

The Image of “Liberal” and “Liberalism” on Selected Websites Supporting the Ruling Coalition in Poland



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Poland's ruling coalition, United Right, whose most prominent member is the Law and Justice (PiS) party, can count on support from two types of media. The first is the public media, which, in theory, shall implement its statutory mission of informing the public about key events¹, but in practice, prepares a message formatted to legitimize the current government. The second is private media with its ties to power and remaining in friendly relations with both PiS and the government, which has consisted primarily of PiS representatives.

These relationships take two basic dimensions: personal and financial. The former consists of the mutual penetration of politics and journalism, personal long-term acquaintances between political leaders and opinion leaders, which should be understood as private relations, often from before the time of involvement in politics, as well as the existence of a specific "gray area" in which journalists perform public functions or politicians work in the media. The latter is based on the purchase of advertisements in *de jure* private media by state-owned companies.

An element of this narrative, which is not uncommon in politics, is to point out lines of demarcation and thus support its political camp, which is capable of exploiting such outlined social divisions. This article traces how the two leading, theoretically private pro-government online media, wPolityce.pl and Niezależna.pl, use the words "liberal" and "liberalism" to strengthen party and government messages, while the largest Polish opposition party, Civic Platform,

rarely identifies as liberal and tries to avoid using this term.

It is important to look at the word "liberal" or "liberalism". The media, whose task is not to inform, but to format public debate, look for a dividing line in society to be able to make such a division effective, identifying liberalism as both a threat and something irresponsible is part of a broader strategy of disinformation. In this case, it forms the whole narrative. Liberalism and the liberals are shown in a clever way as an opponent both strong and dangerous but also weak and ridiculous. This is a strategy of disinformation that is far from being easily repulsed.

LIBERALISM UNDER A PRAGMATIC MASK

Liberalism is an approach within the philosophy of politics in which individual freedom is a key concept. Although liberalism may be understood, interpreted, and presented in many different ways, the idea placed at



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¹ Art. 23. 1 of the Broadcasting Act. Public radio and television broadcasters provide political parties with an opportunity to present their position on key public matters. Available [online]: <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19930070034/U/D19930034Lj.pdf>

its core, that the individual is autonomous, remains unchanged. The diversity of liberalism is perfectly visible in a wide range of ideologies and political doctrines built on the basis of the abstract philosophy of liberalism. Nevertheless, the temptation to understand the term very broadly, also in a way unfavorable to the liberals themselves, is somewhat ingrained in its definition.

The reception of the terms “liberal” and “liberalism” is weaker in Poland than in Western countries, which is an outcome of insufficient liberal traditions in the country. The language of liberal discourse in Polish politics has never been strong; it appears primarily as an element of the political discourse known as *pragmatic*². This discourse is characterized by the glorification of the pursuit of success, both private and that of the state, understood above all as becoming wealthier.

The measure of the state's success would, therefore, not be the military power or the fear that such state may arouse in its neighbors, but its prosperity and living conditions that it can provide to its citizens³. At the same time, however, the pragmatic framing does not only focus on the material aspect of liberalism. The vision of people in this discourse consists, in a way, of three layers. Thus, a human is not only an economic being making material choices or being a taxpayer, but is also a citizen interested in the state, an individual who has the right to express themselves. The politician, on the other hand, is not the nation's providential parent, but a chosen specialist, understood as “one of us” tasked with looking after the machinery of the state⁴.

² Kłosińska, K. (2012) *Etyczny i pragmatyczny. Polskie dyskursy polityczne po 1989 roku*, Warsaw: National Centre For Culture, pp. 145-150.

³ Ibid., p. 145.

⁴ Ibid.

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(PIS)

Liberalism in politics communicated to potential voters, exists in Poland almost only in the aspect of serving as a basis for a pragmatic discourse. It is built on elements of the liberal tradition and united by practical postulates relating to what the state should be and how it should act, like rule of law, efficiency and financial clarity.

This is, undoubtedly, a simplified liberalism. Every political idea, philosophy of politics, wishing to touch the realities of current affairs, must undergo certain simplifications; it must be able to be described with slogans that can be understood by the voter.

