Hate Speech in Radio Maryja¹

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Radia Maryja, broadcasting under the licence belonging to the Warsaw Province of Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, attacks various groups and lets them be attacked by invited guests and listeners. Any statement not fitting to the station's propaganda line is immediately countered by the host² or by the radio's director, or stopped thanks to the delay line³. The Radio Maryja's staff declared also many times that they are not going to invite various sides of conflicts⁴. The aired content, especially if appears numerous times or if broadcasted by the staff from recordings is definitely in line with the radio's agenda. Below we present examples of statements on some attacked groups and notions accompanied by the hate speech⁵ or discriminatory attitude. Most are from Radio Maryja but I also cite TV Trwam⁶ a few times. The examples are from the years 2005-2010, mainly from 2009-2010⁷. It is only a small but

¹ Translation of chapter Mowa nienawiści w Radiu Maryja (głos w dyskusji) (Hate speech in Radio Maryja (voice in discussion)) published in the book Mowa nienawiści a wolność słowa, Aspekty prawne i społeczne (Hate speech and freedom of speech. Legal and social aspects) red. by Roman Wieruszewski, Mirosław Wyrzykowski, Adam Bodnar and Aleksandra Gliszczyńska-Grabias, Wolters Kluwer, Warszawa 2010. Permanent link to this text: http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/teksty/Hate_Speech_in_Radio_Maryja.pdf [Colevae] This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported, http://creativecommons.org/licences/by-sa/3.0/

² The programmes are usually run by the following Redemptorists: Fr. Piotr Andrukiewicz (until 2011), Fr. Jacek Cydzik (until 2011), Fr. Piotr Dettlaff, Fr. Janusz Dyrek (until 2006 r. and since 2010), Fr. Waldemar Gonczaruk, Fr. Zdzisław Klafka (former provincial), Fr. Jan Król, Fr. Grzegorz Moj, Fr. Tadeusz Rydzyk (radio director), Fr. Bolesław Słota, Fr. Marcin Krupa (since 2011). Also several other secular and clerical persons run their own programmes.

³ The Radio uses a very long 7-seconds delay line. The staff member has 7 seconds for deciding if a given listener's statement is going to go to the air.

⁴ July 15th 2009, 01:09, Fr. P. Andrukiewicz: "We (...) have accepted a rule that we even do not get into a dialogue. We just bless and say that it does not make sense to start a discussion here and we should know better".

⁵ Various definitions of the hate speech, anti-Semitism and xenophobia I try to comply to are used in the preface to the report by A. Gliszczyńska, K. Sękowska-Kozłowska, R. Wieruszewski, *Monitorowanie treści rasistowskich, ksenofobicznych i antysemickich w polskiej prasie*, 2007 (Monitoring of rasist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic contents in Polish press).

⁶ A satellite television belonging to the Lux Veritatis foundation established privately by three Redemptorists: T. Rydzyk, J. Król, and S. Kwiatkowski.

Original recordings the citations are taken from are available in WAV/GSM format at: <u>ftp://ftp.icm.edu.pl/packages/rm/mowa-nienawisci-w-RM/</u>. Current information on xenophobic incidents in Radio Maryja can by found in: <u>http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/incydenty.html</u> and in sometimes delayed English version: <u>http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/incidents.html</u>

representative choice, limited also in scope to not to make this paper to long. I cite almost exclusively the staff and invited quests, rarely the listeners, to focus on the contents propagated directly by the staff. In the case of listeners' statements we can argue (and the staff does) that they are free of the staff control, but such excuse is false. The staff has a very strong control over these statements thanks to the delay line. In many cases, they also do not hesitate to use a lot of time to distance itself from the listeners' statements (or from statements of the invited quests which in very rare cases are not in the line with the station's policy). Sometimes when the director of the station Fr. T. Rydzyk especially cares to counter some statement his polemics by phone may take quite a long time. Sometimes the staff distances from the listeners who only repeat what they have heard in the Radio but they express it not at the right time or too emphatically. An analysis of the staff-listeners feedback control was carried by K. Dziomdziora⁸ on the base of an approximate reconstruction of the delay line made by the author of this text⁹. Except of various groups attacked by hateful or discriminatory statements I have also enumerated some notions attacks are focused on and with which several attacked groups are being associated in this Radio.

1.¹⁰ Euthanasia

We can use this example to show how notions are associated with groups. Such notions as "euthanasia" in the staff members speak does not mean assisted suicide but murder: "Nuremberg trial described euthanasia unambiguously as a crime against mankind. And we have brass today to present it as an achievement"¹¹, "Hitler used eugenics on 275 thousands of old people and (it was?) just euthanasia. Today's Holland exceeds a lot, even in numbers, Hitler's Nazism. Also Belgium and other countries which have legalised euthanasia"¹². Such meaning change of a word must be connected with strong condemning of the alleged murderers and it is obvious that one cannot discuss about euthanasia with them. The notion of euthanasia, with its changes meaning, is associated with both Nazis and Dutchmen but also, in a strange way, with fear of Muslims, probably as dangerous as euthanasia: "in Holland (...) in ten-odd years from now there will be 50% Muslims, and they [who?] demand euthanasia, since age of 70 (...) even for healthy people"¹³.

2. Falsifying History

Forging history is connected with the hate speech in a pretty simple way:

¹³ Apr 20th 2010., 22:51, Fr. T. Rydzyk.

