



HATEFUL

MONITORING RACISM, DISCRIMINATION AND HATE CRIME
IN POLISH AND UKRAINIAN FOOTBALL 2009-2011

East Europe Monitoring Centre



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FARE Eastern European Development Project



“NEVER AGAIN” Association (Poland)



Football Against Prejudices (Ukraine)

Warsaw – Kyiv – London 2011

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Editor/project coordinator:

Dr. Rafał Pankowski

Preface: Piara Powar

Chief country contributors:

Marcin Kornak, Pavel Klymenko

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Apologies for the poor quality of some photos.

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PREFACE

The FARE East European Monitoring Centre has been led by the “NIGDY WIECEJ” (“NEVER AGAIN”) Association from a base in Warsaw since 2009. The core work of the centre has been to document incidents of a racist and xenophobic nature, and those characterised by the involvement of far-right and neo-nazi activists, within football environments.

“**N**EVER AGAIN” have worked with their hub of partners and activist base across the Eastern and Central European region to present this first report of incidents in Poland and Ukraine.

Although any statistics of the kind presented here are by their very nature limited, the tip of an iceberg, the sheer number of incidents reported, and the organised nature of many of them, give cause for alarm.

A report like this throws the spotlight on what remains to be done to combat the social and political problems that give rise to the levels of hatred and intolerance we can see here.

But despite this, denial remains a common feature of public political discourse in the region; it is amazing to note that even in the face of the overwhelming evidence presented activists still too often encounter a refusal to accept even the most obvious problems.

What a report of this kind cannot accurately reflect is the campaigning and educational work that has taken place over many years, the result of the efforts of many individuals and groups to make a difference to their environment.

The FARE network, activists on the ground, our institutional partners are indebted to the brave work of all of the organisations involved in collecting this data, without them the challenges facing us would be all the more difficult, and the countries of central and eastern Europe the poorer for it.

We at FARE will continue to use our ingenuity, resources and popular support to maintain this work.

PIARA POWAR
Executive Director
London, March 2011

Reported incident statistics September 2009 – March 2011

POLAND	
Racist/fascist symbols	56
Anti-Semitic	36
Anti-Black	20
Homophobic	8
Anti-Roma	2
Anti-Muslim	1
Anti-disabled	2
Other	8
TOTAL	133

UKRAINE	
Racist/fascist symbols	51
Anti-Semitic	2
Anti-Black	-
Homophobic	-
Anti-Roma	-
Anti-Muslim	7
Anti-disabled	-
Other	2
TOTAL	62

POLAND

YEAR 2009

SEPTEMBER

BEŁCHATÓW. An interview with a fan of fourth-division Unia Tarnów, which is notorious for racist displays during matches, was published in the September issue of stadium hooligans' monthly "To My Kibice" ("It's Us the Fans"). The interview was illustrated with photographs showing a flag with a slogan "White UniAted Skinheads Tarnów" (the club's name becoming a part of the racist slogan) and a Celtic cross, a racist symbol of the *White Power* movement. The flag was repeatedly displayed during Unia Tarnów's matches – without reaction from club officials.



MŁAWA. On September 5th, during a fourth-division match between MKS Mławianka Mława and Bug Wyszaków in the Mazovian Northern Group of the league, neo-Nazi "fans" of the visitors and those of nearby MKS Ciechanów displayed a flag with a Celtic cross, a well-known racist symbol of the *White Power* movement. At the insistence of the observer from the Mazovian Football Association, the banner was removed at half-time. However, after a dozen or so minutes it was unfurled again. This time the observer interrupted the match and threatened to end it early. In response, the "fans" took down all flags and stopped cheering.

ŻUROMIN. On September 5th, xenophobic incidents occurred before the fourth-division match between Wkra Żuromin and Hutnik Warszawa in the Mazovian Northern Group of the league, sparked by a group of “fans” from Poland’s capital Warsaw, home of the visiting club. After a short brawl, the group took their places in the section of the stands designated for home fans and unfurled two xenophobic flags. One read “White Korps”, a combination of the English “white” and German military-related “Korps”, which has explicit racist context. It was accompanied by a banner displaying a Celtic cross, a racist symbol of the *White Power* movement. The observer from the Mazovian Football Association refused to let the match begin unless the group moved to the right section of the stands. When they were successfully moved after some 10 minutes, they brawled until the end of the match with local fans.

KIELCE. On September 6th, the local edition of the newspapers “Gazeta Wyborcza” reported an enormous racist slogan painted by “fans” of local first-division club Korona Kielce near the main road into the city from Kraków in the south. It read “Złocisto Krwiści Fani Rasiści” (“Golden-Blooded Racist Fans”, a reference to the club’s gold and red colours). It was more than 10 metres long. The slogan was perfectly visible from the windows of trains entering and leaving the city, and became a shameful landmark. The president of Korona Kielce’s fan club claimed that he did not know anything about the slogan, a stance that appeared far-fetched given that a picture of the slogan appeared in the magazine “To My Kibice” (“It’s Us Fans”). It was also mentioned in the fan club’s Internet forum. The words were painted on the concrete wall on the back of a property at Krakowska Street. The only positive fact was that someone then tried to mask the word “Racist” with black paint. The owner of the property claimed that he had only just found out about the slogan’s content. However, he mentioned that three or four months earlier, youths had come to ask him if they could paint the slogan “Złocisto Krwiści Fani” (“Golden-Blooded Fans”) and that he had agreed, because occasionally various slogans such as “Jude raus” (“Jews out”) were painted on the wall.



WAŁBRZYCH. On September 12th, after the fourth-division match between Górnik Wałbrzych and Chrobry Głogów in the Lower Silesia Group, “fans” of the home team started a brawl with stadium security personnel, several of whom were seriously beaten. Some of the hit-squad members wore scarves with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

SOSNOWIEC. On September 12th, during a match between Cracovia Kraków and Arka Gdynia in the sixth fixture of the first division, racist “fans” of the home team chanted anti-Semitic slogans and songs. Among these was “Jude, Jude, Jude” (“Jews, Jews, Jews” in German). On September 17th the League Committee ordered Cracovia to pay a 7,000 zlotys fine (around €1,800) as a result.

OLSZTYN. On September 16th, during a second-division Eastern Group match between OKS Stomil 1945 Olsztyn and Stal Rzeszów, several neo-fascists appeared among the supporters of the home team. A banner with the so-called *falanga*, which represents a hand holding a sword and is a symbol of the Polish extreme right. Used by pre-war Polish fascists such as the Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny “Falanga” (“Falanga” National-Radical Camp), it has been adopted by the contemporary Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland), party recognised as neo-fascist.



RZESZÓW. On September 16th during a second-division Eastern Group match between Resovia Rzeszów and Jeziorak Iława, local “fans” and members of the neo-fascist Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland) joined forces. They displayed a banner with a *falanga*, which represents a hand holding a sword and is a symbol of the Polish extreme right. Used by pre-war Polish fascists such as the Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny “Falanga” (“Falanga” National-Radical Camp), it has been adopted by the contemporary Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland), party recognised as neo-fascist. Despite the obvious xenophobic message, the flag stayed unfurled throughout the whole match.

ŁÓDŹ. On September 17th, a racist scandal arose during the second-division match between ŁKS Łódź and Flota Świnoujście. A Flota player, Nigerian Charles Nwaogu, punched team-mate Damian Staniszewski twice in the face. Afterwards he claimed he did so because fellow-striker Staniszewski had said, “podaj czarnuchu je...ny” (“pass it, you f...king nigger”). The referee immediately showed him red card. The Nigerian went to the locker room as ordered, but after the match he didn’t hide the reason he had attacked Staniszewski. The latter was substituted in the 74th minute and ran to the bus after the match. The coach of Flota, Petr Nemeč, tried to ignore the whole incident saying, “Damian only said to Charles ‘You coon’” (sic!). Nwaogu, 19, came to Poland in 2004. He was a junior player at Polonia Warszawa, and played for Znicz Pruszków and Odra Opole. He transferred to Świnoujście in the summer of 2009.

RZESZÓW. On September 19th, during a third-division match between Stal Rzeszów and Świt Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki, a group of local racist fans chanted the anti-Semitic slogan “Jude, Jude, Jude Resovia” (“Jew, Jew, Jew Resovia”, using the German word for Jew), directed at Stal’s local rivals Resovia Rzeszów. Hatred and aggression between the two teams have endured for

years, marked by anti-Semitic invective and accusations of “Jewish roots”, for example of the real or imaginary club founders. It is common in Poland for “fans” of two clubs from the same city to call each other “Jews”, an epithet considered the worst insult in such circles.

KIELCE. On the 19th of September, during a match between Korona Kielce and Śląsk Wrocław in the seventh fixture of the first division, local “fans” displayed a homophobic banner directed at fans of other clubs, which read “WKS, RTS, BKS, wszystkie gejowskie style zostają w waszym tyle” (“WKS, RTS, BKS, all gay sticks stay in your behind”). An observer representing the Polish Football Association did not order the removal of the banner. Homophobia and the usage of vulgar synonyms of the word “gay” is commonplace in Poland’s sports arenas.



WARSZAWA. On September 22nd, Grzegorz Lato, president of Polish Football Association, gave a media interview on meeting former Poland manager Leo Beenhakker, with whom he had a major row. Lato summed up by saying, “In the end we will shake hands like white men”. These words cemented criticism of Lato’s running of the Polish Football Association.

KRAKÓW. On September 26th, during a first-division match between Wisła Kraków and Polonia Warszawa, local “fans” deployed a banner bearing a symbol very similar to the X-shaped cross inscribed in circle, the symbol of American racist organization the Ku Klux Klan. The banner was part of a fan protest against a decision by the governing committee of the Ekstra-klasa, or first division, to fine another club, Lechia Gdańsk, 5,000 zlotys (around €1,300) for displaying a political banner without prior approval.



RZESZÓW. On September 26th, during a third-division Eastern Group derby between Resovia Rzeszów and Stal Rzeszów, neo-fascist Resovia “fans” were responsible for a scandalous anti-Semitic incident. They displayed a gigantic banner which read “Jedno w życiu mam marzenie, by wytępić to garbate plemię” (“It’s my life’s dream, to wipe out that crooked nation”), on a towerblock near Resovia’s stadium. The banner, showing knights in Resovia and Poland’s



red and white colours attacking others in the blue and white of Stal and Israel, used stylised Hebrew lettering to accentuate its anti-Semitic tone.

ZABRZE. On September 26th, during a match between first-division stragglers Górnik Zabrze and Motor Lublin, two teenage boys attracted attention by waving club scarves near the pitch-side fence. Particularly significant was the fact that the Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement and xenophobic violence, was pictured at least on one of the scarves.



WROCLAW. On September 27th, at a first-division match between Śląsk Wrocław and Ruch Chorzów, a group started a brawl with security personnel. Local “fans”, among whom extreme right-wingers were most active, began to clash with the police. They were easy to recognise, as they wore clothes with xenophobic symbols. In the attached picture, one man is seen wearing a red sweatshirt with a Confederate flag, a popular symbol of the South in the American Civil War in the 19th century, which is still used by racist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan.



OCTOBER 2009

BUDAPEST (HUNGARY). On October 3rd, several racist incidents took place during a first-division derby between Újpest FC Budapest and Ferencvárosi TC Budapest. “Fans” of both teams displayed, among other things, flags with the Celtic cross – a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement – and hurled anti-Roma insults at each other. The word “Füllentő” (“Gypsy”) is considered to



be the worst insult in Hungary. Nationalist “fans” from Poland (probably supporters of Bałtyk Gdynia) were also present at the match and they displayed a flag on the fence with the words “Wielka Polska. Bóg, Honor, Ojczyzna” (“Great Poland. God, Honour, Fatherland”), and a map of “Greater Poland”.

