# Element of Social Change, Threatening Other: Discursive Representations of Migrants and Refugees in Polish Parliamentary Debates

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**Abstract:** The increased number of migrants and refugees coming to Europe since 2015 has challenged the member states of the European Union (EU). Despite a rather small number of refugees coming to Poland, their arrival has been framed as a major issue for the country. The aim of this paper is therefore to analyse the images associated with migrants and refugees during Polish parliamentary debates. The paper focuses on the discursive representations of migrants and refugees: how discursive images around migrants and refugees are created and reproduced in a specific political setting, i.e. the *Sejm*. The main question leading this paper concerns the concept of securitisation and how political actors, in this case members of parliament (MPs), link migration with security concerns through discursive practices for political ends. The methodology used is primarily discourse analysis, applied on data collected from 2014 onwards in the Polish parliament. The discursive construction of claims demonstrates that throughout the migration crisis migrants and refugees tend to be more and more associated with the image of an outsider threatening the nation. Additionally, migration as an object of concerns has been instrumentally addressed by Polish political parties to achieve political gains.

**Keywords***:* Migration, Poland, Discourse, Securitisation, Parliament.

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## Introduction[2]

The rising number of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants coming to Europe has been considered as one of the most demanding challenges for the European Union (EU) in the past few years, especially since the Eurozone debt crisis. In order to handle the situation, several governments have changed their immigration policies and integration strategies an attempt solve what can be schematically considered as a problem or a threat for a given country.

More than a decade ago, Alessandra Buonfino (2004) pointed out that "the border between security, terrorism, immigration and social fear had become thin" (p.23). This fact still applies today as in the wake of the so-called migration crisis discourses confusing migration and terrorism have significantly increased and hence reinforced the migration-security nexus in Europe (Estevens 2018). Tragic events related to terrorism have triggered huge consequences on the acceptance of migrants in Europe, as many Europeans are concerned that the influx of refugees will increase the probability of terrorism (Poushter 2016). In this respect, migration in Europe has been increasingly discussed and framed as a security issue. Thus, this research aims at studying the discursive practices of securitisation in the setting of the Polish lower chamber of Parliament – the *Sejm*. Poland has been chosen has a case study due to the particular reactions triggered by the migration crisis, which raised many controversies in the country, including in the parliament. Additionally, migration has been a topic of high confrontation between political parties in Poland especially in the context of the 2015 legislative elections but also between Poland and the EU.

In this perspective, the main question leading this paper concerns the concept of securitisation – understood as a "form of linguistic representation that positioned a particular issue as an existential threat" (MacDonald 2008: p.566)[3] – and how political actors, in this case members of Parliament (MPs), link migration with security through discursive practices to achieve political gains. To answer the aforementioned question, qualitative methods in the form of discourse analysis based on a Foucauldian understanding of discourse[4] have been carried out. It is

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[2]    This paper exhibits part of a research conducted for the Master's thesis of a double degree programme (2016-2018) in European Studies between Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland and the University of Strasbourg, France.

[3]    In reference to the definition of a 'speech act' from Ole Wæver (1995).

[4]    Michel Foucault defines discourse not "as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they

complemented by a linguistic approach focusing on the frequency of words related to migration status, i.e. 'refugee' and 'migrant'. The distinction between these two terms will be given further attention in this chapter taking into account that the "sense of the word [migrant/refugee] does not stop at the definition in the dictionary, but overflows it largely, because it is built on changing social representations" (Calabrese 2018: p.119)[5].

After giving a brief contextualisation of the migration crisis in Poland, the paper will discuss the concept of securitisation, before presenting the results.

## Poland and the Migration Crisis

Whilst having a significant multi-ethnic history prior to the Second World War, Poland is nowadays often considered more as a country of emigration than immigration. Its location between Western and Eastern Europe makes it as well more a place of transit than a place of settlement (Alscher, 2008). Asylum claims in Poland have been regulated based on EU directives since its accession in 2004. The migration crisis nonetheless witnessed the deterioration one of the relations between Poland and the EU in this domain.