⁸ K. Dziomdziora, *Teoria i praktyka propagandy na przykładzie audycji Radia Maryja (Theory and practice of propaganda exemplified in Radio Maryja programmes), master thesis http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/prace/Teoria_i_praktyka_propagandy_na_przykladzie_audycji_RM.pdf*.

⁹ R. Maszkowski, Linia opóźniająca w Radiu Maryja (Radio Maryja delay line), Warszawa 2001, http://www.radiomaryja.pl.eu.org/teksty/linia-opozniajaca.html This description is only an approximation sufficient in practice but one can construct a better model.

 $^{^{10}\,}$ The chapters of this article were ordered alphabetically in Polish, I have preserved the original order.

¹¹ 26 marca 2010 r., 13:30, Fr. Prof. K. Lubowicki talking with Fr. W. Gonczaruk.

¹² Nov 21st 2009, 18:46, Fr. Prof. T. Guz in Fr. B. Cisoń programme O istocie nazizmu hitlerowskiego (About the essence of the Hitler's Nazism). The unclear style present already in the original statement.

the station's staff and owners views on events is difficult to force, almost everywhere the wrong interpretation is propagated so an easy conclusion is that some mighty forces disturb. The Radio was describing many times a story of KL Warschau¹⁴ – a concentration camp existing in Warsaw in the years 1943–1944, where over 20 thousands victims were killed, mainly Jews¹⁵. In the Radio propaganda it is a "death camp for Poles" with **200** thousands of victims killed, with branches in five places and using a huge gas chamber in a tunnel, powered with natural gas¹⁶. The city authorities do not agree to place a monument of the camp with a false number of victims and several kilometres from the place where the camp really was¹⁷. On this base the Radio builds a conflict which is used against its political opponents and ethnic minorities associated with them.

In this propaganda sometimes some well known patterns return including those from March 1968¹⁸. In one of the programmes its participant Jan Marszałek, talking about KL Warschau has repeated the March propaganda thesis: "(...) all those forces which were fighting for 50 years with Polish raison d'etat, Poles, in various forms (...), let us take any example, Great Universal Encyclopaedia from 1962 r. (...), the entry 'Auschwitz' says that Jews, Gypsies and other nations were murdered in Auschwitz. There are no Poles. Only in the thirteenth volume in 1968 or 1969 was said that Poles were murdered there, in Auschwitz"¹⁹. Then he points the finger at enemy forces and first of all on alleged national minorities reluctance to commemorate the Polish martyrdom: "after 1956 those Stalinist forces started to democratize (...), today they are great liberals but their roots are anti-Polish. There is Polish blood on these people.²⁰ (...) The KL Warschau was guarded also by volksdeutschs²¹. We should ask who are these people or who were their ancestors so they hate Poland and Polishness so much that they do not want to erect a single cross for 200 thousands of Polish women and men murdered in KL Warschau (...). It seems to me that the role of Germans is important here and they try to underplay their faults". He was seconded by the host of the programme, Fr. P. Andrukiewicz: "I believe we may fairly assume that somebody or certain people really want that

- ¹⁵ B. Kopka, Konzentrationslager Warschau. Historia i następstwa (Warschau Concentration Camp. History and implications), Warszawa 2007.
- ¹⁶ The gas used for cooking or heating is poisonous but using if for mass-murdering would be dangerous also for the murderers because it is explosive.
- 17 On Oct 22nd 2009 the City Council of Warsaw passed a resolution about building of a monument close to the actual location of the camp, resolution number LXIII/1994/2009, http://bip.warszawa.pl/NR/exeres/E22E0F69-6813-4600-AA08-48E55F27F756,frameless.htm
- ¹⁸ In March 1968 there was a surge of anti-Semitic propaganda used by the Communist Party both as a tool in the fight against non-communist elites as in the internal fights in the party.
- ¹⁹ Dec 10th 2007, 22:28, programme on KL Warschau chaired by Fr. P. Andrukiewicz. Participants: M. Trzcińska, Prof. R. Bender, J. Marszałek, M. Modelska-Creech; The question of the entry "concentration camps, Nazist" in Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN (Great Universal Encyclopaedia of Polish Scientific Publishers) was described by J. Eisler, Polski rok 1968 (Polish year 1968), Warszawa 2006, s. 158-164, the book is available as a file at http://marzec1968.pl/dokumenty/zalaczniki/7-12180.pdf
- 20 Seems to be quite direct reference to the Biblical "His blood is on us and on our children!" (Matthew 27:25).
- ²¹ People registered as Germans in Poland occupied during the World War II. Registration, in several categories, was in some cases voluntary, in other cases forced. It was giving some benefits but on the other hand was connected with danger of forced conscription to the German army.

¹⁴ In the years 2002-2010 this were at least 30 programmes with a total time of over 30 hours. Additionally the Radio was airing many announcements about demonstrations, messes and meetings.

monument to never appear, not to have in Warsaw a place commemorating mass murdering of Poles".

