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**MPS FROM THE WEST POMERANIAN PROVINCE
ON POLISH MIGRATION POLICY.
Analysis based on submitted interpellations in the 9th term
of the Parliament of the Republic of Poland**

Keywords: migration policy, interpellations, humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border, Russian aggression against Ukraine

ABSTRACT: The statutory right of a deputy to submit interpellations is provided for in the Rules of Procedure of the Polish Parliament as well as in the Act on the Exercise of the Mandate of a Depute and Senator. The aim of the paper is to analyse Poland's migration policy in 2019–2023 in the context of interpellations submitted by MPs. In substance, they covered three areas of migration policy: the creeping refugee crisis in the EU and its consequences for Poland, the conflict on the external border of the European Union, which is the Polish-Belarusian border, and Russian aggression against Ukraine and the resulting mass presence of Ukrainians as war refugees in Poland. The analysis showed that in the period in question, Poland does not have a comprehensive migration strategy. In situations of inflow of large numbers of foreigners, decisions of the Polish government are made ad hoc and confirm the thesis that the PiS government is unable to cope with new migration challenges. The source basis of the analysis are interpellations submitted by MPs from the West Pomeranian Province addressed to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration and the Minister of Education and Science. They are supplemented by laws and extensive literature on the subject.

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INTERPELLATION – ITS FUNCTION AND ROLE

Electoral districts are created on the basis of the Act of 5 January 2011, Election Code (www.orka.sejm.gov), in order to conduct elections to the Parliament of the Republic of Poland. They cover the area of the entire or part of a province, and their borders cannot violate the boundaries of the counties that constitute them. The West Pomeranian Province was divided into two electoral districts: District No. 40, based in Koszalin, and District No. 41, based in Szczecin. The elections to the Parliament of the Republic of Poland and the Senate of the Republic of Poland were held on 13 October 2019 and were preceded by a very emotional and fierce election campaign. In the national scale, Law and Justice (PiS) won with 43.6% of the votes. Law and Justice (PiS) also won in Electoral District No. 40, obtaining 36.83% of the votes. The following MPs from this constituency in the 9th term were: Golińska Małgorzata Jolanta (PiS), Hardie-Douglas Jerzy (KO), Hoc Czesław (PiS), Hok Marek Tomasz (KO), Lubczyk Radosław (PSL), Prokop-Paczkowska Małgorzata Barbara (SLD), Szefernaker Paweł Maciej (PiS), Zientarski Piotr Benedykt (KO). District No. 41 was one of five districts in the country where Law and Justice (PiS) did not win, and the Civic Coalition (KO) won with a result of 35.71%. The MPs of the 9th term from this constituency were: Dobrzyński Leszek (PiS), Filiks Magdalena (KO), Gróbarczyk Marek Józef (PiS), Jach Michał (PiS), Kotula Katarzyna Agata (SLD), Łącki Artur Jarosław (KO), Marchewka Arkadiusz (KO), Napieralski Grzegorz Bernard (KO), Nitras Sławomir (KO), Rzepa Jarosław Michał (PSL), Szałabawka Artur Lesław (PiS) and Wieczorek Dariusz Krzysztof (SLD) (<http://sejmsenat2019>).

The regulation of provisions regarding interpellation² in the Polish Constitution is related to the constitutional and legal structure of the Parliament's control function over the Council of Ministers (Kupis, 2012, p. 110). In the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 1997, Article 115 states that deputies are one of the entities of Parliament's control over the

² The term interpellation (in Polish: *interpelacja*) comes from the Latin language – *interpellatio* and means interrupting, disturbing, opposing, so it is an institution that is in opposition to some entity.

government's activities within the scope "defined by the provisions of the Constitution". The nature of the parliamentary mandate is defined in the Constitution of the Republic of Poland in Article 104(1), stating: "Deputies are representatives of the Nation. They are not bound by voters' instructions" (Granat, 2013, p. 15). One of the rights and duties of a Member of Parliament is the right to submit interpellations and parliamentary questions as well as questions on current matters. In the Rules of Procedure of the Parliament of the Republic of Poland, Article 192 states that "A Member of Parliament has the right to submit interpellations on matters of a fundamental nature and relating to problems related to state policy" (www.sip.lex.pl).

