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The Migration Crisis and the Attitude of the Polish Authorities Towards Migrants in the Context of Opinions Formulated During the Meetings of the Visegrad Group (V4)

Introduction

For several months, Poland has been struggling with the problem of a significant and uncontrolled influx of immigrants across the Polish-Belarusian border. Although the number of people who came to our country or through its territory to other countries is not significant, the same phenomenon was unprecedented in the recent history of Poland. At present, the situation at the border has calmed down and the time for its reliable assessment will be in the future. Nevertheless, in my opinion, it is already possible to try to characterize and verify the actions of the Polish authorities.

This article focuses on the issue of using the forum of international meetings within the Visegrad Group to present the approach of Polish representatives to the migration issue. It is not an assessment of the activities of the V4 Group itself. Therefore, the main research problem was formulated as follows: What is the attitude of the Polish government to the migration crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border in the context of opinions expressed during the meetings of the Visegrad Group?

In addition to the main research problem, two more questions were formulated – specific problems: Is the attitude of the Polish authorities consistent with the directions of the V4 Group’s policy presented in June 2021 to Prime Minister Viktor Orban at the beginning of the Hungarian presidency? Can the messages concerning the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border addressed to the society affect the citizens’ perception of the problem of immigration to our country?

The identified main and detailed problems require the presentation of research hypotheses. The main research hypothesis was formulated as follows: The attitude of the Polish government to the migration crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border in the context of the opinions formulated during the meetings of the Visegrad Group is negative, which is expressed primarily in the treatment of migratory pressure from Belarus as a serious threat to state security.

The detailed hypotheses are: The attitude of the Polish authorities is consistent with the directions of the V4 Group policy announced at the beginning of the Hungarian presidency, including the postulates: protection of the external borders of the European Union and stopping migration flows outside its territory. Messages on the situation on the Polish-Belarusian border addressed to the public affect the perception of the problem of immigration and contribute to strengthening anti-immigrant sentiment.

The article uses the monographic method. This method allows for a detailed insight into the subject of research, the phenomena and tendencies occurring in it, as well as the effects of the impact of various factors¹. This type of exploration has been included by Earl Babbie as non-reactive research, i.e., research that analyzes social behavior without affecting it². Their primary research techniques include content analysis and analysis of existing statistical data. Content analysis “is the study of recorded human communications. Forms of communication suitable for such research include books, magazines, websites, newspapers (...), messages / posts on the walls on the Internet, laws and constitutions, as well as the parts or collections of which they are composed”³. The analysis of existing statistical data “is particularly important as (...) statistics should always be considered, at least as a complementary data source (...) they can also be essential data for scientific social research”⁴. Materials collected in a systematic and occasional manner were used, including scientific documents, statistical

¹ J. Sztumski, *Wstęp do metod i technik badań społecznych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Śląsk, Katowice 2010, pp. 136–137.

² E. Babbie, *Podstawy badań społecznych*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa 2008, p. 357.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 358.

⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 370.

studies or reports⁵. Due to their diversity and the amount of collected data – they have been subject to critical verification.

The calendar of events on the Polish-Belarusian border and activities of the Polish authorities

The increase in the number of attempts to cross the border was systematic, and in the initial period, such activities were mainly observed in the Baltic republics. The first – as early as June 2021 – the problem touched Lithuania. As a result of the growing so-called migratory pressure, the Lithuanian government introduced a state of emergency in July throughout the country. The construction of security measures at the border to make it difficult to cross the border was also started, a camp was set up for people who had entered Lithuania, and a law was adopted allowing for the return of immigrants to Belarus. In the following months, the Lithuanian authorities focused their activities primarily on tightening the regulations that limited people who crossed the border illegally from staying on the territory of Lithuania.

The migration crisis has also hit Latvia. Since August, it has been struggling with an increased number of attempts to illegally cross the border by people coming from Belarus. The pattern of behavior of the Latvian authorities was similar to the one previously described and also included the construction of the border wall and publicizing the problem in the international arena – for example within North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) – or the threat of imposing sanctions on Belarus.

