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The structure of titles on the Fronda.pl website

The beginnings of the Fronda publishing house date back to 1994, when the *Kwartalnik FRONDA Pismo Poświęcone* [FRONDA quarterly consecrated magazine] emerged on the market. Soon the first books were offered by the publishing house, which, according to its website, amounted to tens of publications per year. Twelve years later, the range includes the Polish version of *First Things*, a conservative US religious periodical published since 1990, which describes itself as the most influential US periodical in the field of religion and public matters. The Fronda publishing house offers also documentaries: from 1994–2001 channel 1 of Polish TV (*Telewizja Polska*) featured *Program Poświęcony* [consecrated programme], later broadcast as *Raport Specjalny* [special report] (by POLSAT TV), *Archiwum XX wieku* [archives of the 20th century] (TV Puls) and *Wojna Światów* [war of the worlds] (TVP). Since 2002, the Fronda PL company has been owned by Tadeusz Grzesik and Michał Jeżewski. In 2007, the company board deposed Editor-in-Chief Marek Horodniczy and appointed Grzegorz Górny in his place. As a result, nearly all the employees left the editorial office (Michał Dylewski, Aleksander Kopiński, Nikodem Bończa-Tomaszewski, Łukasz Łangowski, Filip Memches, Wojciech Wencel, Jan Zieliński and Rafał Tichy) and established the *Czterdzieści i Cztery. Magazyn Apokaliptyczny* [Forty-four. Apocalyptic magazine] quarterly headed by Marek Horodniczy.

Taking advantage of the popularity of the online *Forum Frondy* [Fron-da forum], in November 2008 the *Fron-da.pl Portal Poświęcony* [Fron-da.pl consecrated website] was established (<http://www.wydawnictwofron-da.pl/about>, last access: 9 May, 2014). It was managed by Piotr T. Pałka, who was replaced by Tomasz Terlikowski in 2010. The latter, famous for his incisive views is frequently invited by various media to comment on the most important events, which increasingly often concern a wider scope than that related to the Catholic Church in Poland or ethical issues. He does not shun political views and the website he manages has adopted a similar profile.

By virtue of paragraph 3, items 3 and 4 of the Fronda Website Regulations, the use of foul language and phrases that could in any way undermine anyone's dignity and posting content offensive to others is forbidden. It is also inadmissible to publish information that breaches Polish law, calls for racial, religious and ethnic hatred, pornographic material or content generally deemed to be socially inappropriate, containing vulgar language, promoting alcohol, intoxicants and drugs. It should be emphasised that decisions taken by the administrator or moderator are final. Failing to comply with them may result in a complete block on the account. Items 5, 6 and 7 of the same regulations define when the administrators and moderators can edit, modify, move or delete users' entries (for instance when an entry lowers the general level of the website, the entry contradicts the editorial policy of the website, the entry is irrelevant to the topic or breaches the regulations). The website is not obliged to notify users that their entry has been moderated.

It is worth stressing the provisions concerning blocking users who fail to respect the administrator's or moderator's decisions, and the ability to edit content which contradicts the editorial policy. These should not be surprising, given a website where the host is authorised to establish the rules that have to be observed by visitors and has to have the possibility of adequate reactions if the rules are violated.

However, it seems somewhat hypocritical when Fronda's Editor-in-Chief and other journalists complain about their profile having been removed from Facebook. On 14 January, 2014, the user Philo wrote that the reason for this was the link to boxer Artur Szpilka's comment on gender ("Artur Szpilka: Gender? What's that? Homos? Gimme a break!" <http://www.fronda.pl/a/artur-szpilka-gender-a-co-to-jest-to-pedaly-dajze-spokoj,33478.html>, entry from 13 January, 2014, last access: 12 July, 2014). The author ponders whether the Facebook administrator was not fond of the word "homos" or "gender", and observes that Facebook features anti-Catholic, Satanist and pro-gay fan pages as well as other "shit where we come across anti-Christian venom and you get the impression that Facebook is possessed." Philo clearly does not understand that Facebook can have its regulations and block users who violate them, the same way Fronda does. The right to offend others clearly works only one way, because Philo goes on writing that the space of Facebook is possessed by "stupid 'political correctness' which has nothing in common with freedom of speech. It is a breeding ground for all kind of left-wing, liberal gibberish. Shame!" ("Facebook kolejny raz zablokował portal

Fronda.pl”, <http://www.fronda.pl/a/facebook-kolejny-raz-zablokowal-portal-frondapl,33529.html>, entry from 14 January, 2014, last access: 12 July, 2014). In April, 2014, Fronda’s editors reported another blockade of their profile by Facebook and informed that this time they were moving to Twitter – “a social medium which operates in line with the law rather than with ideological enagement” (“Facebook Fronda.pl kolejny raz zablokowany”, <http://www.fronda.pl/a/facebook-frondapl-kolejny-raz-zablokowany,36269.html>, entry from 9 April, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014). A month later, Philo reported that the punishment for speaking “the Truth” was over, and although Fronda was considering leaving Facebook, they did not want to give up. What is most bizarre, though, is the statement that the editor did not get any notification of the blocking so they did not know what it was all about this time. However, being aware of “Facebook’s hardly friendly attitude to conservatives and Catholics we do not care much for this form of interference exercised by this social website. But we will not give up and will continue to participate and speak the Truth via this medium.” Interestingly, at the end of this entry the editor asks for his page to be liked on this unfriendly website (“Wracamy na Facebook”, <http://www.fronda.pl/a/wracamy-na-facebook,37313.html>, entry from 10 May, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014). After another month had passed however, readers could learn about yet another blocking of Fronda’s profile (“Portal Fronda.pl kolejny raz zablokowany na Facebooku”, entry from 11 June, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014). This time the reason was a text by Tomasz Terlikowski about the case of Professor Bogdan Chazan and his refusal to perform an abortion (“Żadna kobieta starająca się o dziecko nie zakłada, że będzie chciała potem je usunąć”, entry from 10 June, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014). In an attempt to discover the reason why their website had been blocked, Fronda’s editors write, among other things, that it is an utter parody and nonsense to block a website that defends life, condemns abortion and says openly that killing unborn children is a violation of the fundamental human right – the right to live. They also observe that the website is doing very well even without Facebook and it is a pity that many people will not be able to read important articles posted by Fronda. They assume that FB moderators must have decided that Fronda was a hostile medium which should be blocked from time to time. However, they say the website will face up to such censorship, and will continue to speak the truth.

Fronda’s editors presented a similar approach when calling for the Firefox browser to be boycotted. The reason for that was the sacking of

Brendan Eich, the CEO of Mozilla, the company that makes the browser, who spoke against single-sex marriages and paid 1,000 dollars for the organisation of a referendum on a law to protect traditional families. The title of the entry was symptomatic as it read: “The triumph of homo-fascism. Mozilla CEO resigns” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/tryumf-homo-faszyzmu-dyrektor-mozilli-ustepuje,36129.html>, entry from 4 April, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014). In his next article Tomasz Terlikowski called for boycotting the browser, so that it is used only by those defended by its owners, that is the 2.5% of gays and lesbians. Normal families should use other browsers so that the “cowards” who succumb to the demands of the “homo-terrorists” come to understand what pays and what does not (“Pożegnanie z Mozillą!”, <http://www.fronda.pl/blogi/contra-gentiles/pozegnanie-z-mozilla,38462.html>, entry from 5 April, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014).