The relocation mechanism proposed by the European Commission in May and September 2015 has not been favourably welcomed in Poland. In the beginning of the crisis, the Civic Platform-led government (*Platforma Obywatelska* – PO) emphasised the inability of the country to fulfil such capability-based solidarity, but in the end agreed to welcome a rather small number of asylum seekers on its territory providing that they fulfil the requirements decided by the government, that is to say to the condition of them being affiliated with Christian faith (Györi, 2016; Winterbauer, 2015). Nonetheless, with the shift in power in 2015 and the return of the Law and Justice party (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość* – PiS), the rhetoric against asylum seekers toughened. The new government excluded all possibilities to welcome refugees and was firmly opposing the decision of the Union regarding the implementation of refugee quotas (Schwartz, 2016). The PiS government fiercely disapproved of the Union's strategy of resettlement and of welcoming any refugee. The reason for this non-compliance with the Union's decision is on the discursive level often linked to the security issue that taking in refugees could

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speak" (Foucault 1969: p.49). Therefore, the truth is not what is looked for in a discourse-analytic approach, but rather how reality is constructed by the discursive act.

[5]    All translations are from the author of the paper.

imply. This rhetoric about securitisation has been developed notably following the terrorist attacks in Western Europe (Dearden, 2017).

Eventually, the 2015 migration crisis in Poland needs to be considered in the context of the legislative elections that happened in October 2015. Indeed, migration has been a topic of high confrontation between political parties:

> The radicalization of Africans in contemporary Poland needs to be seen in the wider context of the unprecedented politicization of immigration in the last few years and the new dynamics of othering linked to the development of Polish nationalism. This issue is further exacerbated by the presence of the Polish ultra-right in the country's parliament since 2015, and the alliance between conservative elements of the Polish Catholic Church and the ruling coalition (Pędziwiatr and Balogum 2018: p.87).

Therefore, migration has been a topic of considerable importance during the past few years in Poland. The reception of migrants and refugees has been subject to numerous discussions and controversies, notably in the Polish parliament.

## Securitisation of Migration

The theory of securitisation has most-thoroughly been developed by scholars of Security Studies. In this respect, two of the most prominent scholars working on the topic – Ole Wæver and Barry Buzan, from the Copenhagen School of International Relations – have termed securitisation a discursive phenomenon – a 'speech act' (Ole Wæver, 1995) – which frames a particular object as a threat, therefore requiring specific political actions. Thus, securitisation is defined as:

> the discursive process through which an intersubjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat (Buzan and Wæver 2003: p.491).

Language is a key element when considering securitisation and othering. Indeed, "language choice, and language itself, is a necessary part of identity construction (both individual and collective)" (Wodak and Boukala 2015: p.256). Therefore, the discursive use of status related to migration can be considered as part of a political strategy. The words 'migrant' (*migrant/migrantka*) and 'refugee' (*uchodźca/uchodźczyni*) – alongside other words, such as 'asylum seeker' (*azylant/azylantka*) or even 'foreigner' (*cudzoziemiec/cudzoziemka*) – tend to be commonly used interchangeably. However,

from a legal point of view, these words do not refer to the same person, reality, needs and international obligations (Anderson and Blinder, 2017). A 'refugee' is defined as a person who has fled a conflict or a situation in which she or he was persecuted against and who therefore is recognised as in need of international protection under the 1951 Geneva Convention, whilst a 'migrant' refers to anyone moving from one country to another, the reason behind his or her mobility being not expressed, but usually people tend to link the word 'migrant' with a person trying to find a country with better living conditions, as in 'economic migrant' (Travis, 2015). The use of these distinct words expresses something different and as such is part of a political act that will be further developed in the empirical part of this paper.