BIAŁA PODLASKA. On 3rd October, during the ninth fixture of the fourth-division, between MKS Podlasie Biła Podlaska and LKS Orleńta Radzyń Podlaski, in the Lubelsko-Podkarpacka Group of the league, right-wing “fans” of the visitors attracted attention. They were already known for being infiltrated by the

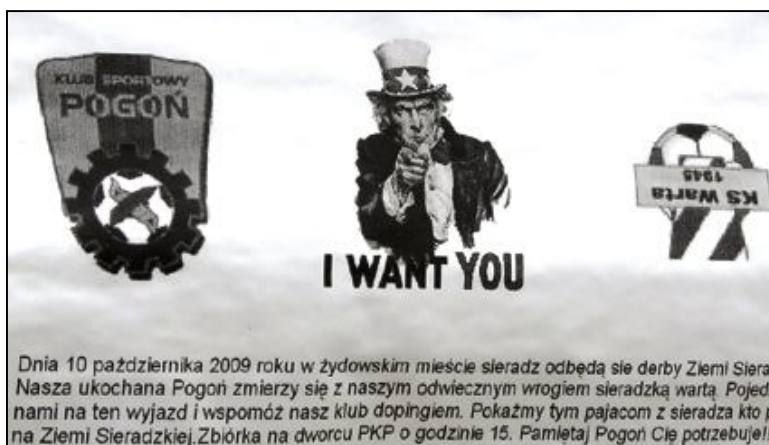
neo-fascist Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland), the party they collaborated with during the 2003 referendum on Poland’s European Union entry, when they organised anti-EU campaigning during matches. This time, they hung a banner reading “Radzyń Międzyrzec White Brothers Forever” with



a characteristic clenched fist, one of the symbols of *White Power*, used by the international racist movement and neo-Nazi Skinheads in particular. The Odal rune, the symbol of the Nazi German Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth) and the banned post-war neo-Nazi Wikingjugend, among others, was also visible, as well as the picture of a skinhead with a baseball bat.

RZESZÓW. On October 3rd, in the 43rd minute of a third-division Eastern Group match between Stal Rzeszów and Olimpia Elbląg, visiting “fans” hung a banner on the fence with a red and white chequered pattern, the slogan “Olimpia Elbląg” and a symbol of *falanga* – a hand holding a sword, used by the inter-war and contemporary Polish extreme right. Due to the Polish Football Association delegate’s intervention, it was removed at half-time. On November 2nd, the association’s disciplinary department fined Elbląg 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

ZDUŃSKA WOLA. A few days before the fourth-division derby match between



Warta Sieradz and Pogoń Ekolog Zduńska Wola in the Łódzko-Mazowiecka Group, due on October 10th, photocopied posters went up in the streets calling on “fans” of Pogoń to attend the away game in the “Jewish city Sieradz”. This marked a new attempt by feuding football clubs’ “fans” in the region to exploit anti-Semitic slogans in their conflict.

PRAGUE (CZECH REPUBLIC). On October 10th, before, throughout and after the World Cup qualifier between the Czech Republic and Poland, groups of Polish “fans” started brawls with local fans and the police. Prague police detained 18 Poles. According to police, approximately one thousand ticketless Poland fans massed at the stadium gates in Letnia Street. Some of them started trouble and threw bangers at police.



SIEDLCE. On October 10th, during the match in the Mazovian Group of the women’s football league between Pogoń Siedlce and GOSiR Piaseczno, a group of local racists turned out. They displayed a flag in the colours of the home team on the pitch fence. A Celtic cross, the symbol of the racist *White Power* movement, was pictured on the flag. It was the first incident of this kind at a women’s football match.

BIELSKO-BIAŁA. On October 16th, under a flyover at PCK Street, two aggressive “fans” of BKS Stal Bielsko-Biała attempted to interrupt a campaign organised to mark Football Against Racism in Europe Action Week. They tried to intimidate the member of the Never Again Association who was coordinating the action as he was painting a graffiti mural with the help of the authorities of three local clubs, Towarzystwo Sportowe Podbeskidzie, Biański Klub Sportowy Stal and Towarzystwo Sportowe Czarni-Góral Żywiec, and their players, some of whom were dark-skinned. The group was painting a club scarf in the colours of all three teams as well as anti-racist slogans such as “Graffiti in the colours of tolerance”. Fans of the teams participating in the action week in Bielsko-Biała have feuded for years, sometimes in an extreme manner. Unfortunately, a few hours after the highly successful action, the mural was vandalised.



KIELCE. On October 17th, during the first-division match between MKS Korona Kielce and Arka Gdynia, a group of racist “fans” of the visitors in their section of the upper stands displayed a flag which read “Arka Gdynia” along with a characteristic



skull emblem, the so-called *Totenkopf*. The symbol was used by the Nazi German SS and has been adopted by contemporary neo-Nazi terrorists from the English organisation Combat 18 (the numbers 1 and 8 are a neo-Nazi symbolic code which stands for Adolf Hitler – derived from the first and eighth position of the initials in the alphabet).

OPOLE. On October 17th, a group of members and supporters of the neo-fascist Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp), as well as football thugs with scarves in the colours of Poland and Odra Opole, gathered in front of the provincial authorities' offices. They attempted to interrupt a march organised by the Ruch Autonomii Śląska (Silesian Autonomy Movement) on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the province of Upper Silesia. They were chanting, among others, "Polska dla Polaków" ("Poland for Poles"), "Śląsk Opolski zawsze Polski" ("Opole Silesia always Polish") and "Dzisiaj RAŚ-owcy, wczoraj hitlerowcy" ("Today's RAS members, yesterday's Hitlerites" – a reference to the supposed pro-German stance of the Silesian movement). Thanks to a police cordon, the neo-fascists did not succeed in blocking the legal march.



WROCLAW. On October 24th, a large group of neo-fascist "fans" of the home team was present at the first-division match between Śląsk Wrocław and Zagłębie Lubin. They wore club scarves with Celtic crosses, symbols of the racist *White Power* movement.

GDAŃSK. On October 25th, during a first-division match between Lechia Gdańsk and Lech Poznań, a group of racists from the city of Piła, tied to the latter club, displayed a banner with the slogan "Legion Piła. Krew naszej rasy" ("Piła Legion. Blood of our race"), on the pitchside fence. The flag has appeared invariably for many years on most Poznań club matches.

WROCLAW. On October 26th, an article by Roman Zieliński, a fan leader of first-division Śląsk Wrocław who is known for his neo-Nazi views and as the author of the book entitled "Jak pokochałem Adolfa Hitlera" ("How I fell in love with Adolf Hitler"), was published on one of the unofficial web pages created by "fans" of the club, fanslask.pl. In the article, Zieliński commented on the gay and lesbian rights demonstration which took place in Wrocław on October 24th. Among other things he wrote: "Several 'high risk' persons marched through Wrocław. The risk of spreading HIV. After all, mainly perverts are carriers of this plague. Pervs demonstrated around the main square". He also appealed to monitor carefully reports from the demonstration – "watch for individuals who could spread HIV" and look for "HIVman". He included a link to a report on the rally by the liberal-leaning daily newspaper "Gazeta Wyborcza" and said, "Look at the spotty ones, maybe one of them is your neighbour? Protect children from them

and do not have them standing behind your back in an elevator". Neither prosecutors, nor the owner of the server, reacted despite the media outrage caused by the article.

ŁÓDŹ. In the end of October, second-division ŁKS Łódź released an official series of fan stickers. Unfortunately, among the 24 new stickers there was one with anti-Semitic content, directed at local rivals, first-division Widzew Łódź. The sticker pictured Widzew's crest turned upside down and crossed out, with the



slogan "Kilka dat. Jeden klub. Anty 1922 żydzew" ("A few dates. One club. Anti 1922 żydzew" – Widzew's name being combined with the word "żyd" – "Jew" – translator's note). It was another sign of the enduring war between the "fans" of both clubs. Among the main tools in the feud are anti-Semitic slurs and accusations of "Jewish roots", for example the club founders coming from Jewish families.

CZANIEC. On October 31st, during a fifth-division match between LKS Czaniec and Zapora Porąbka in Silesia Group II, "fans" of the home team displayed a banner on the pitchside fence reading "Jesteśmy solą w waszym oku" ("We are the thorn in your side"), where the letter "O" was replaced by a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.



NOVEMBER 2009

HERNING (DENMARK). On November 2nd, Polish goalkeeper Arkadiusz Onyszko hit the headlines of Danish newspapers. The reason was the publication of his autobiography with the title "F...king Polak". The book was billed as "a vivid autobiography of one of the best goalkeepers in the Danish league" and "a tale about the joy of life and love for football". All Danish newspapers published some of Onyszko's opinions from the book, among them: "I am a Catholic, so I hate homosexuals" or "Danish sports journalists are stupid blondes", calling them defaming and distasteful. According to the press, Onyszko's book was "bursting with dislike of Denmark". In reaction to the scandal, the player's then club, FC Midtjylland, dismissed him with immediate effect. The club officials' decision was motivated as follows: "Onyszko's point of view does not match with our values and we do not want the youth in our football school to follow his example. We have tried to understand his difficult situation after he was sentenced in the summer for attacking his ex-wife and we offered him job when he was dismissed from Odense. Unfortunately, he betrayed our trust".

WARSZAWA. On November 4th, during the annual conference "Bezpieczny stadion" ("Safe Stadium") organized by the PZPN, Polish Football Association, prizes were given away "for special contribution to improvement of safety in

stadiums, proper organisation of matches and fan culture". The prize was awarded to third-division Elana Toruń. It was an unexpected and shocking decision, as the club had become known for stadium brawls, attacks on policemen and illegal banners with racist symbols. In a notable step, in March 2009 the club had appointed to the prestigious position of marketing manager Sławomir Urtnowski, long-standing leader of the Toruń branch of the neo-fascist party Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland). A case was under way against him for racially-motivated assault.

BRZESZCZE. On November 7th, during a district league match in the Wadowice Group in southern Poland between Górnik Brzeszcze and Unia Oświęcim, another neo-fascist incident was sparked by "fans" of the away team.



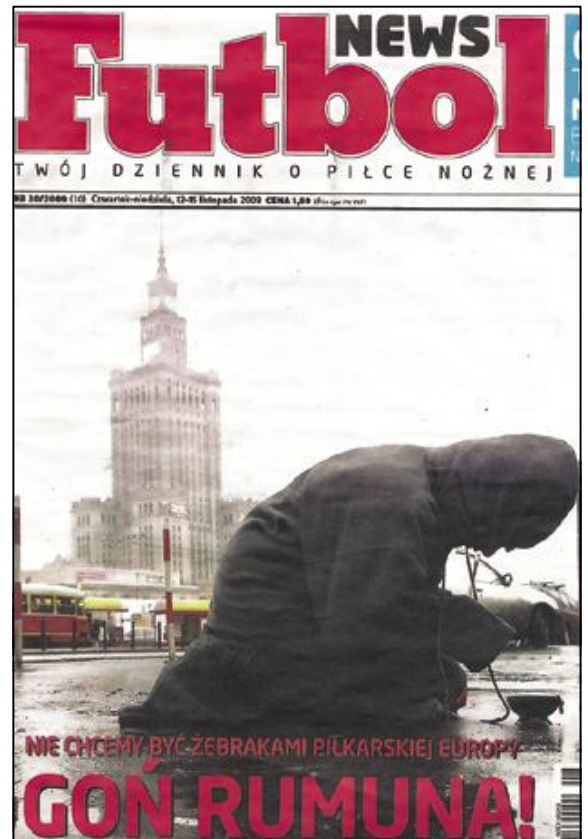
They displayed a flag on the pitch fence with the words "Unia Oświęcim" and a picture of a skull stylised as the so-called *Totenkopf* (a symbol used by Nazi Germany during the Second World War). Some of the "fans" also came to the match wearing scarves with Celtic crosses, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

OLSZTYN. On November 7th, during the third-division match between OKS 1945 Olsztyn and Resovia Rzeszów, racist fans of the away team displayed a flag on the pitch fence with the so-called *falanga*, which represents a hand holding a sword and is a symbol of the Polish extreme right. Used by pre-war Polish fascists such as the Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny "Falanga" ("Falanga" National-Radical Camp), it has been adopted by groups such as the contemporary Narodowe Odrodzenie Polski (National Rebirth of Poland), party recognised as neo-fascist. Nazi-fans from Rzeszów once again treated a football match as an occasion to manifest their extreme right-wing views.