The strong views and language of the Fronda website’s journalists have both supporters (over 34,000 likes on FB in July 2014) and opponents, who mock the conservatism, outrage and occasional ‘mania’ of the authors from the *Portal Poświęcony* (over 20,000 persons liked the profile *Mądrości z Frondy* [wisdom from Fronda] in the same period). The articles are vigorously commented on by both sides of the dispute, and a group of permanent discussion participants can be identified.

The focus of this paper, however, is not the ideological profile of the website, but the peculiar way of handling the titles of articles, which play a special role online. The ‘catchiness’ and controversies they raise, often owing to manipulation, encourage readers to click on them to open the articles, which translates into the popularity of the website. That is why we have such titles as “Germans shot to death in Basel” which the *Wirtualna Polska* website gave to an article about a football match between Germany and Switzerland (26 May, 2012, <http://euro.wp.pl/title,Niemcy-rozstrzelani-w-Bazylei,wid,14520654,wiadomosc.html>, last access: 9 May, 2014). This method is dangerous, inasmuch that some readers will not scroll down to learn what the article is about and will draw conclusions only on the basis of the title. In this way one can receive a message that not only is not true, but is also incompatible with the content of the article.

Some titles used by the Fronda website are worth analysing to illustrate how often they represent the level of a tabloid, violate the website’s own regulations or plainly distort reality. The text entitled “Poles protest against the Council of Europe Convention” is a good example of this (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/polacy-protestuja-przeciwko-konwencji-rady-eu->

ropy,37761.html, entry from 23 May, 2014, last access: 10 June, 2014). It implies that Poles do not want the Polish parliament to ratify the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence. Worded in this way, the title implies that this is the opinion of the majority of Poles; but if readers go to the address referred to in the article (www.konwencjinnie.pl) in order to express their protest, they will find that the motion had been signed by 3,554 persons (as of 23 May, 2014). The same mechanism was applied with reference to the article entitled “Polish doctors against gender!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/polscy-lekarze-przeciw-gender,34594.html>, entry from 17 February, 2014, last access: 10 June, 2014). The title implies that this ideology, which is considered to be a lie that may cause irreversible harm, is opposed by the whole, or at least the majority of medical circles. The reader will be disappointed again, as on reading the article he will find out that it was only the Silesian Section of the Catholic Association of Polish Doctors that has written an open letter on this topic. Such titles are a clear case of abuse, although the authors would surely defend themselves saying that the signatories of the protest against the convention are Poles, so the title is true and, in the second case, that they are both doctors and Poles. Such an explanation is frequently used in advertising which says that a given product was awarded a prize by pharmaceutical professors. We do not know whether they form some kind of an organisation, or whether it simply involved paying two professors of pharmacy to give the product the award, then for the makers to boast about it with a ‘clear’ conscience. A similar presumption of universality was also used in propaganda broadcasts in the times of the Polish People’s Republic.

Homosexuals attack

In the opinion of Fronda’s journalists, homosexuality is a disease and perversion. Sebastian Moryń, Deputy Editor-in-Chief of Fronda, was outraged at the 2014 Equality Parade to be organised in Warsaw, with the motto “Equal rights, a common cause” (*Równe prawa, wspólna sprawa*), which he labels a homosexual parade, a march of homosexual indoctrination and a march of homosexuals, to choose but a few terms, concluding that this was the “Parade of Hatred” towards Christianity and heterosexual families. Such opinions are not surprising, but the title of the article, “Homosexual attack on Warsaw!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/homoseksualny->

-atak-na-warszawe,37725.html, entry from 22 May, 2014, last access: 10 June, 2014), is. Is the capital going to be attacked by hordes of depraved degenerates with a different sexual orientation? Or is it going to be invaded by an army of homo-recruits? Or are we talking about a parade that promotes equality and calls for respecting differences between people? Does it consequently mean that the demonstration of people with attitudes and likes different to the author's equals an attack on the city? In order to deflect the accusations of intolerance, the author explains that the Parade participants want to demonstrate more than their protest against homophobia, which in his opinion does not exist in Poland. He adds that a number of "gentlemen loving other gentlemen" dine in restaurants on his street and he never noticed that they were persecuted by the heterosexual community of the district of Ochota and forced into exile. Instead, they live there, shop at street markets, go to parks, fortunately – not holding hands, for which he praises them. In the concluding lines of his article he equated the Equality Parade to a Parade of Hatred towards Christianity and heterosexual families.

Gangsters in the government

The critical attitude of Fronda's journalists to Donald Tusk's government was evidenced by a multitude of articles that are impossible to quote here (a sample from 8 March, 2014 will suffice, when a text entitled "Donald Tusk's ridiculous wishes for women" was published: <http://www.fron-da.pl/a/bzdurne-zyczenia-donalda-tuska-dla-kobiet,35228.html>, last access: 10 July, 2014). The lead in reads as follows: "Donald Tusk, our beloved Prime Minister announces on Women's Day that he will engage in fighting against violence and for equal rights in the family. You couldn't give much sillier wishes." There is, however, a limit that should not be exceeded, that is simple honesty, integrity and decency. What conclusions could Fronda's readers draw when they saw the title "Tusk and Sikorski among the most powerful people and gangsters in the world" (<http://www.fron-da.pl/a/tusk-i-sikorski-posrod-najpoteczniejszych-ludzi-na-swiecie-i-gangsterow,27857.html?page=2&>, entry from 30 April, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). If someone was counting on these Polish politicians having been caught on camera at a birthday party thrown by a representative of the world of crime, they would have been somewhat disappointed. The text is about the *Foreign Policy* magazine's list of the 500 most influential people in the world. It featured Prime Minister Tusk and Minister of Foreign Af-

fairs Sikorski, as well as gangsters and terrorists. Who cares if the title implies some connections between these people?

Murderers murder. And rape

According to the Polish dictionary *Słownik języka polskiego PWN*, murder is the crime of killing a human. To murder means to kill people, or animals unnecessarily; to kill in a cruel way, to kill while torturing, or commit murder. These definitions are unambiguous, as is the fact that murder is a punishable offence. What is the reader to think, then, on reading the following title: “It costs 1,351.13 zloty to murder a disabled person in Poland” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/135113-zlotych-kosztuje-w-polsce-zamordowanie-niepelnosprawnego,37415.html>, entry from 13 May, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). Aghast, he will click on it to learn why murderers are rewarded for their deeds. The intro does not dispense his doubts, as it states that “it costs 1,351.13 zloty to murder a disabled person in Poland. And the money for this murder comes from our taxes to go to hospitals where this crime is committed.” The reader still does not know whether the Penal Code has been amended with rewards for murderers, or if Poland murders its citizens, and why patients are murdered in hospitals. The doubts are only dispersed by the fragment of the text stating that this is information provided by the National Health Fund. It was requested by the Centre for Procedural Intervention of the *Ordo Iuris* Institute for Legal Culture. According to the Centre, the State Treasury spent 1,620,000 zloty and 1,760,000 zloty in 2013 on abortions, which amounts to 1,357.13 zloty for each operation. Regardless of one’s attitude to pregnancy termination, this matter is regulated in Poland by the Law of 7 January 1993 on family planning, protection of human foetuses, and the conditions under which pregnancy termination is permissible. By virtue of this law, abortion is illegal in Poland and pregnancy can be terminated only in three cases defined in Article 4(a) (1) danger to the health or life of the pregnant woman; 2) severe and irreversible damage to the foetus, an incurable disease which endangers the life of the foetus; 3) pregnancy being the result of a criminal act). The first two prerequisites are confirmed by a doctor, the third one – by a prosecutor. Therefore, patients are not murdered in hospitals, but they provide legal pregnancy terminations.