Survival is a key concept to understand securitisation theory: as the actor needs to survive, and the object is a threat, extraordinary means can be put into place in order to cope with the threatening object (Wæver, 1996). Sole reference to the issue in security terms therefore immediately implies action: "the word security is not interesting as a sign referring to something more real (the security thing) – it is the enunciation itself that is the act" (p.107). Hence, the theory of securitisation paints security as a "self-referential practice" (p.106), in which the objective dangerousness of the threat is not as important as the way it is framed by the actor.

What is important to note in securitisation theory is the extraordinary context in which the discussion is evolving, and the actions that could be taken as a consequence. Indeed, "the issue is then moved out of the sphere of normal politics into the realm of emergency politics, where it can be dealt with swiftly and without the normal (democratic) rules and regulations of policy-making" (Taureck 2006: p.54). The urgency linked to handling the issue requires that the actor asks for extraordinary means of action, and it seems "legitimate to overrule normal procedures" (Wæver 1996: p.107). Securitisation theory hence can be defined as the discursive framing of an issue as threatening the object's survival. The threat is said to be existential in that the survival of the referent object is at stake if the actor does not move quickly in counteraction.

In his analysis of the diverse units related to survival, Wæver (1996) defines different types of sectors, wherein the referent object's survival may be endangered by an outside threat. Out of the four types described, one will be of particular interest for this research: the societal sector. Societal security is framed when the referent object is the nation, and survival for a nation echoes identity. Wæver (1996) argues that identity has progressively been understood and framed as a security concern in Europe over the past decades: "identity became a security question, it became high politics" (p.111). Societal security therefore encompasses "situations when societies perceived a threat in identity terms" (Wæver et al. 1993: p.23).

## Data Collection and Methodology

The Polish *Sejm* has been chosen as the research object. Parliaments have indeed been considered as being significant arenas for both party confrontation and decision making (Ilie, 2015). Whilst parliamentary discourses tend to be institutionalised (Ibid.), they also "contribute to shaping these [political, social and cultural] configurations discursively and rhetorically (Ilie 2010: p.2). Plenary sessions seem to be a good place to observe securitisation strategies, as they reflect both political ideologies and power relations (Ibid.).

Parliamentary debates have been selected – based on the transcriptions available on the website of the *Sejm* – over a three-year period of time: starting from 2014, that is to say slightly before the crisis, and ending in 2016. The selected debates are all plenary sessions. The debate taking place on 16th September 2015 holds a special character in that the Polish Prime Minister of that time – Ewa Kopacz – addresses the *Sejm* on the migration crisis and its repercussions for the country.

**Table 1. Section of Debates (VII kadencja, 2011–2015 – VIII kadencja, 2015–2019) (author's own elaboration)[6]**

| Date | Subject | Reference code |
|---|---|---|
| 7 May 2014 | Foreigners in Poland | PL_1 |
| 25 June 2014 | Foreigners in Poland | PL_2 |
| 10 September 2014 | European matters | PL_3 |
| 11 June 2015 | Foreigners in Poland | PL_4 |
| 8 July 2015 | Foreigners in Poland | PL_5 |
| 16 September 2015 | Migration crisis | PL_6 |
| 28 January 2016 | European matters | PL_7 |
| 21 November 2016 | EU relocation mechanism | PL_8 |
| 1 December 2016 | EU relocation mechanism | PL_9 |

A total of nine debates have been chosen – three debates per year over three years[7]. Debates were selected thanks to the search engine available on the website of the *Sejm*, enabling to search by keywords. The keywords used to select debates

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[6]   Full list of debates with links is available in Table 2 in Appendix.
[7]   See Table 1. above and Table 2. in Appendix.

were: 'refugee' (*uchodźca*), 'migration' (*migracja*), 'asylum' (*azyl*), 'migrant' (*migrant*) and 'foreigner' (*cudzoziemiec*). The debates were then selected based on their relevance, taking into account the occurrence of the aforementioned chosen words. Qualitative methods have been conducted with the help of MAXQDA – a piece of software dealing with mixed methods on text corpus.