POZNAŃ. On November 7th, during a second-division match between Warta Poznań and ŁKS Łódź, a group of twelve racist "fans" of the away team made monkey sounds when the dark-skinned player of Warta Poznań Alain Ngamayama had the ball. "I heard it throughout the second half. Sometimes it was individual shouts, but the whole group was shouting as well", said the player, who was not subjected to abuse for the first time. Ngamayama was born in the Jeżyce district of Poznań. His father comes from the Democratic Republic of Congo. On November 18th, the disciplinary department of the Polish Football Association fined ŁKS 10,000 zlotys (around €2,550).

WARSZAWA. On November 12th, the newspaper "Futbol News" published a large picture of a beggar on its cover with the slogan "Nie chcemy być żebrakami piłkarskiej Europy. Goń Rumuna!" ("We don't want to be the beggars of European football. Chase out the Romanian!"). In this case, the cover raises clear anti-Roma and racist associations, and hostility to citizens of Romania, shared by the xenophobic swathe of Polish society. Such prejudice arose in the early-90s, when Romanian Roma arrived in Poland, some of whom earned their living begging on the streets. Although their number was relatively small, some nationalist and populist media began a smear campaign against them. As a result, the word "Rumun" ("Romanian") became synonymous with "beggar" for many people and Romanian citizens became the least-welcome foreigners in Poland. The issue of "Futbol News" was connected with



an upcoming friendly match between Poland and Romania. An advertisement-photomontage based on ignorance and prejudice can be found in the same issue of the newspaper. It shows an Indian Sikh wearing a turban and "holding" an issue of "Futbol News", and a slogan "Czytają nas nawet Talibowie" ("Even the Taliban read us"). Jacek Kmiecik was the editor-in-chief of the newspaper. Among the regular associates was Paweł Zarzeczny, who became notorious in 2007, when on January 5th he published an article on the Interia web portal under a telling title "Czemu nie lubię Murzynów" ("Why I don't like Blacks"). His article's conclusion was: "I don't know what our Polish Blacks should do to get back my sympathy (...) it would be easiest if they returned to Africa". Zarzeczny is also a regular columnist of "Najwyższy Czas!" ("It's High Time!") weekly, published by the right-wing party Unia Polityki Realnej.

SOSNOWIEC. On November 22nd, anti-Semitic incidents occurred again during the first-division derby between Wisła Kraków and Cracovia Kraków. A group of Wisła "fans" sang a song directed at supporters of the opposite team: "Było ich sześciu, potem dwunastu i założyli klub pederastów. Klub się rozwijał, klub się rozrastał, a każdy Żydek to pederasta" ("There was six of them, later twelve and they founded a pervert club. The club grew larger, the club developed and every Jew is a pervert"). In the end of the match, the "fans" burned a few flags and dozens of Cracovia scarves and shouted: "Zawsze nad wami, pie...mi Żydami" ("Always above you, f...king Jews"). Wisła's president threatened to impose a stadium ban on the culprits. According to commentators this was an empty promise, because to date Wisła has not punished any of the culprits

after previous hooligan and racist incidents. On November 26th, the League Committee fined Wisła 50,000 zlotys (around €12,700) and ordered the club to play two matches in an empty stadium.

GDYNIA. On November 25th, during the first-division derby between Arka Gdynia and Lechia Gdańsk, local neo-Nazis displayed a large flag on the pitch fence with



the words "Ultras Arka" and the *Totenkopf* symbol – a skull used by Nazi Germany's Gestapo and SS during the Second World War and by the contemporary neo-Nazi terrorists from the organisation Combat 18. In the second half of the match, presumably after an official's intervention, the skull was covered. However, the flag was not taken down.

LUBIN. On November 27th, during a first-division match between Zagłębie Lubin and Lech Poznań, visiting fans displayed a giant banner in the stand – a so-called "sector flag", with a portrait of right-wing nationalist Roman Dmowski (1864-1939) and the slogans: "I'm Polish, therefore I have Polish duties" and "Greater Poland". This wasn't a one-off. Dmowski, who crafted modern Polish right-wing nationalism and anti-Semitism, is highly popular among some football fans, who are often nationalist and xenophobic.



BEŁCHATÓW. On November 28th, during a first-division match between GKS Bełchatów and Legia Warszawa, some "fans" of the home team shouted "Kto nie skacze, ten z Żydzewa" ("Who doesn't jump is from Żydzew" – a reference to local rivals Widzew Łódź, mixing their name with the word "żyd" – "Jew" – translator's note), while jumping rhythmically. On the other hand, Legia supporters, who entered the stadium disregarding safety regulations of the Ekstraklasa league authorities and the Polish Football Association, displayed two banners: "Je...ć ITI" ("F...k ITI") and "Nie płakałem po Wejchercie" ("I didn't cry over Wejchert") – once again showing their joy after the October 31 death of one the club co-owners, Jan Wejchert, founder of media conglomerate ITI.

DECEMBER 2009

BEŁCHATÓW. An advertisement for the official Internet portal of the fans of first-division Arka Gdynia, published in the December issue of the magazine "To My Kibice" ("It's Us Fans") included the city and club emblems, as well as a *Totenkopf*, the characteristic skull and crossbones symbol used by Nazi Germany's SS and Gestapo during World War II.

KRAKÓW. On December 10th, a district court ordered the prosecutor's office to reopen the investigation of a November 26th, 2008 first-division derby between Cracovia Kraków and Wisła Kraków during which visiting "fans" chanted the anti-Semitic song: "Było ich sześciu, potem dwunastu i założyli klub pederastów. Klub się rozwijał, klub się rozrastał, a każdy Żydek to pederasta" ("There was six of them, later twelve and they founded a pervert club. The club grew larger, the club developed and every Jew is a pervert"). When an injured Cracovia player was being taken off the pitch they shouted "Do pieca!" ("Off to the gas chamber!"). After the match, Wisła players ran up to their fans to thank them for their encouragement. Some of the players started to chant "Zawsze nad wami, pie...mi Żydami" ("Always above you, f...king Jews") with their "fans". Home "fans" behaved in a similar manner, chanting racist insults at dark-skinned players of Wisła, the Brazilians Cleber and Marcel. When the former was sent off after receiving a red card, he was accompanied by so-called "monkey chants". The incident was commented on at length in the media. The case ended up in the prosecutor's office, but it was dismissed in June 2009. The decision was justified on the ground of the "holy war" for years between fans of both clubs, with no fault found in their display of anti-Semitic and racist behaviour.

WARSZAWA. On December 27th, the daily newspaper "Rzeczpospolita" published an article which glorified the patriotism of Polish football fans. The behaviour of fans of first-division Lechia Gdańsk was counted among the supposedly positive examples of patriotism. The author of the article completely ignored the fact that, while rejecting communism, fans from Gdańsk have tolerated extreme acts of racism and neo-Nazism in their stadium. Another example of what the author dubbed fans' "commitment to celebrating important historical anniversaries" was fourth-division Radomiak Radom. Fans prepared a banner with the words "Radom '76 – pamiętamy te czerwcowe dni, ulice skąpane we krwi, bohaterstwo robotników, o wolnej Polsce sny" ("Radom '76 – we remember those days of June, the streets bathed in blood, heroism of workers, dreams of free Poland") to mark the anniversary of the 1976 shootings of workers protesting against Poland's then-communist regime. But this was also a quote from a song by the Polish band Konkwista 88, who are stars of neo-Nazi rock. The number "88" is a code for the Nazi German salute "Heil Hitler", derived from the eighth position of the letter "H" in the alphabet.

YEAR 2010

FEBRUARY

ŻAGAŃ. On February 10th, the newspaper “Gazeta Lubuska” published an article about the conflict between the club authorities of third-division Czarni Żagań and former player Paschal Ekueme. The club authorities accused the Nigerian of illegally signing a contract with their league rivals Olimpia Grudziądz. However, Ekueme accused the club’s chairman of racism, notably of calling him a “bambus” (“coon”). The day before the beginning of matches in the spring round of the league, the conflict remained unsolved.



RADOM. On February 24th, the editorial staff of “Stadion” magazine received information about anti-Semitic and homophobic stickers distributed by “fans” of fourth-division Radomiak Radom, directed at local rivals Broń Radom. One of them depicted the Star of David, the name of Broń Radom and insults aimed at its fans. Sympathisers of feuding teams frequently hurl anti-Semitic insults at rival in Polish stadiums. The word “Żyd” (“Jew”) is considered the worst invective in such circles.

MARCH 2010

WARSZAWA. On March 3rd, there were xenophobic incidents during the football friendly between the national teams of Poland and Bulgaria. Poland “fans” shouted insults aimed at Bulgarian players and hurled anti-Semitic abuse at journalists present at the stadium.

GŁOGÓW. On March 5th, at an official team presentation preceding the spring round of the league, “fans” of fourth-division Chrobry Głogów displayed a banner reading “Chrobry” with a Celtic cross – a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement – replacing the letter “O”. During the formal presentation with the participation of cheerleaders and acrobats, more than 2,000 spectators, including children and young people, were in the stand. The presentation has been organized for four years, before the beginning of every round. This time former Poland international Andrzej Szarmach was among the guests, and the whole event was filmed by Polsat Sport TV station.



ZIELONA GÓRA. On March 20th, in the 76th minute of a third-division match between Lechia Zielona Góra and Olimpia Grudziądz, after a player from the latter club, Dah Valentin, got the ball a group of over twenty home supporters made monkey chants. The referee paused the match for about a minute. Lechia’s captain appealed to fans to behave properly. “The appeal happened to be effective”, according to the report of Jan Żołnierek, match delegate of the PZPN, Polish Football Association. Dah Valentin was born in Burkina Faso, and has played for Olimpia since 2009. The PZPN fined Lechia 7,000 zlotys (around €1,780).

STANISŁAWÓW. On March 21st, during a Siedlce district football league match between Tęcza Stanisławów and Hutnik Huta Czechy, home “fans” shouted anti-Semitic slogans, but met with no reaction from the referee, club officials, players or other fans.

PRUSZKÓW. On March 21st, during a Warsaw district football league match between Znicz II Pruszków and Orkan Sochaczew, away “fans” hung club flags on the fence and shouted anti-Semitic slogans. Their behaviour met with no reaction from the players or other spectators. For years, Orkan Sochaczew’s fans were a commendable exception and an anti-racist example among hundreds of other Polish clubs. They never allowed any xenophobic behaviour during sports events or and in other settings. Unfortunately, as of spring 2010, the situation seemed to belong to the past.

WARSZAWA. On March 27th, throughout the first half of the Ekstraklasa first-division match between Polonia Warszawa and Arka Gdynia, there was a banner on the pitch-



side fence with the *Totenkopf* skull and crossbones symbol, identical to that used by the Nazi German SS and contemporary neo-Nazis from the English organisation Combat 18. It was unfurled by racist “fans” from Gdynia. The same group displayed a xenophobic banner during the match, which read: “Stop Islamizacji Europy” (“Stop Islamisation of Europe”). The incident appeared related to the construction of a mosque in the Ochota district of the capital city.

POZNAŃ. On March 29th, the Internet portal sport.pl published an article on the arrests of “fans” of first-division Lech Poznań, connected with the Wiara Lecha fan association, who conducted criminal activity at the stadium and in the surrounding neighbourhood. According to the portal’s editorial staff, the club was to transfer to the association, in return for “getting out of their face during matches”, a large number of rights, including to keep order at the stadium and distribute tickets for away matches. It was also revealed that when Lech players took part in an action against racism, it triggered a heated discussion on the Internet forum of the club’s fans. Former Wiara Lecha head Jarosław Kiliński wrote: “Personally, I think that because white people reached a higher level of civilisation than blacks, they have a mission to fulfil, which Kipling called the ‘white man’s burden’. The stories told by Negroes from Africa are to be taken with a grain of salt. Each Pole should be aware of this since reading ‘In Desert and Wilderness’” (a reference to a 1912 children’s novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz). According to sport.pl staff, Henryk Szlachetka, responsible for stadium safety on behalf of Lech Poznań, was to blame for the situation.

APRIL 2010

KLUCZBORK. On 3rd April, during a second-division match in MKS Kluczbork and Znicz Pruszków, a Polish Football Association observer ignored a banner reading “Precz z Komuną” (“Down with Commies”) and a slogan typical of neo-fascist groups worldwide reading “Good Night Left Side” in English and showing a Nazi skinhead kicking his opponent.