A similar situation occurs in the case of another article: “France fully refunds killing of people” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/francja-refunduje-w-pel->

ni-zabijanie-ludzi,27290.html, entry from 2 April, 2013, last access: 10 July, 2014). The article exemplifies the same mechanism. The French government obviously does not refund, or cover the costs borne by killers in the course of their activity of murdering. The text concerned a draft of a law introducing the principle of refunding the costs of pregnancy termination. On another occasion Fronda entitled its text in the following manner: "Prosecution investigates the case of Professor Chazan. Because he did not kill a child!" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/prokuratura-prowadzi-sledz-two-w-sprawie-prof-chazana-bo-nie-zabil-dziecka,38629.html>, entry from 18 June, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). The same mechanism was applied in the title of Tomasz Terlikowski's text: "Abortionists want to kill the baby and rape an 11-year-old again" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/aborcjonisci-chca-zabic-dziecko-i-ponownie-zgwalcic-11-latke,38260.html>, entry from 7 June, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). The article is about an 11-year-old girl who was repeatedly raped by her cousins (aged 14 and 15) and got pregnant. The Editor-in-Chief did not put the word 'rape' in inverted commas, and explains in his article that the abortion will not help the girl and will only add to her trauma, as the shock caused by abortion will affect her whole life, claiming it will result in depression and devastate her psychology. Therefore, in Terlikowski's opinion, it will be another rape on an innocent person – a rape that brings no profits, especially to the woman involved. Even if we accept the journalist's ideological fervour and indignation, this title is abusive. After Professor Bogdan Chazan was dismissed from the Hospital of the Holy Family, Tomasz Terlikowski posted another comment introduced on the home page by a teaser "Is the Hospital of the Holy Family going to start killing children?" After clicking on it, an article entitled "The blood of children killed in the Hospital of the Holy Family will fall on Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz" opens (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/krew-dzieci-zabitych-w-szpitalu-swietej-rodziny-spadnie-na-hanne-gronkiewicz-waltz,39823.html>, entry from 22 July, 2014, last access 22 July, 2014).

The dispute over the issue of abortion is exceptionally heated. The groups seated on the two opposite sides of the barricade use their own language (foetus vs. child, pregnancy termination vs. killing an unborn child), but an opinion-forming website, or one seeking such a status, should not use the mechanisms typically employed by tabloids. It is difficult to find other motivations. The title "752 victims, or the price for the abortion 'compromise'" is a completely different matter (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/752-zabite-osoby-czyli-cena-kompromisu-aborcyjnego,34162.html>,

entry from 4 February, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). Even though it reads that in 2012 “killers in doctor’s coats liquidated 752 children,” the title does not mislead the reader. The doctors may feel offended and inclined to seek reparation through the courts, but the editors do imply abortion in the title. This mechanism is frequently applied, as is the case of the article introduced by a teaser on the home page reading “Warren Buffet [sic] could fund the death of 3 million children” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/warren-buffet-przekazal-proaborcyjnym-organizacjom-ponad-miliard-dolarow,37424.html>, entry from 14 May, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). The full version of the title reads: “Warren Buffet [sic] has donated over one billion dollars to pro-abortion organisations”. The same was the case with the following title: “Doctors wanted to kill it. The parents accepted the twins in a single body” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/lekarze-chcieli-je-zabic-rodzice-przyjeli-bliznieta-w-jednym-ciele,37404.html>, entry from 13 May, 2014, last access: 10 July, 2014). In contrast to what is implied in the title, the parents did not find themselves in a hospital where psychopathic doctors murder children, but had twins who had been diagnosed with conjoined bodies (they have two hands and legs, a single body, one head with two faces and two brains connected by a single brain stem) so doctors suggested an abortion.

Satan at the award ceremony

On 29 January, 2014 the Fronda website published the article entitled “The Satanic Grammy Award ceremony. Christians leave” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/sataniczne-rozdanie-nagrod-grammy-chrzescijanie-wychodza,33983.html>, last access: 14 July, 2014). Anyone wondering what this “Satanic Grammy Award ceremony” was, out of curiosity opened the text, the more so as the Christians left the event, so the reaction must have been massive. Reading the article we unfortunately learn that, again, the editors were tempted to formulate the title in a way that would attract readers, without necessarily being truthful. The lead in could seem even more frightening, since it talks about scantily clad singers, same-sex marriages, anti-Christian songs, simulated sex, demonic images – this is what the Grammy Award ceremony looked like that Sunday. Readers could learn that these were the reasons that made some artists (we do know how many) protest by boycotting the ceremony. The author refers to a Christian singer, Natalie Grant, who left the event at the very beginning, and who said that

she had never been more honoured than when she could sing about Jesus and for Jesus. Another Christian artist, Mandisa, did not appear at the ceremony, despite having won in two categories. She stated that she would not abandon her views and she was seeking her own salvation with fear and trembling before the Lord (the artist's explanation can be read on her social profile: <https://www.facebook.com/notes/mandisa/i-missed-the-grammy-awardsand-i-won/10151878526211231>, last access: 11 July, 2014). This is not about the assessment of the artists' performances during the ceremony (the sexual dancing of Beyonce and Jay-Z was apparently offensive, Katy Perry shocked with her demon-dancers and demonic staging) but about the generalisation made in the title. There is no information about other Christian artists who left the ceremony. Natalie Grant alone does not justify the editorial claim that Christians left a Satanic event, which brings the associations of a black mass or other Satanist rituals. Again, it is difficult to come up with an explanation other than shocking and manipulating targeted at attracting readers.

16 is more than... 17

“Who do Poles want for Prime Minister? A surprising poll result!” shouted the title of an article on the Fronda website (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/kogo-chca-polacy-na-premiera-zaskakujace-dane,28395.html>, entry from 25 May, 2013, last access: 14 July, 2014). The author discussed the results of a poll commissioned by *Newsweek*, and concluded that Donald Tusk was no longer the best Prime Minister, his time had passed, and Poles wanted Jarosław Kaczyński to preside over the Cabinet. He even emphatically observed that this survey was “probably the greatest blow to the so-called popularity of the incumbent Prime Minister!” Readers who wanted to find out about the falling popularity of Donald Tusk would be disappointed, however. The author explains that the Prime Minister has “totally” lost his upper hand over Jarosław Kaczyński in terms of popularity, because only 17% of the respondents were of the opinion that he should continue to be Prime Minister. The Chairman of the PiS party, Jarosław Kaczyński, it is revealed, won 16%. In the author's opinion, this one percent of difference shows that Poles want radical changes. At this point, the confused reader can only recall a joke from communist times about a bet made by the leaders of the USSR and USA. Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy decided to check which one was fastest over 100 m.

The race was won by the younger and more sporty US President. On the following day the Soviet *Pravda* daily reported that Comrade Khrushchev took an honourable second place, while Kennedy came second to last. This joke suffices as a commentary. Numbers can be easily manipulated to prove whatever needs to be proved. However, there are certain limits beyond which one renounces reality and alters it to fit one's thesis.