The analyis is based on 84 persons speaking during the analysed debates. The speakers possess different functions during the debates: there is a majority of MPs (70) but also other speakers (14) mostly from the government, e.g. ministers, director of the Office for Foreigners.

The Polish case is, in the perspective of political division and confrontation, of particular interest as the analysed period of time comprises legislative elections. Therefore, there is a clear division between the former leading party PO and the party that won the legislative elections and is thus in office since 2015, i.e. PiS. Migration has been a crucial topic during the elections and has been the object of a fierce opposition between the two aforementioned political parties. Discursive strategies – such as securitisation – have consequently been employed as a differentiating political strategy, especially from the PiS party to contrast with the moderate migration policy of PO.

## Discursive Use of Migration Status

### Differentiation between 'Refugee' and 'Migrant'

The simple fact of referring to incoming individuals using the terms 'migrant' or 'refugee' says a lot about the images that the speaker wants to project on them. This analysis therefore focuses on these two specific terms referring to different 'migration categories' – or migration status – and analyse their occurrence and use during the selected debates in the *Sejm*.

The term 'refugee' (*uchodźca*) is more often used by Polish MPs than the term 'migrant' (*migrant (ka)*). However, from 2015 onwards the use of the term 'refugee' tends to decrease, whereas the word 'migrant' is increasing in regard to its frequency during parliamentary debates. This can be explained as in the beginning of the crisis, media and politicians tend to refer to this migration phenomenon as the 'refugee crisis' which crucially evolved to become framed as the 'migrant' or 'migration crisis'. However, this shift in used term is not made without ulterior motives. Indeed, MPs are well aware of the lexical and legal differences existing between these two words:

It is not rational to say: we are opening the borders of the European Union to everyone, because it results in an influx of migrants who are not often refugees, and they are simply economic migrants. (Michał Kamiński, MP, PO, PL_9)[8].

**Figure 1. Evolution of the Frequency of the Terms 'Refugee' and 'Migrant' (n=472)**
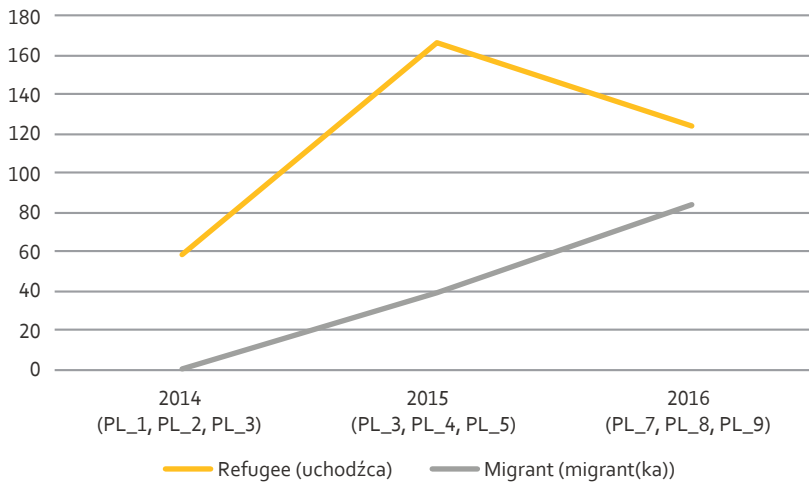


Source: Author's own elaboration.

This differentiation between 'refugee' and 'migrant' is also noticeable in the discursive images linked to these words. The term 'refugee' is indeed linked to images of vulnerability, intra and extra European solidarity and international responsibility:

Our European community must show solidarity on two levels: first, on the basic, most important, that is, on the level of solidarity with refugees. (Rafał Grupiński, MP, PO, PL_6);
Dividing the aid of what we should give to Christian refugees, from what we should not give to refugees with the Muslim denomination, splitting aid like this for Christian children and that for Muslim children is also unacceptable from the point of view of responsibility for how we, as a political class, build social attitudes. (Rafał Grupiński, MP, PO, PL_6).