Submitting a parliamentary interpellation means both receiving information and, above all, drawing attention to a specific problem and the way it is solved by the interpellated government body. Interpellations submitted by the opposition are a kind of element of the political game between the majority and the minority of the Parliament. The meaning of a submitted interpellation may be related to the individual view of the MP, the problem of the political party or group of voters he/she represents. When an MP performs his/her mandate, the party discipline applicable to him/her is important. According to Marek Chmaj, "in parliamentary practice, however, it happens that the authorities of parliamentary clubs or groups limit the rights of MPs to submit interpellations and questions by introducing, based on internal regulations, the obligation to obtain consent to use these institutions" (Chmaj, 2023, p. 83).

In the period November 2019-May 2023, MPs from the West Pomeranian Province submitted a total of 3,886 interpellations in the 9th term of the Polish Parliament, of which 18 were on the issue of migration policy. The applicable legal provisions allow MPs to submit interpellations both individually and in groups: by several MPs mentioned by name and surname; by one MP on behalf of a group of MPs; by one MP on behalf of a group of MPs from a given parliamentary club; by a group of MPs from a given constituency. In order to avoid the emergence of issues inconvenient for the government, weakening its popularity or media interest in them, no interpellation was submitted by Law and Justice (PiS) MPs from the West Pomeranian Province in 2019–2023. At that time, the right to

submit interpellations was mainly used by MPs belonging to opposition parties. The authors of the interpellations submitted and analysed were: Hardie-Douglas Jerzy, Hok Marek Tomasz, Kotula Katarzyna Agata, Łącki Artur Jarosław, Marchewka Arkadiusz, Nitras Sławomir, Prokop-Paczkowska Małgorzata Barbara, Rzepa Jarosław Michał and Wieczorek Dariusz Krzysztof.

ACTIVITIES OF THE POLISH STATE IN THE AREA OF MIGRATION POLICY

Among many more or less extensive definitions of migration policy, Sławomir Łodziński and Marek Szonert define migration policy as state activities (both political and legislative and administrative) regarding the regulation and control of entry, stay and exit, as well as the conditions for settlement in a given country and granting citizenship to foreigners seeking in it (temporary) employment or protection for political or humanitarian reasons (refugee issues), as well as the rules for going abroad and the return and reintegration of own citizens (Łodziński, Szonert, 2023, p. 8). Migration policy is related to the international environment, foreign policy priorities and security issues. In Poland, in recent years, it has been created by state authorities. These are central bodies: the government, ministries, central institutions, legislative authorities: the Parliament of the Republic of Poland and the Senate of the Republic of Poland, political parties and various non-governmental and intergovernmental associations dealing with migration problems, the media, interest groups and local government. Poland's location on the East-West migration route has made Poland an area of immigration, especially for citizens of Eastern countries. The transit route for refugees and political fugitives as well as economic migrants on their way to the West runs through the territory of Poland.

In the years 2019–2023, covering the 9th term of the Polish Parliament, the most important events in the area of migration policy were: the issue of refugees from Asia and the Middle East, the conflict on the external

border of the European Union, which is the Polish-Belarusian border, and Russian aggression against Ukraine and the resulting mass presence of Ukrainians as war refugees in Poland.

The influx of foreigners to Poland practically did not appear in the public debate, the topic appeared sporadically, most often in the context of a specific event and how it was resolved. In 2015, the reception and relocation of refugees from Africa and the Middle East was perceived negatively by society. There were few refugees in Poland, but the anti-refugee narrative of Law and Justice (PiS) covered three main trends: 1. The accusation of submitting to the dictates of Germany and the West and thus giving up Polish sovereignty, 2. Arousing fear of the invasion of “aliens” – wild criminals, fanatics, terrorists, people carrying diseases, 3. Undermining the credibility of migrants who come to Europe only to benefit from social assistance (Mikulska-Jolles, 2019, p. 11). Hate speech became common, politicians used it and their voices were repeated by the media. In 2016, this narrative was silenced. As Anita Adamczyk emphasises, the state policy in the area of migration was aimed at securing borders and ensuring security, and not providing refugees with proper protection or integration with Polish society (Adamczyk 2017, p. 315). In 2023, the PiS government returned to the negative narrative towards refugees. There have been statements that refugees are terrorists, threaten national security and the personal security of citizens, and increase crime. Media coverage aims to stigmatise outsiders. The rhetoric of fear is used – outsiders should be feared because they belong to the “they” group, which is accused of crimes, destabilisation and chaos.