The editors applied a similar manoeuvre in the article entitled "Optimistic news: *Gazeta Wyborcza* in a nosedive!" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/news-optymistyczny-gazeta-wyborcza-leci-na-leb-na-szyje,37209.html>, entry from 7 May, 2014, last access: 14 July, 2014). The author, nicknamed Philo, discusses the results of newspaper sales in the first quarter of 2014. It can be guessed that he does not have very warm feelings for the *Gazeta Wyborcza* daily, which the author claims has a dramatically plummeting circulation, recording the largest drop in sales in this segment. This is not the case, though, as clearly evidenced by the statistics he refers to:

- *Fakt* is the leader (sales at 344,462 issues);
- *Gazeta Wyborcza*, described by the author as "the pro-government, anti-Catholic and anti-Polish medium," follows (sales at 177,834 issues, a decrease of 17.75% when compared to the previous year);
- *Super Express*, to quote the author: "another tabloid" ranks third (sales at 156,398 issues);
- *Rzeczpospolita* comes fourth (sales at 56,512 issues and a fall of 9.34%);
- *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* is next (sales at 21,180 issues and a fall of 27.55%).

Concluding, the author is hopeful that a new entity will emerge on the market – "a truly objective and independent one, and, importantly, Polish!" Regardless of the linguistic lapses [occasional grammatical and spelling errors in the original Polish text – translator's note], it can be noted that, out of decency, the author could have entitled his text "Pessimistic news: *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* in a nosedive!" or simply "Newspapers sales – the greatest decline recorded by *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* and *Gazeta Wyborcza*." It would have been simply more reliable. But the aversion towards *Gazeta Wyborcza* appears to be more important, as evidenced by another text using the same mechanism: "Sales of *Wyborcza* have fallen by 18%" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/sprzedaz-wyborczej-spaldla-o-18-proc,36186.html>, entry from 6 April, 2014). The text says that the sales of this newspaper have indeed fallen by 18%, but the results of *Gazeta Polska Codziennie* have dropped by 28.65%.

Minister Sikorski like a Ukrainian oligarch

The aversion of the authors writing for Fronda towards Foreign Affairs Minister, Radosław Sikorski, is evident to regular readers. Nobody, then, would have been very surprised to read the article entitled “Radosław Sikorski, like the Ukrainian oligarchs, delights in luxury!” (<http://www.fron-da.pl/a/radoslaw-sikorski-podobnie-jak-oligarchowie-ukrainscy-lubuje-sie-w-luksusie-2,34880.html>, entry from 26 February, 2014, last access: 14 July, 2014). The reader, expecting to see pictures from the Minister’s palace in Chobielin, featuring a golden toilet bowl, a garage filled with luxurious automobiles or a replica of ancient ruins in the garden surrounding the palace, familiar from earlier reports from Ukraine, would have been disappointed. Instead, the article says that the ministry headed by Sikorski spent 4,400,000 zloty on purchasing furniture (luxurious furniture, the author emphasises) in the period 2009–2013. This amount covered the purchase of 3,200 pieces of furniture, accounting for an average of 1,375 zloty per item. The author indicates that one of the pieces was a conference table bought on the occasion of the Polish EU presidency which cost 174,000 zloty and was used only 19 times, generating storage expenses in excess of 50,000 zloty by 2013 alone. The title of this article brings unavoidable associations with tabloids. Although the person heading a given ministry is accountable for its work, given minimal good will, it is difficult to imagine that the minister approves the decision to buy every single chair or table. Comparing the purchases of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (whether appropriate or not is to be determined by the relevant institutions) with Ukrainian oligarchs who surrounded themselves with luxurious commodities financed from illegal sources or just plain stealing, is mere manipulation.

This abhorrent gender

The term gender, studies on cultural sex or the differences between women and men have become the subject of heated discussions and disputes for numerous circles. Unfortunately, their participants often did not know what they were discussing, which produced anecdotal situations where gender was blamed for the fact that hens stop laying eggs and rivers overflow. This can be exemplified by one of the numerous articles on this topic published by Fronda: “Gender theory leads to suicide. See movie!” (<http://www.fron-da.pl/a/teoria-gender-prowadzi-do-samobojstwa-zobacz->

-film,35822.html, entry from 26 March, 2014, last access: 14 July, 2014). The riddle in the title is solved by the lead in, reading: "A case of a suicide committed by a man who was born as a boy and brought up as a girl, in conformity with the theory of John Money, the author of gender, proves that this ideology is extremely dangerous." The author calls for the movie about this case to be shown in schools and to talk a lot about it, to show that the theory of gender brings death. In conclusion, he appeals for everybody to consider how they can help other people around them to see what gender actually stands for. This is not about whether the author, Philo, has used a sophism or paralogism, but it is unbecoming for a serious website to present such a line of thinking. It is comparable to entitling a text about a Brazilian national team fan who committed suicide after the team lost a match with Germany "Being a fan leads to suicide!"

The same mechanism can be identified in another text posted on Fronda: "Contraceptive pills result in multiple sclerosis" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/pigulki-antykoncepcyjne-powoduja-stwardnienie-rozsiane,34991.html>, entry from 1 March, 2014, last access: 14 July, 2014). It clearly indicates (by means of using the word "result in" instead of "are conducive to") that hormonal contraception directly leads to multiple sclerosis. The text shows that according to the research conducted by the Kaiser Permanente Southern California medical group, under the leadership of Dr. Kerstina Hellwiga [this is the original spelling by Fronda, suggesting in Polish that the doctor is a male by the name of Kerstin Hellwig – translator's note], women who use the contraceptive pill may be as much as 50 percent more likely to develop multiple sclerosis. The question is whether such far-fetched interpretation of the results of a single study is reliable from a journalistic point of view. It can be assumed that if the author has not checked the sex of the researcher, he may also be unaware of her own statements. It is a pity, because Doctor Hellwig is more sceptical and emphasises that her study does not mean that women should be told not to use the pill, because there are numerous environmental factors that have not been taken into account (see: *New study links birth control pill with multiple sclerosis*, <http://linkis.com/news360.com/article/oA4Jc>, last access: 14.07.2014).

Alleged, meaning what?

According to the Polish dictionary *Słownik języka polskiego*, "alleged" means: other than what some believe it to be, not existing in reality. This

definition is useful when trying to understand the title of the article “Solidarna Polska spot banned for the alleged discrimination against homosexuals!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/zbanowany-spot-solidarnej-polski-zarzekoma-dyskryminacje-homoseksualistow,37543.html?page=2&>, entry from 17 May, 2014, last access: 13 July, 2014. The spot can be found at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vwFUjRUeDIM>, last access: 13 July, 2014). The article reports that three TV stations (TVP, TVN and Polsat) have refused to broadcast an election commercial, having found it to be allegedly discriminatory against homosexuals. The author goes on to explain that the whole issue is about a banner that can be seen for a few seconds behind MP Beata Kempa, saying “NIE DLA HOMO” [no to homo]. The dictionary needs to be consulted again to define discrimination. It is understood as the persecution of individuals or social groups, or limiting their rights on account of their nationality, religion, race, sex or other features. This banner needs to be considered in the context of what MP Kempa is saying: “Are you against gender, homosexual marriages and their adopting children?” A confused viewer may have problems identifying the connection between gender and homosexuals, and will not understand the “No to homo” banner. Does it mean objecting to homosexual marriages and their adopting children, which MP Kempa is talking about? Or maybe she is only giving an example of an area where homosexuals claim their rights, and the banner is to symbolise the aversion and opposition to people of such inclinations? To their working in certain profession, such as teachers at kindergartens? The intentions of the authors of this spot are unclear, but the banner “No to... (representatives of any group can be put here: homosexuals, black people, etc.)” itself is a clear case of discrimination. This could be tested by shooting a spot with a banner reading “No to Catholics” to see the reaction of Fronda’s journalists and the MPs from the Solidarna Polska party. Similarly, if during a local election campaign in the UK a spot featuring the banner reading “No to Poles” appeared, it would be interesting to observe the reaction of those who do not see any discrimination in this case. Therefore, using the word “alleged” in the title of this text is an example of an abuse the author committed because his views resemble those of the authors of the spot.