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8    All quotes from the selected parliamentary debates are presented with the name of the speaker, her/his role in the debates, her/his political party affiliation and the reference code of the debate. All translations from Polish to English are from the author of the paper.

Whilst the term 'refugee' is frequently used to request more comprehensive migration and asylum policies, their distinction from the term 'migrant' is made so as to distinguish who needs – or would be granted – protection and who is not – or should not be – entitled to it. From 2014 onwards, the term 'migrant' becomes more and more used by Polish MPs and it is most of the time linked to depreciative discursive images. The number of migrants arriving has been one of the reasons to request tougher migration and asylum policies. The image of a 'wave' or a 'flow' of migrants coming is therefore used to demonstrate the uncontrollability of the numbers:

> We do not run the risk of an uncontrolled inflow of immigrants. (Rafał Trzaskowski, MP, PO, PL_6).

MPs are therefore using the number of migrants as to picture a sudden invasion of outsiders, weakening the stability of the country.

## Migrants as Threat for the Nation

More often than not, Polish MPs link the word migrant to detrimental images when referring to people coming to the European and/or national territory. In this respect, the use of violence-related images around migrants is very frequent:

> It has an impact on different spheres of their lives. Increased level of aggression, acts of violence, lack of care for children and poor education of these children – these are just some of the problems associated with [migration]. If we now have so many homeless refugees, where is the money to help new refugees? (Grzegorz Adam Woźniak, MP, PiS, PL_1);
> Data has recently been produced on France, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland: 90% of these so-called emigrants do not want to work, do not want to accept any work, even though they get a job. In other countries, they do not want to assimilate, they are responsible for aggression, as in Sweden. We cannot forget about it. (Patryk Jaki, MP, PiS, PL_6).

When analysing the references made to violence, the representation of migrants as being responsible for physical aggressions widens to the societal change that they are most likely to bring in the host society; the point of reference for this comparison being Western European member states:

> What's going on in Italy? Occupied churches, sometimes treated as toilets. What's going on in France? An incessant brawl, also the introduction of Sharia, patrols that guard the observance of Sharia. It is the same in London, as well as in a strongest,

hardest way in Germany, such phenomena also take place. Do you want it to happen also in Poland, so that we would stop being hosts in our own country? Do you want it? (Jarosław Kaczyński, MP, PiS, PL_6).

This alienation of Poland due to migration is discursively referred to as a collapse of civilisation in which the homogeneity of the Polish society is clearly underlined. Therefore, migrants are depicted as a uniform mass of threatening strangers coming with their own customs to alienate the Polish way of life and most importantly Polish values:

The implementation of this principle [relocation mechanism] in this way would lead to the collapse of our civilisation, civilisation that has just created freedom. (Jarosław Kaczyński, MP, PiS, PL_6).

These detrimental discursive images, i.e. illegality, violence, etc. are not produced by MPs without any purpose. Depicting migrants or refugees with one of these representations is a way for the MPs to request tougher migration or asylum policy due to security concerns, falling therefore within the prism of securitisation. Polish MPs depict incoming people as dangerous for the national and/or European identity, therefore using the nation as the referent object. Thus, the nation is the main point of focus used by Polish MPs, whose collective identity based on an ethnic understanding is under threat due to the increased number of migrants. Additionally, migration has been crucially used in the political party confrontation process.

## Instrumental Use of Migration

### Political Party Confrontation

Migration has been a very controversial and central topic during the 2015 elections. In this sense, it has been subject to a fierce opposition between the two main parties, PO and PiS. Scholars developing securitisation theory underline the power that discursive strategy against migrants might have in the political party conformation process:

The framing of the state as a body endangered by migrants is a political narrative activated for the purpose of political games in ways that permit each politician to distance himself or herself from other politicians, but within the same rules of the game (Bigo 2002: p.68).