The problems of Lithuania and Latvia constituted a kind of prelude to the deterioration of the situation in Poland. The increase in the number of attempts to cross the border illegally began to be observed from August. This problem, apart from the actual challenge it was, became at the same time the subject of a lively public debate in our country and another factor in exacerbating the political dispute. The main areas of activity of the Polish authorities were identical to those previously or simultaneously undertaken by the Lithuanian and Latvian governments and included:

- sending the army, the Police and the Territorial Defence Forces to the border,
- construction of a fence to prevent illegal border crossing,
- blocking by the Border Guard the possibility of people from Belarus from entering Poland, attempts to direct humanitarian aid to Belarus,

⁵ J. Sztumski, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–210.

- introduction of a state of emergency in the border zone with Belarus – by the President’s decision of September 2, 2021 – with the period of its validity being extended several times⁶,
- efforts in the diplomatic sphere, both in bilateral relations with Belarus and on the forum of NATO, the European Union (EU) or the Visegrad Group,
- tightening of mechanisms limiting the possibility of illegal immigrants remaining on the territory of Poland – including attempts to legally sanction the so-called “push-backs”.

It should also be noted that the attitude of the Polish authorities has met with strong criticism not only from opposition parties, but also from the Commissioner for Human Rights (Ombudsman) or non-governmental organizations. Both the Ombudsman and representatives of his office repeatedly visited the border, paying particular attention to the observance of the rights of persons detained by the Border Guard, the conditions in which they stayed after their arrest and the application of the procedure for returning foreigners to the border⁷. In addition, the Ombudsman pointed out – in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of October 20, 2021 – the need to counter the influx of migrants in their countries of origin by providing, through Polish diplomatic representations, reliable information on the activities of Belarusian tourist offices, which, in violation of international law, encourage using their services, guaranteeing

⁶ It is worth noting that the Constitution of the Republic of Poland, in Chapter XI, States of Emergency, in Article 228, paragraph 1, provides that “in situations of particular danger, if ordinary constitutional measures are inadequate, any of the following appropriate extraordinary measures may be introduced: martial law, a state of emergency or a state of natural disaster”. Compare to: The Constitution of the Republic of Poland of April 2, 1997 as published in the Polish Journal of Laws No. 78, item 483, Article 230 – “in the case of threats to the constitutional order of the State, to security of the citizenry or public order, the President of the Republic may, on request of the Council of Ministers, introduce for a definite period no longer than 90 days, a state of emergency in a part of or upon the whole territory of the State. Extension of a state of emergency may be made once only for a period no longer than 60 days and with the consent of the Sejm”. These possibilities were exhausted at the end of November 2021, and therefore the government proposed to amend the Act on the Protection of the State Border of October 12, 1990. The amendment concerned, inter alia, adding Art. 12a, which, in paragraphs 1 and 2, gives the minister competent for internal affairs the possibility of introducing “a ban on staying in a specific area in the border zone adjacent to the state border constituting the external border within the meaning of the provisions of the Schengen Borders Code”. Compare: Act of November 17, 2021 amending the act on the protection of the state border and some other acts, Polish Journal of Laws 2021, item 2191. For the first time, such a regulation was published on November 30, 2021 – Regulation of the Minister of Interior and Administration of November 30, 2021 on the introduction of a temporary ban on staying in a specific area in the border zone adjacent to the state border with the Republic of Belarus, Polish Journal of Laws No. 2021, item 2193.

⁷ Website of the Ombudsman’s Office, <https://bip.brpo.gov.pl>, “Wizytacja Marcina Wiącka na granicy polsko-białoruskiej” [accessed: December 11, 2021].

not only the flight to Minsk, but also transport to the Polish border. As a result, some migrants are convinced that this may be a chance for them to get away, for example, from Germany⁸. The position of the Commissioner for Human Rights shows that even the criticism of the government's actions does not preclude a rational assessment of the causes of the current situation and the unquestionable role of the Belarusian authorities in the resulting migration crisis.