RZESZÓW. On April 3rd, there was an anti-Semitic incident during a third-division match Resovia Rzeszów and Pelikan Łowicz. Andrzej Tomaszewski, a delegate from the Polish Football Association, the PZPN, wrote in his match report: “In the 90th minute, in the stand where fans with scarves have their seats, home fans shouted three times ‘Greetings ŁKS – we don’t give a shit about Jews’”. The slogan was aimed at players and fans of another club, Widzew Łódź, dubbed “Jews” by their

opponents and called anti-Semitic names. Resovia fans have an official agreement with fans of ŁKS Łódź, the main proponents of anti-Semitic slogans against Widzew.

POZNAŃ. On April 9th, during a first-division match between Lech Poznań and Arka Gdynia, home “fans” held a flag with the *Totenkopf*, a skull and cross-bones symbol used by Nazi Germany during the Second World War.

KRAKÓW. On April 24th, during a first-division match between Wisła Kraków and Lech Poznań, visiting “fans” displayed a banner on the pitchside fence with the words “Piła Legion – Blood of Our Race!”. The banner has appeared for many years during the club’s matches, deployed by a neo-fascist group of Lech Poznań “fans” from the city of Piła. For a long time it was accompanied by a banner with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

BRZOZÓW On April 25th, during a local league match in the Krosno I Group between Brzozovia Brzozów and Iwonka Iwonicz, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross – a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement, on the pitchside fence.



MAY 2010

NOWY SĄCZ. On May 1st, during a second-division match between Sandecja Nowy Sącz and Warta Poznań, referee Tomasz Wajda allegedly mocked Warta player Krzysztof Strugarek, who wears hearing aid. The players and coach of Warta claimed that the referee said: “What are you lispng about? Deaf!”. Wajda denied the accusations: “Such a situation did not take place. Maybe we were on first-name terms, but I certainly wasn’t insulting anybody”. However, three days later, he changed tack: “I said to the player: ‘Please, go away. I can’t understand what you’re saying’”.

RZESZÓW. On May 8th, during a third-division derby between Stal Rzeszów and Resovia Rzeszów, there was yet another anti-Semitic incident involving “fans” of Resovia. They exhibited a banner showing a silhouette of a man with a characteristic yarmulke in the colours of Israel: white and blue. These colours are also the club colours of Stal. The yarmulke itself was stylised as the striped uniform of concentration camp inmates during the Holocaust. Another banner was displayed above the caricature saying: “Death to hook noses”. Stal “fans” meanwhile displayed a banner with a drawing of a rat wearing a Resovia club shirt with a Star of David instead of an emblem. Neither the match organisers nor the police (several of whom were standing right in front of the gigantic banners) reacted. Nor did the delegate of the PZPN, Jan Kowalski, the referee or the commentator. Reso-





via's president Aleksander Bentkowski – who is a former justice minister and a member of the PSL party which is part of Poland's coalition government – explained that he did not notice the banners because he was sitting in the VIP box. In his report, the PZPN delegate wrote only that: "1) The fans of K.S. Stal Rzeszów – continuously shouted the following slogan: 'Resovia – Jude, Jude, Jude'; 2) The fans of K.S. Resovia Rzeszów – in the 43rd and 59th minute shouted the following slogan: 'ZKS – Jude, Jude ZKS'". Crowd of several thousand Resovia fans had already marched to the match under a banner reading "The Aryan Horde is Coming". They were observed by the police, but they entered the stadium without difficulty. The "fans" of Resovia have been openly racist and anti-Semitic for many years. Piotr Kadlcik, the head of the Jewish Community in Warsaw, sent a protest letter to the president of the PZPN and the mayor of Rzeszów. "I find it painful that such incidents are tolerated by football and city authorities", he wrote. In addition, the American-Jewish Anti-Defamation League (ADL) submitted a letter of protest to Andrzej Rusko, the president of Ekstraklasa SA, Poland's first division. The police responded only after May 13th. "We are analysing video surveillance recordings. We are hoping that it will be possible to identify the persons who could have carried, unfurled or held these banners", said Paweł Międlar, the spokesman of the Sub-Carpathian regional police. On May 14th, police announced the detention of Mateusz S. and Rami H. (under Polish legal practice, suspects' last names are not released). The two, both 18 years old, were suspected of holding a banner. They were identified thanks to video surveillance from the stadium. They face trial not only for inciting hatred towards Jews – a crime punishable by up to two years in prison – but also for threatening to kill. On May 14th, police detained three men, all 26 years old, and the prosecutor's office announced subsequent arrests. Despite the stadium video surveillance, only one more "fan" was arrested. The PZPN decided that Stal Rzeszów, as hosts of the match, would have to pay a 2,500 zlotys fine (around €638) and ordered to club to play in an empty stadium for the following three weeks. Resovia, meanwhile, was ordered to play its home and

away matches without fans for a month. In November, the charges against two individuals were changed to insulting Jews. The inquiry against four other men was dismissed on December 23rd. Łukasz Harpula, deputy head of the District Prosecutor's Office in Rzeszów, justified his decision in the following manner: "Those people were not aware of



the fact that the banners incorporated anti-Semitic content and all doubts have to be considered in favour of suspects or defendants. Moreover, the banners were really large. There would be no doubts if the hooligan was holding, for example, a flag with a slogan 'Jude, Won'" ("Jews Out", combining German and Polish). On January 6th, 2011, Poland's Attorney General Andrzej Seremet ordered an urgent investigation by the Appellate Prosecutor's Office of the decision to dismiss the case, and the delivery of the relevant documents to his own office. On January 11th, the Appellate Prosecutor's Office in Rzeszów found that the decision of the District Prosecutor's Office to dismiss the case had been justified. "The opinion of the Appellate Prosecutor's Office is not binding for the Attorney General. He will familiarise himself with it, but the decision will be his own. The files from this investigation will be given to our prosecutor for examination. The final decision belongs to the Attorney General", said Maciej Kujawski from the Attorney General's Office. On January 30th: "Attorney Andrzej Seremet acknowledged that the decision to dismiss the investigation by the Prosecutor's Office in Rzeszów was ill-founded, and therefore premature. In his opinion the Prosecutor's Office in Rzeszów did not show evidential initiative" – stated Mateusz Martyniuk, spokesman for the Attorney General's Office.

KATOWICE. On May 12th, after a second-division match between GKS Katowice and Widzew Łódź, the observer and delegate from the PZPN, the Polish Football Association, Jerzy Kowalski, wrote in the fourth paragraph of his report: "Behaviour of the audience (home team fans) – 33rd minute – shouting 'Jude, Jude, Widzew, Jude'". The report was submitted for examination to the PZPN's disciplinary department.

WARSZAWA. On May 13th, the highly anti-Semitic and nationalistic weekly magazine "Tylko Polska" published by Leszek Bubel, which is an organ of the Polska Partia Narodowa (Polish National Party) featured the article: "Successful boycott of 'Gazeta Wyborcza' in Poznań", devoted to the boycott proclaimed by fans of first-division Lech Poznań against Agora S.A., publisher of the eponymous

liberal-leaning daily newspaper. The boycott resulted from several articles published in "Gazeta Wyborcza" which, according to Bubel, "slandered the good name of the team on its pages". Bubel noted that: "The fans pick up as many copies as possible (of Agora's free daily "Metro" – author's note), in order to take them for recycling". In reality, "Gazeta Wyborcza" had revealed the criminal activities of some of Lech fans, who were detained during a major operation against organised crime, and their extensive connections with Lech officials. According to "Tylko Polska", Lech Poznań made a similar decision and ended a sponsorship deal with Agora. The article was published along with a photograph of a banner displayed in Lech's stadium which read: "Greater Poland says 'No!!!' loud and clear to 'Gazeta Wyborcza'". The text in "Tylko Polska" was enthusiastic, a fact likely stemming from its anti-Semitic ideology – for years, "Gazeta Wyborcza" has been presented as an exponent of Jewish interests by the extreme right.

LUBLIN. On May 26th, during a second-division match between Motor Lublin and Stal Stalowa Wola, PZPN delegate Paweł Kobyłecki wrote in his report: "In the 16th minute of the match, a group of 50 fans of the home team hooted for a few seconds, when the black player no. 8 of Stal Stalowa Wola received the ball". The report was submitted for examination to the PZPN's disciplinary department.

JUNE 2010

SOSNOWIEC. In early June, two kinds of posters were stuck up at public transport stops, signed by an extreme-right group called Autonomous Nationalists "Krzyk 14". One of them, related to the World Cup which was taking place in the Republic of South Africa, read: "RSA 2010 – football in the shadow of genocide". It featured manipulated information littered with racism about the alleged "extermination" and "discrimination" by South Africa's black majority against the Afrikaners, the minority of European descent who ruled the country during the Apartheid era. The second poster, with the slogan "Stop the genocide of Afrikaners!" featured a tribute to Eugène Terre'Blanche, the leader of the fascist and extreme-racist group Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, who was killed in his ranch by two farm workers in a dispute over unpaid wages. The poster also included a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement. To date, "Krzyk 14" was known primarily for its website krzyk14.pl. The number "14" in its name refers to the so-called "fourteen words" – the neo-Nazi slogan: "We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children" – coined by David Lane, the leader of racist terrorists from the American group The Order. The slogan was inspired by an excerpt (part I, chapter VIII) from *Mein Kampf* by Adolf Hitler.

LIPSKO. On June 6th, during a Radom district league match between Powiślanka Lipsko and Plon Garbatka-Letnisko, home “fans” displayed a banner with the Confederate Flag, the symbol of the racist South in the American Civil War in the 19th century, used nowadays, among others, by the Ku Klux Klan. They also hung out a second banner with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.



GŁOGÓW. On 19th June, during the training football match between fourth-division Chrobry Głogów and Moto Jelcz Oława, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.



BĘDZIN. On June 19th, during a fifth-division 1st Silesian Group match between Sarmacja Będzin and Zagłębiak Dąbrowa Górnicza visiting “fans” displayed a banner on the pitchside fence with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

SŁUPSK. On June 19th, during a fourth-division match in the Pomeranian and West Pomeranian Group between Gryf Słupsk and Kotwica Kołobrzeg, home “fans” displayed two Confederate flags, a symbol of the racist South in the 19th century American Civil War still used by racist organisations such as the Ku Klux Klan. One of them, hung on the pitchside fence, included the slogan: “Gryf Słupsk. In our hearts there is no mercy, we were born for war, not for love”. They waved the flag from the stands.



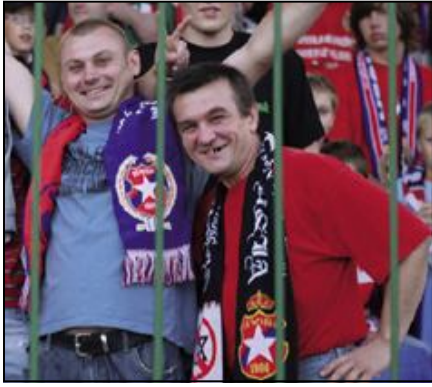
JULY 2010

WROCLAW. During the night July 14th-15th, on the side of a building at 51 Żeromskiego Street, “unknown perpetrators” painted the anti-Semitic slogan: “Welcome to the streets of terror. F...k Jews”, and the abbreviations “WKS” (suggesting the perpetrators were “fans” of WKS Śląsk Wrocław) and “JP” (a Polish acronym for “f...k the police”). By doing so, they destroyed a large mural promoting tolerance, equality and intercultural communication, which had been made by artists from Poland, Germany and the USA as part of Divercity, an international week of socially-involved organised by the Edyta Stein Association from Wrocław. The city law enforcement authorities were informed about the incident. “Such texts constitute the crime of inciting hatred. The case was handed over to police, who will lead an investigation in order to establish the identity of the perpetrators”, said Sławomir Chelchowski, the spokesman of the Wrocław city law enforcement. The anti-Semitic slogan was painted over by the project participants.