The Polish political parties operating within the so-called ethical political discourse act differently. The picture of reality they draw is an image hostile to an individual, which is lurked by forces that want to harm it, use it and take freedom from the community to which the individual belongs⁵. The politician is a guide leading the public through a dangerous world full of real or imagined threats, a "father-of-the-nation"-like figure who leads passive voters and who will sooner or later want from them something in return.⁶

This type of discourse is more popular and better rooted in Polish politics than the pragmatic one. As Bartosz Dziatoczyński, a Polish encyclopaedist, – to whom Katarzyna Kłosińska, a renowned Polish linguist, refers – points out, due to the extreme decentralization of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the value of the pragmatically conducted cabinet policy, understood as seeking interest and *raison d'état*, was small; hence the noble class, deciding on politics, used the language of virtues and morals in order to defend their interests, but also because it was an appealing discourse for describing the political reality the nobility created. This was to be compounded by the absence of Poland as an independent nation in the "long nineteenth century" and the lack of a political discourse that could be used to talk about costs and benefits⁷. The reasons why pragmatic language in politics, which is also a carrier of liberal ideas, is weak in Poland, are profound. Past historical circumstances still have an impact.

TIMEFRAME AND MATERIAL FRAMES

The presented analysis looks at four terms that are being used in pro-government discourse by pro-government media, namely:

liberal, liberalism, neoliberal, and neoliberalism. Although there are definitional disputes as to the meaning of these terms, it must be stated that there is some kind of abstract debate about these words, in which the main motivation of the discussants is to find the designations, and not only to use them in current political activity.

The presented overview covers the period from February 5 to August 3, 2020, the "long election period". The boundaries extended from the decision of the Marshal of the Sejm made on February 5 on ordering the elections for the President of the Republic of Poland⁸, which were to take place on May 10; however, due to the epidemic situation, the presidential election was postponed. The end date for the analysis is set on the day when the Supreme Court confirmed that the re-election of President Andrzej Duda was legal). It is a sufficiently long period (covering app. six months), in which one can notice a certain trend, and construct an image of how the terms "liberal" and "liberalism" on the basis of opinions, is presented by two leading, pro-government media titles, based on a Google Trends comparison.

The election period was also a time of lively debate in politics, which, therefore, served to build and emphasize the demarcation that separates the political camps. It helps to better observe the messages of political camps and the image of liberals, their attributes, liberalism as an idea, and its properties presented in a specific way, consistent with political interests in Poland. To be more precise, a period of increased interest in politics allows for a better understanding of the language with which it is described.

⁵ Ibid., p. 194.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 67-79.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 16-17.

⁸ <http://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU20200000184/O/D20200184.pdf>



THE PASS-THROUGH OF THE ADDITIONAL COSTS GENERATED BY THE SECTORAL TAX TO CLIENTS OF BANKS MIGHT BE UP TO 90%

The election of the president is not only an activity of current politics and merely some – certainly important – election decision, but it can also serve as a context for showing the elections as a rivalry, and, above all, great political ideas, in which liberalism is presented in a negative light.

FREQUENCY IN LEADING TITLES

The issue of writing about pro-government media in the context of the election of the president deserves an explanation. In Poland, the president cannot be a party member⁹¹⁰. At the same time, however, the incumbent president, Andrzej Duda was a candidate running from the Law and Justice party (PiS). He should be identified not as a politician from outside the party (due to the existing law), but as someone in affiliation with the party. This means that the message, formulated by the *de jure* independent but, in fact, pro-PiS media, was fully consistent with presenting the narrative of a certain political force, and not

with a nonpartisan presidential candidate. Additionally, Andrzej Duda, as a candidate, had the full support of the politicians of the ruling PiS-camp.

In the chosen date range, the selected terms appeared on the selected websites with a clear regularity. It is true that the terms “neoliberalism” and “neoliberal” were practically absent, but we can find publications on liberalism and liberals [See: Table 1].

The use of the selected words for this analysis outside of the Polish context is always associated with creating the image of liberalism. They complement the meaning shown in connection with domestic matters. At the same time, they mostly refer to the situation in Hungary or the United States (the USA) – thus, the countries viewed as allies¹¹.

