlotys will be spent on the development of the National Media
- 115,000 zlotys for delivery vehicles and passenger cars with four-wheel drive
- 496,000 zlotys for the stage and equipment for organizing outdoor events
- 257,000 zlotys to equip a full-time studio of the National Media
- 137,000 zlotys for a mobile application for the National Media
- 135,000 zlotys for a mobile TV studio based on a car chassis
- 110,000 zlotys per server for National Media, 5,000 zlotys for air conditioning of the server room
- 100,000 zlotys for a mobile stage on a car chassis
- 74,000 zlotys for stage sound
- 37,000 zlotys for stage lighting
- 60,000 zlotys for a large screen with scaffolding
- 60,000 zlotys for a mobile screen
- 35,000 zlotys for a power generator
- 20,000 zlotys for 10 tents
- 100,000 zlotys for the purchase of 10 on street mobile TV displays
- 10,000 zlotys for the purchase of street sound equipment
- 60,000 zlotys for a delivery vehicle
- 55,000 zlotys for a 4-wheel drive passenger car
- 30,000 zlotys for administrative and accounting services
- 15,000 zlotys for the remuneration for the project coordinator

Thanks to a government subsidy from PiS, a fully professional nationalist TV channel can be established, with access to high quality technical equipment, allowing extremist content, formerly copied on semi-amateur

websites and newspapers, to be presented very professionally and with excellent image quality.

The editorial office of National Media also closely cooperates with other far-right nationalist websites and magazines. These are mainly:⁴⁰⁷

- Dziennik Narodowy
- KierunkiInfo.pl
- Polityka Narodowa
- Myśl.pl
- Narodowcy.net
- wMeritum.pl
- Prawapolityka.pl
- 3Droga.pl
- PCh24.pl Polonia Christiana

As of today, the National Media project consists of:⁴⁰⁸

- An information website operating under the domain medianarodowe.pl (the first entry was published on March 31, 2017). It is synchronized with editorial accounts on social media and serves as an information base from which tweets are created. This site also provides videos from the YouTube channel “MediaNarodowe” (however, it does include editorial comment);
- An Internet TV channel (YouTube channel established on April 5, 2017, with the first video released on April 14, 2017);
- A Twitter account (active since March 2017, with 33,600 followers);
- An Instagram profile (with 1,800 followers since May 29, 2017); and
- Until January 2018, it also included a fanpage on Facebook, which was later banned and removed by the platform. Before it was taken down, however, the page had 20,000 followers.

As of November 2022, the YouTube channel had a total of:

- 240,000 subscribers
- 115 million views
- 25 million viewing hours
- 5,000 videos⁴⁰⁹

The National Media project is currently the main media outlet of the Independence March. The head of the Independence March Association is frequently featured in its various outlets, calling for financial support.⁴¹⁰ After public funds were received, there was a noticeable increase in quality of the broadcasted program.

Prior to obtaining public funds, financial support of this media outlet was based on a fundraiser on the [Patronite.pl](https://patronite.pl) website, from which it received around 2,260 zlotys from 70 patrons every month. This was augmented by income from the sale of advertising space, estimated at around 20,000 zlotys per month (or about 4,500 U.S. dollars). This limited income was sufficient to rent a studio and equipment, pay for electricity and water, and cover small fees for presenters.⁴¹¹ However, the limited financial income did not allow for investments to improve the quality of the program. This was only possible once government funding was obtained.

The channel features several new videos per day in which the presenters and activists present right-wing extremist views. Examples of the content include statements that the sexual education of children is a pedophile activity (e.g., the film entitled, *If the child does not touch it ... The disgusting content of the training! Attorney Bernaciak on the LGBT declaration*) or that the COVID-19 pandemic is fake news (e.g., the film entitled, *Klimczewski: "From the beginning, I knew it was an illusion." What are the statistics of the Health Ministry based on*). A few weeks ago, employees of this medium defended the anti-Semitic film by Wojciech Sumliński,

Return to Jedwabne, and talked to the author of the film who suggested that “the Jews cut Poland like a cake.”⁴¹²

Independence March Squadrons Association

Independence March Squadrons complement the activities of the Independence March Association, and the Independence March Squadrons Association was registered in May 2019. Its leader is also Robert Bąkiewicz. The organization aims to “take care of the values of Latin civilization, in particular, the Catholic Faith and the tradition of Roman law” and to “popularize national solidarity in accordance with the idea of One Nation Beyond Borders.”⁴¹³ It co-organizes marches with the Independence March Association to commemorate various historical events. It also organized action STOP447, which aimed at “definitively closing the topic of unjustified Jewish claims” and set up an online site called “stop447,” which argued against the U.S. Justice for Uncompensated Survivors Today (JUST) Act of 2017 (S-447) which, according to nationalists, orders Poland to return Jewish property.⁴¹⁴

The Independence March Squadrons Association received 384,000 zlotys (about 87,000 U.S. dollars) from NIW in 2021 for “building fundraising support for Independence March Squadrons” and 299,000 zlotys (about 68,000 U.S. dollars) for “support for voluntary activity in civic organizations.” The application for a subsidy for “Institutional and Missionary Development of the Independence March Squadrons Association” (nearly 700,000 zlotys or about 159,000 U.S. dollars) was passed to the second stage of the NIW process for funding applications. The association also applied for an additional 500,000 zlotys (about 113,000 U.S. dollars) for the project “Operating subsidies for Independence March Squadrons to support the construction of initial endowments.” This project was placed first on the reserve list for NIW funding, meaning that it is likely that it will also receive funding if other NIW-funded projects do not use their funds in their entirety. Finally, the association also applied for a subsidy

of over 3.9 million zlotys (about 885,000 U.S. dollars) and indicated that it intends to spend almost the entire amount on the purchase of real estate. On this property, the Independence March Squadrons Association intends to create the Independence Center—“a place where representatives of non-governmental organizations will be able to jointly prepare the organization of social celebrations of important national events, cooperate in the creation of educational materials, conduct interviews, and compile historical and social programs.”⁴¹⁵ This center would also include a meeting room, a recording studio, and a library.⁴¹⁶

National Guard Association

The National Guard Association is the youngest of the organizations associated with Bąkiewicz. It was created following the women’s strike against the restriction of abortion laws in 2020 and 2021. Reacting to the protests in a televised speech, PiS leader Jarosław Kaczyński called for his supporters to defend the churches. Bąkiewicz responded to the appeal, summoning his supporters to join his “National Guard.”⁴¹⁷ Initially, the money for its activities was raised by the Independence March Squadrons Association. But a new organization was quickly registered, the National Guard Association. Officially, its representative is Bartosz Karamuz, a member of the board of the ONR ABC group headed by Bąkiewicz.⁴¹⁸

According to the register, the organization’s goals include:

- Increasing the strength of spirit and physical fitness of the Polish society;
- Providing Poles with the possibility of safe and dignified demonstration of their attachment to the culture and traditions of Poland during demonstrations organized by patriotic and Catholic circles; and
- Taking care of the values of Latin civilization, in particular the Catholic faith and the tradition of Roman Catholic Church law.⁴¹⁹

On its website, the association declares that it brings together Poles “who see the dangers of the ideology infiltrated by the anti-culture elite” and that the Guard “is a bastion of Catholic and national values [...] By fighting against the offensive of extreme left-wing activists, we want to stand in the front row of counter-revolution.”⁴²⁰

In 2021, the National Guard Association received 1.7 million zlotys (about 385,000 U.S. dollars) in subsidies from the Patriotic Fund for the project “Safety and professionalism during the organization and course of patriotic and religious events - a necessary condition for consolidating cultural identity.” The National Guard Association intends to spend 1.51 million zlotys (about 342,000 U.S. dollars) from the grant on real estate and 95,000 zlotys (about 21,500 U.S. dollars) for the purchase of a bus and an off-road car. The remainder would cover the costs of the equipment needed to organize events and emergency medical services training.⁴²¹

Victory March Association

“Left-wing institutions and foundations can count on gigantic sums donated by foreign financial entities that are disgusted by Polish national pride and healthy patriotism. Organizations of nationalists can only dream about such money,” according to Narodowcy.net.⁴²² The website calls for the nation to participate in a fundraiser for the Victory March, which is held in Warsaw on August 15, the anniversary of the 1920 Battle of Warsaw. During that battle, the Polish army defeated the Red Army which was attempting to push westward at that time.

The first two Victory Marches in 2015 and 2016 were held in Żyrardów, west of Warsaw. They were organized by the local All-Polish Youth Circle. In 2017, the march moved to Warsaw. Its organizers are working to establish it as a large-scale national event, modeled on the Independence March. Bąkiewicz’s associations support the organization of the Victory March in the capital. In 2021, security for the Victory March was provided by

the same guards that work with the Independence March Association.⁴²³ Bąkiewicz gave a speech during the demonstration. Just like the various associations led by Bąkiewicz, the organizers of the Victory March are able to rely on legal assistance from the Foundation Institute for Legal Culture *Ordo Iuris*.⁴²⁴

The event is organized by the Victory March Association (SMZ, *Stowarzyszenie Marsz Zwycięstwa*). This is another entity established in recent years by nationalists associated with the Independence March. The association was founded on July 22, 2020, and was registered by the court in August 2020.⁴²⁵ Its founders are members of All-Polish Youth, some of whom were or are still active in the Independence March Association. The president of the Victory March Association was Kacper Kociszewski, previously the president of the All-Polish Youth chapter in Żyrardów that initiated the Victory Marches. He was also the head of the Masovian district and the general council of All-Polish Youth. The board of the Victory March Association includes Paweł Lizoń (deputy head of the Mazovia region of All-Polish Youth) and Dominik Gajewski vel Ołdakowski (secretary of the Mazovia region of All-Polish Youth).⁴²⁶ Like Robert Bąkiewicz's organizations, the Victory March Association also applied for subsidies from NIW. It is applying for over 393,000 zlotys (about 90,000 U.S. dollars) for "institutional development and support for statutory activities" of the organization. The application has already advanced to the second stage of NIW's grant application process.⁴²⁷

All-Polish Youth

The All-Polish Youth alone applied for almost 700,000 zlotys (about 159,000 U.S. dollars) from NIW (within the same funding category as the Victory March Association). The grant is supposed to support the "institutional and mission development" of the organization. However, this application did not qualify for funding. Nevertheless, All-Polish Youth received 100,000 zlotys (about 22,600 U.S. dollars) from the Patriotic Fund for

“Developing the history of the All-Polish Youth in connection with the 100th anniversary of the organization.”⁴²⁸

National Social Institute

The National Social Institute received 288,600 zlotys from the NIW for the series of debates entitled “The voice of the young – what will Poland be like in 2039?” The Institute is based on a nationalist ideology. In its manifesto, the Institute writes, “As witnesses of the growing conflict, we believe that a nation, a strong state, religion or order, attacked today from liberal and new-left positions, are not relics.”⁴²⁹ Konrad Smuniewski, a 26-year-old activist of the National Movement, who unsuccessfully ran on the Confederation’s lists in the last local government and parliamentary elections, sits on the two-person board of the National Social Institute. In February 2020, the University of Warsaw provisionally suspended his status as a student since he had publicly said that “faggotry is pushed into universities around the world.”⁴³⁰ The National Social Institute previously received 198,891 zlotys (about 45,000 U.S. dollars) from the NIW’s PROO 4a program to run the nationalist website nowylad.pl. Furthermore, the magazine “Polityka Narodowa” published by the National Social Institute received 35,000 zlotys (about 8,000 U.S. dollars) from the Polish Ministry of Culture’s funding stream for magazines. “Polityka Narodowa” is a quarterly and publishes interviews with neo-fascists such as Janusz Waluś⁴³¹ (a member of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement who murdered Chris Hani, the leader of the communist party in South Africa)⁴³² and Tomasz Szczepański, leader of the neo-fascists from Niklot. The publication has also published articles on Strasser, Codreanu, and Evola. The Minister of Culture, Piotr Gliński, made a personal decision to award the subsidy to “Polityka Narodowa.”⁴³³

Funding in the First Half of 2022

In the first half of 2022, associations related to Robert Bąkiewicz received another 850,000 zlotys (about 200,000 U.S. dollars) from the Patriotic Fund. The National Guard Association got 450,000 zlotys (about 103,000 U.S. dollars) for “Modernization of the center and support for refugees,” and the Independence March Association was provided with 400,000 zlotys (about 93,000 U.S. dollars) for “Development of security and organizational possibilities of SMN.”⁴³⁴ The Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland also awarded the National Guard Association 264,000 zlotys (about 60,000 U.S. dollars) to help refugees from Ukraine.⁴³⁵

Institutional Cooperation with the State

Professor Jan Żaryn is the author of the historical policy employed by PiS and the one of the founders of the Institute of National Remembrance. The Institute has been shaping the nationalist perception of Polish history for over 20 years.⁴³⁶ Its annual budget of 423 million zlotys (about 96 million U.S. dollars) allows the Institute to publish hundreds of books and comics, organize a significant number of discussions, patronize sports events, and even build escape rooms or produce board games, puzzles, and apps.⁴³⁷

After losing his mandate as a senator for PiS, Żaryn worked towards gaining support from Polish nationalists, including the organizers of the Independence March. Following these aims on February 17, 2020, he established a new public institution, the Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski Institute for the Legacy of Polish National Thought. To support the Institute, the PiS-dominated Polish government provided him with a house in Warsaw and several million zlotys of an annual budget.⁴³⁸