A phenomenon perceived as a challenge to Poland’s security and inextricably linked to migration is the crisis on the border with Belarus. In mid-2021, migrants began to enter Poland from the territory of this country, mainly from Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Pakistan and Syria. As a result, the Polish-Belarusian border has become a place of provocation and aggression, synonymous with insecurity. Migrants have become an instrument of pressure causing a direct threat to the security not only of Poland and neighbouring countries, but also of the EU. Creating an artificial influx of migrants and triggering aggressive actions among people crossing the border has become a new form of non-military activities.

The crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border has shown that Poland is not prepared for the uncontrolled influx of a large number of people. It also exposed the lack of migration policy and its tools that would allow for an effective response. Polish authorities declared a state of emergency in the border regions, deployed the army there, and began building a barrier. The crisis is being used for internal political struggle, migrants are once again presented as a real threat to Poland's security. The framework of "migrant-terrorist" or "migrant-criminal" is made credible by mentioning information about evidence collected by the Polish intelligence services and statements by the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration (Jas-Koziarkiewicz, 2023, p. 343).

The aggression of the Russian Federation's troops against Ukraine, which began on 24 February 2022, caused the largest refugee movements in Europe since the end of World War II. The vast majority of refugees crossing the Polish border were citizens of Ukraine, mostly from its eastern regions. Arrival numbers fluctuate as the conflict continues. Since the beginning of Russian aggression, Poland has become a country that has played the most important role in accepting refugees from Ukraine. It thus became the second country in the world (after Turkey) with the largest number of refugees. The mass influx of war refugees to Poland forced the authorities to take quick action to welcome them and, at least temporarily, integrate them into society. Government institutions, local government units, non-governmental organisations and, above all, citizens were involved in helping the victims of these hostilities. This spontaneity, hospitality and care of people influenced the distinctiveness of the Polish model of accepting war refugees in relation to the model of building "camps" for them near border crossings, which dominates the experience of other countries and UNHCR. Appropriate legal regulations were quickly adopted, as well as the EU directive on temporary protection and a special law of 12 March 2022, which enabled legal residence and the provision of extensive financial and social assistance to Ukrainian citizens. This law included visiting Ukrainians in the existing health care, education and labour law systems on an equal footing with Polish citizens. Faced with the Ukrainian refugee crisis of 2022, Poles reacted differently, overcoming fears of "outsiders" settling there. This positive response was

influenced by the long-term presence of economic migrants in Poland, among whom people from Ukraine have been the majority for a long time.

INTERPELLATIONS OF MPS FROM THE WEST POMERANIAN PROVINCE REGARDING POLISH MIGRATION POLICY

According to the regulations, the subject of an interpellation should be important matters, the implementation of which depends on the government's actions; it should contain a brief presentation of the facts that are its subject and the questions arising from them. Complex interpellations on migration policy cover 14 issues, and in terms of content they can be divided into three areas chronologically related to events occurring in migration policy.

The first area is interpellations related to refugees from Syria and Afghanistan:

1. Interpellation regarding assistance for migrants from Syria, Afghanistan and other war-affected countries currently staying in Poland, No. 33793 (Interpellation by MP J. Hardie-Douglas).

The interpellation addressed to the Prime Minister in September 2021 referred to the situation in Usnarz Górny, where 32 Afghan women and men, being citizens of Afghanistan, who, due to the situation in their country and their own experiences with the Taliban, made a dramatic decision to leave it. The MPs asked for immediate medical support for people camping in this place and providing them with humanitarian aid, which Poland was obliged to do by order of the European Court of Human Rights, which ordered an interim measure. The Prime Minister was asked: Will the government of the Republic of Poland enable the above-mentioned Afghan women and men to have access to humanitarian aid? Will the Polish government enable the Office for Foreigners to consider their applications for international assistance? Will the Polish government issue them, alternatively, humanitarian visas? Will the Polish government demonstrate humanity and compliance with human rights considerations in this particular case, allowing Poland to achieve a moral victory in this matter and prevent these refugees from becoming Lukashenko's victims?

2. Interpellations regarding the relocation of refugees from Syria under European cooperation, No. 3714 and 3715 (Interpellations by MP K. Kotula).

The addressee of the interpellation submitted in March 2020 was the Minister for the European Union Affairs. It concerned the difficult situation in the Middle East, where thousands of refugees are forced to seek asylum to escape the war. At the EU forum, Poland declared to take actions to resolve this situation within the framework of cooperation with other European countries. The following questions were asked: Does the Ministry envisage action within the European community aimed at helping EU member states in the form of readiness for the relocation of refugees to support the resolution of all possible crisis situations? Does the Ministry plan to support other EU member states in the form of humanitarian aid, material assistance, etc. to help solve the problem of the massive wave of refugee migration? Does the Ministry plan to get involved in humanitarian aid and material assistance to ensure a stable living situation/asylum for refugees?