The Radio staff and the listeners educated by it know also older threads of anti-Semitic propaganda. In the same programme a calling listener said: "(...) I will supplement this thought with a citation from Feliks Koneczny²² (...) '(...) Jews and Prussians were close allies [after World War I] (...), the Jews have done everything they could to make Germans the strongest and Poles the weakest (...)'". Fr. Andrukiewicz quickly added: "Let us inform that it is a citation to not to let somebody to accuse us..." – but the listener yet confirmed that these are views propagated by the Radio since years – "...it is a citation from Feliks Koneczny! Pure knowledge. The Radio Maryja created Institute of National Education has aired the teachings of Feliks Koneczny for ten years" – but this was what Fr. Andrukiewicz wanted to avoid – "But you know also the Radio is attacked because of this, so please be reasonable"²³.

In the same programme Maria Trzcińska directly attacked giving privileges to the Jews at the cost of Poles: "If we talk about the attitude to the Jewish population (...). There is a big contrast between building the Museum of History of Polish Jews and simultaneous refusal of building a monument of victims of KL Warschau death camp. (...) I and the committee we are members of, are not against building of MHPJ but Poles cannot be treated worse than the other nations in their own country. And the other nations are commemorated, including the German perpetrators who lie buried worthy at a cemetery bordering with the camp at Koło²⁴! In that place the perpetrators are buried, who in the camp at Koło, in the neighbourhood, were murdering those prisoners. It is a crying injustice and because of this we are not, ladies and gentlemen, against building of MHPJ. I invite, for a third time already, the Jewish community in Warsaw to help, to take part in building of the monument for Poles, victims of KL Warschau". Mira Modelska-Creech connected this thread with the coming election associating again those bad privileged minorities with those seen by the Radio as its political opponents: "The Poles! Vote for the patriots, do not vote for your enemies"²⁵.

Another example of falsifying history I wanted to show concerns also the concentration camps. Here we can also hear echoes of the March propaganda concerning amounts of martyrdom of various nations: "(...) the case of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp which was built to annihilate Poles. Now the Jewish and other nations victims are exposed as if Poles would be only a small part of them but hundreds of thousands of our brothers and sisters were murdered there"²⁶. Most of the programmes aired at the consecutive anniversaries of the KL Auschwitz liberation touched the question of number of the victims and included deliberations on the topic who insists on giving the number smaller than few millions: "with this amount [of Zyklon B], 20 tons, one could slay 6 millions of people (...), it is a fairy tale that in KL Auschwitz only 1 to 1.1 million of people were killed (...). Bringing the number down so much (...) lies in the interest of our Western neighbour"²⁷.

- ²² 1862-1949, Polish historian and rasist historiosopher.
- ²³ Dec 10th 2007, 22:56.
- ²⁴ One of the places M. Trzcińska see as a camp branch. In reality it was a city burrough, burned in August 1944.
- ²⁵ Dec 10th 2010, 23:00, a programme about KL Warschau.
- ²⁶ Feb 4th 2010, 13:47, G. Szumska talking with Fr. D. Drążek.
- ²⁷ Jun 8th czerwca 2009, 00:19, B. Sojecki in a programme chaired by Fr. W. Gonczaruk, similarly: Jun 8th 2008, 18:53-19:14, TV Trwam programme chaired by Fr. B. Cisoń A testamentof Auschwitz prisons: do not wake up a beast in human woken up once will not hesitate to do anything B. Sojecki: "(...) 4 million of people was killed in Oświęcim (...)", o. B.

One opinion of a Radio employee on sufferings of various nations: "for example 'Gazeta Wyborcza', even though I do not know how to call this newspaper because of this red banner in the logo – maybe it is some 'Trybuna Wyborcza'²⁸ – it writes today about the complex memory of Poles, it tries to say that this statement shared by the Poles that they suffered more during the War than the Jews or Germans is groundless $(...)^{"29}$. We can see here propagating a thesis that Jews were suffering less than Poles during the World War II and the press challenging this thesis is compared to the propaganda of the communist press so, according to the Radio employee, is hostile, has bad intentions. We can be surprised with such views in a part of the population³⁰, the more strange they are when expressed by a journalist.

3. Homosexuals

Homosexuals "(...) they kill mother, father, they practice homosexuality (...)"³¹, and they show malice not wanting to convert into the morally healthy heterosexuality. As claimed by the Radio for years and repeated recently by the invited guest Dr. P. Cameron³², homosexuality does not have a genetic background, it arises as a consequence of seducing or just a plot of foreign embassies: "(...) The US embassy organises a homosexual revolution in Poland. Would it not be better to give gays green cards?"33. The homosexuality endangers families: "(...) the aggression and vulgarity of homosexual environments backed by leftist feminist movements or gender ideology led to crisis of the marriage"³⁴. It is difficult for me to understand how homosexuality can endanger heterosexual marriage. Dr. M. Czachorowski from Catholic University of Lublin and University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński explains: "If homosexuality would be raised to the level of marriage, it would be nothing else but consumerist using of the spouse in somebody's own interest, that is for own pleasure. (...) Plans of single-sex homosexual relation exclude implementing a right to family as a community honouring over-instrument value of a person (...). How can a reasonable person unite in an activity dismissing the objective truth about the sexual sphere?"³⁵. The first part of this citation still does not explain anything. The homosexual relation give priority to pleasure. Does a heterosexual relation exclude such attitude? In the last cited sentence the author is more clear: homosexuality is evil, so those who practice it lack reason. These complicated and veiled explanations are supplemented in Radio Maryja by statements showing the desired behaviour. A good Christian abhors his fellow

Cisoń: "(...) why your testimony was put aside, played down? (...), is it the current propaganda influence that the oświęcim numbers are questioned now?".