The Institute’s objectives include conducting research and publishing, organizing exhibitions and conferences, as well as implementing educational and scholarship programs. The Institute will also cooperate with

other national and foreign institutions, including the Polish diaspora and non-governmental organizations. Żaryn started developing PiS's nationalist networks by using existing connections.⁴³⁹ He appeared several times in programs of the most popular right-wing YouTuber Rafał Mossakowski from violence-oriented Centrum Edukacji Polska (former Centrum Edukacji Powiśle), which is ideologically right of the Confederation. Mossakowski is currently the subject of an investigation by the Polish counterintelligence for promoting fascism.⁴⁴⁰ Żaryn also appeared in *Magna Polonia*, a magazine run by Przemysław Holocher, formerly head of ONR. Furthermore, in cooperation with Żaryn, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Culture, National Heritage and Sport Piotr Gliński and Minister of Education and Science Przemysław Czarnek announced a competition for the most interesting master's theses and doctoral dissertations on topics related to the history of the nationalist movement and social Catholicism in Poland.⁴⁴¹

Subsequently, by July 2021, thanks to Żaryn's efforts, the "Election appeal of independence, national and Christian circles" was created with the support of some nationalists supporting the candidacy of the PiS president Andrzej Duda.⁴⁴² Interlocutors from the Confederation bluntly call it the list of scholarship holders of the Dmowski Institute (Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski Institute for the Legacy of Polish National Thought).

What are the Patterns in These Past Relationships?

This is not the first time in Polish history that the government has cooperated with nationalist and right-wing forces in the country. A similar situation existed in the 1930s. At that time, the National Unification Camp was established by the then ruling Polish military junta. The National Unification Camp, although originally not grounded in right-wing ideology, adapted its stance and included ideological concepts and programs of the

Polish nationalists of that time. As a result, numerous nationalists entered public institutions and the government administration. In their view, the ruling military junta was not the best representative of the “national idea,” but in contrast to the increasingly disintegrating nationalist party, which had remained outside the government for years, the junta had real power and money. And thus, successive politicians and deputies changed their ideological orientation and switched their support away from the leader of the nationalist opposition, Roman Dmowski, to then Polish dictator, Marshal Józef Piłsudski. This also transformed the ideology of the ruling Polish junta. It was becoming more and more religious, xenophobic, anti-left, and aggressive towards minorities.⁴⁴³ Just before World War II, it was difficult to know where nationalism began and where the junta ended. The current situation in Poland shows similar features.

Poland currently experiences the far right’s increasing infiltration of the government, the ruling party, and public institutions. Many nationalists enjoy a career in PiS, such as Tomasz Rzymkowski (deputy minister at the Ministry of National Education), Adam Andruszkiewicz (secretary of state at the Chancellery of the Prime Minister), and Anna Siarkowska. One of such transfer belts for nationalist activists into government positions is the Ministry of Education and Science headed by Przemysław Czarnek. At the center of these connections is the academic club Vade-Mecum at the Catholic University of Lublin. This is where Rzymkowski and Czarnek met. Their circle also included: the far-right Radio Maryja commentators,⁴⁴⁴ founder of nationalist organization ONR,⁴⁴⁵ as well as PiS MPs,⁴⁴⁶ MEPs,⁴⁴⁷ and senators.

- The staff of the Institute of National Remembrance includes a number of individuals closely connected to right-wing extremism. Among these are a former promoter of neo-Nazi bands (such as Konkwista 88, Honor, and Komora 91),⁴⁴⁸ a former ONR coordinator in Piotrków Trybunalski,⁴⁴⁹ the publisher of the Holocaust denier David Irving,⁴⁵⁰ until recently (2021) the founder of ONR,⁴⁵¹ and historians publishing

fantasies of throwing left-wing parliamentarians from helicopters on Twitter⁴⁵² or calling historians with whom he disagrees “leftist degenerates, LGBT subhumans” and “left-wing shit.”⁴⁵³

This tendency shows the long-term and multi-person infiltration of public institutions by nationalists, which is one of the reasons for the ease of establishing contacts and eager support of the March by the ruling party.

The Nationalization of the Independence March

On October 25, 2021, PiS approved the application of the Independence March Association to grant the event the status of a recurring annual assembly for the next four years.⁴⁵⁴ This decision was contested in court by the Mayor of Warsaw, Rafał Trzaskowski. As a result, Jan Józef Kasprzyk, the head of the Office for Veterans and Victims of Oppression, stated that he was forced to make the March into a state event since the decision to oppose the March by the mayor was “incomprehensible” because the court decisions were “prejudiced against the organizers of the Independence March.”⁴⁵⁵ This allowed the March to go forward in 2022. Its slogan was “Independence is not for sale.” According to estimates by the organizers, about 150,000 people took part in the March. There were no serious incidents during the event, and the state services assessed the March as calm.⁴⁵⁶

Some demands of the nationalists have been incorporated into the government agenda: anti-leftism,⁴⁵⁷ clericalism,⁴⁵⁸ xenophobia,⁴⁵⁹ homophobia,⁴⁶⁰ adoration of the nationalist anti-communist insurgents of the 1940s,⁴⁶¹ Islamophobia,⁴⁶² and radical nationalism.⁴⁶³ Research by Dr. Daniel Płatek from the Institute of Political Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences clearly demonstrates that the closer Polish nationalists are to power, the more peaceful the Independence March runs.⁴⁶⁴ And they have never been as ideologically close as they are currently.⁴⁶⁵

Adam Wielomski, one of the intellectual authorities of the extreme right in Poland and leader of the Conservative-Monarchist Club writes about the March:

*“The Independence March was born as the largest nationalist and anti-system event in Eastern Europe, and perhaps on the entire continent. It has already been ‘nationalized’ once, and this year the same thing is happening. Thus, the March ceased to be anti-system and anti-establishment.”*⁴⁶⁶

Polish left-wing politician Tymoteusz Kochan characterized the March in 2021 in the following manner:

*“The times when the nationalists had to destroy anything on the marches is over. Now they have uniformed services that use violence in their place, the state on their side, huge subsidies, and a fight against ‘enemies of the nation’ on public television available in every home. You don’t have to blow up anything in the capital to show yourself. Everything is delivered to their home. They have won the state. They do not have to fight it.”*⁴⁶⁷

On the eve of the Polish Independence Day in 2021, at the Piłsudski monument in Warsaw, Jarosław Kaczyński spoke in a very similar tone as the nationalists on the March:

*“Today, only three years later, we face enormous challenges. Including those that can be seen on the Internet and on television every day. You can guess that this refers to the part of our eastern border. And there are also those that come to us from the West (...) Many people on both sides of Europe do not want to accept our subjectivity, the perspective of our development, the growth of our strength, determination, determination to be an independent, free, but also strong nation.”*⁴⁶⁸

A day later, Bąkiewicz announced that the attack “not only comes from

the East, the attack also continues from the West.” According to him, “we are also attacked by Germany, which uses EU institutions to take away our sovereignty,” and “they want to take away our national, cultural and even our gender identity.”⁴⁶⁹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Over its 10 years of existence, the Independence March has become a pan-European festival of right-wing extremism and the largest public nationalist event in Europe. The March was created by nationalists who wanted to build an ideological apparatus—a transmission belt that would help transfer their ideas to the political mainstream. Foreign guests of the March regularly include representatives of violent and violence-oriented parties. These guests come to Poland to establish political contacts. The second group of participants consists of VRWE groups operating outside official parties, although not always without them. They, in turn, use this time to exchange ideas and train with each other. Side events of the March include right-wing conferences and concerts, making the March a right-wing extremist lifestyle event. The Independence March is more than just a demonstration in Warsaw. The extreme right organizes a range of events accompanying the March. These are as important, if not more important than the march through Warsaw itself. The key elements of this ideological apparatus include political conferences and meetings in the Polish parliament, a music festival, thematic conferences, and sports events.