Poland's position on the migration crisis presented at the forum of the Visegrad Group

One of the measures aimed at alleviating tensions at the border were actions by the Council of Ministers aimed at publicizing border problems on the international forum. The last months were full of a series of events and meetings during which representatives of the government, in particular Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki, presented the position of the Polish side regarding not only the assessment of the events on the Polish border with Belarus, but also proposals for actions that could contribute to solving the current situation. Pro-government media described the meetings of the Prime Minister with leaders of other countries as a "diplomatic offensive"⁹. Although there were many comments criticizing these visits – not only by opposition politicians, but also journalists – they were undoubtedly an opportunity to present the views of the Polish side and the government on a wider forum, so far expressed primarily for internal use and directed both to one's own electorate and to society as a whole.

The Prime Minister's visits intensified in November 2021 – the first of the series of foreign visits took place on November 21 and concerned meetings with the authorities of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia. However, the position of the Polish government was presented earlier, in October, also during the summits of the Visegrad Group countries. On October 12, during the meeting of the heads of government of the V4 group with the President of Egypt in Budapest, Mateusz Morawiecki emphasized the importance of actions that wo-

⁸ Website of the Ombudsman's Office, <https://bip.brpo.gov.pl>, "Rzecznik proponuje MSZ działania informacyjne w krajach pochodzenia migrantów" [accessed: December 11, 2021].

⁹ TVP Info, "Ofensywa dyplomatyczna Morawieckiego. Rozmowy w trzech stolicach", <https://www.tvp.info> [accessed: December 11, 2021]; NaTemat, "11 krajów w 6 dni". W PiS chwalą się ofensywą dyplomatyczną Morawieckiego, internauci reagują", <https://natemat.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021]; Polska Agencja Prasowa, "Ofensywa dyplomatyczna premiera Morawieckiego. W czwartek spotka się z szefem włoskiego rządu", <https://www.pap.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021]; Polityka, "Komiwojażer Morawiecki. Czy dyplomatyczna ofensywa premiera coś przyniesie?", <https://www.polityka.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

uld allow to reduce the migratory pressure on Europe from the side of Africa, which would be possible in close cooperation with countries such as Egypt. Its strengthening, primarily in the economic dimension, would be an effective antidote to the increased interest in emigration of the inhabitants of the Middle East. A stable economic situation and opportunities for development would also reduce the threat of terrorism. The Prime Minister, pointing out that there are about 6 million refugees in Egypt, referred to the current situation on the Polish-Belarusian border, commenting on the similarities (primarily “migration pressure”) and differences between the two countries, and also said that the problems experienced by Poland and Egypt show that that “it is a dangerous practice to cause artificial migration tensions and how much it is necessary to deal with the issue on the spot, to help countries that are potentially a reservoir of great migration, on the spot”¹⁰.

It is worth noting that a similar assessment was previously made by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Szymon Szynkowski vel Sęk. During the GLOBSEC (a global think-tank based in Bratislava) Forum, which was held in October 2020 in Bratislava, a working meeting of the heads of the V4 foreign ministries with their counterparts from France took place. One of the topics discussed was the issue of migration. The Polish representative said that “the position of the Visegrad Group has been clear for a long time. We want to take responsibility for the EU migration policy, jointly defend borders, jointly ensure security, and also try to solve the problem of migration at its source, that is in countries where migration begins”¹¹.

The next meeting within the Visegrad Group took place on November 23, 2021. It was convened at the request of Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki in connection with the current geopolitical situation¹². During the summit, he pointed out that the definition of the current situation on the eastern border of Poland as a migration crisis is too mild and it is rather a political crisis, which should be viewed as a system of several elements jointly influencing the countries affected by it. These are: intensifying migratory pressure, relocation of troops within the Russian Federation, energy issues and cyberattacks, disinformation and hacker crimes. Moreover, as the Prime Minister described it, an effective

¹⁰ Polska Agencja Prasowa, “Premier: V4 zależy, żeby na Bliskim Wschodzie był spokój i warunki do rozwoju, które zapobiegną migracji”, <https://www.pap.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

¹¹ Polska Agencja Prasowa, “Migracja wśród tematów spotkania szefów dyplomacji Grupy Wyszehradzkiej i Francji”, <https://www.pap.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

¹² TVP Info, “Spotkanie V4 z udziałem Morawieckiego. Na wniosek polskiego premiera”, <https://www.tvp.info> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

way to reduce the influx of immigrants is cooperation with the countries of their origin or those on the main migration routes¹³.