- ²⁸ Refering to "Trybuna Ludu" ("People's Tribune"), a daily of the communist party before 1989. Later: "Trybuna".
- ²⁹ Aug 18th 2009, 13:40, Fr. J. Cydzik.
- ³⁰ See: I. Krzemiński (red.), Antysemityzm w Polsce i na Ukrainie. Raport z badań (Anti-Semitism in Poland and Ukraine. Research report), Warszawa 2004.
- ³¹ Apr 4th 2009, 02:39, bishop J. Zawitkowski, a recording.
- ³² A person specialized in proving that homosexuals are harmful. See: S. Zagórski, *Cameron wśród gejów (Cameron between gays)*, Gazeta Wyborcza, 2009, http://wyborcza.pl/1,76842,6612469,Cameron_wsrod_gejow.html
- ³³ Jun 25th 2009, 21:39, a recording: an advertisement of "Nasz Dziennik" read by M. Prałat.
- ³⁴ Dec 30th 2009, 22:18, Fr. Prof. P. Bortkiewicz from the Theology Department of the University of Adam Mickiewicz in Poznań.
- ³⁵ May 22nd 2009, 20:50, Dr. M. Czachorowski from Institute for Studies on Family of University of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński (UKSW) in Łomianki and from Philosophy Department of Catholic University of Lublin, a recording aired by the Radio.

man: "(...) one of my friends told me how he was probing the worldview of his lady (...). There was a pair of gays walking on the other side of a street. He said 'it is disgusting'. She said: 'I have no opinion' (...). He answered 'so thank you for all we experienced together, now we finish it because you have to have an opinion'^{"36}.

4. Women, Men, Feminism

In some cases only connecting several statements and taking into account that they repeat many times shows more accurate image of the message coming from the Radio. The Radio staff emphasises respect of the Church to women but daily it persuades that being a woman means to be a silly person: "(...) somebody who is effeminate to such a degree that he jokes on serious matter"³⁷ - or undecided: "The children are brought up mainly by mothers and thus we observe such effemination, lack of determination of young people who should already obtain the male features"³⁸. Also, according to the Radio, woman should know her place and cannot behave like he other sex: "If father even takes care of such one year old of half year old baby, he will feed it, he surely will swaddle it but he will not be caressing this baby, he will not be talking to it in way a woman does because she has this maternal instinct in her"³⁹. Those having other opinion support "(...) striving of certain deviationist communities called also feminist communities"⁴⁰. This feminist deviation ("deviation" is used in the Radio very often for labelling feminism) leads to terrorism: "Feminists women want not only freedom and higher level power but also in general they want to change into men - and do it in all areas - not taking into account the differences in somatic, biological and psychological conditions. More and more often they take roles exceeding their strength, as if they were envying men, and they destroy the ideal of a woman. Not only - proverbially - drive tractors, mine coal but they involve in heavy brutal sports like boxing, they take part in armed gangs, they take part in fights with guns and sometimes even they commit terrorist suicide attacks. Anyway, they dismiss the classical ideal of womanhood: noble love, beauty, goodness, subtlety, care, sacrifice, idealism, mission, and they force brutality, violence, contempt, malice, viciousness and treachery. The model they take, harming themselves, from antifeminist American films, usually from Hollywood"⁴¹.

This attitude, including spreading hate to feminists changing the "true" customs can lead to discriminating not only women but also men who allegedly are not able to learn the ability to take care of children. Accepting this message by the listeners may cause both further overloading of women with the hard work at children and inhibit fathers from establishing closer bonds with their children.

5. Crosses

- ³⁶ Jul 14th 2009, 18:51, Fr. B. Cisoń in the programme How to protect against infidelity.
- $^{37}\,$ Mar 28th 2008, 22:57, Fr. B. Cisoń commenting a listener who wanted to joke only when calling the Radio.
- ³⁸ Dec 5th 2006, 21:54, L. Polakiewicz, a station employee, *The programme for spouses and parents in search of man identity.*
- ³⁹ Apr 10th 2007, 18:27, U. Krupa in the programme of Fr. B. Cisoń The family in the European Union.
- ⁴⁰ Nov 28th 2008, 01:12, Fr. W. Gonczaruk in the programme about *in vitro*.
- ⁴¹ May 5th 2008, 00:17, Fr. Prof. Cz. Bartnik, *The Western revolution of ideas*, recorded by M. Prałat and aired by the Radio in Fr. P. Andrukiewicz programme.

Dislike for putting the Catholic Church symbols in the public institutions cannot be a personal view of citizens. It must be a plot, by the Radio interpreted as a plot of minorities: "(...) the European Union practice that e.g. a single Jewish pupil can demand removing crosses from the entire school"⁴², or freemasons: "(...) exceptionally disgusting judgement of the tribunal in Strasbourg (...), professor mentioned the exceptionally hideous masonry (...) I hope it will not be a beginning of such intentions (...) - first removing the cross and then it will be easier to get power by the inspired mason-judges"⁴³. So massive and perfidious attack has to excite hate in the listeners: "who acts against the cross (...) should go away from Europe!"⁴⁴.