VILNIUS (LITHUANIA). On July 14th, racist incidents occurred during a training friendly between Lithuanian club Žalgiris Vilnius and Polish first-division side Lechia Gdańsk. “Fans” of the Polish team imitated monkey sounds and chanted: “F...k the nigger, Lechia’s a white team” and “Kafar (Tomasz Kafarski is the coach of Lechia Gdańsk – editor’s note) is a laughing stock, quickly take the nigger off”, when Brazilian Luiz Carol Santos, a new Lechia player, got the ball. After the match the player said: “It never came to my mind that they were fans of my team. I found out about it the next day, when we were already back in Poland. It made me feel sad and heavy on the heart”.

ŠIAULIAI (LITHUANIA). On July 15th, police detained 44 “fans” of Polish first-division club Wisła Kraków. They were arrested for disturbing the peace during a football match in the second round of the Europa League against Lithuania’s FC Šiauliai. Police stopped buses and cars with Polish “fans” which were travelling on the road into the city, as they had information that individuals were in possession of weapons including knives, swords and daggers. Lithuanian police were also concerned by the fact that only 500 tickets had been sold to Polish fans, whereas over 900 of them arrived to see the match. Dangerous items were found in 13 of the inspected vehicles, and 80 individuals were cautioned by police and had to return to Poland. After the match a few brawls were launched by Wisła Kraków supporters. Over 44 were detained, most of whom were released a few hours later. On July 16th, two remained behind bars in Lithuania awaiting a court. They faced a fine or imprisonment.

BIELAWA. On July 21st, during a Polish cup match between fifth-division Bielawianka Bielawy and third-division Czarni Żagań, home fans team booed the visitors’ black Brazilian player Andrade Felix, who plays under the nickname Filipe. At the end of the first half, someone threw a banana onto the pitch in his direction. The football league fined Bielawianka 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).



KRAKÓW. On July 29th, local fans behaved in a scandalous manner during a Europa League qualifier in which Wisła Kraków was surprisingly defeated by Karabakh Agdam of Azerbaijan. Some Wisła “fans” wore scarves with a crossed-out Star of David. There were many anti-Semitic incidents in the stadium. A section of Wisła’s supporters have been involved for years in propagating racist and neo-fascist ideology.

THESSALONIKI (GREECE). On July 29th, during a Europa League qualifying match between Greek club Aris Saloniki and Polish first-division side Jagiellonia Białystok, “fans” of the Polish club displayed a banner with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

AUGUST 2010

ŁĘBORK. On August 6th, a district court received an indictment against Rafał W. (in Polish legal custom, suspects’ surnames are not revealed) for insulting Brazilian-origin Poland international Roger Guerreiro. The man pleaded guilty and voluntarily agreed to pay a fine of 1,500 zlotys (around €380). In October 2009, Rafał W. had given an interview to the magazine “Szalikowiec – Przegląd Sceny Kibicowskiej” (“Football Hooligan – Fans’ Scene Review”). In the text, published a month later, he called Roger “another monkey in the national team”. The prosecutor’s office in Łębork was informed thanks to an anonymous tip-off.

ŁÓDŹ. On August 7th, during a first-division match between Widzew Łódź and Lech Poznań, home “fans” shouted anti-Semitic slogans. On August 12th, the football league fined Widzew Łódź 6,000 zlotys (around €1,530).

WAŁCZ. On August 7th, at an “Orlik” – a community football pitch – at Chłodna Street a tournament was held for a so-called Roman Dmowski Trophy. It was organised by the National Rebirth of Poland, a party regularly accused of neo-Nazism. The tournament primarily involved youth teams. The top three received medals portraying Roman Dmowski, as well as diplomas and archive issues of the party’s magazine “Szczerbiec”. The party thus used football to propagate its views and recruit new members. Its icon Dmowski (1864-1939), an independence struggle leader who also crafted modern Polish right-wing nationalism and anti-Semitism, is already highly popular among some football fans.

WARSZAWA. On August 7th, during a club friendly between Polish first-division side Legia Warszawa and England’s Arsenal, “fans” from Warsaw displayed a banner with the number 95 inscribed in a Celtic cross and a stylized swastika with curved arms, both notorious symbols of racist movements.

KIELCE. On August 12th, "Stadion" (Stadium) magazine received information that a neo-fascist banner was hanging outside a pizza restaurant on Massalskiego Street. On the poster, which encouraged residents of the nearby Ślichowice housing estate to see first-division Korona Kielce play a match in the city of Bytom, there was a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

RZESZÓW. On August 14th, during a third-division match between Stal Rzeszów and Wisła Płock, home "fans" behaved reprehensibly. During the game they chanted "Jude, Jude Resovia" several times. The anti-Semitic slogans were aimed at Stal's local rivals, Resovia. Football authorities fined the club 2,000 zlotys (around €510).

WROCLAW. On August 20th, during a first-division match between Śląsk Wrocław and Legia Warszawa, home "fans" shouted offensive slogans at Dickson Choto, a black Zimbabwean Legia player. Whenever he had the ball, they imitated the sounds of a monkey. On August 25th the league fined Śląsk 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

BEŁCHATÓW. On August 21st, during a first-division match between GKS Bełchatów and Ruch Chorzów, home "fans" sang anti-Semitic songs. On August 25th, the league fined Bełchatów 7,000 zlotys (around €1,785), with the penalty also covering improper organisation of match safety.

ŁÓDŹ. On August 21st, during a first-division match between Widzew Łódź and Wisła Kraków, home "fans" shouted anti-Semitic slogans and the visiting team and personally insulted one of the players. However, members of the Wisła crowd chanted slogans of the same kind aimed at Widzew's players. On August 25th, the league fined Widzew with 10,000 zlotys (around €2,550) and Wisła, 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

WARSZAWA. On August 27th, during a first-division match between Legia Warszawa and GKS Bełchatów, home "fans" displayed a banner with the number 95 inscribed in a Celtic cross, the symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.

SEPTEMBER 2010

ŁÓDŹ. On September 4th, during a friendly between Poland and Ukraine, several xenophobic incidents were noted. After the game, two young Polish hooligans attacked supporters from Ukraine, spitting at and insulting them. The aggressors were arrested after police intervened. One of them can be seen





on the picture on the left (between two police officers). Before the match, security guards tore down a banner reading “Lwów – cradle of Polish football” and emblems of pre-war Polish football clubs such as Czarni Lwów, Lechia Lwów and Pogoń Lwów. The banner was displayed by “fans” of fourth-division Unia Tarnów, who are often accused of provoking racist incidents. The banner also features the emblem of the pre-war city of Lwów – today’s Lviv in Ukraine – as well as the top Polish medal

of valour, the *Virtuti Militari* inscribed, which the city received in 1920, when the locals defeated Ukrainian forces. The city was contested by the Polish and Ukrainian independence movements when the Tsarist Russian empire crumbled, making it highly symbolic for nationalists from both sides. In 1918, Ukrainian independence was declared there. The city remained part of Poland until the Second World War. The banner at the match was therefore considered by the Ukrainian side as a provocative Polish nationalistic and anti-Ukrainian gesture. It was taken down after the intervention of Hryhorij Surkis, president of the Ukrainian Football Federation and the leader of Ukraine’s organisation of the 2012 European Championships, which the country will host jointly with Poland. During the match, Poland “fans” displayed scarves with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement. Their Ukrainian counterparts had scarves with the portrait of Stepan Bandera (1909-1959), the controversial leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.



WARSZAWA. Around September 10th, in areas in the centre of the capital including Marszałkowska Street, homophobic stickers with racist undertones appeared. They appeared to have been placed by “fans” for Legia Warszawa and directed their club’s city rivals, fellow first-division side Polonia Warszawa. The stickers showed a crossed-out emblem of Polonia Warszawa and the words: “Black Faggot Hunters” and a rhyme: “We are distinguished by a thing you know well, We are chasing, you run away”. The slogan “Black Faggot Hunters” had a double meaning. It referred to the official colour of Polonia, black, but undoubtedly had a racist context, which served to add an extra insult.

SOSNOWIEC. On September 11th, during a third-division match between Zagłębie Sosnowiec and Tur Turek, home “fans” shouted racist insults directed at a player from the opposing team. On November 5th, the disciplinary department of the Polish Football Association fined Zagłębie 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

RZESZÓW. On September 12th, yet another anti-Semitic incident took place during a third-division derby between Resovia Rzeszów and Stal Rzeszów. Five minutes before kick-off, Stal “fans” chanted “Resovia Jude, Jude, Jude”. The fans of Resovia responded with a similarly offensive slogan “F...k you, Jewish dog”. The league fined both clubs 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275). Moreover, no organised groups of supporters were allowed to attend the subsequent three away matches of each team.

OSTROŁĘKA. On September 15th, during a fifth-division match between Korona Ostrołęka and Nadnarwianka Pułtusk, several visiting “fans” sang a homophobic and anti-Semitic song: “Referee, you faggot, you have family in Israel”. A delegate from the Mazovian Football Association, which oversees the regional league, included the incident in his match report. In October, Nadnarwianka were fined 400 zlotys (around €100).

WARSZAWA. On September 15th, on the air of Orange Sport Info, Poland manager Franciszek Smuda made a racist comment on the results of new FIFA ranking, where Poland had dropped to 66th place, behind, among others, Uganda. The selector said: “Uganda? It’s some kind of joke. Or those other African teams, they hang around the bush, but are higher than we are in the ranking. That’s ridiculous”. After a draw with Ukraine and defeat at the hands of Australia in another friendly, Smuda’s team dropped ten positions in the FIFA ranking.

KAŁUSZYN. On September 15th, during half-time at a local league match between Victoria Kałuszyn and Sęp Żelachów, “fans” of the home team hung a banner on the pitchside fence reading “Better dead than red”, with a picture of a Celtic cross, the symbol of the racist *White Power* movement. The banner remained on the fence until the end of the match.

POZNAŃ. On September 16th, a lawsuit against Manuel Arboleda, a former Zagłębie Lubin player who had transferred to fellow first-division club Lech Poznań, was scheduled in a local court. Arboleda was accused of publicly defaming Lubin’s ex-president Robert Pietryszyn. On March 24th, 2009 Arboleda revealed in an interview for the sports daily “Przeгляд Sportowy” a racist incident which took place in the club. After coach Czesław Michniewicz named black Colombian Arboleda captain, the player was called into president’s office. While there, Pietryszyn, according to Arboleda, told him that he was no team captain, because there had never been a foreign captain, let alone a black one. Pietryszyn denied the report and sued Arboleda. The case was adjourned, as the parties were considering an amicable resolution.

TURIN (ITALY). On September 16th, during a Europa League group-stage match between Juventus Turin and Lech Poznań, “fans” from Poland displayed two banners on the pitchside fence. On them were slogans such as “Legion Piła, the blood of our race” – used by racist Lech supporters from the city of Piła – and “Terrormachine” with a white fist on a broken shield, which is a modern symbol of the racist *White Power* movement. The symbol was used in the Second World War by the Nazi German Waffen-SS.

GDAŃSK. On September 17th, during a first-division match between Lechia Gdańsk and Cracovia Kraków, “fans” of the home team, who are known for their extreme right sympathies, chanted anti-Semitic slogans. They were noted by the observer from the PZPN, the Polish Football Association. On September 24th, the league fined Lechia 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

ŁÓDŹ. On September 17th, during a first-division match between Widzew Łódź and Śląsk Wrocław, visiting “fans” chanted anti-Semitic slogans directed against the home side. On September 24th, the league fined Śląsk 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

KRAKÓW. On September 25th, during a first-division match – the opening game in the new stadium at Kałużny Street – between Cracovia Kraków and Arka Gdynia, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with the words: “Arka Gdynia White Brothers. United Patriots. Tolerance is the virtue of people without beliefs” and the so-called “rune of death”, a symbol of Nazi movements including the American National Alliance (a racist organisation established by William Pierce, the author of *The Turner Diaries*, a cult novel in extreme right-wing circles and an inspiration for terrorist Timothy McVeigh, whose 1995 bombing of a US federal building in Oklahoma City claimed 167 lives).

OCTOBER 2010

BYTOM. On October 1st, during a first-division match between Polonia Bytom and Widzew Łódź, home “fans” shouted anti-Semitic slogans. On October 13th, the league fined Bytom 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

JAWORZNO. On October 2nd, during fifth-division Silesian Group derby between Szczakowianka Jaworzno and Victoria Jaworzno, visiting “fans” displayed a Confederate flag – a symbol of the racist South during the American Civil War in the 19th century and still used by extremist movements such as the Ku Klux Klan on the pitchside fence. They also had a banner with the slogan “Victoria”, where a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement, was inscribed in the letter “O”.