On November 22, 2021, a joint statement was published by the chairmen of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committees of the Visegrad Group on the situation at the EU's external borders with Belarus. It condemned the instrumental use of the migration phenomenon, at the same time identifying it as part of hybrid actions directed at the EU. Interestingly, the issue of protection of the territory of sovereign states was referred to, at the same time pointing out that Belarus should allow free access of humanitarian aid and journalists¹⁴. It is worth recalling that the state of emergency introduced in Poland in the border areas did not allow for the entry of media representatives. In addition, the published statement indicated that people who cross the border illegally will not be able to apply for international protection but will be sent back. Cooperation with the countries of origin and transit of immigrants has been identified as an effective way of counteracting migration, which in turn will be possible with their support in the field of readmission and returns¹⁵.

A joint statement by the presidents of the V4 Group countries was prepared in a similar vein, which was published on the website of the Visegrad Group on November 30, 2021. It pointed out that the member states express solidarity with those that have become the target of hybrid attacks on their borders by Belarus. It was emphasized that the Belarusian regime was fully responsible for the crisis, and the manner of its handling was unacceptable in international relations. This responsibility also applies to the health and life of people who have been brought by the Belarusian authorities to their country and to the resolution of the humanitarian situation of migrants. Moreover, the presidents of the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary declared their readiness to provide Poland, Lithuania and Latvia with all assistance in the protection of the external borders of the European Union and NATO¹⁶.

The presented positions of the representatives of the Polish authorities make it possible to indicate some key points of reference in terms of formulating the concept of perceiving the migration crisis as well as migrants. Firstly, attention is drawn to the issue of the possibility of applying for international protection

¹³ Polska The Times, "Państwa V4 solidarne z Polską. Premier ostrzega: Ten kryzys szybko się nie skończy", <https://polskatimes.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

¹⁴ TVN24, "Kraje Grupy Wyszehradzkiej apelują do Unii Europejskiej ws. kryzysu migracyjnego", <https://tvn24.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Visegrad Group, "Joint Statement of the Presidents of the Visegrad countries regarding the situation on the borders of Poland, Lithuania and Latvia", <https://www.visegradgroup.eu/download.php?docID=475> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

in Poland. According to the presented positions, the Polish side is against this and will try to return every person who crosses the border illegally – which, moreover, has been legally established in the form of the so-called “export act”¹⁷. This is in direct opposition to the position of the Ombudsman who, as part of his activities, developed a leaflet for immigrants in eight language versions, including Arabic and Kurdish, where it was indicated that even an oral declaration of the intention to seek international protection in Poland should be sufficient to undertake activities by the relevant services¹⁸.

Secondly, a thesis can be formulated that an inseparable element of publicizing the events on the Polish-Belarusian border is consistently pointing out that problems with international movements of people, which, in the opinion of the rulers, may pose a threat to internal security, should be solved in the countries of origin of migrants and in those countries, which lie on the main migration routes. It is certainly true that a similar position is in line with the current Hungarian Presidency of the Visegrad Group. It is based on three pillars, where, in the context of security, there is talk of the need to reform both the migration policy and the Schengen system. Among the main goals formulated at the beginning of the Hungarian presidency in the V4 Group, in the context of the issues discussed in this article, the following are especially worth noting:

- stopping migratory flows outside the EU,
- protection of the EU’s external borders,
- concluding enforceable partnership agreements with North African countries, continuing the effective implementation of the EU-Turkey Action Plan and support Western Balkan partners in the return of irregular migrants residing on their territories,
- support for countries of origin and transit for migration at EU level,
- working to maintain and strengthen international V4 development cooperation related to the external dimension of migration, and successfully implement ongoing joint projects in Libya, Morocco and Kenya,
- strengthening V4 cooperation in the field of border services, with particular emphasis on the proper implementation of bilateral readmission agreements¹⁹.

¹⁷ Oko.press, “Ustawa wywózkowa ma nam wmawiać, że działania Straży Granicznej są legalne. Duda podpisał bezprawie”, <https://oko.press> [accessed: December 11, 2021]; The legal basis for these actions was the Act of October 14, 2021 amending the Act on foreigners and certain other acts, Polish Journal of Laws No. 2021, item 1918.