Due to a large number of publications that are placed on the analyzed portals, it cannot be said that the words of interest occurred very often. Even more so, because the terms *liberal* and *liberalism* often occurred in the same articles– these articles appear twice in the results presented in Table 1. The articles focus primarily on the politics of the ruling camp and its decisions, which are presented in a good light. At the same time, it does not mean that words “liberal” and “liberalism” are not an important part of the pro-PiS media labeling. Generally, these media mostly write about the successes of the government. When they touch on issues related to opposition politics, they use two tactics. One is devaluing its achievements, plans and statements of its representatives, but is not the focus of this analysis. The second tactic is to define the opposition by it attacking them along the lines of ideological differences. Hence,

⁹ <https://www.prezydent.pl/prezydent/pytania-i-odpowiedzi/page.2.html> [in Polish]

¹⁰ See: Art. 132 of Constitution of Poland.: Available [online]: <https://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/polski/kon1.htm> [in Polish]

¹¹ Only once was *liberalism* or *liberals* mentioned in the context of a country other than Poland, Hungary, or the USA. This particular example referred to Switzerland.

Table 1: The frequency of use of the terms *liberal*, *neoliberal*, *liberalism*, and *neoliberalism* in the publications of wPolityce.pl and Niezależna.pl between February 5, 2020, and August 3, 2020

	Liberal	Neoliberal	Liberalism	Neoliberalism
Wpolityce.pl	30 ¹² (29)	0	44 (38)	6
Niezależna.pl	25 (24)	1	14	3

Source: Own calculation

from the point of view of these media, “calling out” a liberal makes perfect sense, even if it is not done in literally every article on the portal or in every news report.

The image of political opponents identified as liberals appeared less frequently. However, it is necessary to show the world imagined and created by opinions and messages published on these portals, which has been typically aimed at placing the opposition in an unfavorable light. Interestingly, the terms *neoliberal* and *neoliberalism* were practically absent. These terms seem to have been completely replaced by the word *liberal* as a term meant to have negative connotations. Perhaps this is due to the fact that in journalistic discussion *neoliberalism* is often associated with economic policy and not with politics as such.

LIBERALISM AS A THREAT

The reconstruction of the terms *liberalism* and *liberal* as seen by the portals used for this analysis, shall begin with a short historical reflection, referred to by the pundit of wPolityce.pl, Professor Rafat Chwedoruk.

¹² After entering the term *liberal*, the internal search engine of the portal returned 32 results. Two of them, however, referred to the word *Liberté!* which is the title of a popular in Poland liberal online and paper magazine, which is, therefore, of no interest for this analysis.

He writes, in the context of promoting the presidential candidate of the Civic Platform (PO), Rafal Trzaskowski, who lost to Andrzej Duda in the second round of the election:

The slogan of “New Solidarity” is a kind of contradiction of total opposition, economic liberalism, etc. This, however, may raise questions. Hardly anyone remembers that in 1993 the then co-ruling Liberal Democratic Congress in the era of rampant unemployment had the slogan “a million jobs”. A large part of the public opinion perceived this slogan as a provocation, because liberalism was equated

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with the eruption of unemployment in Poland.¹³

When analyzing this excerpt, it is important not only to emphasize the poor reception of the term liberalism, and thus also the promoted weaknesses of liberalism itself, which is associated with the hard times of transition. The author also draws attention to the use of the term *liberalism* in the list right next to the term *total opposition*, one of the most important slogans used by the media of the United Right to describe its political opponents. The term “total” is intended to refer to the alleged non-constructive attitude of complete negation that the opposition would have to demonstrate. This is obviously an abuse that is not confirmed by the results of parliamentary votes. But at the same time, it is also an element of framing and disinformation. There is a clear link here between the liberal and the lack of constructiveness, the desire to destroy the consensus, and this is the impression that the reader of this statement should have.

Liberalism, in his framing, is, therefore, something oppositional and non-constructive. Trzaskowski is called, by another interlocutor of wPolityce.pl, Andrzej Gwiazda, an activist of “Solidarity”, *an ideologist of liberalism¹⁴*, which also has an important, albeit negative context, because in Poland, the word “ideology” has negative connotations.