Satan in the Lublin region

Satan is frequently referred to by the Fronda website, which is understandable in the context of their religious profile. Satan frequently embod-

ies evil, by contrast emphasising the weight of good deeds that are so important for religious people. However, the title “Bravo! The town of Radzyń Podlaski does not want the devil!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/brawo-radzyn-podlaski-nie-chce-diabla,37086.html>, entry from 3 May, 2014, last access: 16 July, 2014), makes you wonder whether it can be relied on, like the whole article. Even if it is assumed that journalists have the right to generalise, this title implies that the citizens have collectively stood against the devil, Satan, or whatever symbol of evil in Christianity. However, the article reports that the citizens were protesting against a concert by a band called KAT, which, in the author’s opinion, has “a number of openly Satanist songs” in its repertoire. The director of the local Cultural Centre, Zbigniew Wojtaś, is quoted admitting that he has received over a dozen anonymous phone calls with complaints. Fearing the outbreak of another political war, he has cancelled the concert. Fronda’s journalist has therefore concluded that the protests of citizens against the promotion of Satanism in Polish towns can be effective. The website again commits a linguistic abuse in the title, implying that the concert that promoted Satanism was opposed by a large group, if not the majority, of Radzyń Podlaski citizens.

Personifying evil as Satan sometimes brings the website to the level of tabloids. What other explanation can there be for the title: “King of Belgium signs pact with Satan!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/a-jednak-krol-belgii-podpisal-cyrogoraf-czyli-pakt-z-diablem-umozliwiajacym-zabijanie-chorych-dzieci,35052.html>, the title appeared next to the miniature of an article from 3 March, 2014, last access: 16 July, 2014. After opening the article, the full title reads “And yet the King of Belgium has signed a pact with Satan, enabling the killing of sick children!” [the Polish version contained a grammatical error – translator’s note]. The former title, featured on the home page of the website, could imply that devil had been enthroned as king of Belgium, or at least that there was evidence of the Satanist sentiments of the monarch, but the article concerned his signing into law a bill to allow the euthanasia of terminally ill children, with parental consent. Again, one can understand the attitude of staunch Catholics to euthanasia, but implying that the King of Belgium has signed a pact with Satan is an abuse even for them.

All the world against

Generalising and using large numbers/quantifiers which imply that features that can be observed in a certain group characterise the entire set

are among the most frequent measures applied by the media. Especially when an author wants to convey his point of view, implying that it is also shared by others. What is more, such quantifiers introduce an explicitly contractual truthfulness, which means that such sentences cannot be argued with (J. Bralczyk, 2003, p. 103–104). An example here is the article entitled “The world is against abortion and homosexuality!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/swiat-jest-przeciwny-aborcji-i-homoseksualizmowi,36744.html>, entry from 23 April, 2014, last access: 17 July, 2014). Readers are aware that nobody has surveyed the over seven billion people living on Earth, but what sample justifies such a conclusion? The first sentence of the lead in reads: “The Pew Research Center has conducted a survey all over the world,” but several sentences down the author indicates that “the Pew Research Center has surveyed 40 countries.” There are nearly 200 countries in the world; they customarily include UN members and the Vatican (unrecognised states and dependent territories are excluded). This means that the survey was conducted in approximately 20% of countries, rather than all over the world. The article reports that 78% of the respondents were against extramarital relations, 59% considered homosexuality as immoral and 56% had the same opinion of abortion, 46% were against premarital sex. The author comments on these results with satisfaction that a majority of the global population is still normal, but that the West is witnessing progressive approval of deviation and killing the unborn. Knowing his opinions about moral matters, it is worth considering whether he could go for other titles, for instance:

- a majority of respondents in twenty countries deem homosexuality and abortion as immoral;
- nearly half respondents accept homosexuality and abortion.

Fronda assumed an utterly different tone when announcing the establishment of the *Otwarta Akademia* (Open University) in Poznań, which was presented as an anti-AKO (AKO – Akademicki Klub Obywatelski – Academic Civic Club). The title read then: “A few academics from AMU demand ‘secular state’” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/kilku-naukowcow-z-uam-domaga-sie-swieckosci-panstwa,39500.html>, entry from 14 July, 2014, last access 20 July, 2014). The article reads, for instance: “So we have a Palikotian¹ spectacle entitled a ‘secular state’. The accusa-

¹ Janusz Palikot is a member of Parliament famous for his publicity stunts. Currently he leads the Your Move party, an anti-clerical and liberal grouping (translator’s note).

tions made by these nine academics that the Church and Polish right wing do not respect the Constitution of Poland is nonsense and a propagandistic contempt for the objective values promoted by the Church and right-wing circles. It is clear that their campaign was inspired by the case of Professor Bogdan Chazan, who refused to kill a child. This only says a lot about those nine AMU academics who promote death, which is the foundation of the so-called 'secular state'." Leaving aside the absurdity of the claim that death is the foundation of a secular state, the title should be looked at, as it implies the marginal scope of the initiative. The Open University was inspired by a few academics, but its principles were signed by several hundred people, the majority of them coming from academic circles. Isn't this reminiscent of how outbreaks of social discontent were presented in communist Poland? They were usually inspired by groups of hooligans, a few instigators, the usual circles, and so on, whatever could be said to diminish their range (cf. Mazur, 2003, p. 51–58).

Yet Fronda's journalists are fond of this tool, as evidenced by another text, entitled "Wrocław boos Frasyniuk" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/wroclaw-wybuczal-frasyniuka,38151.html>, entry from 3 June, 2014, last access: 17 July, 2014). Once more, a group that gathered at the John Paul II Hall on Plac Wrocławski has become the expression of the collective emotions of Wrocław citizens, only because their views conform to the profile of Fronda's editors.

Verdicts are not passed by courts

One of the features of tabloids is that they offer verdicts in controversial cases before the courts do. Murder suspects are called murderers, which may conform to social expectations, but is a mark of unreliability. This mechanism is evidenced by Fronda's article entitled "Judicial harassment for the truth continues. Atheist wants to sue Rev. Dariusz Oko" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/ciag-dalszy-sadowego-nekania-za-prawde-ateista-chce-pozwac-ks-dariusza-oko,34071.html>, entry from 31 January 2014, last access: 17 July, 2014). The lead in to the article reports that the harassment of believers and courageous priests who are not afraid to tell the truth continues. Rev. Oko may face litigation for a few words of truth about atheism. This makes readers wonder what Rev. Oko said to end up in court, the more so as whatever he said is claimed to be true, according to the author, who says so twice in the first four sentences of the article (in-

cluding the title). In fact, a citizen of the town of Tychy, Robert Trybus, to whom the article refers as ‘the atheist’, wants to sue the priest for “emphasising that atheists want to cause the sexualisation of children, and for the opinion that they praise erotic values instead of ethical ones.” Following the author’s line of thinking, it should be concluded that atheists aim to sexualise children and that they have no ethical values, which have been replaced by erotic values, whatever they might be, because the author does not explain. The title implies that Rev. Oko will be wrongly sued, but the verdict is for the court to deliver. The most interesting thing, however, is the last sentence in the article, where the author observes that, from now on, you cannot say what you think, because you may always come across a “weirdo” who will sue you for that. However, their frequent invoking of Article 196 of the Penal Code indicates that, in the opinion of Fronda’s journalists, not all citizens of Poland have the right to express their views.