6. Freemasons

The freemasons governing the world are an absolute evil in the eyes of the Radio staff. They easily associate the idea of democracy with them (it is related to the attitude to various types of the social order what I describe later): "(...) the principle of 'rule of the law' accepted widely also by our liberals from Cracow, is related to 19-century mason, mainly German, idea of 'state of the law' (Rechtsstaat) (...)"⁴⁵. If we talk about freemasons we cannot forget their real role in Poland on the turn of the 19th and 20th century. This is the source of ambivalence towards national symbols felt in the community of the Radio: "(...) we have an anthem as we have - on the beginning of the 20th century it was the only anthem without the word 'God' in it because it was chosen for an anthem by freemasons, and it was composed by freemasons, and the words were also written by freemasons"⁴⁶. The Constitution of May 3rd 1791 arouses similar doubts but its democratic tendencies are not as dangerous because they are softened by invocation to "the one God in Trinity"⁴⁷. But usually the masons are associated just with the Jews: "Also the monstrous bolshevik revolution was prepared by the freemasonry and supported by the Jewish capital"⁴⁸.

7. Minorities

Minorities are unloyal guests of Poles, often collaborating with occupants: "(...) in the past we suffered when at the power were petty people, fools, traitors, and representatives of national minorities. It was them who, serving the strangers for the proverbial silver coins, were narrowing borders of our state and they even caused the erasing of Poland from the map of the world for 123 years"⁴⁹. Unloyalty of minorities was clearly visible during the World War II:

⁴² Feb 13th 2005, 19:09, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, a text recorded by M. Prałat and aired by the Radio.

⁴³ Feb 24th 2010, 19:01, 19:19, A. Bujak in the regular programme of Prof. J. Kawecki.

⁴⁴ Dec 16th 2009, 01:55, a listener.

⁴⁵ Oct 17th 2005, 00:04, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, a text recorded by M. Prałat and aired by the Radio in Fr. D. Dyrek programme.

⁴⁶ Nov 4th 2007, 22:05, Dr. S. Krajski in the programme about freemasons hosted by Fr. P. Andrukiewicz.

⁴⁷ May 3rd 2010, 19:13, this argument was used by Fr. Dr. Hab. T. Guz from the External Department of Law and Economics of the Catholic University in Lublin in Tomaszów Mazowiecki in the programme *Poland on the crossroads between Christianity, liberalism, and neo-socialism,* chaired by Fr. Z. Klafka.

⁴⁸ Mar 14th 2010, 01:49, Fr. Prof. J. Bajda, the text *A fundament of the common Europe*?, recorded by M. Prałat and aired in a Fr. Z. Klafka programme.

⁴⁹ Feb 11th 2010, 00:45, Z. Sulatycki, a representative of Union of Polish Societes and

"The Soviets entered, effecting the 4th partition of Poland in cahoots with Germans. The assailant from the East was warmly welcomed by the native communists and the national minorities"⁵⁰. So they should not have been expecting help when they faced danger themselves: "(...) why these national minorities were unloyal (...) all this took place during the partitions (...), the behaviour of the national minorities had to influence (...) also the beaviour of Poles during Holocaust"⁵¹. It was the same situation as today although there is some hope for creating a better Poland: "We should use the chance for creating the 4th Polish Republic because the 3rd republic was not done good. Who did good were usually fraudsters, big players, various minorities, and even parasites"⁵².

8. Germans

Some nations have a special place in the propaganda of the Radio. I was writing about Dutch before but Germans are treated way more harshly. They are suspected of annexation of land and colonization with obvious reference to history: "Is not here the German colonization? (...) Slowly these German tentacles are approaching... As Bismarck assumed in the 19th century. Mobilize and do not allow Germans to uproot you from this land (...)"⁵³. Even the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union can be an instrument of Germans: "(...) reservation of independence from the Charter of Fundamental Rights is futile in all the areas because e.g. the German claims to the Western Territories include hundreds of lawsuits and in some cases the judgements are in favour of Germans; that in the ideological area we are flooded by ideologically, morally, culturally, religiously and spiritually degenerative movements and we do not have means to defy them; that in fact we have here a condominium of Germany and Russia $(...)^{"54}$. It is interesting that in this case, instead of aversion to the communism often declared in the Radio we can see aversion to its victims blackmailed by the communist authorities and deprived their property when moving out of the country⁵⁵.

Between multiple newspapers accused by the Radio of representing foreign interests there is also "German" press: "'The Motorcycle' magazine is a German newspaper, 'The World of Motorcycles' belongs to Michnik and 'Agora'⁵⁶

⁵³ Mar 20th 2010, 22:44, 23:41, M. Grabianka, a Radio employee in the programme *The situation of farmers in Western Pomerania*, transmitted from Pyrzyce as a part of retreat for farmers.

⁵⁴ Nov 23rd 2009, 01:33, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, *Our Polish wakes*, recorded by M. Prałat and aired in Fr. J. Cydzik programme.

 56 "Agora" is company established by Adam Michnik publishing "Gazeta Wyborcza". All these names are favourite objects of hate in environments similar to the one described here. Why just them – could be a topic of a separate article.

Organisations in Latin America of J. Kobylański, a recording broadcasted in Fr. W. Gonczaruk programme.

 $^{^{50}}$ Sep 17th 2009, 02:15, an advertisement of "Nasz Dziennik" read by M. Prałat, broadcasted some 9 times.

⁵¹ Mar 23rd 2010, 00:47, Fr. Prof. W. Chrostowski, a recording of a paper spoken in the University of Social and Medial Culture, aired in a programme of Fr. J. Cydzik.