3. Interpellation regarding guarded centres for foreigners in Poland, No. 33794 (Interpellation by K. Kotula).

The Parliamentary Group for Migration and Integration Policy, referring to the situation of refugees from the Polish-Belarusian border and those arriving in Poland from Ukraine and not being citizens of this country, submitted an interpellation addressed to the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration. The questions concerned problems in guarded centres for foreigners: How many people are in guarded centres for foreigners? Please provide the total number and the specific number for each facility. How many women, how many men and how many children are in guarded centres for foreigners? Please provide the total number for a given gender and the specific numbers for each facility (according to its type). What actions are taken to ensure that guarded centres for foreigners are not empty or overcrowded? What are the procedures and actions taken in this regard?

4. Interpellation regarding the stay of families with minor children in closed guarded centres for foreigners No. 34216 submitted to the

Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration (Interpellation by K. Kotula).

Pshtiwan Esa Sofi Hassan, his wife Saya Hama Khan Jaafar of Kurdish nationality, and their three minor children were detained by Border Guard officers on 1 February 2022, immediately after crossing the border of the Republic of Poland. On 24 March 2022, the District Court in Białystok decided to extend the period of stay of this family in the guarded centre for foreigners by another 4 months, i.e. until 31 July 2022. The court indicated that the need for the family to remain in detention conditions is caused by the ongoing proceedings for granting international protection. The MPs were interested in the following issues: When will the family be transferred to an open centre to foreigners due to a medical opinion indicating a threat to health and life under closed facility conditions? How many Kurds waiting for consideration of their protection applications are currently staying under closed facility conditions and how many of them are open centres? How many foreign families are currently staying in closed centres and for how long?

5. Interpellation regarding foreigners waiting in closed centres for consideration of applications for international protection, No. 34229 (Interpellation by A. Łącki).

Razaw Sami Hama Salih, an Iraqi citizen, was detained by the Narewka Border Guard Post officers on 28 January 2022 after crossing the Polish-Belarusian border. On the same day, she submitted an application for international protection. The foreigner was placed in the Guarded Center for Foreigners in Czerwony Bór. Hama Salih applied for release from the guarded centre. On 11 May 2022, a psychological consultation was held by an external psychologist. The psychological opinion indicated that she suffers from anxiety disorders, has suicidal thoughts, requires psychiatric consultation and should be released from the guarded centre. In connection with the above, the interpellation addressed to the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration concerns the problem of sending refugees to closed centres for periods of many months: When will Razaw Sami Hama Salih be transferred to the Open Centre for Foreigners due to a medical opinion indicating a threat to health and life under closed facil-

ity conditions? How many Iraqis awaiting consideration of their protection applications are currently under closed facility conditions and how many of them are in open centres? How many foreign women are currently staying in closed centres and for how long?

6. Interpellation on the implementation of the National Fund for Asylum, Migration and Integration Programme, No. 13995 (Interpellation by K. Kotula, M. Prokop-Paczkowska).

The National Fund for Asylum, Migration and Integration is a financial mechanism of the European Union established for the period 2021-2027 by Regulation (EU) 2021/1147 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 July 2021. As the assumptions of this programme show, it covers a wide spectrum of activities. It provides for actions for the integration of third-country nationals and the return of immigrants, as defined by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration and the government. In connection with the migration crisis, as part of its implementation, Poland has undertaken to increase its involvement in resettlement activities defined by the priorities of the European Union, with an emphasis on people requiring special treatment. The MPs submitting this interpellation in November 2020 expected the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration to answer the following questions: – How many Poles, how many Polish families and from what countries returned to Poland under the programme in 2014–2019? How many foreigners from war-torn African countries reaching Europe by sea were accepted in Poland? What was and is their fate? Were they allowed to live and work in Poland? – What substantive and material effects were achieved from subsidies from the Fund for entities operating for immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees in 2014-2019? Please omit information about activities for economic immigrants from Ukraine and Belarus in this answer. What funds were allocated to the purchase of cars, buses and other vehicles in 2014–2019? Who were these vehicles purchased for and who actually uses them? Were vehicles also purchased from the Fund for institutions and entities unrelated to the Fund's tasks – if so, please describe the purpose, justification and beneficiaries of these purchases?