The March led to the formation of its “guard,” which over time turned into an independent organization. Public funds obtained by the organizers of the March allowed them to bundle together various small right-wing media entities, merging into an online right-wing media apparatus with several hundred thousand subscribers. Recently, the organizers have been receiving increasing amounts of public funds that allowed them to purchase cars or even real estate “for the March.”

As a consequence, over the past decade, an efficient and complex political mechanism has been created. It generates financial resources, advertises ideas, provides entertainment, develops recruitment, and creates a network of media outlets both offline and online. It also enabled the formation of

the nucleus of a paramilitary militia. All these elements have significantly influenced the political scene in Poland that had been already shifting to the right prior to the establishment of the March. The new right-wing mechanism built around the March is saturating the political scene in Poland with ever more nationalist, religious fundamentalist, and authoritarian elements.

The key elements that benefitted the growth of the March over the past decade are:

- The establishment of an extensive network of nationalist and right-wing extremist media in Poland. Not only does this network include newspapers and magazines, but it has also efficiently utilized social media platforms in an innovative manner, in particular YouTube and Twitter. Although this network includes several different currents of the extreme right in Poland, it was able to build a concise anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-leftist, and xenophobic ideological message, opposing the emancipation of minorities. This allowed it to frame a new discourse and introduce into public political discourse extreme right-wing approaches to issues such as migration, the LGBTQ+ community, nation, religion, or war.
- The March also established a broad contact network between a fairly diverse group of nationalist and right-wing extremist scholars, intellectuals, artists, sportsmen, television personalities, and several parliamentarians close to PiS. A special institution related to the March was created for them, i.e., the Honorary Committee of the Independence March.
- These networks have extended their activities beyond the March itself and are now organizing press conferences, thematic meetings, music concerts, and sports competitions. They also publish special issues of magazines for the event.

- The organizers realized the importance of including cultural events and began to organize concerts targeted at right-wing extremist audiences in parallel to the March.
- Over the last decade, the creation of the March has allowed nationalists to not only establish themselves as a social movement but also to create a political party (Ruch Narodowy), which has become a pillar of the extreme right-wing violence-oriented umbrella political party—the Confederation.
- Key to the growth of the March in recent years was the official support of PiS—both for the event and its organizers. This also included support for the event in PiS-connected media outlets in Poland.
- The March also built a wide transnational network that enabled an exchange of experiences and funds, as well as mutual organizational support between groups in Poland and from abroad (i.e., right-wing groups from Bulgaria, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Russia, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Ukraine, and the United States).
- The creation of a network of friendly organizations that regularly attend the March allowed for the development of a system of cooperation. The effects of this may be experienced not only in Poland but also in the countries of origin of the friendly organizations. In the future, this may lead to a repetition of the process in countries other than Poland.
- Recently, the March also gained support from government institutions that granted them financial support. Organizations related to the Independence March Association received almost 4 million zlotys in subsidies in 2021. At least one of them has a chance to collect further financial support of around 1.2 million zlotys.
- The funds obtained by the organizers from the Polish state allow for the

expansion of the ideological apparatus beyond the March. This extends into the fields of media and real estate, allowing the beneficiaries to earn money independently, creating a permanent nationalist center on the Polish political scene. This is a definite change compared to the past when nationalist groups struggled with financial shortages, media boycotts, and problems with organizational continuity.

- New lines of clothing, new music, and sports brands have been created around the March, further strengthening the nationalist message of the organizers.

Today the organizational structure of the Independence March consists of a network of associations and foundations. The most important of them are:

- Independence March Association (SMN, Stowarzyszenie Marsz Niepodległości)
- Independence March Squadrons Association (Stowarzyszenie Roty Marszu Niepodległości)
- National Guard Association (Stowarzyszenie Straż Narodowa)
- Victory March Association (Stowarzyszenie Marsz Zwycięstwa)
- The think tank National Social Institute (Narodowy Instytut Społeczny)
- The “Media Narodowe” YouTube channel (National Media)
- “Polityka Narodowa” magazine
- The youth organization All-Polish Youth

According to interviews conducted for this report, the Independence March is also an important formative event for its participants. It acts as an ideal tool for recruitment to right-wing extremist organizations. The March enables extremist individuals to voice their views in public and in a group setting. This gives the participants a sense of strength and power and increases their involvement in the activities of the nationalist and right-wing extremist organizations. Supporters of the idea of the extreme right at the Independence March meet more experienced activists during the event, exchange contacts, and often start to cooperate. The March gives them a strong psychological reinforcement and evokes strong emotions for participants. This effect gives them the feeling of being a part of a greater network and of increased strength as part of a mass, mitigating their feeling of being lost in a complex world. Activists of extremist organizations interviewed for the report also noted progress in recruiting new activists to their organizations as a result of the March and the significant increase in their numbers as a direct result of the existence of this “ideological apparatus.”

Among the ideological participants of the Independence March, three groups can be distinguished: the “right wing of the PiS party,” “nationalist free marketers,” and “national socialists.” The right wing of the PiS party is primarily looking for allies among European right-wing populist parties from Hungary, Italy, the Czech Republic, and France. Nationalist free marketers, which are the organizers of the March, look for foreign cooperation partners primarily among right-wing parties from the EU, mainly from Italy, Spain, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Latvia, and Sweden. For national socialists who organize their events in parallel to the March, the most important directions of cooperation are groups and networks from eastern (i.e., Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Lithuania) and southern Europe (i.e., Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and Greece). Despite a certain level of cooperation, however, these three main groups that make up the numbers of the March are hostile to each other and perceive each other as ideological competitors.

In the pro-capitalist nationalist camp, a permanent hegemony of the Confederation party emerged. This hegemony was strengthened by an informal alliance with Catholic religious integrists. After a period of benefitting from and using the activity of numerous anti-vaccine, anti-Semitic activists, football, and nationalist hooligans, the Confederation has been working towards excluding anti-system extremists from its ranks.⁴⁷⁰ The aim is to become permanently entrenched in the mainstream of Polish politics. The model, which the Confederation is attempting to emulate is the Alternative for Germany party (AfD).⁴⁷¹ The Confederation's leader Krzysztof Bosak is ideologically close to Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro.⁴⁷² Bosak and the Confederation are preparing for the fight for domination of the right in Poland.