⁵² Oct 17th 2005, 00:04, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, a text recorded by M. Prałat and aired in Fr. J. Dyrek programme.

⁵⁵ Recovering of the property concerns only a small group of people who adducing their German origin left Poland in 60-ties or 70-ties. They were forced to leave their property like buildings or land. But in some cases the authorities did not formalize acceding these, thus now some of these people have chances go get their property back.

and also a non-Polish newspaper, (...) the interest of Poland is completely omitted here $^{\prime\prime57}\!\!\!$.

9. Religion, Atheism

Religions usually lead to use of violence and display lack of reason. This rather radical stance can be found in the Radio, although expressed with some exceptions: "(...) There is only one true religion which effectively excludes using violence or force in general in name of God or religion: it is Christianity (...)"⁵⁸. The same with the lack of reason: "(...) in other religions reason does not have anything to say - so says guru, shaman, such is the religion"⁵⁹. This general appraisal of stupidity of religion concerns also atheism: "(..) exposing him [human] on actions of fatal lay and atheistic ideologies is both stupidity and crime against human"⁶⁰. Atheism is felonious, similar to homosexuality because it destroys families and the logic proving such a view is similar: "the programme of atheisation (...) is an anti-educative programme (..), it crushes the family bonds and breaks the parental laws"⁶¹. Hatred towards atheists leads to accusing them of he same sins as those of fraudsters and ethnic minorities described, quoted already above: "Atheists are alive and well in Poland, they have money and other opportunities to get to the media (...). The country suffers atheist witch-hunts"62.

10. Alleged Discrimination

In Poland the Catholics do not have access to the power and positions: "But one is important: a Catholic nation cannot be ruled only by non-Catholics or even enemies of Catholicism and of Poland proper. The same concerns also the election to the European Parliament"⁶³. The Catholics cannot even say anything: "It is very sad - writes a certain patriot - that the authentic Poles wander through subordinate posts and additionally also many succumb to the trendy political correctness - but they are not allowed to manage the country and we cannot recover in our tough situation"⁶⁴. And once again during few months the same author writes the same about the same issues: "In Poland a good example of influence of anti-Catholic liberalism is not admitting Catholics to higher public and civilizational posts"⁶⁵.

Regular repeating of such accusations is astonishing in a country where the presence of Catholicism in the public life and its influence on legislation and all kinds of authorities seems to be prevailing. This very rough accusation of

- ⁶² Oct 2nd 2009, 14:58, Fr. I. Skubiś, a statement in a regular advertisement of the "Niedziela" weekly.
- ⁶³ Mar 8th 2009, 22:20, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, *Is it already a post-Poland?*, recorded by M. Prałat and aired in Fr. Z. Klafka programme.
- ⁶⁴ Jan 26th 2010 r., 01:03, Fr Prof. C. Bartnik, *Between the order and chaos*, recorded by M. Prałat and aired in Fr. W. Gonczaruk programme.
- ⁶⁵ Oct 5th 2009, 08:34, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, *Social-political anti-Catholicism*, recorded by M. Prałat and broadcasted instead of morning catechesis by Fr. Z. Klafka.

 $^{^{57}\,}$ Apr 15th 2010, 23:01, W. Węgrzyn, an organizer of a motorcycle raid to Katyń.

⁵⁸ Feb 2nd 2010, 02:48, Fr. Prof. J. Bajda, *Freedom, euqality and... blightery*, recorded by M. Prałat and aired by the Radio in Fr. D. Drążek programme.

⁵⁹ Sep 9th 2009, 00:37, A. Wronka.

⁶⁰ Oct 7th 2009, 00:31, Fr. Prof. J. Bajda, a text recorded by M. Prałat and aired by the Radio in Fr. P. Dettlaff programme.

⁶¹ Apr 20th 2010, 22:11, bishop S. Stefanek.

"aliens" (atheists?) can be believed only by people not having information from other sources.

Or, maybe such messages are not only a result of blaming others but have something to do with actual difficulties in finding work. Fr. T. Rydzyk has ambitions of educating future diplomats in his University of Social and Media Culture postgraduate courses of international relations and diplomacy⁶⁶, but people educated in a school of such kind may be not welcome in diplomacy. It may also concern specific types of the Church education. Dr. Hab. Urszula Dudziak from the Institute of Family Studies of the Catholic University of Lublin was complaining that students who were the best during "examination of natural family planning teacher" and on this "examination which gives a international validity certificate got the highest numbers of points"⁶⁷ could not find work in Poland and went abroad (U. Dudziak does not state if they have found work there in the profession they are specialists in).

The Radio feels also discriminated when it meets with accusation of anti-Semitism. It is never a just critique, such statements are always treated as an attack, only enemies express such charges: "(...) well-tried tricks used when one wants to destroy somebody, (...) they fight (...) with this sword of anti-Semitism (...). It is similar in the case of this television and this radio we are now present in (...)"⁶⁸.