Our right is fairer

The protagonist of Sylwester Chęciński’s comedy series, Kargul, used to say: the law is the law, but justice has to be on our side. The Fronda journalist must have taken this saying to heart when writing the article entitled: “Outrageous! The police break up the protest against the rainbow in Plac Zbawiciela!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/skandal-policja-rozbila-protest-przeciwko-teczy-na-pl-zbawiciela,36381.html>, entry from 12 April, 2014, last access: 14 July, 2014). It should be explained here that a group of twenty to thirty nationalists tried to interrupt workers who were repairing an artistic installation (“The Rainbow”²) which had been set ablaze by unknown perpetrators. The demonstration was not registered with Warsaw City Hall, as the nationalist leaders invoked the constitutional right to spontaneous assemblies (cf. <http://narodowcy2014.pl/komunikat-biura-prasowego-sztabu-kww-ruch-narodowy-ws-pacyfikacji-demonstracji-przeciwko-odbudowie-teczy/>, last access: 14 July, 2014). Two persons were detained for assaulting police officers, after two hours the police removed the demonstrators and the workers went back to work. Interestingly, Fronda’s journalists considered the police intervention against the protest-

² The rainbow installation at Plac Zbawiciela in Warsaw has become a symbol of the gay rights movement and has been repeatedly set ablaze by anti-LGBT circles (translator’s note).

ers, who were breaking the law, even though they were fighting for a cause that is right in Fronda's opinion, to be outrageous, as indicated in the title.

In inverted commas or not?

Apart from their most common application as a distinguishing mark, or quotation mark, inverted commas are used to express irony. When we want to question someone's expertise we can address him as an 'expert' which everybody understands. What, then, was the intention of the Fronda journalist when he came up with the following title for his article: "UEFA to punish Bayern for 'homophobia'" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/uefa-ukaze-bayern-za-homofobie,35357.html>, entry from 12 March, 2014, last access: 15 July, 2014)? It may be guessed that in the author's opinion, the act Bayern is to be punished over is not an instance of homophobia. In the lead in, the author explains that "it was really just a simple joke." What was this joke about? During a game against Arsenal London, Bayern supporters displayed a banner reading "Gay Gunners" and featuring a drawing of cannon targeted at the "lower part of the back of a person representing one of Arsenal players, Mesut Oezil" [sic]. The journalist likes this superb joke so much that he observes that "the supporters of political correctness are really overdoing it. Why should simply calling somebody a gay in a joking manner manifest hatred to another human being?" This can be best concluded by quoting one of the comments under the text – if the banner read "Gay Priests" would it still be a joke or anticlericalism? That is without even mentioning the drawing.

He made money out of something, or out of the occasion?

The aversion of right-wing circles to former Polish President, Lech Wałęsa, is well known, but sometimes it assumes surprising forms. What other explanation can there be for the title "Wałęsa makes money out of canonisation" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/walesa-zarobil-na-kanonizacji,36909.html>, entry from 28 April, 2014, last access: 16 July, 2014). It implies that Wałęsa profited in relation to the canonisation [of John Paul II – translator's note]. In the lead in, the author writes that Lech Wałęsa arrived at Rome two days prior to the canonisation and used this free time to "make a few bucks." He held a "contract meeting with great US owners of the means of produc-

tion,” which probably means that he gave a lecture. Although the author puts the ‘few bucks’ in inverted commas he also emphasises that the former president can sometimes charge as much as 50,000 zloty (around 12,000 euro) per lecture. Lech Wałęsa said openly on TVN24 that he was going to the canonisation and that he also had a meeting arranged. Following a tabloid mode, the article later says that, thanks to his foreign contracts the president earns 1,200,000 zloty (around 300,000 euro) annually. Also, this is not his only income, because he receives a monthly pension of 4,000 zloty (around 1,000 euro). His privileges do not end there, however, because the president is authorised to use a limousine provided by the Government Protection Bureau (BOR) and the resources for running an office, which the author finds highly surprising. The final two sentences explain why the author has used the title that he has: “It has to be admitted that the ex-president knows where to earn good money. The question is whether he realises that money can become an idol.” This type of activity is not surprising at all in the case of former heads of states, and it is a pity that the author was not able to be reliable, and entitle the text “Wałęsa earned money on the occasion of the canonisation.” This is a small correction that changes the meaning of the current title implying that the president earned money out of the canonisation.

Vandals break things down, thieves steal

Outbreaks of social discontent in communist Poland were presented in the media as juvenile hooliganism inspired by others. The mechanism of transforming individuals into groups was very popular in order to stress their harmfulness. That is where the terms “Michniki” or “Kuronie”³ come from. The expression “*Palikociarnia*” [Palikot’s group] which is frequently used in Fronda’s articles has the same meaning. It is difficult to define, although a number of Janusz Palikot’s political adversaries resort to it. One of the articles is entitled: “Vandalism straight from Palikot’s group spreads in Kraków. A rock-monument dedicated to John Paul II damaged” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/wandalizm-rodem-z-palikociarni-szerzy-sie-w-krakowie-zniszczono-skale-pomnik-poswiecona-janowi-pawlowi-ii,36753.html>, entry from 23 April, 2014, last access: 17 July, 2014). Two things follow

³ Adam Michnik and Jacek Kuroń were prominent opposition activists in communist Poland (translator’s note).

from this title. Firstly, “*Palikociarnia*” is to be associated with vandalism, secondly, damaging religious monuments/objects is inspired by the circles associated with Janusz Palikot. In the lead in, the author explains that the monument dedicated to John Paul II was damaged by vandals taking inspiration from Palikot’s group. The article says that a Star of David was painted on the monument, which actually might suggest that the inspirers had little in common with Janusz Palikot. Maybe they were national movement activists? Maybe they were opponents of ecumenism and the dialogue with the Jews which was initiated and conducted by John Paul II, now continued by Rev. Lemański, a priest who is criticised by *Fronda*? These interpretational directions, however, are less convenient for the website, so they are not worth pursuing. It is more convenient to interpret the event in terms of Janusz Palikot’s call for the division between the Church and state, which makes him an enemy of the Church. Therefore, anyone who destroys monuments associated with the Church is related to/comes from/is inspired by Palikot’s group. Another similar term has been made popular by the authors of the book *Resortowe dzieci. Media* [Departmental children. The media] – Jerzy Targalski, Dorota Kania and Maciej Marosz. The authors are planning to write further books discussing other fields of social life, to demonstrate that the elite of modern Poland have family ties with the elite of the communist Poland. Monika Olejnik’s⁴ father was an officer at the Ministry of Internal Affairs at that time, so for *Fronda*’s journalist, who follows the line of thought of the book’s authors, she is a ‘departmental child’. The term is extremely vague, and it is interesting that one of the book’s authors, was a member of the communist PZPR party before getting involved in opposition activities. This is not about what Jerzy Targalski did in communist Poland, though, but about the fact that labelling people because of what their parents or grandparents did is reminiscent of how communist propaganda mechanisms operated. The text is entitled “Departmental child indignant at Krystyna Pawłowicz” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/resortowe-dziecko-oburzone-na-krystyna-pawlowicz,37269.html>, entry from 9 May, 2014, last access: 16 July, 2014). The lead in reads as follows: “So Ms Krystyna Pawłowicz got an earful all right. Monika Olejnik is outraged at Pawłowicz for what she said about Bartoszewski. Maybe Pawłowicz really overdid it a bit, but

⁴ One of the most prominent TV and radio political commentators, famous for uncompromising interviews with politicians (translator’s note).