On the left of PiS, a struggle continues between the conservative liberals from the Civic Platform and the Left. On the right, the Confederation already exists. To the right of the Confederation, a new network is slowly emerging. Some of the more extremist former supporters of the Confederation accuse it of political opportunism, betraying its ideals, and careerism. This disconnect of extremist nationalists critical of capitalism may favor the emergence of a new political formation, similar to the Italian CasaPound. At the same time the Polish neo-fascist milieu remains hampered by the lack of a strong leader or a group of leaders and their significant organizational fragmentation. However, over time the multifaceted apparatus of the Independence March could act as an organizational melting pot through which these various neo-fascist structures could combine into a new, more organized, and effective extremist structure.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recognizing the status of the Independence March, unique among European extremists, as a recruitment tool, a form of change in political and media discourse, a meeting place, a ground for information exchange, and a funding source for extremists, the following recommendations could be significant first steps if implemented:

1. Government of the Republic of Poland:

- Suspend official funding of the Independence March and the groups organizing it from the Polish state budget as well as from the budgets of its subordinate foundations and public institutions. This will prevent the further expansion of the structure, which is the main ideological apparatus of right-wing extremism in Poland. It will also be a gesture of separation from circles that are close cooperators of right-wing extremists from other countries. This would also be a first significant step towards the deradicalization of nationalist circles in Poland.
- Exchange of information on international contacts of right-wing extremists participating in the Independence March with security authorities of partner countries (i.e., NATO and the EU). This would allow for a deeper understanding of the extremist nature of the March's guests and, in the longer term, improved targeted efforts to ensure that the event is not misused by foreign extremists for their purposes.
- Exchange of information on the activities of Polish extremists (who regularly take part in the Independence March) in partner countries (i.e., NATO and the EU) with the security authorities of these countries. This would better enable the mapping the activities of Polish domestic extremists and would highlight any potential illegal activities of Polish extremists abroad.

- Systematically monitor Polish extremist organizations taking part in the March. This task is crucial for an effective and well-targeted deradicalization and counter-extremism measures. It seems that currently, many, especially smaller violence-oriented extremist organizations, are not sufficiently monitored. Careful and continuous observation and monitoring of their websites, social media, as well as the activity of leaders, ideologists, and activists will be crucial in the prevention of potential violent acts perpetrated by such extremists.
- Further monitoring of banners carried by participants of the Independence March to identify violence-oriented extremist messages. Removing such message from the public place and from the view of the participants of the Independence March and its observers will reduce the scope of the extremist ideology's impact on the residents of Warsaw and will make it difficult for extremists to use the Independence March as a place to advertise their ideology.
- Creation of a list of violence-oriented foreign extremists that are not allowed to enter Poland during the March. Such a list could be drawn up in cooperation with the security authorities of partner countries (i.e., NATO and EU members). The list should primarily include violence-oriented extremists identified by the security authorities of these partner countries, including leaders of violence-oriented extremist organizations, their ideologues, and their most notorious members. This list could be a tool to manage foreign participation in the March.
- Immediate response to any violations of Polish hate crime laws during the Independence March, including immediate detention of participants who break these laws. The zero-tolerance tactic for extremism at the Independence March will allow, step by step, to restore its primary character of a national celebration. It will also prevent the misuse of this national celebration for the advertisement of violence oriented extremist ideologies.

- Systematic prosecution, in line with Polish laws and regulations, against those participants of the March who incite racial, ethnic, and national hatred and/or publicly praise the fascist and Nazi regime. Polish law incorporates numerous tools to stop hate crimes. These should be implemented and resulting court cases processed efficiently.
- Exclude organizations from the March that are recognized in Poland or in the EU and NATO as violence-oriented extremist organizations (i.e., third position organizations, neo-Nazi groups, national Bolsheviks, and national radicals). This would be a significant step to prevent such groups from using the March to promote their ideology and recruit new members, also prohibiting them from advertising their activities.
- Commence work on the creation and implementation of publicly funded deradicalization programs aimed at far-right extremists, including participants of the March. The current lack of such procedures or programs in Poland is a challenge. This is particularly the case for those violence-oriented extremists that wish to exit the milieu, as there are currently no publicly funded networks and structures that would support their exit.

2. European Union:

- Cooperation with the government of Poland and its relevant authorities, enabling them to increase their efforts to eliminate violence-oriented extremists from the March. Solidarity of European states in the fight against extremism and growing extremist groups is the necessary basis for success. Intensified transnational cooperation in this matter is a crucial first step to push back against transnational violence-oriented extremist networks.
- In cooperation with the Polish government, establish a working group of experts to observe the Independence March. This would raise

awareness of the challenges created by the participation of non-Polish violence-oriented right-wing extremists in the March. This expert group could also assist the Polish state in analyzing the activities of such extremists during the March. This could provide invaluable support for Polish public institutions combating extremism.

- Create a European register of violence-oriented right-wing extremists accessible to Member States' security authorities. Such a register could be housed at EUROPOL. Over the past two decades, violence-oriented right-wing extremists have built up transnational cooperation networks that allows key stakeholders from this milieu to move easily between countries and built alliance across jurisdictions. The register could serve as an early warning indicator to track the travel movement and activities of these individuals.
- Explore the possibility of hindering international cooperation of violence-oriented right-wing extremists by imposing temporary travel and entry restrictions on such extremists attempting to travel to key networking events such as the Independence March. This would disrupt the ability of such extremists to cooperate transnationally as well as their ability to exchange of funds and know-how.
- Strengthen the exchange of information between intelligence and law enforcement agencies of the Member States on the matter of violence-oriented right-wing extremism and right-wing terrorism. Many EU countries have considerable experience in the fight against violence-oriented extremism. Intensified information exchange will also support jurisdictions that only recently became affected by this phenomenon to quickly ramp up their capabilities and capacities. Such official cooperation and information exchange structures already exist in the fight against Islamist terrorist networks. It should be explored how experiences and promising practices from these cooperation structures could be implemented in this context.