11. Transsexuals

Similarly to homosexuality, transsexualism is regarded by the Radio staff as a kind of a whim: "Now it is blurred on purpose - that it is not important if you are a woman or man because you may be such today but tomorrow you can change your sex via surgery and other procedures"⁶⁹. Or it is a kind of a malicious tendency to show that a human can change sex at will. Prof. Krystyna Czuba from UKSW, a former advisor of PiS (Law and Justice) primary ministers Kazimierz Marcinkiewicz and Jarosław Kaczyński, said: "everybody enters life with awareness of his or her own sex (...), the interest of woman with matters of human, man, of the world (...). If there is a sex change it is a result of deep pathology of a given person (...), to show that nothing is constant (...), a person decides about everything (...). Everybody can be once a woman, then a man". Her stance was supported by Fr. D. Drążek: "the [school] principal publishes addresses of web pages propagating the ideology of transsexualism (...). Those refer (...) to pages describing changing sex by children"⁷⁰.

12. Abortion Depenalising Advocates

A typical practice of the Radio and of similar societies propaganda is comparing pro-choice people to Nazis. Fr. P. Andrukiewicz was citing with approval a full of hate statement of a publicist Tomasz Terlikowski: "(...) making money on the fact that somebody was stopped from killing her own child is morally disgusting. Also I think that abortion is a murder and somebody making

⁶⁶ This school is owned by *Lux Veritatis* foundation belonging to Fr. T. Rydzyk and Fr. J. Król.

⁶⁷ May 5th 2010, 01:54, Urszula Dudziak in Fr. P. Andrukiewicz programme.

⁶⁸ Jul 15th 2009, 19:08, Fr. J. Cydzik, the TV Trwam programme 800 years of passing of the Franciscan rule, a comment to accusing of anti-Semitism of Fr. M. Kolbe.

⁶⁹ Dec 5th 2006, 21:54, L. Polakiewicz, a station employee, *The programme for spouses and parents – in search of man identity.*

⁷⁰ Feb 12th 2009, 14:06, a comment of Prof. K. Czuba and of Fr. D. Drążek on sex correction of an employee of a school in United States.

money on it does not differ significantly from Nazis"⁷¹. Often advocates of depenalising are compared simultaneously to Stalinists and Nazis: "And all the manipulation, also of all these noisy pro-abortion societies, let us add with irony: pro-Stalinist, pro-Nazi, is based on showing a certain exceptional situation [defects of foetus] as something typical"⁷², even though, as we know, both of these political directions passed laws firmly forbidding abortion. In turn those who go to far in such insults are pictured as victims: "The zenith of this was a court judgement against 'Gość Niedzielny' [newspaper] for defending right of an unborn person announced on September 23rd this year. The penalty is public apologizing and 30,000 zlotys for indicating the mother who at some time was demanding from Catholic doctors to kill her child, despite that she announced her name herself in all the world through a suit in Strasbourg"⁷³.

13. Jews

Another minority with a special role in the Radio programmes are Jews. General remarks about national minorities usually concern just Jews. The citation below actually is a repetition of a similar one from the chapter about minorities but here with precise enumerating of various brands of Jews: "there is no doubt that communist security forces and also the prosecutor office, the entire so-called justice system after the World War II, was manned in a substantial part by Jews, or by Russians of Jewish descent, or by Poles of Jewish descent and this fact surely caused quite deserved negative valuation from the Polish side directed towards Jews in general, as a nation"74. The historical references are drawn also from the March 1968 propaganda: "in March 1968 a lot of Jews connected with Security Service left (...). In Poland they lived in great prosperity (...). They left because of somebody's order, they were searching or even hunting anti-Semitism (...). In Poland they were exceptionally well off $(...)^{"75}$. But they equally often talk about the present time: "We are afraid that the Jewish lobby having a substantial influence on the American policy is going to get Poland on their claws because of not paying contribution for the Jewish property destroyed by the Germans, Russians, and communist Jews"⁷⁶.

Summary

It is interesting that the bishops coming to the Radio, people usually with high formal education, even if they differ from other people appearing on the waves in the form of their statements, they surely do not differ in the content. In their message on can find as well conspiracy theories as announcing in homily in a church a prophecy which was a hoax originally published on a WWW page. Surely people involved strongly in the actions of the Church can have difficulties in understanding reality because of fear. In the statements of staff members we can see, behind a mask of the official optimism, a great and frank anxiety that

⁷¹ Sep 24th 2009, 00:46, Fr. P. Andrukiewicz.

⁷² Mar 27th 2007 r., 00:40, Fr. J. Cydzik.

⁷³ Oct 5th 2009 r., 08:34, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, *Social-political anti-Catholicism*, recorded by M. Prałat and broadcasted instead of morning catechesis by Fr. Z. Klafka.

⁷⁴ Aug 6th 2006, 23:24, Dr. Hab. J. Żaryn, contemporary director of the Public Education Bureau of the Institute of National Remembrance in Fr. P. Andrukiewicz programme.

⁷⁵ Mar 20th 2010, 13:16, a report of Prof. K. Czuba about the paper of Fr. Prof. W. Chrostowski spoken in University of Social and Medial Culture, Fr.. W. Gonczaruk programme.

⁷⁶ Sep 21st 2009, 01:34, Fr. Prof. C. Bartnik, About atheistisizing depolonisation, recorded by M. Prałat and aired in Fr. G. Moj programme.

the end of the Church is close, that the young people avert from it, that there will be not enough candidates for priests. From the sociological research we know that such processes take place in Poland, if slowly, but the priests know such problems from their own experience and may exaggerate some cases. Destruction of the Church will lead to even bigger chaos than the one already seen, to the wreck of Latin civilisation and to the victory of the enemy civilisations such as, according to Feliks Koneczny classification, Turanian, Byzantine, and maybe even the Jewish one. Such world after a collapse, although still giving some hope for revival was described in novel by one of the cited above – Dr. Stanisław Krajski⁷⁷.