Olejniak surely does not have the right to judge others.” It is worth noting how “Ms Krystyna Pawłowicz” is counterpointed with “Bartoszewski,” who clearly does not have a first name, and how Pawłowicz might have “overdone it a bit” but the journalist should not judge others. Monika Olejniak was indignant about the words by Pawłowicz, MP from the PiS party, who said that Władysław Bartoszewski featured in the PO party spot “is sitting in an armchair as if before the electrocution, or even after the execution, as all the lights are out.” This comment is utterly out of place, as is the reaction of Olejniak who called the MP “a dumb hag.” It might be surprising that the title of the book employs the mechanism that stigmatises a selected group of people from the ideologically opposite group, and that the same mechanism is used in the title of this article (the book has been published by Fronda’s publishing house), but the author’s comment is also surprising when he says that “you have to be an ignoramus not to notice that there is nothing offensive in the words about electrocution.”

On 6 March, 2014, Fronda’s homepage featured an article titled “Atheists and the godless stem from the UB” which displayed the following title after expanding: “The godless pelt blessed John Paul II with UB records!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/bezboznicy-uderzaja-w-bl-jana-pawla-ii-ubeckimi-kwitami,35153.html>, last access: 17 July, 2014). This clearly indicates that what matters is on which side of the political barricade the person concerned is. The lead in explains that “godless” people from anti-religious organisations make clear references to the sources of their ideas, that is to the lies of the UB. The Ateizm–Świeckość–Antyklerykalizm [atheism–secularity–anticlericalism] Foundation was going to display a banner reading “The Pope of a broken family” which allegedly referred to a UB provocation intended to convince Poles that Karol Wojtyła had an illicit affair and fathered a child. Tomasz Terlikowski writes in the conclusion that acting in this manner the Foundation continues the UB provocation and shows that its founders do not have much in common with atheists, but that they are actually the heirs of UB provocateurs and the successors of Rev. Popiełuszko’s⁵ murderers. Pointing to the UB origins of atheists and the godless (whatever the author means by that) is more than manipulation, it is a plain lie.

⁵ Jerzy Popiełuszko, a Catholic priest associated with the Solidarity movement, was murdered by three agents of the Polish communist internal intelligence agency (SB) in 1984 (translator’s note).

Ivan is coming!

Employing the fear of the alien, or of strangers, is as old a mechanism as it is primitive. On the *Fronda* website the role of the alien is usually given to Germans, Russians or the rotten West, depending on the context. However, the title “Russia’s attack of Poland needs to be taken seriously!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/atak-rosji-na-polske-trzeba-brac-powaznie,35034.html>, entry from 2 March, 2014, last access: 16 July, 2014) can be considered as going beyond certain limits and becoming hysterical. The article reviews another article by Cezary Gmyz from *niezalezna.pl*, where the author presents a scenario of a Poland endangered by the aggression of its eastern neighbour. He uses strong language: “Let us have no illusions. In the case of aggression from the east or the north, Poland will have much less time than in September 1939. [...] I’d rather have no illusions. Poland’s historical experience is too profound. The future signatories of the Targowica Confederation⁶ deluded themselves that Empress Catherine would not reach out her paws to get hold of the country headed by her lover, Stanisław August Poniatowski; Poles in 1939 deluded themselves, trusting the power of France and England. We deluded ourselves that that our tribute of blood would not be forgotten. Yalta painfully dispelled these illusions. [...] The Russian Baltic fleet is able to strike a majority of targets in Poland, both with conventional and unconventional missiles. It is another matter that Russia does not necessarily need to attack Poland from the sea. A much more dangerous unit is anchored on our borders – an aircraft carrier/landing craft/missile frigate, namely the Kaliningrad Oblast. The number of troops and equipment accumulated in this Russian enclave in NATO could, according to some, suffice to invade Poland successfully. [...] Poland should learn the same lesson from its history as the Jews have from the Holocaust.” If it does not, claims the author, “we may again have to pay a tribute not only of blood but also of sovereignty.” Cezary Gmyz’s text can be found at <http://niezalezna.pl/37396-cezary-gmyz-szykujmy-sie-do-wojny> (last access: 20 July, 2014) under an even more dramatic title: “Let’s get ready for war.” There is one puzzling thing, though, namely the date this text was posted – 18 January, 2013. If this is not an editorial

⁶ The Targowica Confederation was signed in 1792 by Polish magnates, backed by the Russian Empress Catherine, to oppose the Constitution of the 3rd of May, which introduced numerous political reforms. It has become synonymous with treason in the Polish language (translator’s note).

error, over a year passed from the publication of Cezary Gmyz's article to the dramatically entitled article of Fronda. Its message, in the face of Russia's aggression in Eastern Ukraine, which was under way when Fronda made its publication, implies that Poland could become the next target.

'Cos every gay is a deviant

Fronda's journalists' negative attitude to homosexuals is not surprising, unlike their attempts to discredit this group of people at every occasion. One such attempt is the title of the article "Total deviation. Gay killed during sadomasochistic session" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/calkowita-deviacja-gej-zginal-podczas-sadomasochistycznej-sesji,36091.html>, entry from 3 April, 2014, last access: 18 July, 2014). The lead in explains what this emotional title concerns: "Total deviation. A gay died as a result of injuries inflicted by a partner during a brutal sadomasochistic session. The torturer covered him with a quilt and went to see another man. This is what the promotion of deviation leads to." The construction of the title and the article itself imply that gays are deviants, unless the title would be the same in the case of heterosexual lovers: "Total deviation. A heterosexual died as a result of injuries inflicted by his partner during a brutal sadomasochistic session." It can be assumed, however, that Fronda would find this topic less useful, as the case in question allowed them to indicate what perverts homosexuals are. It should be borne in mind, though, that the death was caused by sadomasochistic inclinations rather than sexual orientation.

Something similar is happening in the case of the title "Obviously, homosexuals are lewd – admits a full-time gay from TOK FM!" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/oczywiscie-ze-homoseksualisci-sa-rozpustni-przyznaje-etatowy-gej-z-tok-fm,34703.html>, entry from 20 February, 2014, last access: 18 July, 2014). One can easily imagine the reaction of the website's journalists if someone quoted the assessment of the clergy in Rwanda during the civil war there in 1994, titling the text: "Murderers! Catholic priests accountable for homicide." It is unknown what percentage of the gay population would describe themselves as being lewd, and it is difficult to say how many priests in Rwanda observed their principles and the law, and how many did not. Such generalisations should not be made on the basis of a single case. It is no use referring to the words of Kuba Janiszewski (the 'full-time gay from TOK FM'), who admitted that Tomasz Terlikowski

was right in interpreting his intention and message that promiscuity is one of the fundamental features of homosexual community. The thing is whether a serious source of information should treat a person as an authority only because their views, although condemned, match the profile of the website.