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- 143 Grzegorz Braun fully supports the traditional teachings of the Catholic Church in moral matters. He is an advocate of a total ban on abortion and in vitro fertilization, which he deems “a nefarious procedure.” He advocates for the death penalty (for “murderers, traitors, spies, and deserters”). He is a monarchist and a critic of democracy. He supports the idea of a formal enthronement of Jesus Christ as the king of Poland. While he had previously advocated for civil liberties including LGBTQ+ issues in March 2019, he switched positions and now advocates in favor of punishing homosexuals with physical punishments, including whipping. He collaborates with the anti-democratic Organization of Polish Monarchists, for which he delivered ideological lectures during meetings in Warsaw and Wrocław. He is an opponent of the European Union, which he describes as “евроколхоз (Eurokolkhoz)” and “Satan’s work.” He also publishes articles laying out what in his view would be desirable systemic changes in Poland and the evolution from democracy to monarchy. He directly calls for the overthrow of the Polish system by force. “Simply put - first a coup d’état, and then a complete change of the political system. I am a monarchist, so I pray for the King’s return.” He wants to imprison women for abortions and flog gays in public. For example, according to Braun, the well-known Polish left-wing homosexual politician Robert Biedroń should be imprisoned for being a “public, professional sodomite.” He also promotes a conspiracy theory, called cultural Marxism. According to Braun “the global revolution, the mafias, the ministries and lodges, the Jews and the freemasons ... treat the sodomites as the lost lumpenproletariat of their revolution.” He does not believe in vaccinations, which he considers to be unsupported “by evidence, scientifically or statistically verifiable.” In his opinion, it is a great medical experiment and a lottery, implemented “by progressive-totalitarian rabies,” which threatens “the sovereignty of parental authority” and is an “assault on our civilization, libertarian traditions.” According to Braun, it is not clear who is behind the attack on the World Trade Center in 2001. Poles should have fought against Garibaldi, 90% of historiography does not meet the scientific criteria, sustainable development is “diabolical,” and “culture is genetically and organically linked to the Christianitas Tradition.” In his view, Poland is currently in “the scenario of the final solution of the Polish question (...) the annihilation

of the Polish state, the annihilation of the Polish sovereignty project.” In his view, to save Poland, it is imperative that our alliances are turned upside down since “America is Poland’s number one enemy!” In his opinion, Poland must necessarily leave NATO and forge ties with Belarus, Iran, Turkey, and China, and respond to Fort Trump with Fort Xi Jinping. The Soviet Union in his vision was “a political project launched by people who never lived in the Kremlin, and used the USSR to level the ground for the construction of an even larger tower of Babel,” where leftism is only a false outpost of global capitalism and the destruction of “three natural communities: family, nation and religious community.” In his view, the USSR intended to exterminate the concepts of family, nation, and religious community through “the formula of increasing surveillance and the exacerbating dictate of political correctness, called cultural Marxism.” Today, according to Braun, Poland is a land of the Eurokolkhoz, which in practice continues the mission of the Third Reich using the methods of the USSR, where Hitler’s National Socialists and Lenin’s international socialists were replaced by Eurosocialists. In his opinion, Poland is administered by the Warsaw government (not Polish, but based in Warsaw), and is ruled by agents of the “post-Soviet, neo-Russian, American empire,” as well as German, Jewish, and Ukrainian agents. According to Braun, Poland is a Russian-German condominium. One of the leaders of conservative liberals, Grzegorz Schetyna, according to Braun, is a child of the Stasi and GRU. In his opinion, the left-wing MEP Leszek Miller is a creature of the GRU itself but recruited by the Americans. Lech Wałęsa is controlled by the former communist military services. The WSI, the leader of the peasant party, Waldemar Pawlak is under the control of Soviet services, and the “officers” control the top of the peasant party—the PSL. Braun claims that in August 1980, the Security Service sent Solidarity leaders from the People’s Poland period, Bronisław Geremek and Tadeusz Mazowiecki, to work with the opposition. Polish oligarchs—Kulczyk, Gudzowaty, and Krauze—were representatives of the communist services. And the former Polish Ambassador to the United States Ryszard Schnepf is a member of the Masonic Lodge B’nai B’rith Polin, which means he is a “professional Jew.” According to Braun, the PiS government led to the Germanization and Judaization of Poland. For Braun Jews are a collective being in the shape of a swarm of bees or ants. They overthrow tsarism, deceive Poles, enrich themselves, and denationalize Poland, all to the loss of Poles. “The historical realities are changing, but the real attitude of the Jewish elite towards Polish sovereignty does not change,” concludes Braun. “The Jewish diaspora a dozen or so years ago once again declared war on Poland,” he declares. Or rath-

er, “the Jewish diaspora and political formations supported by it.” According to Braun’s thinking, the aim is to establish a “Jewish island sovereignty in the region from Szczecin to Odessa.” Israel, Germany, and Polish traitors strive to build Mitteleuropa and place Judeopolonia in it. According to Braun, Israel is in a demographic, economic, and military crisis, and a great war is approaching in the Middle East, so Jews are looking for a new area for colonization. Obviously, taking control over the territory of Poland is crucial. Tools for this purpose include Lanzmann’s film “Shoah” and “Schindler’s List” by Spielberg, the Museum of Polish Jews, which Braun calls an “extra-territorial institution” as well as claims against non-hereditary property of murdered Jews. Expected results? The final solution to the Polish question, the transition of Poles to reservations, competition for candidates for the “Polenrat,” and life in “the Condominium,” where, according to Braun—as in the Middle Ages—Jews would be involved in the slave trade. According to Braun, the image of Poland’s future is Ukraine—that is, “New Khazaria” ruled by the Jewish president Volodymyr Zelensky, the Jewish prime minister Volodymyr Groysman, for the money of the Jewish oligarch Ihor Koloymoyskyi, all under the control of the Jewish religious group Chabad Lubavich from its headquarters in Dnipro. He agrees with conspiracy theories that the COVID-19 pandemic does not exist and is just a figment of mainstream media and politicians. Consequently, he promoted the book “False Pandemic. Criticism of scientists and doctors” issued by his foundation Osuchowa. He has repeatedly participated and spoken during protests against COVID-19-related restrictions and intervened to defend entrepreneurs who ignored the restrictions and opened their premises during the pandemic. He consistently refuses to cover his mouth and nose, which has led to conflicts, e.g. with the Speakers of the Polish parliament during official sessions. Braun has a long history of using or praising violence. Grzegorz Braun’s speech on September 10, 2012 during a public debate at the Hybrydy club in Warsaw became the basis for the Warsaw-Śródmieście District Prosecutor’s Office to initiate proceedings to investigate whether the wording used by him may constitute incitement. On one occasion Braun called for the murder of a journalist from the liberal media—Gazeta Wyborcza and TVN. In February 2015, he was convicted for attacking a policeman, breaking his thumb, and insulting him during an incident in Wrocław in 2008, when he participated in a demonstration by the neo-fascist political party National Rebirth Polish. In September 2021, after the end of the parliamentary speech, he publicly threatened the Minister of Health, Adam Niedzielski, with the words “You will be hanged,” which caused a wave of indignation in the plenary hall and

led to the interruption of the session. In the context of the war in Ukrain, Braun writes: “If the Polish authorities are to engage in any ‘humanitarian actions,’ it will be primarily humanitarian actions towards Poles. It is a scandal to prioritize the safety, health and education of neighbors and guests over their own countrymen and citizens.” Russian media quote his statements, and he himself adds a poster on Twitter saying: “Do not criticize the Banderites, because you will be deemed a Russian agent.”