Moreover, liberalism is also portrayed as a threat in the publications of wPolityce.pl and Niezależna.pl. Even an absurd accusation of liberalism as being part of the ideological family of communist ideologies or doctrines can be found:

¹³ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/509870-chwedoruku-niewaznienie-wyborow-zaszkodeziloby-trzaskowskiemu> [own translation]

¹⁴ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/509863-gwiazda-ruch-trzaskowskiego-bedzie-mial-modna-nazwe-i-tyl> [in Polish]



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“Contemporary critics of the current line of renewal [here seen as the rule of Law and Justice Party – MC] have no trace of innocence and are fully subservient to the international wave of neo-Marxism and its new form of extreme liberalism, not only in economic life but also in social life”¹⁵.

Finally, liberalism understood in this manner – as an element of a completely different

¹⁵ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/508740-polski-wykladowca-z-kanady-oddajmy-glos-na-andrzeja-dude> [in Polish]

school of thought, as a collective, Marxist thinking – does not fit at all with any definition of what liberalism is in its essence. It allows, however, the outlining of the opposition between the rule of the United Right (as well as their candidate, Andrzej Duda) and its opponents. Liberalism is associated here with the *“trampling of traditions, all authorities, every religion, not only Christian, but most of all-natural law and all reference to the past”*¹⁶. As such and seen from such a perspective, is identical with doctrines based on Marxism. According to the words of the unofficial leader of the Law and Justice party, Jarosław Kaczyński, who was quoted a few days before the second round of the presidential election, serves as a characteristic expression of scaring voters by the extreme left and mixing concepts for disinformation:

*“Candidate Trzaskowski uses the tactic of avoidance, tries not to inform voters about his views or to mislead them. It represents left-wing liberalism, far-reaching permissivism, consent to everything. Consent to introduce educational methods that lead to far-reaching degradation”*¹⁷.

Kaczyński introduced a distinction between “left-wing liberalism” and something indefinable. He identifies Trzaskowski with the left-wing version of liberalism, at the same time, however, combining it with permissiveness and directly with the negative phenomenon of demoralization. Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, the director of Radio Maryja and TV Trwam, pro-government media outlets, also wrote about left-wing liberalism, and presented the consequences of

such liberalism as: anti-culture, anti-ethics, a fight against God, and a fight against “normal family”¹⁸ which is obviously building a disinformation narrative led by authorities for the recipients of this content.

LIBERALISM AS A LAUGHING STOCK

At the same time, liberalism – as understood by the ruling party – is ridiculous, clumsy, and decaying. This is clearly visible in the statements about it:

“Simply put, liberalism as a theory is not particularly interesting. Plato, Aristotle, Dante, Shakespeare, and Dostoyevsky were not liberals. It is difficult to recall

¹⁸ <https://wpolityce.pl/spoleczenstwo/508501-o-rydzyk-przyszlosc-ojczyzny-jest-w-naszach-rekach> [in Polish]

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¹⁶ Ibid. [own translation]

¹⁷ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/508616-prezes-pis-mobilizuje-mozemy-pchnac-polske-na-wlasne-tory> It is worth noting that the publication with this excerpt of the interview appeared also on the Niezależna.pl website. [own translation]

*any outstanding artist who could be considered as liberals*¹⁹.

The accusation formulated by Professor Ryszard Legutko aims to show the weakness of the liberals. They are not able to give anything of value; no liberal has achieved anything or turned out to be extraordinary in any way.

*"The crisis of the ideology of globalism, understood as the opening of everything, the privatization of everything, the domination of liberalism, had started earlier"*²⁰.

In this case, liberalism is understood as thoughtlessness and the application of one measure: "privatization of everything". This is to show liberals as incapable of thinking about nuances, hard-lined, unreasonable. It is also a method of creating a false image of liberals and liberalism. And thus also a method of disinformation based on an attempt to deliberately associate liberals with a lack of imagination and the use of one tool to resolve various problems.

*"For all who postulated Darwinist-like liberalism under the Balcerowicz's banner and the disappearance of the state from the economy, there was a time of heavy discredit. For those who were blindfolded by their narrative - an awakening"*²¹.

The context of this quote is important. These words referred to an economy hit by a global pandemic. It was, however, to have a positive effect, which was an alleged time of awakening for those who followed the false advice of the liberals.

¹⁹ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/495470-profesora-ryszarda-legutki-rozprawianie-sie-z-liberalizmem> [in Polish]

²⁰ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/498486-nasz-wywiad-krasnodebski-ue-to-nie-jest-nasza-ojczyzna> [in Polish]

²¹ <https://niezalezna.pl/322155-przebudzenie-z-liberalnego-otumanienia> [in Polish]

*"This is a typical, hypocritical attitude of Polish liberals"*²².