¹⁸ Ombudsman’s Office, “Ulotka dla uchodźców”, <https://bip.brpo.gov.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

¹⁹ Institute of Central Europe, “Recharging Europe – węgierska prezydencja w Grupie Wyszehradzkiej”, <https://ies.lublin.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021]; Visegrad Group, “Programme

It seems, however, that the Polish government saw an opportunity to introduce slogans into foreign policy, which for several years had been formulated primarily for the purposes of domestic policy. This has been the case since the election campaign before the presidential and parliamentary elections in 2015, when the refugee issue was raised so widely for the first time. The current crisis has become a kind of opportunity for the rulers to mobilize the society. The military rhetoric used in the national broadcast, the use of slogans such as, for example, “defense of the eastern border”, appearances in the media of the Prime Minister and the Minister of National Defense in military uniforms against the background of moving military units – all this is to create an atmosphere of threat and at the same time convince about the need to take decisive action by decision makers. At the same time, however, there is a far-reaching dehumanization of immigrants. Pointing out that people trying to get to Poland are very well dressed or that this group is dominated by men is to create the impression that these are not people fleeing the war, but those who may be a threat to public order. Even against this background, a shocking impression and huge internal disputes were caused by the conference of the Ministers of National Defense and Internal Affairs and Administration, during which, *inter alia*, pornographic content allegedly found on the phones of migrants who had been in Poland was shown.

In opposition to this, it should be stated that in the debate conducted in the country, information collected in the areas directly covered by the state of emergency is not discussed and presented to the public on a larger scale. Their example can be the material prepared by Przemysław Sadura and Sylwia Urbańska²⁰. It contains a number of extremely valuable data that make it possible to break the presented stereotypes. For example, in response to the dress argument, researchers point out that “today the wandering pattern is different. The Afghan intelligentsia and the urban middle class fear the Taliban the most. Lawyers and doctors, clerks and teachers are fleeing the country *en masse*. They

of the presidency”, <https://www.visegradgroup.eu/download.php?docID=470> [accessed: December 11, 2021]; The principle of flexible but obligatory solidarity was also highlighted in the Hungarian Presidency’s program. The concept of flexible solidarity was formulated in 2016 and means that each country could determine whether and in what form it would participate in the EU migration policy and in solving the refugee crisis. More on flexible solidarity and the attitude of the G4 countries to the issue of refugee relocation: A. Czyż, *Visegrad Group countries in the face of the migration crisis*, “Studia Politicae Universitatis Silesiensis”, 2017, Vol. 18, pp. 143–161; D. Gawron, *Cooperation of the Visegrad Group – Implications for Unity and Security within the European Union*, “Krakow International Studies”, 2017, No. 2, pp. 207–216; W. Fehler, K. Cebul, R. Podgórzeńska, *Migrations as a challenge for the European Union and selected member states*, Difin SA, Warszawa 2017, pp. 142–165.

²⁰ Krytyka Polityczna, “Obcy w naszym kraju. Gniew, żal i strach podlaskiego pogranicza”, <https://krytykapolityczna.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

sold their flats, paid off for smugglers, invested in the best telephones, because life depends on them. They bought designer clothes so as not to be conspicuous in European cities. If they managed, they would go to the hairdresser's"²¹.

Considering the above, it should be stated that the forum of the Visegrad Group should therefore be perceived as a place for debate and development of certain solutions, or their proposals – also for the EU. However, it should not be used mainly to present your ideas and political slogans, or be used as an opportunity to justify actions taken in Poland.

Conclusions

The analysis of the available data allowed for a positive verification of the main hypothesis regarding the negative attitude of the Polish government to the migration crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border in the context of opinions formulated during the meetings of the Visegrad Group, expressed primarily in the treatment of migratory pressure from the territory of Belarus as a serious threat to state security.

The formulated detailed hypotheses were also confirmed.

It is difficult to deny the political background of the current migration crisis and the need to curb it, primarily by putting pressure on the Belarusian authorities, who provoked it, taking advantage of the determination and difficult situation of people whom they had offered support in getting to other countries. There is also no doubt that the cooperation of states within the Visegrad Group may bring significant benefits, for example in the form of information exchange and cooperation of entities responsible for security.