Discursive strategies – such as securitisation – have consequently been employed as a differentiating political discursive strategy. In the context of the Polish elections, the discursive mechanism of inspiring fear is nonetheless tackled by several politicians in an attempt to mark a clear political distinction in regard the rhetoric on migration used by their political opponents:

> So do not scare the Poles today, do not tell us that suddenly, one beautiful day, before the elections, we will be flooded by a mass of refugees who will be taking our job here or who will be dangerous to the Poles. (Ewa Kopacz, Prime Minister, PO, PL_6).

This political opposition is particularly valid when taking into account the political context of the 2015 legislative elections in Poland. Indeed, as the former ruling party PO previously approved to a certain extent the EU migration policy, the strong opposition of PiS against it could be seen as part of a political game. The discursive images produced by PiS MPs on migrants as a threatening Other therefore are part of their discursive strategy to secure an absolute majority in the *Sejm*. Furthermore, their opposition to the EU migration policy is part of a much broader opposition to the EU.

## Eurosceptic Rhetoric

Migration has been used as a political opportunity to show opposition against the former ruling party PO, but also against the actions of the EU more generally. Indeed, migration is not the only subject on which the current Polish ruling party is showing opposition to.

Polish MPs – particularly from 2015 onwards, with the PiS majority in place – are requesting a national response to the migration crisis, emphasising the responsibility of the EU in the management of the migration crisis. Therefore, the level of decision and implementation of requested extraordinary measures against migration tends to be on the domestic one:

> You are talking about a Europe in which it is necessary to renationalise a policy in which national egoism is to be higher than a common European interest, than European integration, because in the opinion of your president, regarding this European integration, the threats are waiting for us. Well, this is the wrong solution that the Union proposes today, this is the triumph of national egoisms. This is the triumph of stronger and richer than us. (Michał Kamiński, MP, PO, PL_9).

Furthermore, the last year of analysis, i.e. 2016, shows an increase in the Eurosceptic rhetoric in the Polish parliament. The topic of migration has been used by Polish MPs to reaffirm their opposition to the EU. Consequently, the discussion around migration in the national parliament is a subject on which the divisions currently occurring within the EU possess high significance, in both the way the issue is framed, and regarding what should be done to counter it.

## Conclusion

The analysed parliamentary debates in the *Sejm* demonstrate a strong differentiation between the term 'refugee', linked to positive connotations, in comparison to 'migrant', rather associated with detrimental discursive images. Overall, the migration crisis resulted in an increase use of depreciative representations around migration in general.

The discursive images produced around the word 'migrant' are usually linked with the illegality of people and the violence that they would be likely to bring when settling down in the host country. Migrants tend to be depicted as culturally incompatible and as a factor of social change and are therefore framed as a threat to the collective identity of the Polish nation.

This discursive imaginary is subsequently used for political purposes. On the one hand, migration has been instrumentally used as an opposing topic and differentiation criteria between the former PO and current PiS ruling party, in that their views on migration differ. On the other hand, the firm opposition to the EU migration policy has been used as a political opportunity by the PiS political party to show opposition against the European project. These two levels of political opposition have been particularly valid when taking into account the political context of the 2015 legislative elections in Poland. The discursive images produced by PiS MPs on migrants as a threatening Other are therefore part of a discursive strategy with the aim of securing an absolute majority in the *Sejm*. The selected period of time does not reveal whether the discursive images and subsequent request for security measures are persistent, it is still a matter of inquiry to observe if the rhetoric will change, especially taking into hence account that at the time of writing this paper the migration situation is still highly controversial.