As a result, the liberal as a figure, if reconstructed on the basis of the statements quoted above, is at the same time a "follower" of a dangerous, but also easily questionable and ineffective idea. According to these critics, the liberal cannot be a serious partner for a debate about the condition of Poland or the world; they are burdensome, blind supporters of erroneous and harmful solutions.

However, attention should be paid to one more aspect of the use of the terms *liberalism* and *liberal*. Some authors distinguish between different liberalisms, which are absolutely correct, as the ideological tree of liberalism is very extensive and includes numerous variations of this idea. In the publications analyzed here, however, there is an emphasis on showing current liberalism, whatever it might be, as a primarily left-wing, degenerate. At the same time, there are also voices saying that once liberalism was different. There is also a distinction between economic and social liberalism:

"The Civic Platform has long been a political formation in Poland in an identity crisis. It consists in the fact that it has really become a formation without ideals, objectively speaking, without malice. Because this party does not know what it is fighting for. It was an economically liberal, conservative formation. We remember that. That's how it was created. Conservative in an ideological sense. However, at the moment - especially last year was unlucky - when it got tangled up in these colorful coalitions and in supporting or promoting liberal

²² <https://niezalezna.pl/339728-liberalowie-na-panstwowym-garnuszku> [in Polish]



THE "CAREER" OF THE TERMS LIBERALISM AND LIBERAL IN THE RIGHT- WING PRESS IS DUE TO THE FACT THAT IT IS A TERM ALIEN TO POLES AND OF AN UN- GROUNDED POSITION IN POLITICS

*[ideological] views, it simply became a disturbed formation*²³.

The Civic Platform, as a political party, referred more broadly to liberal connotations. It was before 2005. Here it is mentioned in order to demonstrate the distinction between economic and social liberalism. Economic liberalism in the quoted statement is shown as neutral, but in reality it was attacked and criticized by Law and Justice. The suggestion that the Civic Platform, by drawing on "bad" social liberalism, gets lost

is an element of disinformation and mocking the opponent.

*"That there would never be a stealing of Poland's national goods under the brand of false liberalism. And that the Poles would not be humiliated and humiliated, saying that it was all for their good and cleansing of imaginary guilt"*²⁴.

Nevertheless, economic liberalism can also be seen in a negative light:

*"Trzaskowski does not represent the freedom movement, but economic liberalism beneficial to the elites of the Third Polish Republic"*²⁵.

*"(...) liberalism in Polish is really hostile to ordinary people. And the more liberalism succeeds in withdrawing the state, the worse outcome it will give in times of crisis. Because the interests of very few, not many, really count for liberals"*²⁶.

The lack of consistency in the assessment of variously understood types of liberalism leads to the recognition of these measures as far from an objective judgment. The idea is to present liberalism in a negative context and thus amplify disinformation in which liberalism is either a threat or a joke.

Liberalism is portrayed as a negative phenomenon, leading conservatives astray, a threat to the values close to the hearts of many Poles. Even if liberalism was once something different than it is today, it is still considered a thing of the past. However, there is also much more to liberalism which

²³ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/496453-wroblewski-operacja-kidawa-blonska-poniosla-fiasco> [in Polish]

²⁴ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/505695-o-chamskiej-holocie-panowie-z-po-gratulacje-udalo-sie-wam> [in Polish]

²⁵ <https://niezalezna.pl/339120-gietki-jezyk-cynika> [in Polish]

²⁶ <https://niezalezna.pl/327797-pandemia-weryfikuje-liberalow> [in Polish]



LIBERALISM IN THE EVALUATIONS AND OPINIONS OF PRO- GOVERNMENT MEDIA HAVE BEEN ALREADY FOR SOME TIME SIMPLY A BUZZWORD, A USEFUL BOGEYMAN, DEVOID OF ITS OWN UNIQUE MEANINGS

goes beyond just the presidential election. Interestingly enough, the election in which voters were to choose between Andrzej Duda and Rafał Trzaskowski was depicted by both sides of the dispute as important not only in the political, but also in the wider context. This approach was well reflected in the title of one of the columns published in the *Niezależna.pl*: *Decision on the Future of Civilization in Poland*²⁷.