STALOWA WOLA. On October 9th, during a third-division match between Stal Stalowa Wola and Olimpia Elbląg, visiting “fans” displayed a banner on the pitchside fence with a red and white chequered pattern, the words “Olimpia

Elbląg” and a so-called *falanga*, a symbol of a hand with a sword, which was used by Polish fascist organisations during the inter-war period. The symbol has been adopted by present-day extreme-right groups such as the National-Radical Camp and National Rebirth of Poland. Due to a league delegate’s intervention, the banner was removed at half-time. On October 14th, the Polish Football Association’s disciplinary department fined Elbląg 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

WARSZAWA. On October 10th, there were racist incidents during the international charity football match between Polish first-division club Legia Warszawa and Dutch side FC ADO Den Haag. Home “fans” displayed a banner with the words “White Legion” and the symbol of so-called *Wolf’s Hook* (a kind of stylised swastika, originally used by armoured divisions of the Nazi German SS and the post-Nazi terrorist organisation Werwolf) and a flag with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement). Moreover, Warsaw “fans” sang anti-Semitic songs: “ Hamas, Hamas, Jude raus” and shouting “Jihad Legia”. The security service did not react.

ŁÓDŹ. On October 15th there were numerous incidents, including ones of an anti-Semitic nature, before and after a first-division match between Widzew Łódź and Legia Warszawa. An hour before kick-off, Legia “fans” began to sing in Dutch: “ Hamas, Hamas, Juden auf den gas”. Legia “fans” threw flares and bangers towards police and the home fans’ stands. Police used tear gas to maintain order. More riots took place during the match. “Fans” of both teams tried to force the fence dividing the home and away stands. Widzew “fans” set alight several Legia scarves and attacked security officers. Legia “fans” threw a smoke bomb and a few flares onto the pitch, as well as bangers towards the home stand. The referee had to interrupt the match for a few minutes. Police apprehended seven people during the riot. All interrogated and charged. In addition, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with the address of the niepodlegli.net website, calling for people to come to a neo-fascist march organised in Warsaw on November 11th – Poland’s independence day – by groups including the National-Radical Camp and All-Polish Youth. For several years, there have been anti-Semitic shouts, Nazi “Sieg Heil” salutes and scuffles with anti-fascists trying to stop such marches on independence day.

CZĘSTOCHOWA. On October 17th, during a third-division match between Raków Częstochowa and Zagłębie Sosnowiec, home “fans” displayed an Confederate flag – a symbol of the racist South during the American Civil War in the 19th century and still used by extremist movements such as the Ku Klux Klan.

KRAKÓW. On October 26th, neo-Nazi incidents took place during a Polish cup match between Wisła Kraków and Widzew Łódź. Visiting “fans” made Nazi salutes.

BRODNICA. On October 30th, during a fifth-division match between Sparta Brodnica and Flisak Złotoria, home “fans” displayed a banner on the pitch-side fence with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement. Despite legally-binding directives established by league officials, the observer from the regional football association did not react after the banner was displayed, neither did referees.



GDAŃSK. On October 30th, during a first-division match between Lechia Gdańsk and Korona Kielce, some home “fans” brandished scarves with the racist slogan *White Power*.

WARSZAWA. On October 31st, there was a racist incident during a first-division match between Legia Warszawa and Górnik Zabrze. Home “fans” displayed a large banner on one of the upper stands of the stadium at Łazienkowska Street, which read “95” inscribed in a stylised form resembling both a Celtic cross – a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement and a stylized swastika with curved arms. The flag has appeared at Legia’s matches for a dozen or so years. It belongs to one of the Legia hooligan groups, known as the Teddy Boys.



NOVEMBER 2010

WROCLAW. On November 3rd, the neo-fascist National Rebirth of Poland published posters encouraging turnout at a “Patriot March” in Wrocław on November 11th, Poland’s independence day. The posters illegally used the logo of WKS Śląsk Wrocław football club and the speedway club Sparta Wrocław. The posters read: “Supported by the fans of Śląsk Wrocław and Sparta Wrocław”. Official club logos were placed alongside the slogan. Michał Mazur, spokesman of WKS Śląsk Wrocław, said: “The emblem of Śląsk was used without our permission. Our lawyer already intervened”. Sparta president Andrzej Malicki stated that: “The emblem of Sparta was misused. No one asked for our permission, so it is illegal. We have nothing in common with the organisers of the march and we disassociate ourselves from them”.

CHOJNICE. On November 6th, racist incidents took place during a third-division match between Chojniczanka Chojnice and Raków Częstochowa. Home “fans” made Nazi salutes and shouted “Sieg Heil”. They also displayed a banner on the pitchside fence with a so-called *falanga*, an image of a hand holding a sword – a symbol today’s Polish extreme-right wing borrowed from pre-war Polish fascists.

GDYNIA. On November 6th, during a first-division match between Arka Gdynia and Korona Kielce, home “fans” displayed a banner on the pitchside fence with a racist slogan: “Arka Gdynia White Brothers. United Patriots. Tolerance is the virtue of people without beliefs” and the so-called “rune of death”, a symbol of Nazi movements including the American National Alliance (a racist organisation established by William Pierce, the author of *The Turner Diaries*, a cult novel in extreme right-wing circles and an inspiration for terrorist Timothy McVeigh, whose 1995 bombing of a US federal building in Oklahoma City claimed 167 lives).

POZNAŃ. On November 13th, during a first-division match between Lech Poznań and Lechia Gdańsk, visiting “fans” displayed a flag with the slogan “CHWM” (“Chuligani Wolnego Miasta” – “Hooligans from the Free City”, a reference to Gdańsk’s inter-war history) and a stylised “Sword of Chrobry”, a symbol used by pre-war Polish fascists and adopted by present-day extreme nationalists to tap into that tradition.



CZĘSTOCHOWA. On November 14th, there were neo-Nazi incidents during a third-division Western Group match between Raków Częstochowa and Olimpia Grudziądz. Visiting “fans” made Nazi salutes. Moreover, they displayed two banners on the pitchside fence. One showed the words “Narodowa Częstochowa” (“National Częstochowa”) and a so-called *falanga*, a symbol of an arm holding a sword, which was used by inter-war Polish fascists and adopted



by contemporary extreme-right movements such as the National-Radical Camp and National Rebirth of Poland. On the other banner read “Warsaw. Han pasado” (“Warsaw. They passed”, in Spanish). It was a reference to the words chanted by the Fascist soldiers of General Franco during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), to mock the defeated Republican army’s slogan “No pasaran!” (“They shall not pass!”). The slogan on the second banner was directed at participants in an anti-fascist demonstration against a march in Warsaw on November 11th, Poland’s independence day, which had been organised by the National Rebirth of Poland and National-Radical Camp. On November 29th, the football league fined Częstochowa 5,000 zlotys (around €1,275).

POZNAŃ. On November 17th, during a friendly football match between Poland and Ivory Coast, “fans” of the home team displayed a flag on the pitch-side fence with the words: “Śląsk Wrocław. Be proud of who you are. The symbol of the eagle’s might will lead us”, with the badge of the club Śląsk Wrocław combined with a stylised logo of Blood and Honour, an international neo-Nazi organisation which has branches in Poland. The words on the flag were a lyric from a song by a neo-Nazi rock band Honor, which is very popular among such “fans” in Poland.



BIAŁYSTOK. On November 20th, during a first-division match between Jagiellonia Białystok and Cracovia Kraków, home “fans” displayed a banner which they had stolen a week before from anti-fascists who had been protesting against an extreme-right march in Warsaw on November 11th, Poland’s independence day. The march, which had wound through the streets of the capital Warsaw, with partici-



pants including football hooligan hit-squad members from Legia Warszawa, Polonia Warszawa and Jagiellonia. Anti-fascist activists organised a counter-demonstration. Some of them were attacked and beaten by neo-fascists, and their banner seized. Shortly afterwards, hit-squad members from Jagiellonia boasted about their trophy on the Internet (picture on the right). During the November 20th match, a Polish Football Association observer ordered the flag to be removed from the fence.

GDAŃSK. On November 20th, information about a racist announcement by “fans” of first-division Lechia Gdańsk was published in the Internet version of the sports newspaper “Przegląd Sportowy”. According to a club official quoted in the story, they demanded that Brazilian Luiz Carlos Santos Deleu be the last ever black player at the club. The player had faced racist “fans” of his own club before. On July 14th, during an international warm-up match between Lithuanian club Žalgiris Vilnius and Lechia Gdańsk, such “fans” made mo key sounds and chanted: “F...k the nigger, Lechia is a white team” and “Kafar (Tomasz Kafarski is the coach of Lechia Gdańsk – editor’s note) is a laughing stock, quickly take the nigger off” when he got the ball.

GDAŃSK. On November 20th, during a first-division match between Lechia Gdańsk and Widzew Łódź, home “fans” shouted anti-Semitic slogans on the streets in the city: “We beat the shit out of Judaic swines”. The editors of “Never Again” magazine were informed about the incident by a member of “Open Republic”, an association against anti-Semitism and xenophobia.

POZNAŃ. On November 20th, opponents of that day’s Equality March – or gay pride parade – demonstrated in the city centre. The demonstration was called by Adam Szyndler, former activist of the right-wing Unia Polityki Realnej. A few days earlier, on the Internet forum of “Wiara Lecha” association of Lech Poznań fans, Szyndler encouraged them to “express a firm protest against gay propaganda”. Demonstration participants shouted homophobic chants: “Go and faggot, queers!”, “Once with a sickle, once with a hammer on the rainbow rabble!”, “Stay away from children, faggots, stay away from children”, “Perverts, dykes, gays, the whole of Poland’s laughing at you”, “Stop faggoting! Perverts”. They also threatened participants of the Equality March: “If we catch you, we will smash you”. Such “fans” carried national flags of Poland and Lech scarves. After the homophobic demonstration they went to a league match. Approximately 200 people took part in the demonstration. It ended when Equality March began. Both events were secured by police units.



POZNAŃ. On November 20th, during a first-division match between Lech Poznań and Polonia Bytom, visiting team “fans” displayed a banner of allied club Odra Opole with the words: “Opole Silesia always Polish”. The slogan is used mostly by the representatives of National-Radical Camp in the Opole area, which is home to many members of Poland’ German-speaking minority.

WARSZAWA. On November 21st, football coach Bogusław Kaczmarek, in an interview for the Internet edition of "Futbol News" said that it is hard to find second-division players with the ability to move up into the first division in the future, and blamed foreign players for the situation. "Foreigners litter the Polish league, they occupy the place for young Poles. It does not matter whether the player's from Africa, the Czech Republic, Slovakia or what colour his skin is. Each one is a foreigner. Nowadays, I often go to matches in the fourth or fifth division and there are African players. Is this serious? What purpose does it serve?" – he told the magazine. He did not apologize for his xenophobic statement.

GDYNIA. On November 27th, during a first-division between Arka Gdynia and Śląsk Wrocław, home "fans" displayed a banner with the slogan: "Arka Gdynia White Brothers. United Patriots. Tolerance is the virtue of people without beliefs" and the so-called "rune of death", one of the symbols of the neo-Nazi movement. This time the slogan "White Brothers" remained covered during a part of the match, probably to avoid a reaction from Polish Football Association's observer, who is obliged to remove flags with extreme right-wing symbols from stands. The flag was clearly visible on the website of Arka Gdynia in a report from the stands prepared by club's official TV station.

ŁÓDŹ. On November 27th, during a first-division match between Widzew Łódź and Górnik Zabrze, visiting "fans" shouted anti-Semitic chants. They were directed at fans of Widzew, who are often called "Jews" by opponents, particularly by those with extreme right-wing beliefs. On December 2nd, the league fined Górnik Zabrze 5,000 zlotys (€1,275).