However, presenting the position on the current migration crisis on the V4 forum to some extent legitimizes the attitude of the Polish authorities, showing that they are not alone in their opinions and have the support of the authorities of countries whose eastern borders – apart from the Czech Republic – are also the borders of the European Union. There is no doubt that the Hungarian position, for example, is in line with the Polish one. This is important as they hold the presidency of the V4 group until June 2022.

The references to the message formulated for society presented in the text, which indicate its strong exaggeration, and the use of the language of war are to create a sense of threat among citizens and at the same time indicate itself as a group that can only ensure security. In other words, although these slogans are expressed on the international forum, the above-mentioned slogans result, above

²¹ *Ibidem.*

all, from the needs which have their source in domestic politics. Unfortunately, the negative side of these actions, which are, however, an obvious continuation of the policy of the Visegrad Group countries from the time of the previous migration crisis in 2015, is not only the violation of human rights by pushing immigrants out of Poland, their dehumanization, but also the deterioration of public moods as regards the readiness to accept foreigners. While in May 2015 only 21% of respondents were against the influx of refugees, in September 2021 this percentage was as high as 48%²². In a country that has benefited from the help of other countries and has been a country of emigrants for several centuries, in this context it is difficult to speak of success and good change, or rather a significant disappointment.

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²² Centrum Badania Opinii Społecznej, "Opinia publiczna wobec uchodźców i sytuacji migrantów na granicy z Białorusią", <https://www.cbos.pl> [accessed: December 11, 2021].

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Summary: The article analyzes the attitude of the Polish authorities to the current migration crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border in the context of messages formulated by representatives of the government and parliament during the Visegrad Group (V4) summits. The views contained therein point to two issues. Firstly, the Polish side intends to carry out activities preventing

immigrants from entering the territory of our country, even if this means in practice a breach of international law. Secondly, problems with population flows should be solved primarily in the countries of origin of migrants and in those countries that lie on the main migration routes. The negative aspect of this is, unfortunately, the dehumanization of immigrants. Meetings at the V4 forum are therefore an opportunity to transfer slogans previously reserved mainly for the purposes of domestic politics and to gain a kind of legitimacy to express them, showing that they have the support of the authorities of countries whose eastern borders (of course, outside the Czech Republic) are also the borders of the European Union, and thus Poland is not alone in its opinions. The article uses the monographic method.

Keywords: migration, migration crisis, Visegrad Group (V4)

Kryzys migracyjny a stosunek władz polskich wobec migrantów w kontekście opinii formułowanych podczas spotkań Grupy Wyszehradzkiej (V4)

Streszczenie: W artykule poddano analizie stosunek władz polskich do obecnego kryzysu migracyjnego na granicy polsko-białoruskiej, w kontekście komunikatów formułowanych przez przedstawicieli rządu i parlamentu podczas szczytów Grupy Wyszehradzkiej (V4). Poglądy w nich zawarte wskazują na dwie kwestie. Po pierwsze, strona polska zamierza prowadzić działania uniemożliwiające przedostanie się na terytorium naszego kraju imigrantów, nawet jeśli oznacza to w praktyce łamanie prawa międzynarodowego. Po drugie zaś, problemy z przepływami ludności powinny być rozwiązywane przede wszystkim w krajach pochodzenia migrantów i w tych państwach, które leżą na głównych szlakach migracyjnych. Negatywnym tego aspektem jest niestety dehumanizacja imigrantów. Spotkania na forum V4 stają się zatem okazją do przekazywania haseł zarezerwowanych do tej pory głównie na potrzeby polityki wewnętrznej i zdobycia swoistej legitymacji do ich wygłaszania pokazując niejako, że mają one poparcie władz krajów, których wschodnie granice (oczywiście poza Czechami) są jednocześnie granicami Unii Europejskiej, a tym samym Polska nie jest odosobniona w swoich opiniach. W artykule zastosowano metodę monograficzną.

Słowa kluczowe: migracja, kryzys migracyjny, Grupa Wyszehradzka (V4)