7. Interpellation regarding summer Polish language courses for adult refugees, No. 33312 (Interpellation by M. Hok).

The addressee was the Minister of Education and Science in connection with the possibility of using classrooms in school buildings to teach Polish during the summer holidays to refugees on the labour market. The following questions were asked: Does the Ministry of Education and Science (MEiN) monitor the situation and know how many adult refugees are interested in learning Polish? Is the Ministry of Education and Science (MEiN) considering organising a campaign encouraging refugees visiting Poland to learn our language? Has the Minister consulted the problem with local governments? Is there a regulation prepared to make it easier for schools to organise summer courses in Polish as a foreign language?

The second area is interpellations that concerned problems occurring in connection with the conflict on the Polish-Belarusian border:

1. Interpellation regarding “Children from Michałów” – refugee children, No. 27340 (Interpellation by M. Hok).

The questions asked are: What happened to these children? Where are they, who protects them? Is it true that they were taken to the border line? Are you aware that failure to implement international obligations arising from the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which may lead to loss of health or life, may result in criminal liability? What do you plan to do to ensure that a similar – tragic and deeply shameful – situation never happens again?

2. Interpellation on the refugee crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border, No. 32754 (Interpellation by K. Kotula).

In April 2022, according to non-governmental organisations, there is a tragedy of over 2,000 foreigners on the Polish-Belarusian border. People staying there are forced by Belarusians to go to the Polish side. The MPs submitted an interpellation with reference to Poland’s fulfilment of Article 61 of the Lisbon Treaty on the functioning of the European Union, addressed it to the Prime Minister and asked: Does the Polish government have knowledge of the continuing humanitarian crisis that affects the Polish-Belarusian border area and whether, as a result, actions were taken

to prevent mass deaths of foreigners at the Polish-Belarusian border? 2. Does the Polish government know that the ongoing humanitarian crisis also affects the local community living in border areas? Will a psychological assistance programme be launched for residents dealing with trauma? 3. Why does the Polish government still not allow humanitarian organisations to operate in the restricted movement zone? 4. Why does the Polish government continue to allow families with children who managed to get through the Polish border to be expelled to the border strip, even though – as confirmed by the recent judgment of the court in Hajnówka – push-backs violate the superior right to seek asylum, the Geneva Convention and the Constitution of the Republic of Poland? Such practices are confirmed by the Border Guard in response to numerous interventions by MPs?

3. Interpellation on the humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border, the death and suffering of foreigners and illegal push-backs used by the Border Guard, No. 33819 (Interpellation by K. Kotula, M. Prokop-Paczkowska, D. Wiczorek).

The submitted interpellation was the result of the work of the Parliamentary Group for Migration and Integration Policy, hence the extensive form of questions asked to the Prime Minister: 1. When will the Prime Minister prohibit the use of push-backs by the subordinate Ministry of Internal Affairs and Administration and order behaviour in accordance with international law? 2. When will the government and border authorities stop hindering aid activities on the border for citizens and aid organisations? When state institutions refuse to fulfil their obligations towards people seeking international protection in Poland, the obligation to help them was actually taken over by social organisations and people living on the border. For over 8 months, the Polish authorities have been trying to impede aid activities through provisions on a state of emergency and a ban on entry to the border zone. They systematically attempt to criminalise aid – which de facto means supporting the activities of Alexander Lukashenko's regime. 3. When will the ban on entry to the border zone for organisations providing humanitarian aid and the media be lifted? There is still a humanitarian crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border,

resulting in deaths. After the situation calms down in the winter, the scale of the tragedy begins to increase again. Activists in the forests meet people with disabilities, children on the autism spectrum, infants, children, women and men, people who have been forcibly pushed across the border for up to five months, once by the Belarusian and once by the Polish side. Despite the escalating crisis and the enormous scale of violence on the Belarusian side, the entry ban for organisations providing humanitarian aid, defending human rights and the media has been extended once again in the border zone. Why?

4. Interpellation on providing help to 32 Afghan women and men who have been trapped on the Polish-Belarusian border for 25 days, No. 26750 (Interpellation by J. Rzepa).