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weaklings, losers, poor, idiots - and the disabled, unfortunately.” At a different occasion, he elaborated on his opinion on the subject: “I have seen the Paralympic medal standings. There are hardly any African countries there. The plague did not get there. But that means Negroes will conquer the world soon. And they will slaughter us.” He demanded the shooting of EU officials, believes that Adolf Hitler did not know about the Holocaust, and deemed pedophilia superior to sex education. He physically attacked one of the former Polish ministers. In August 2018, after the death of the singer Kora Jackowska, Korwin-Mikke wrote directly that sexual abuse in her childhood strengthened her and allowed her to become a famous artist. And after a few days he added, “Every well-bred 10-year-old lady would simply say, ‘Aren’t you ashamed of yourself, Mr. Priest?’- and no harassment would happen. Anyway, whether it happened or not - it is not mentioned. (...) However, if such an event took place, it most likely made Kora hell-bent on making a career.” The Confederation leader has a simple and clear sentence about child pornography: “I am against people looking at computers to see what child pornography they might there or something. No, I can have whatever I want on my computer,” he said on March 18, 2019, in a live broadcast on his Facebook profile. When, in November 2021, PiS parliamentarian Stanisław Piotrowicz, the head of the local Prosecutor’s Office, discontinued the investigation against Father Michał M., accused of child rape, Korwin-Mikke wrote on his blog: “This pedophilia thing is greatly exaggerated,” and “being touched by a man (as long as, of course, it isn’t being overly compulsive) awakens the feminine nature and helps rather than harms; it also immunizes you against similar advances in the future. For thousands of years, fathers (and sometimes mothers) have sexually molested their children. However, there was a conspiracy of silence on this, and rightly so. For this reason, children had mild sexual dysfunction, or not. I myself knew two women who had such experiences, but their resentments would certainly have worsened if it was discussed or reported in the newspapers.” He also believes that “You cannot question the myth of a good father and a loving mother only because once in a thousand cases the father (...) will indulge in lewd acts, sometimes quite innocent, with children,” adding “Light pedophilia is not harmful to society,” and “If a pedophile pats a child on the bottom, nothing happens.” His view of Muslims is demonstrated in a comment where he stated that “our enemy is not in Moscow. Our enemies are in mosques. In the mosques of Paris, in the mosques of Marseilles.” He has also stated that “I have no doubts that your daughters and granddaughters will end up in harems. Muslims despise us, we are doormats to them. Why? Because

in modern Europe, life is of the highest value. I don't understand it. To be honest, Muslim civilization is closer to me than the European Union which is just savage. When Muslims come, at least they will abolish the VAT tax. They might chop some heads off, but at least they won't allow any gay parades." Korwin-Mikke has also suggested that Germany should introduce religious apartheid as a solution to problems caused by Muslims. Moreover, it is not just Muslims or Jews that Korwin-Mikke attacks. He has stated that "The world is collapsing. 150 years ago, we, the white people ruled the world. Today, we are being colonized. We colonized Africa, it wasn't the Negroes who colonized Europe. It's something to be proud of. I am proud of my civilization." During a debate on youth unemployment in the EU Parliament, he made multiple references to black people using the word "nigger," stating that the "minimum wage should be destroyed as we would be treating 20 million young Europeans like niggers." Talking about racial segregation, he stated: "It's just like when women can't enter a male toilet. What's wrong with black people not being allowed to enter a toilet for whites?" Currently, in the context of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Korwin-Mikke claims that the attack on the Mariupol maternity hospital was staged and that the Donetsk and Lugansk separatist republics are independent and ambitious geopolitical entities. He also spreads political disinformation copied from Russian media outlets such as RT or Sputnik. He had made similar public statements even before the Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. At a conference in the Polish parliament, he spoke about Ukraine: "I believe that we have installed German agents on our eastern border. It is a scandal that politicians like Jarosław Kaczyński, who claims to be anti-German, are installing German agents on our eastern border." During an interview with Superstacja TV station, he claimed that it was not Putin who caused the conflict and that the citizens of Crimea decided their own future. "Putin? What did he do? Did Mr. Putin overthrow the legal authorities of Ukraine? Was it Mr. Putin who introduced the militants to Maidan? Was it Mr. Putin who ordered people to be shot?" he asked and explained: "Crimea is an autonomous republic, its authorities asked him for help. (...) The parliament of the Republic of Crimea unanimously asked Russia for protection. However, I would like to remind you that the legal president of Ukraine is Viktor Yanukovich." In the same program, Korwin-Mikke also accused an unnamed politician of training demonstrators from Maidan, who he described as terrorists. "They were trained terrorists, I even know exactly who trained them from Poland."

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activist, Gabor Vona maintained close relations with Arab nationalists and visited a Baath party conference in Yemen. Until recently, Jobbik's concept of foreign policy was focused on an alliance with Iran, the fight against Israel, the opposition to what it refers to as "US hegemony," and support for Palestinian independence. Jobbik also proclaimed that Israel was trying to occupy Hungary. Until recently, strong and open anti-Semitism distinguished Jobbik from Western right-wing populist parties such as the National Front or the Austrian FPÖ, which are accused by Hungarian nationalists of having Zionist leanings. Leading Jobbik politicians openly proclaimed that they did not believe in the Holocaust. In 2012 Márton Gyöngyösi, a former Jobbik member of the Hungarian National Assembly between 2010 and 2019, and a member of the European Parliament since 2019, declared that it was necessary to create a proscription list of Jews who posed "a threat to state security." Jobbik has published a significant number of positions on international relations, including support for Russian neo-Eurasianism. In 2009, the Alliance of European National Movements was founded, headed by Bela Kovacs from Jobbik. In the European Parliament Jobbik attempted to build an alliance with the far right and was joined by parties such as Fiamma Tricolore or the British National Party with Nick Griffin. Jobbik also maintained strong sympathies toward Russia. Jobbik party leaders Gabor Vona and Bela Kovacs traveled to Russia. Vona refers to the works of Russian right-wing extremist thinkers Nikolai Trubetskoy and Alexander Dugin and proclaims the advantages of Eurasianism as a means of ensuring the independence of the countries of the region in opposition to the European Union.