Apart from fear between people connected with the Radio we can see all the elements of political paranoia as given by Robert S. Robins and Jerrold Post⁷⁸, such as suspicion, delusions of reference, grandiosity, hostility, fear of losing independence, projections, and imaginary thinking. Robins and Post book focuses on examples from the American political scene⁷⁹, but the description fit Radio Maryja community too perfectly. The authors explain the paranoid behaviour with a mental illness or borderline state but the affected people are able to mobilize many supporters under favourable conditions. Such interpretation seems to be superficial though.

Ewa Bobrowska has a deeper insight into the causes of the described behaviour in a book concentrating on analysis of Radio Maryja community discourse.⁸⁰. The author uses a concept of "standard definition of situation" taken from W. Narojek⁸¹, and using it on example of "Nasz Dziennik" shows how various types of events have narrow interpretation (a labour dispute, conflicts related to healthcare, danger, and others). Surely interpreting all events of the same type in the same way comes from forcing the reality to fit to the ideological interpretation of it. Even not knowing anything about particular events we can assume that if some medium uses several interpretation schemes, it probably at least tries to fit them to the real events. If the scheme is always the same, the information is first of all an emanation of the pattern and real facts are secondary.

The patterns come into existence in a somewhat natural way resulting form the features of human mind for which "Credible usually means only what agrees with our intuition" as M. Bilewicz explains writing about conventional statements about the Holocaust⁸². Most of the media however, even if in the beginning may react on some type of the events in such a conventional way, after some time they usually evolve to a more rational attitude.

Bobrowska refers in her book to another concept giving good insight in motivation of the people being described in this text. It is a social order (based

⁷⁷ S. Krajski, *Narodziny Metanoi (Matanoia's birth)*, Warszawa 1999.

⁷⁸ R.S. Robins, J.M. Post, Paranoja polityczna. Psychopatologia nienawiści (Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred), Warszawa 1999, s. 18–25.

⁷⁹ The examples describe some not necessarily well known groups in United States. The politicians outside of United States described there are Pol Pot, Idi Amin, Josef Stalin and Adolf Hitler.

⁸⁰ E. Bobrowska, Obrazowanie społeczeństwa w mediach: analiza radiomaryjnego dyskursu (Displaying society in the media: an analysis of the Radio Maryja discourse), Kraków 2007. Bobrowska bases her research only on "Nasz Dziennik" but this newspaper, Radio Maryja, and TV Trwam are strongly connected and propagate the same image of the world.

⁸¹ W. Narojek, Społeczeństwo otwartej rekrutacji. Próba antropologii klimatu stosunków międzyludzkich we współczesnej Polsce (Society of open recrutation. An attempt of describing the anthropology of relations in the modern Poland), Warszawa 1980.

⁸² M. Bilewicz, *Nie tylko o "Strachu" (Not only about "Fear")*, Zagłada Żydów, Studia i Materiały 2008, nr 4, p. 520.

on works by S. Ossowski⁸³). The author finds that people from the Radio community understand the monocentric order (dictatorship) and they yearn for an utopian order of common values in which all of us would strive for the common goal. They do not understand the polycentric order which is typical for pluralistic and democratic societies, seeing only chaos in⁸⁴. It is caused by cognitive weakness and inefficacy in confrontation with the reality resulting from the imprinted image of the world. Lack of understanding causes people to use abovementioned narrowed interpretation patterns and learning such patterns replicates the cognitive weakness.⁸⁵.

Unfortunately such interpreting of the world is not a differentia specifica of the Radio Maryja community. The problem concerns a broader environment both political with which the Radio is affiliated, and the Catholic Church community, what we can observe not only in the media managed by Fr. T. Rydzyk or belonging to him. Limiting ourselves only to the Radio we can find a lot of exemplifications of the characteristics described by Robin and Post or descriptions of the mentality of this community written by Bobrowska, simultaneously showing saturation of this community discourse with hate speech.

⁸³ S. Ossowski, O osobliwościach nauk społecznych (About peculiarities of the social sciences), Warszawa 1983.

⁸⁴ This thesis is well illustrated by a statement of J. Gańko in the Radio: "Stanisław Broniewski 'Orsza' (...) pointed [to us that] (...) it was easier for them to live and to be brought up as young people in the pre-war system, (...) all were teaching the same things, (...) the family (...), the Church (...), the school, the scouting – the same values. They did not have a dilemma, some chaos already since an early childhood, chaos of views and values challenged by somebody. Some were unchallengable and all were on the same side of those values." (Apr 12th 2010, 23:11, J. Gańko, vicedirector of the Warsaw Insurgents Complex of Vocational Schoold number 2 in Mińsk Mazowiecki, a transmission from the meeting of Radio Maryja listeners in Huta Mińska, programme History, present and bringing up the young generation to worthy reception of the heritage which name is Poland).

⁸⁵ Another question is to what extent the views expressed in the air are frank and to what extent they are only a tool to manipulate the listeners. Unless I have proofs of the intentional manipulation I assume that the views are frank, even if they look so unreal as in many examples cited here.