DECEMBER 2010

STRZELCE OPOLSKIE. On December 4th, at the entrance to the building where Nigerian, Senegalese and Zimbabwean players of LZS Piotrówka lived, and on the two adjacent façades, "unknown perpetrators" painted racist slogans and symbols. On the front of the building located in the corner of Żeromskiego Square and at Wajdy Street two swastikas and the slogan "Nigger Raus" was painted in black paint. They also painted the words "My tu zawsze będziemy" ("We will always be here") and swastikas on the neighbouring building at Grunwaldzka Street. A swastika was also painted on the front door casing in the building where the players live. "On Monday morning we noticed slogans painted on the wall, but, as we did not want to be a medium for such content, the building administration removed them" – said Piotr Jagielski, director of a branch of the bank PKO BP in Strzelce Opolskie which was among the graffitied sites. The bank's management did not report the incident to the police. Officers received information about it from journalists. Beata Kocur

from county police headquarters in Strzelce Opolskie said: “We will be investigating the case. The legal basis is an article of the penal code which says that propagating a totalitarian system is punishable by a fine, restriction of liberty or up to two years’ imprisonment”.

BIELSKO-BIAŁA. Probably during the night of December 12th-13th, “fans” of BKS Stal Bielsko-Biała painted insults aimed at a “Never Again” associate on a pro-ecology mural on the walls of the “Na Blachach” Gallery, which was his work. Among the insults were: “queer”, “paedophile”, “Jew”. His name and an abbreviation of his surname were also included. The perpetrators signed themselves as “BKS” at the bottom in the same spray paint. The incident was reported to the police. On December 30th, Wojciech Podsiadło from the District Prosecutor’s Office in Bielsko-Biała issued a ruling to dismiss an investigation on ground of “lack of public interest”.

RZESZÓW. On December 30th, former justice minister and current president of CWKS Resovia Rzeszów, Aleksander Bentkowski, in an interview for the “Super Nowości” daily, made outrageous comments in connection with December 23rd decision of the District Prosecutor’s Office in Rzeszów to dismiss the case against four men accused of insulting the Jewish nation during football derby match in Second League between Stal Rzeszów and Resovia Rzeszów, which took place on May 8th. “I was outraged at the position of the head of the Polish Jewish Community, who questioned the result of the prosecutor’s investigation. On what grounds? Does the Jewish Community eagerly protest, when newspapers publish information that allegedly Poles established concentration camps on their land? Dedicating so much attention to the incident which took place during the derby is a gross exaggeration”, he said. He added: “One of the fans, after the wave of criticism, concluded that ‘you should not stand in a fool’s way’. This answer shows that Resovia fans’ aim was not to insult the Jewish nation, but the fans of Stal. Reportedly the pre-war team from Rzeszów was composed of Jewish players and blue and white were the colours of the club. This is the reason why Resovia fans call the sympathizers of Stal Jews”. During the May 8th match, “fans” of Resovia had displayed a banner showing a silhouette of a man with a characteristic yarmulke in the colours of Israel: white and blue. These colours are also the club colours of Stal. The yarmulke itself was stylised as the striped

uniform of concentration camp inmates during the Holocaust. Another banner was displayed above the caricature saying: “Death to hook noses”. Stal “fans” meanwhile displayed a banner with a drawing of a rat wearing a Resovia club shirt with a Star of David instead



of an emblem. Organisers failed to respond to the anti-Semitic banners. The Polish Football Association decided that Stal Rzeszów, as hosts of the match, would have to pay a 2,500 zlotys fine (around €638) and ordered to club to play in an empty stadium for the following three weeks. Resovia, meanwhile, was ordered to play its home and away matches without fans for a month.

BYDGOSZCZ. On December 31st in the evening, there was an anti-Semitic incident in front of a block of flats in Twardzickiego Street. A group of a few people made a penis-shaped snowman. A star of David and an inscription "BKS" (Budowlany Klub Sportowy from Bydgoszcz) was placed on top of it and flares were burning on either side. Passersby did not react, nor did the police intervene.

YEAR 2011

JANUARY

WARSZAWA. On January 4th, editorial staff of “Never Again” magazine received information on racist stickers placed by “fans” of fifth-division Hutnik Warszawa in public buses. In the picture on the sticker, supporters of Hutnik in Ku Klux Klan costumes were holding a flag of their team standing around a tree, on which a black man was hanged – painted in the club colours of first-division Polonia Warszawa, whose strip is black. Next to the picture there was a slogan: “Hunting season begins with a nigger hunt” (“Sezon łowczy się zaczyna, polowaniem na murzyna”). The word “nigger” was also written in Polonia club colours. Hutnik “fans” were active during a far-right nationalist march held on November 11th, 2010, on independence day in Warsaw.

WARSZAWA. On January 12th, the Internet portal of the “Wprost” weekly published a photograph of an MP from the conservative Prawo i Sprawiedliwość party (Law and Justice), Anna Zalewska taken in a corridor of the Parliament, where she displayed a scarf of second-division Górnik Wałbrzych which bore the motto: “Loyalty is my honour” (Nazi Germany’s SS used the slogan: “Meine Ehre heißt Treue”). Zalewska represents Wałbrzych constituency.

WARSZAWA. On January 19th, editorial staff of “Never Again” magazine received information about a series of anti-Semitic stickers distributed by a “fan” of first-division Legia Warszawa. In the picture on the sticker there was – next to the emblem of the club – a drawing of a Roman soldier (a Legia fan) pointing his finger at a man lying covered in blood (wearing a Jewish

gabardine and with exaggerated facial features) and the words: “Know your place... sidelock!”. Next to the figure of a Jew there was a broken emblem of football club Widzew Łódź, who are called “Jews” by hostile “supporters” of other teams.

FEBRUARY 2011

WARSZAWA. On February 6th, former Poland international goalkeeper Jan Tomaszewski – a highly-capped player, notably in the 1974 and 1978 World Cup – expressed racist views about the Polish team trained by Franciszek Smuda in an interview for the portal Footballclub.pl. Among his apparent targets were Polish-born, German-raised Sebastian Boenisch, and Colombian Manuel Arboleda, who has been planning to apply for Polish citizenship. “This hotchpotch lacks only a cannibal from Africa who once ate a Polish missionary”, “This is not a Polish team. There are Columbian and German stray dogs...”, “At present, the national team is composed of a bunch of disgruntled people who were not welcome in any other team”.

MARCH 2011

STARGARD SZCZECIŃSKI. On March 15th, the East Europe Monitoring Centre was informed by CAFE (Centre for Access to Football in Europe), which campaigns for the rights of disabled football fans, about a profile on the social media website *nasza-klasa* (Classmates) called “Kluczevia Stargard ANTY Błękitni Stargard”. The fans of Kluczevia Stargard had created the anti-profile of their local rival Błękitni Stargard, on which they used the international wheelchair symbol to insult the fans of the latter team. The profile was created in 2009 without any intervention from the site’s administrators.



UKRAINE

YEAR 2009

JULY

POLTAVA. On July 18th, during the first fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Vorskla Poltava and Karpaty Lviv, visiting “fans”



displayed a banner with a *Totenkopf* – a skull symbol which was the emblem of the eponymous Nazi German World War II SS. Another of their banners read “Banderstadt Ultras”, a Germanised reference to Stepan Bandera (1909–1959), the controversial leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists which collaborated with the Nazis for a certain period during the war.

AUGUST 2009

DONETSK. On August 9th, during the fourth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Shakhtar Donetsk and Metallurg Donetsk, home “fans” displayed a flag with a stylised logo of the clothing company “Thor Steinar”, which sponsors neo-Nazis in Europe. They also displayed a banner reading “Shakhtar über alles” (“Shakhtar above all”), which has an unequivocal association with the German slogan “Deutschland über alles” (“Germany above all”).



HATEFUL

KRYVYI RIH. On August 22nd, during the fifth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Kryvbass Kryvyi Rih and Chornomorets Odessa, home “fans” displayed a banner with a *Totenkopf*.



KRYVYI RIH. On August 29th, during the sixth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Kryvbass Kryvyi Rih and Illichivets Mariupol, home “fans” displayed a banner with a stylised swastika resembling an English flag.

KYIV. On August 31st, during the sixth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Dynamo Kyiv and Metallurg Donetsk, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.



SEPTEMBER 2009

KHARKIV. On September 20th, during the seventh fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Metallist Kharkiv and Dynamo Kyiv, home “fans” displayed a banner showing an imperial eagle with an axe – one of the emblems of Italian Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini.



SIMFEROPOL. On September 27th, during the eighth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Tavria Simferopol and Metallist Kharkiv, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.

ODESSA. On September 27th, during the eighth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Chornomorets Odessa and Karpaty Lviv, home “fans” displayed a banner commemorating Ian Stuart Donaldson (1957-1993), leader of British neo-Nazi rock band Skrewdriver.

NOVEMBER 2009



DNIPROPETROVSK. On November 22nd, during the fourteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Dnipro Dnipropetrovsk and Vorskla Poltava, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.

DECEMBER 2009



KRYVYI RIH. On December 6th, during the sixteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League season, between Kryvbass Kryvyi Rih and Shakhtar Donetsk, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a stylised logo of clothing company “Thor Steinar”, which sponsors neo-Nazis in Europe.

YEAR 2010

FEBRUARY



KYIV. On February 27th, during the eighteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Dynamo Kyiv and Kryvbass Kryvyi Rih, “fans” of both teams displayed banners with Celtic crosses.



LVIV. On February 27th, during a Ukrainian Premier League match between Karpaty Lviv and Metalist Kharkiv, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.



MARCH 2010

KHARKIV. On March 20th, during the twenty-first fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Metallist Kharkiv and Metallurg Zaporizhzhia, home “fans” displayed two 10-metre yellow banners with the logo of the ultra-right organisation “Patriots of Ukraine”, which is adapted from the *Wolfsangel* emblem of the Nazi German World War II “Das Reich” SS division. Additionally, a banner



with a Celtic cross was displayed. When other fans tried to remove the symbols, they were attacked by the neo-Nazis. The police did not react.

KYIV. On March 28th, during the twenty-second fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Dynamo Kyiv and Metallist Kharkiv, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with an imperial eagle with an axe – one of the emblems of Italian Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini.



APRIL 2010

LUGANSK. On April 3rd, during the twenty-third fixture of the Ukrainian



Premier League, between Zorya Lugansk and Dynamo Kyiv, home “fans” displayed the banner they bring to every match, which shows a Celtic cross.

KYIV. On April 10th, during the Ukrainian capital’s derby between Dynamo Kyiv and Arsenal Kyiv, Dynamo “fans” displayed a banner reading “Good Night Left Side”, a common far-right slogan, directed at fans of Arsenal who are known for their anti-racist stand.



UZHGOROD. On April 11th, during the twenty-fourth fixture the Ukrainian Premier League, between Zakarpattya Uzhgorod and Karpaty Lviv, visiting “fans” displayed

banners with a Celtic cross and a Confederate flag, the symbol of the racist South during the American Civil War in the 19th century. Karpaty “fans” attacked members of ethnic minorities in the city before the match.

DNIPROPETROVSK. On April 14th, during the twenty-fifth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between Dnipro Dnipropetrovsk and Metallurg Zaporizhzhia, home “fans” displayed a banner reading “Zero Tolerance” and another with a Celtic cross.



LVIV. On April 24th, before the twenty-seventh fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League, between



Karpaty Lviv and Dynamo Kyiv, visiting “fans” marched to the stadium through Lviv carrying political banners, including a Celtic cross and “Good Night Left Side”. During the match, both teams’ crowds displayed numerous banners with a Celtic cross. Such a huge number of racist symbols may be explained by the traditional “unity” between extreme-right, racist Dynamo and Karpaty supporters.



JULY 2010

LUGANSK. On July 9th, during a Ukrainian Premier League season opener between Zorya Lugansk and PFK Sevastopol, home “fans” displayed a banner seen regularly at the club’s games, with a Celtic cross, a symbol of the racist *White Power* movement.



LUTSK. On July 10th, during a Ukrainian Premier League season opener between Volyn’ Lutsk and Vorskla Poltava, home “fans” displayed a banner with a *Totenkopf* skull symbol – symbol of a Nazi German World War II SS division.