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- 243 The Identitarian Movement originated in France, but in recent years it has gained particular popularity in Germany. They base their ideology on the thinking of the new right and Islamophobia. As part of their activities, they run social centers on rented premises. Young Polish neo-fascists sympathize with the Madrid Hogar Social (Social House) in Spain and with Golden Dawn (Chrysí Avgí) in Greece. Polish neo-fascists also cooperate with the successors of the GUD - the Social Bastion in France. This network organizes social centers in Lyon, Chambéry, Strasbourg, Aix-en-Provence, Clermont-Ferrand, and in Marseille. In February 2019, French President Emanuel Macron officially banned the organization in connection with physical attacks by its members against immigrants, left-wing organizations, and the police. Several members have received sentences ranging from six months to three years in prison for inciting violence and physical assault. There are also connections between Polish neo-fascists to the Identitarian Movement in France. There the Identitarians have four welfare centers, equipped with a bar, a library, boxing rooms, and guest rooms: in Paris (La Barricade), Nice (Lou Bastioun), Lyon (La Traboule), and Brittany (Ti Breizh). CasaPound Italia is one of the most popular organizations in the neo-fascist movement and serves as an inspiration for groups outside Italy. CasaPound was established in 2007 and is well known for its network of social centers located in illegally occupied vacant buildings, and for its extensive network of social initiatives. The movement's ideology is based on racism and the fight against immigrants. Its leader, Gianluca Iannone, is the lead singer of the Italian right-wing band Zetaze-roalfa, and the owner of the international restaurant chain Osteria Angelino. The main ideologist of the group is Gabriele Adinolfi. Despite serving as an inspiration within the international right-wing extremist movement, the structure of CasaPound Italia is difficult to recreate in other contexts due to its sheer size. The group maintains 100 offices, 20 bars, restaurants, tattoo parlors, and about a dozen bookstores, as well as the Badabing! Shop (online and offline). This network of locations is used for social and political meetings, sports competitions, concerts, and poetry readings. The group regularly organizes numerous small and large events, festivals, concerts, rallies and demonstrations, conferences, conventions, and campaigns. It also maintains a media network that includes the website Zentro-

pa.info, and Radio Bandiera Nera. CasaPound also has a student organization Blocco Studentesco (not to be confused with Lotta Studentesca, the Terecist-ultra-Catholic youth organization of Forza Nuova). Therefore, for Polish extremists, CasaPound Italia is a very valuable cooperation partner that is not only able to fund their activities but also transfer valuable know-how on how to organize and act. Gianluca Iannone explicitly describes his group as fascist and representing the legacy of Mussolini stating, "I will be a fascist as long as there are antifascists." In his view, fascism was "the greatest revolution in the world," and the regime of Mussolini was "the nation's most beautiful moment." CasaPound activists also do not shy away from violence. Gianluca Casseri, a sympathizer of CasaPound, shot and killed two Senegalese in a Florence market on December 13, 2011, injuring three others. Another activist from the group, Amedeo Mancini, murdered a Nigerian in Fermo on July 5, 2016. At the time of the murder, he was wearing the Zetazeroalfa fan shirt. Other notable members of the group include Simone di Stefano, CasaPound's main election candidate, and Davide di Stefano, a filmmaker, and brother of Simone di Stefano. Davide di Stefano is the assistant to Mario Borghezio, a Lega Nord member of parliament. Another prominent member is Andrea Antonini, vice president of CasaPound, convicted for helping a drug dealer create a false identity (pending judgment on appeal). Mauro Antonini, brother of Andrea Antonini, is a member of the quarter parliament in Rome, and also an assistant to the parliamentarian Mario Borghezio. Responsible for CasaPound's international contacts is Sebastien de Boëldieu. Active under a pseudonym, he is a former soldier, likely of the Foreign Legion. He settled in Canada and founded the Zentropa network. Sources cited:

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- In the Czech Republic, they cooperate with the former allies of the NOP, the National Socialist Dělnická Strana Sociální Spravedlnosti (Workers' Par-

ty of Social Justice), the neo-Nazis from the National Resistance (Narodny Odpor) and their women's section Resistance Women Unity, and with autonomous structures such as the Radical Boys and the Identitarians from the Czech Generace Identity.

In Slovakia, young Polish neo-fascists regularly attend right-wing extremist events such as the Devil's Night festival in Banská Bystrica or the Hlad Mrazu event in Dubnica nad Vágnym near Žilina. They also visit the Lukov March.

In Sweden, Polish neo-fascists primarily cooperated with Nordisk Ungdom and had close contact with the fascist Party of Sweden (Svenskarnas Parti) prior to its dissolution in 2015.

In Finland, their main contact is Nikko Puhakka, who collaborated with Blood & Honour.

In Latvia, they are close to the Baltic Front while in England they cooperate with members of the neo-Nazi National Action.

In the region of northern Poland, the neo-fascist Northern Active promotes materials related to the American Church of the Creator, a Nazi religious group for which the main enemies are the American government, i.e., the supposedly Jewish-dominated Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG) and gay people. This organization, proclaiming the supremacy of the white race, attacks Christianity as a Jewish fraud designed to destroy whites. Their goal is a "Racial Holy War" (abbreviated to "RaHoWa," a frequent theme of Nazi tattoos).

In Portugal, they cooperate with Nova Ordem Social, a fascist group led by Mário Machado. He is a member of the Hammerskin Nation network with a 14-year prison sentence for complicity in murder and illegal possession of weapons.

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ly founded a political organization called Mi Hazánk Mozgalom (We are our Country Movement). Between 2001 and 2013, Toroczkai was also part of the leadership of HVIM (the 64 County Youth Movement), a nationalistic group that cultivates the memory of Greater Hungary (Nagy Magyarország in Hungarian) and called for a revision of the borders of Hungary back to the country's size before the Treaty of Trianon of 1920 (with the exception of today's Croatia). HVIM also advocates the superiority of Hungarians over other nations and for the return of lost "core Hungarian" lands in Slovakia, Romania, and Serbia. Due to his radical revisionist views and his calls for the revision of Hungary's borders, Toroczkai was banned from entering Slovakia between 2006 and 2011, Romania for three months in 2005, and was not allowed to enter Serbia between 2004 and 2005 and between 2008 and 2010. He also changed his name to accommodate his ideological views. His original name Toth, meaning "Slovak," did not fit the image of the Hungarian nationalist. His new name "Toroczkai" or "z Torocko" fit his views much better: Torocko is one of the centers of residence of ethnic Hungarians (Seklrs) in Romania. Toroczkai was also associated with another right-wing extremist group: Betyarsereg, or "the army of robbers." Formally, it is a sports club and a loosely organized neo-Nazi militia. Its members frequently greet each other with the fascist salute. The group regularly was involved in violence, in particular targeting the Hungarian Roma population. Toroczkai was an honorary member of the group and remains linked to it to this day. According to Hungarian journalists, Toroczkai organized a border militia, largely composed of members of local gangs. His organization HVIM organizes an annual demonstration in honor of the Waffen SS and Wehrmacht soldiers defending Budapest against the Red Army in which Toroczkai takes part. This event is also attended by delegations from abroad, including openly neo-Nazi organizations such as Blood & Honour.

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all white lands!” One of Nordica/Agressiva 88’s albums, entitled “Odezwa” begins with a recording of a speech by Adolf Hitler. The second track on this album is about Rudolf Hess, and in following songs the lyrics call for the murder of women who are in relationships with black men.

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