According to Bronisław Wildstein, one of the leading right-wing columnists, there is a historically well-established consensus between the left and liberalism, which, as one may guess, should be broken:

*"The left has integrated with liberalism and together created a new system: liberal democracy. It is seen as a guarantee of power to specific circles referring to the dominant [understood here as one's own] ideology"*²⁸.

Aside from the deliberations on the definition of *liberal* and *liberalism* in the publications of the analyzed websites, it is worth noting that in a neutral or even slightly positive context, these terms appeared only once. Both *wPolityce.pl* and *Niezależna.pl* posted articles related to Leopold Tyrmand, a Polish jazzman and expatriate to the USA. In the times of the Polish People's Republic, he was one of the few people who identified as a liberal in the old sense^{29,30}. Although the significance of the one-off appearance of the term "liberal" in a positive light is small, it should be noted due to the requirement of reliability.

CONCLUSIONS

The narrative about liberals and liberalism, well outlined and emphasized during the presidential election, is both an episode of political history and a fragment of a meta-narrative in which two forces – the order and the chaos – fight one another. Liberalism understood as a way of thinking and expressed by the political opponent of Andrzej Duda's camp is, therefore, anti-value in the sense of denying the values, which

²⁷ <https://niezalezna.pl/337140-decyzja-o-cywilizacji-cynej-przyszlosci-polski> [own translation]

²⁸ <https://wpolityce.pl/polityka/505695-o-chamskiej-holocie-panowie-z-po-gratulacje-udalo-sie-wam> [in Polish]

²⁹ <https://niezalezna.pl/329864-tyrmand-był-rzecznikiem-jazzu-i-rocknrolla> [in Polish]

³⁰ <https://wpolityce.pl/kultura/500472-100-rocznica-urodzin-leopolda-tyrmanda> [in Polish]

are respected by traditionally oriented Poles. From their perspective, liberal values can be anti-values, especially, when they are shown in a distorted mirror, mixed with the associations of community breakdown and Marxism.

One cannot escape the fact that the liberalism of Rafał Trzaskowski and the opposition who supports him is often presumed or imagined. The elements of the liberal program ³¹included in the declarations of the presidential candidate and his political base are not visible at all and Civic Platform is a party composed of various wings, among which liberals are only one of many. It is important to note that Trzaskowski was reluctant to call himself a liberal during the election campaign. Even his election program was called "New Solidarity", which in the Polish political debate demonstrates the distance to liberalism. These two terms, "solidarism" and "liberalism", are shown as oppositional.

It may, therefore, be hypothesized that the "career" of the terms *liberalism* and *liberal* in the right-wing press is due to the fact that it is a term alien to Poles and of an ungrounded position in politics. It comes from the limited liberal traditions and the dominance of other trends in thinking than the liberal one. *Liberal* and *liberalism* thus become insults, a synonym of what is wrong on both levels: the realities of everyday life and in the realm of ideas.

However, this is the effect of a most conscious strategy. Part of its implementation is precisely the use of the word *liberal* or the term *liberalism* in blurring contexts, mixing them with associations of all possible policies, if not carried out under a conservative banner there is a peculiar attempt to re-define these terms. They are to be framed as

words denoting a threat, showing that the people who proclaim them are not bound

by the values respected by Poles, traditionalists at the core.

An open question and an invitation to further considerations may be the issue of spreading disinformation in the context of attempts to re-interpret the words liberalism and liberal by the media favoring the ruling camp. It is a very specific type of disinformation, concerning their formation on the linguistic level, speaking not only about politics, but also about philosophy.

Finally, it should also be taken into account that liberalism in the evaluations and opinions of pro-government media have been already for some time simply a buzzword, a useful bogeyman, devoid of its own unique meanings for some time. It is thus likely that such an interpretation is closer to reality, and so, liberals in general, not only in Poland, are faced with the task of reclaiming the term by narrowing down its scope and defining their own views in a much more precise and easy-to-grasp manner. In order to do so, liberals have to deal with disinformation that affects their own identity. Being defined by one's own political opponent and giving up the field by running away from the term "liberal" is not an option. Instead, efforts should be made to build positive associations around the term.



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³¹ <https://trzaskowski2020.pl/program> [in Polish]