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# Appendix

## Table 2. Selected debates in the Sejm (author's own elaboration)

| Year | Date | Reference code | Number | Topic |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sejm – Debates (VII kadencja, 2011–2015 – VIII kadencja, 2015–2019) | | | |
| 2014 | 07.05.2014 | PL_1 | 67. posiedzenie | *Punkt 3. porządku dziennego: Sprawozdanie Komisji Spraw Wewnętrznych o rządowym projekcie ustawy o zmianie ustawy o udzielaniu cudzoziemcom ochrony na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz niektórych innych ustaw* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter7.nsf/0/B155549D141CBD9AC1257CD2000C710A/%24File/67_a_ksiazka.pdf | | | |
| | 25.06.2014 | PL_2 | 70. posiedzenie | *Punkt 28. porządku dziennego: Sprawozdanie Komisji Spraw Wewnętrznych o uchwale Senatu w sprawie ustawy o zmianie ustawy o udzielaniu cudzoziemcom ochrony na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz niektórych innych ustaw* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter7.nsf/0/25E3C7325997479CC1257D0B002DDDF4/%24File/70_b_ksiazka.pdf | | | |
| | 10.09.2014 | PL_3 | 74. posiedzenie | *Punkt 6. porządku dziennego: Informacja dla Sejmu i Senatu o udziale Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w pracach Unii Europejskiej w okresie styczeń–czerwiec 2014 r.* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter7.nsf/0/7FFA25DB994FE8DCC1257D4F006A3A81/%24File/74_a_ksiazka.pdf | | | |
| 2015 | 11.06.2015 | PL_4 | 94. posiedzenie | *Punkt 25. porządku dziennego: Pierwsze czytanie rządowego projektu ustawy o zmianie ustawy o udzielaniu cudzoziemcom ochrony na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz niektórych innych ustaw* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter7.nsf/0/7A72A6BBAC39E0D5C1257E62000BA72B/%24File/94_b_ksiazka.pdf | | | |
| | 08.07.2015 | PL_5 | 96. posiedzenie | *Punkt 20. porządku dziennego: Sprawozdanie Komisji Spraw Wewnętrznych o rządowym projekcie ustawy o zmianie ustawy o udzielaniu cudzoziemcom ochrony na terytorium Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej oraz niektórych innych ustaw* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter7.nsf/0/99E1F96205A3E642C1257E7D000B0004/%24File/96_b_ksiazka.pdf | | | |
| | 16.09.2015 | PL_6 | 100. posiedzenie | *Informacja prezesa Rady Ministrów na temat kryzysu migracyjnego w Europie i jego reperkusji dla Polski*[9] |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter7.nsf/0/A8CA0F4060DE3B1CC1257EC200722812/%24File/100_a_ksiazka.pdf | | | |

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[9] This debate has not been entirely analysed.

| Sejm – Debates (VII kadencja, 2011–2015 – VIII kadencja, 2015–2019) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Date | Reference code | Number | Topic |
| 2016 | 28.01.2016 | PL_7 | 9. posiedzenie | *Punkt 9. porządku dziennego: Informacja dla Sejmu i Senatu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej o udziale Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w pracach Unii Europejskiej w okresie lipiec–grudzień 2015 r.* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/92FE1C9F4182365AC1257F4800622AE9/%24File/09_b_ksiazka_bis.pdf | | | |
| | 21.10.2016 | PL_8 | 28. posiedzenie | *Punkt 22. porządku dziennego: Pierwsze czytanie komisyjnego projektu uchwały w sprawie propozycji ustanowienia unijnego korekcyjnego mechanizmu alokacji uchodźców oraz mechanizmu solidarności finansowej* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/6F74FA41DE269CF0C1258053007AE55D/%24File/28_c_ksiazka_bis.pdf | | | |
| | 01.12.2016 | PL_9 | 31. posiedzenie | *Punkt 37. porządku dziennego: Sprawozdanie Komisji Administracji i Spraw Wewnętrznych oraz Komisji do Spraw Unii Europejskiej o komisyjnym projekcie uchwały w sprawie propozycji ustanowienia unijnego korekcyjnego mechanizmu alokacji uchodźców oraz mechanizmu solidarności finansowej* |
| | http://orka2.sejm.gov.pl/StenoInter8.nsf/0/2C9E4F23C2DFA8EAC125807C006CED3E/%24File/31_c_ksiazka_bis.pdf | | | |