A group of 32 Afghan citizens residing in the area between Poland and Belarus became victims of both the Taliban in Afghanistan and the current Polish-Belarusian tensions. They are not “tourists” who have only themselves to blame, these people fled Afghanistan, fearing for their lives, they are people tragically trapped. The European Court of Human Rights issued an order ordering an interim measure in relation to a group of Afghan men and women, obliging the Polish authorities to provide all 32 people staying there with food, water, clothing, medical care and temporary shelter. The addressee of the interpellation, signed by 62 MPs, was the Prime Minister, and the questions addressed to him were as follows: Since a barbed wire is stretched and a fence are being built along the border, in view of the above: Will the government of the Republic of Poland allow the above-mentioned Afghan women and men access to humanitarian aid? Will the Polish government enable the Office for Foreigners to consider their applications for international assistance? Will the Polish government issue them, alternatively, humanitarian visas? Will the Polish government demonstrate humanity and compliance with legal requirements for human rights in this particular case, allowing Poland to achieve a moral victory in this matter and prevent these refugees from becoming Lukashenko’s victims?

The third area of the submitted interpellations concerns refugee problems as a consequence of the war in Ukraine

1. Interpellation regarding the status of refugees arriving from Ukraine who are not citizens of Ukraine and have the right of permanent residence in Ukraine, No. 32432 (Interpellation by M. Hok, www.sejm.gov.pl).

The interpellation concerns persons being refugees who are not citizens of Ukraine and have the right of permanent residence in Ukraine, refugees from eastern Ukraine, mixed Ukrainian-Russian marriages (partnerships), as well as citizens of other countries – e.g. Armenia. The Prime Minister was asked the following questions: Do refugees who came from Ukraine, who are not citizens of Ukraine and have the right of permanent residence in Ukraine, have rights identical to those of refugees who are citizens of Ukraine? Given the emerging doubts regarding the rights of refugees arriving from Ukraine who are not citizens of Ukraine but have the right of permanent residence in Ukraine, will the government take any actions, when and what, to remove these doubts?

2. Interpellation on enabling education for children of war refugees from Ukraine, No. 31918 (Interpellation by K. Kotula, www.sejm.gov.pl).

A large part of refugees from Ukraine are school-age children. Taking into account their mental health and providing them with a sense of normality, the Polish state should ensure their assimilation with their Polish peers and create conditions for learning and education. Information was expected from the Minister of Education and Science regarding the following questions: Will school-age refugee children be admitted to public schools? Will the admission of refugee children be regulated at the statutory level? Will these children be given the opportunity to participate in additional Polish language classes? Will the Ministry launch a program that would allow children to study during the transitional period in a form dedicated to the Ukrainian-speaking population, adapted to the needs and educational opportunities of refugees?

3. Interpellation on government aid for refugees, No. 32484 (Interpellation by A. Marchewka, www.sejm.gov.pl).

Due to the outbreak of war on our eastern border, over 2 million refugees from Ukraine arrived in Poland in a month. In this first period, aid rested primarily on the shoulders of local governments and ordinary Poles. It was obvious to everyone that specific help from the state was absolutely necessary. Questions in this regard were addressed to the Prime Minister: What specific assistance for refugees from Ukraine is provided by the state, and when did it start to be provided? Please specify the place, form of assistance, date of its provision and costs of financing. In the current situation, in what form and how much government support do non-governmental organisations and local governments that are involved in helping refugees from Ukraine receive? What specific support is provided to local governments that create accommodation for refugees from 24 February this year until the date of response to the above interpellation? Please specify the place, form of assistance, date of its provision and costs of financing.

CONCLUSION

During the 9th term of the Polish Parliament, the lack of a migration policy programme was visible. This did not stop the processes of immigration to Poland. There were those related to the EU migration crisis, the conflict on the Polish-Belarusian border and the war in Ukraine. In reference to these events, two oppositional discourses on migration became visible in the public space: a state one based on securitisation and a social one based on solidarity and compassion towards migrants. The government's narrative began to emphasise opposition to the automatic introduction of the refugee relocation mechanism due to the need to ensure security. To sum up, it should be noted that the right to apply for refugee status in Poland is a constitutional right, guaranteed in Article 56(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of Poland of 1997. With reference to this provision, as well as to the Act on the exercise of the mandate of a deputy, interpellations submitted by MPs from the West Pomeranian Province concerned the international protection of migrants. They accused the Polish government of repeated "push-backs" against migrants, preventing

them from entering the asylum procedure and destroying migrants' personal property, ill-treatment of migrants in detention centres and limited access to doctors and legal aid. They demanded that international protection be granted to people fleeing persecution or human rights violations.

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