LVIV. On July 22nd, during a Europa League second qualifying round match between Karpaty Lviv and Icelandic club Knattspyrnufélag Reykjavíkur, home “fans” displayed banner with a Celtic cross. Another banner read, “Banderstadt Ultras”, a Germanised reference to Stepan Bandera (1909-1959), the controversial leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

KHARKIV. On July 23rd, during the third Ukrainian Premier League fixture, “fans” of both Metallist Kharkiv and Dynamo Kyiv displayed banners with racist symbols – Metallist: an eagle with a Celtic cross; “88”, standing for “HH” – a cipher used by neo-





-Nazis for “Heil Hitler”; “Death to ZOG”, an abbreviation by neo--Nazis for “Zionist Occupational Government”; Dynamo Kyiv: a Celtic cross.

POLTAVA. On July 30th, during the fourth Ukrainian Premier League fixture between Vorskla Poltava and Tavria Simferopol, home “fans” displayed a banner with the logo of the ultra-right organisation “Patriots of Ukraine” (which is adapted from the *Wolfsangel*, the symbol of the Nazi German World War II SS division “Das Reich”).



AUGUST 2010

LVIV. On August 8th, during the fourth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Karpaty Lviv and Arsenal Kyiv, home “fans” displayed a banner with a portrait of Italian Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini.



POLTAVA. On August 14th, during the sixth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Vorskla Poltava and Dynamo Kyiv, home “fans” displayed a banner with the logo of the ultra-right organization “Patriot of Ukraine” (which is adapted from the *Wolfsangel*, the symbol of the Nazi German World War II SS division “Das Reich”).



KYIV. On August 15th, after a Ukrainian Premier League game between Arsenal Kyiv and Volyn Lutsk, the most severe armed neo-Nazi attack on football fans took place. During the match, Arsenal supporters displayed anti-racist banners and banners in support of arrested Russian anti-fascists, thus demonstrating their anti-racist views for the first time in public. Immediately after the match, on the way to a metro station, 30 Arsenal supporters were attacked by 50 neo-Nazis, among them “fans” of Dynamo Kyiv. The incident went beyond football clashes: the attackers were armed with knives and knuckledusters, and shouted the slogans “Heil Hitler” and “White Power”. During the fight neo-Nazis made a murder attempt against one of the anti-fascists – lying unconscious on the ground, the individual was stabbed with knife three times in the back. The knife damaged his lungs. After surgery, his state was stable. Another anti-fascist was brought to hospital with temporary memory loss and brain

injury. Other fans of Arsenal suffered multiple injuries. Immediately after the neo-Nazi attack, police arrested four assailants, one of whom had a bloodstained knife with him. Pechersk district police department refused to open a criminal case and denied that the violence was ideologically motivated. Internet searches confirmed that the attack was organised by the extreme-right hooligan group "Terror Family". Among its members are active neo-Nazis with convictions for violence against ethnic minorities and hooliganism. This group is responsible for numerous racist symbols seen on Dynamo Kyiv's terraces, such as Celtic crosses and swastikas. Some of their websites carried messages about the attack on anti-fascists. Some of these messages were removed. Kyiv Arsenal remains the only football club whose fans demonstrate their anti-fascist views in public. This has caused confrontation with fans of other clubs in Ukraine where neo-Nazis dominate. Arsenal fans had been subject to armed attacks before, but this case was unprecedented.

KYIV. On August 17th, during a Champions League qualifying play-off Dynamo Kyiv and Dutch club Ajax Amsterdam, home "fans" displayed a banner with hanged emblem of Ajax, Celtic cross and the anti-Semitic slogan "Juden Zeigen".



KHARKIV. On August 26th, during a Europa League play-off between Metallist Kharkiv and Omonia Nicosia of Cyprus, home "fans" displayed a banner reading "Good Night Left Side", a common far-right slogan, directed at anti-racist fans of Omonia.



LVIV. On August 26th, during a Europa League between Karpaty Lviv and Turkish club Galatasaray, home "fans" displayed banner in Turkish reading "Türk domuz uzakta Avrupa'dan" ("Turkish pigs get out of Europe"), with a Celtic cross.



LVIV. On August 30th, during the eighth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Karpaty Lviv and Volyn' Lutsk, visiting "fans" displayed a banner with a stylised swastika.



LUGANSK. On August 30th, during eighth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Zorya Lugansk and Tavria Simferopol, home “fans” displayed their regular match banner with a Celtic cross.



SEPTEMBER 2010

KYIV. On September 7th, an extreme-right party organised a demonstration under the slogan “For Ukrainian Football”, with demands including the expulsion of “migrants” and “foreign legionaries” from the Ukrainian game, “racial purity in Ukrainian football”, and so on. The demonstration drew



several thousand people, among them around five percent right-wing football supporters. The rest were activists of the “Svoboda” party who had been brought to Kyiv from all over Ukraine to participate in a political rally near parliament earlier in the morning and then were sent to the football demonstration. Banners with Celtic crosses as well as racist slogans were common among the participants. The demonstration ended near the Ukrainian

Football Association building, where its vice-president Borys Voskresenskyi came out and promised to “take into account” the protesters’ demands.

LVIV. On September 16th, before a Europa League group stage match between Karpaty Lviv and German club Borussia Dortmund, home “fans” marched to the stadium carrying banners with a Celtic cross and chanting racist slogans.



KYIV. On September 16th, during a Europa League group stage match between Dynamo Kyiv and Bate Borisov of Belarus, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.



On September 30th, during a Europa League group stage match between Moldovian league side Sheriff Tiraspol and Dynamo (Kyiv), visiting Ukrainian “fans” displayed a banner with a stylised swastika.

LUGANSK. On September 19th, during the tenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Zorya Lugansk and Dynamo Kyiv, home “fans” Zorya displayed their regular match banner which shows a Celtic cross.



KYIV. On September 26th, during the eleventh fixture in the Ukrainian Premier League between Obolon Kyiv and Volyn’ Lutsk, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.



DNIPROPETROVSK. On September 26th, during the eleventh fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Dnipro Dnipropetrovsk and Kryvbass Kryvyi Rih, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.

SIMFEROPOL. On September 26th, during the eleventh fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Tavria Simferopol and Karpaty Lviv, home “fans” displayed a text banner with a Celtic cross.



DONETSK. On September 26th, during the eleventh fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Metallurg Donetsk and Zorya Lugansk, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.



OCTOBER 2010

LUGANSK. On October 2nd, during the twelfth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Zorya Lugansk and Vorskla Poltava, home “fans” displayed their regular match front banner with a Celtic cross.

LVIV. On October 16th, during the thirteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Dynamo Kyiv and Karpaty Lviv, visiting “fans” team displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.

LUGANSK. On October 23rd, during the fourteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Zorya Lugansk and Kryvbass Kryvyi Rih, “fans” of both teams displayed banners with Celtic crosses.



HATEFUL

LVIV. On October 24th, during the fourteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Karpaty Lviv and Metallurg Donetsk, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.



LUTSK. On October 24th, during the fourteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Volyn' Lutsk and Dynamo Kyiv, both teams' “fans” displayed racist banners. Volyn – *Totenkopf*; Dynamo – Celtic cross.



DNIPROPETROVSK. On October 30th, during the fifteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Dnipro Dnipropetrovsk and Shakhtar Donetsk, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross and one reading “Zero Tolerance”.



KYIV. On October 31st, during the fifteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Dynamo Kyiv and Illichivets Mariupol, home “fans” displayed a banner with a stylised swastika.



DONETSK. On October 31st, during the fifteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Metallurg Donetsk and Volyn' Lutsk, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross on it.

NOVEMBER 2010



POLTAVA. On November 5th, during the sixteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Vorskla Poltava and Volyn' Lutsk, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross and a stylised swastika.

LVIV. On November 7th, during the sixteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Karpaty Lviv and Dnipro Dnipropetrovsk, home “fans” displayed a banner with a Celtic cross.



LVIV. On November 10th, during the Ukrainian Cup quarter-final between Karpaty Lviv and Arsenal Kyiv, home “fans” displayed a banner with a neo-Nazi slogan “White Pride Boys” with a “Sieg” rune, a symbol used by the Nazi German SS.



KRYVYI RIH. On November 20th, during the eighteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Kryvbas Kryvyi Rih and Volyn' Lutsk, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with a stylised swastika.

ZAPORIZHZHIA. On November 21st, during eighteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Metallurg Zaporizhzhia and Karpaty Lviv, visiting “fans” displayed a banner with an emblem of the World War II Waffen-SS division “Galychna”.



KYIV. On November 21st, during eighteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Dynamo Kyiv and Metallist Kharkiv, home “fans” waved a flag with a Celtic cross.



LUTSK. On November 28th, during the nineteenth fixture of the Ukrainian Premier League between Volyn' Lutsk and Metallurg Zaporizhzhia, home “fans” displayed numerous racist banners with symbols including a stylised swastika and a Celtic cross. They also carried a banner reading “Zip File 88” – the latter is a neo-Nazi code for “Heil Hitler” because “H” is the eighth letter of the alphabet, and “Zip File” is a cypher for “Sieg Heil”.



DECEMBER 2010

DONETSK. On December 8th, during the Champions League match between Ukraine’s Shakhtar Donetsk and Portuguese club Braga, home “fans” displayed a small banner reading “Egor Sviridov RIP”. Sviridov, a Spartak Moscow fan, was allegedly shot in a December 6th brawl with men from the Russian Caucasus. In the wake of his death, Russia’s extreme-right surfed on from rising popular prejudice against non-ethnic Russians, taking to the streets of central Moscow along with football hooligans. Several Ukrainian organisations and football fan-groups ran so-called “solidarity actions” linked to the December 2010 race riots in Moscow.





KYIV. On December 15th, during the Europa League match between Dynamo Kyiv and Moldovan league side Sheriff Tiraspol, “fans” of Dyna-

mo displayed a banner reading “Egor Sviridov White Solidarity”.

LVIV. On December 15th, during the Europa League game between Karpaty and Paris-Saint-Germain, Karpaty “fans” displayed a banner with the emblem of the Ukrainian SS division Galizien on the right and French SS division Chalemagne on the left with inscription between them in French – “Pour l’Europe blanche” (“For a white Europe”).



LVIV. On December 16th, a rally took place outside the Russian consulate in the city of Lviv. It was organised by autonomous nationalists and attended by around 30 people. There is no data to show whether “fans” of FC Karpaty Lviv – known for their xenophobic attitudes, but also their anti-Russian rhetoric – participated or not. The main slogan of the rally was “No to Caucasus banditry”. The participants demanded a stop to the “Caucasians’ outrage” in



Russia, the punishment of Sviridov’s killers, and the end to the prosecution of hooligans who took part in the Moscow riots. They also claimed that the problem of “Caucasian banditry” was highly relevant for Ukraine. After the rally, they met with a representative of the consulate.

KHARKIV. On December 17th in Kharkiv, the organisation “Patriots of Ukraine” organised a demonstration in support of the Russian neo-Nazis. The local court officially banned the demonstration but despite this around 150 people gathered and marched through the city with flaming torches and slogans.

DONETSK. In Donetsk, affiliates of “Patriots of Ukraine” together with some “fans” of FC Shakhtar Donetsk also organised an illegal demonstration in the city centre attended by around 50 people. Just as in Kharkiv, the police took no action as well. The participants carried a banner reading “Yuri Volkov, Egor Sviridov, who’s next?” – Spartak “fan” Volkov died in another ethnically-tinged brawl in Moscow in July 2010 – and shouted “Foreigners out”.



SIMFEROPOL. On December 19th in Simferopol, autonomous nationalists together with “fans” of FC Tavria Simferopol and FC Sevastopol organized a rally in the centre of the city in support of the Russian



neo-Nazis. The main slogan of the action was “Stop ethnic banditry”. The police banned the rally and tried to arrest the participants, but some managed to march through the city. The total number of participants may have been 100.

KYIV. An anti-migrant demonstration took place in Kyiv on December 24th. It was distinguished by the use of the racist Celtic cross symbol on one of the banners. Around 70 autonomous nationalists and Dynamo Kyiv “fans” rallied outside the Russian embassy carrying banners which read “Dear Caucasians, your relatives need you at home” and “Russia is a prison of nations”. They demanded the punishment of Sviridov’s killers but also independence for the peoples of the Caucasus in exchange for their deportation from Russia.





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