Education – depravation

The journalists from Fronda deem sexual education a source of deviation and problems in adulthood. Frequently named the ‘sexualisation of children’ it is apparently about teaching toddlers to masturbate. If unhealthy curiosity led anyone to open the text entitled “How Germans deprave their children” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/jak-niemcy-deprawuja-swoje-dzieci,36716.html>, entry from 23 April, 2014, last access: 18 July, 2014) in order to get all flushed reading about what our depraved neighbours from across the Oder do to their children, they must have been disappointed. The lead in would confuse the reader: “Children in Rybnik were thrown out of kindergarten because their parents opposed the ideology of gender. This would never happen in Germany. Parents would be fined or arrested there. In the schools of our Western neighbour the promotion of pornography, masturbation and even paedophilia is a standard. One can only passively oppose compulsory depravation. Whoever tries to save their children can lose them forever.” It follows from the article that the curriculum in Germany contains courses promoting pornography, masturbation and paedophilia. This is apparently a standard in schools there. It becomes more interesting as we read on, “[d]ebauched sex education in Germany is a burning issue. Children are openly depraved in thousands of schools, and parents can do nothing to prevent it. Article 6. II 1 of the German Constitution stipulates that ‘The care and education of children is a natural right and duty of parents, which is vested with them in the first place’. This is pure theory. Schooling is mandatory, with no exceptions in Germany. Those who protest by not sending their children for immoral courses are punished with fines or arrest. Children of exceptionally resistant parents are simply taken away from them, as was the case of the Wunderlichts, who were teaching their four children at home. In the opinion of the German Federal Tribunal, homeschooling ‘is harmful to children as such’ and it is unconditionally prohibited. Fearing the prospect of separation, parents are forced to send children to school. There they will

be taught masturbation, they will face the promotion of homosexuality and a discreet invitation to paedophilia.” The liberal treatment of facts cannot be justified by ideological fervour. It is difficult to accept the message that the promotion of deviation and homosexuality lies in wait at school. The untruthful title, combined with untruthful content, is again reminiscent of those tabloids that apply the same practices, but for a different purpose. They are seeking greater circulation, while Fronda is voicing arguments in favour of their worldview.

Conclusions

- Fronda journalists frequently construe their titles in the same way as tabloids do. For instance, on 20 May, 2014 Fronda’s homepage featured the teaser reading “Is Korwin-Mikke⁷ a normal person?” which upon clicking revealed the title “Once again Korwin-Mikke reveals his pro-Putin and anti-feminine attitudes” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/korwin-mikke-kolejny-raz-pokazuje-swoje-proputinowskie-i-antykobiece-oblicze,37633.html>, last access: 18 July, 2014). On 16 May, 2014, the news about a failed attempt to launch an unmanned rocket was entitled “Russia embarrassed again. Hurrah!” (<http://www.rum.www.fronda.pl/a/kolejna-kompromitacja-rosji-nie-potrafi-nawet-wystrzelic-rakiety-w-kosmos,37512.html>, last access: 17 July, 2014).
- The ideological angle is sometimes more important than the truth, which is somewhat surprising, as a website with such a profile should be particularly sensitive to truthfulness. This can be exemplified by the article entitled “Eugenic nightmare continues! The EU follows the model of birth control straight from the Nazi concentration camps!” (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/eugeniczny-koszmar-trwa-ue-kieruje-sie-modelem-kontroli-urodzen-rodem-z-hitlerowskich-obozow-koncentracyjnych,39786.html>, entry from 22 July, 2014, last access: 18 July, 2014). Tomasz Teluk manipulates the content, counterpointing the compulsory (sic) euthanasia of mentally ill patients or alcoholics with the activities of the United Nations, without defining them in detail. We can only read that “today another organisation deals with birth control, namely the

⁷ Janusz Korwin-Mikke is a political commentator and Member of the European Parliament. He is famous for his extreme right-wing, anti-democratic and anti-feminist views (translator’s note).

United Nations. Do bureaucrats realise the true roots of the issue they have got themselves in? Would they fight so enthusiastically for women's 'right' to abortion, eugenics or *in vitro* fertilisation if they were aware of the Nazi origins of modern eugenics?"

- The journalists are eager to use the figure of an enemy who does not necessarily have to be defined. It could be the left wing or "left-wing missionary mainstream" or the Baal of contemporary "demoabotocracy" or "euthanzim" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/nagonka-na-katolikow-rozpozeta-na-prof-chazanie-sie-nie-skonczy,39791.html>, last access 23 July, 2014); it can be feminist movements, divorcing parents or the ideology of gender which they claim causes paedophilia (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/terlikowski-u-olejnik-pedofil-nie-bierze-pierwszego-lepszego-dziecka-ale-wybiera-dziecko-ktore-jest-juz-jakos-skrzywdzone,31365.html>, last access: 23 July, 2014); it could be the WOŚP charity campaign led by Jurek Owsiak, which becomes more dangerous the more good it does (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/terlikowski-i-jeszcze-o-jerzym-owskiaku-i-jego-karnawale,25361.html>, last access: 23 July, 2014); it could be a defiant priest, such as Rev. Wojciech Lemański who "is making a fuss again" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/dlaczego-ks-lemanski-ponownie-robi-zamieszanie,36407.html>, last access: 23 July, 2014) or is becoming "less and less Catholic" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/ks-lemanski-coraz-mniej-katolicki-teraz-kwestionuje-zakaz-zabijania-chorzych-i-wspiera-konkubinaty,31565.html>, last access: 23 July, 2014); it could be the Primate of Poland if he supports a party in a political dispute that Fronda disapproves of (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/terlikowski-zaskakujacy-sojusz-tronu-i-oltarza,30182.html>, last access: 23 July, 2014); it could be a scholar proclaiming unacceptable ideas, who "completes 150% of the anticlerical norm" (<http://www.fronda.pl/a/terlikowski-prof-baniak-wyrabia-150-procent-antyklerykalnej-normy,21332.html>, last access: 23 July, 2014). Michał Głowiński wrote that your enemy defines your perception of the world, and ways of thinking and speaking. While you do not have to address him or speak about him directly, your statements are construed so that they assume his existence. He observes that the enemy is of "all kinds" and has many names. When there are no real enemies, they have to be invented (Głowiński, 1993, p. 358–359). The articles from the Fronda website reveal a similar mechanism. A significant portion concern combating such an enemy, and if it did not exist, would the website be able to consolidate a group of readers around itself? Very frequently Fronda's articles can be categorised as hate

speech, described by Michał Głowiński as follows: this is the rhetoric of absolute arguments; it does not address the people it concerns but only talks about them, it accuses them and inspires hatred towards them, but they are not discourse partners; it is characterised by using ultimate arguments and objectification of those who have become the target of the attack; the dichotomous division is combined with perceiving the world in terms of a conspiracy theory; it uses unambiguous and one-sided evaluations of the persons it talks about; it proclaims the truth, deemed to be final and indisputable (Głowiński, 2009, p. 242–247).

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Konstrukcja tytułów w portalu Fronda.pl

Streszczenie

Tytuły artykułów odgrywają szczególną rolę w przypadku publikacji internetowych, bowiem niejednokrotnie decydują o tym, czy czytelnik zdecyduje się rozwinąć tekst i przeczytać go w całości. Dlatego też portale stosują różnorodne zabiegi, w tym manipulacje, by ich do tego zachęcić. Artykuł koncentruje się wokół konstrukcji tytułów w portalu Fronda, który obok tematów religijnych, poświęcony jest choćby kwestiom politycznym. Z uwagi na katolicki profil, teksty dotyczące kwestii etycznych (aborcja, eutanazja, *in vitro* etc.) są bezkompromisowe i napisane w ostrym tonie. Na ile jednak usprawiedliwia to zabiegi, którymi, świadomie lub nie, posługują się publicyści Frondy? Czy portal, który aspiruje do roli opiniotwórczego medium – redaktor naczelny, Tomasz Terlikowski jest częstym gościem stacji telewizyjnych i radiowych – może posługiwać się zabiegami, które są charakterystyczne dla prasy bulwarowej? Artykuł prezentuje wybrane przykłady konstrukcji tytułów artykułów zamieszczonych w portalu w okresie luty–czerwiec 2014 roku.