

THE FIEDORCZYK LECTURE



POLISH STUDIES CENTER

Central Connecticut State University

**THE FIEDORCZYK LECTURE
IN
POLISH AMERICAN STUDIES
1993**

**THE POLISH STUDIES PROGRAM
Central Connecticut State University
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The Fiedorczyk Lecture in Polish American Studies

In 1987 the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alphonse J.V. Fiedorczyk endowed the Polish Studies Program at Central Connecticut State University with an annual Lecture in Polish American Studies in memory of the Vincent Fiedorczyk Family.

Msgr. Fiedorczyk, the son of Polish immigrants, was born in New Britain, on September 10, 1910. He attended Sacred Heart School in New Britain, and later graduated from St. Mary's College at Orchard Lake, Michigan. He then attended St. Bernard's Seminary in Rochester, New York, and the Grand Seminaire de St. Brieuç in France, which he completed in 1935, the year of his ordination to the priesthood. He returned to his home parish to serve as a curate for eight years. In 1943 he joined the U.S. Army as a first lieutenant in the Chaplain Corps. Msgr. Fiedorczyk served as chaplain with this 79th Infantry Division in Europe, and was decorated with the following honors: The Legion of Merit, The Bronze Star, the French Croix de Guerre with Fouragere, and the World War II Victory Medal. He also served in Korea and two post-war tours in Germany. After 26 years of Army service he retired with the rank of Brigadier General.

Msgr. Fiedorczyk returned to Connecticut to the Bridgeport Diocese, where he was subsequently assigned to Holy Name Parish in Stamford. He served fourteen years in Stamford, and was a critical figure in the revival of the parish's Polish profile.

First and foremost a priest, Msgr. Fiedorczyk always kept in the forefront during his 52 years of service the injunction "to preach and to offer sacrifice." He also viewed service to the Polish community as an integral part of his priestly duties, and was deeply concerned with the preservation and promotion of the history of the Polish community in America. He encouraged the Association of Polish Priests in Connecticut to commission *Immigrant Pastor* by Prof. Daniel Buczek, the important biography of the pioneering Msgr. Lucyan Bojnowski of New Britain. Msgr. Fiedorczyk was also a long-time member of the Polish American Historical Association. He was active in Polish affairs at Sacred Heart University in Bridgeport, and at Central Connecticut State University. He donated his papers and memoirs (over two thousand pages) to the Connecticut Polish American Archives and Manuscript Collection at CCSU.

After a long illness, Msgr. Alphonse Fiedorczyk passed away on November 16, 1987.

Donald E. Pienkos is Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee. He is Chair of the University's Polish Studies Committee, and a prominent scholar of Polish America. Among his recent major books are: *PNA - A Centennial History of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America; One Hundred Years Young - A History of the Polish Falcons of America, 1887 - 1987*; and *For Your Freedom Through Ours - Polish American Efforts on Poland's Behalf, 1863 - 1991*.

Professor Pienkos is also a National Director of the Polish National Alliance.

On behalf of the Polish Studies Program, it is my pleasure to present to our friends and supporters the 1993 Fiedorczyk Lecture in Polish American Studies, "Polish Americans and Poland: A Review of the Record." It is important to reflect on the everchanging relationship between Polish Americans and their ancestral homeland. In disseminating this lecture, we hope, as Msgr. Fiedorczyk wished, to promote the study and preservation of the history of the Polish community in America.

Stanislaus A. Blejwas

CSU University Professor and Professor of History

Coordinator of Polish Studies

Central Connecticut State University

**POLISH AMERICANS AND POLAND:
A Review of the Record**

**Fiedorczyk Lecture in Polish American Studies
Central Connecticut State University
April 25, 1993**

Prof. Donald E. Pienkos
The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Polish Americans and Poland: A Review of the Record

From the time I accepted your invitation, I have been mulling over just how I might deal with my chosen subject. I've decided on a fairly straightforward overview of Polish American activities as they have pertained to Poland, coupled with some analysis of their significance to Poland, the United States, and the Polish ethnic community in the United States.

My topic covers only a part of the multi-faceted story of the Polish American experience.¹ Nevertheless, it is an important part of the story because the Polish ethnic community's very existence as a cultural entity in American society is due, in some substantial fashion, to its members' relationship to their ancestral homeland.² Indeed, without an appreciation of this relationship (and its implications for the successive generations of persons of Polish origins and heritage living in the U.S. during the past 140 years or so), it is very difficult to explain why and how large numbers of Polish Americans have succeeded in maintaining a sense of ethnic group cohesion and awareness.³

This is also an especially interesting question given what we know about the effects of assimilationist influences upon the persons of immigrant origins and ancestry in the United States.⁴ Indeed, were it not for the maintenance of ties between large numbers of Polish Americans and Poland over the years, one might well have expected that by the beginning of the 1990s, relatively few Americans of Polish origins or ancestry would still identify themselves as Polish. Yet, many continue to do so, even though few are born in Poland or fluent in their use of the Polish language, two widely recognized indicators or identification with the Polish ethnic group.⁵

Specifically, according to the U.S. Bureau of the Census survey of ethnic self-identification in 1990, approximately 9.4 million persons were found to be of Polish ancestry, making Polish Americans the ninth largest ethnic heritage group in this country. Even more significant, fewer than 400,000 individuals as of 1990 were found to have been born in Poland, or 4.2 percent of the total population claiming Polish ancestry. Furthermore, the Census Bureau estimated that only about 730,000 persons used the Polish language as a significant means of communication.⁶ (The most recent census survey, unlike the previous one conducted in 1980, did not include a question about the extent to which Polish Americans were of mixed ethnic origins as opposed to being of solely Polish ancestry. In 1980 more than one half of all Polish Americans reported having more than one ancestral heritage. One would expect the trend toward mixed ancestry to have continued in 1990.)⁷

Why do so many Americans continue to identify themselves as Polish into the 1990s? Unrestricted mass Polish migration to the United States ended long ago with the onset of the First World War in 1914; since then relatively few immigrants have been admitted into this country from Poland, apart from two

brief and exceptional intervals. The first of these was in the decade after World War II, the second in the four or five years before and after the founding in 1980 of the Polish Solidarity labor movement.⁹

One answer involves an analysis of the role played by Polish ethnic organizations and institutions, religious and secular, in this country in preserving a sense of Polishness, both among those formally belonging in their ranks and the broader Polish American population. These organizations have included, in the main, the vast array of Roman Catholic (and to a much smaller but still notable extent National Catholic) parishes that have operated to serve the religious needs of Polish Americans, the Polish American-oriented press (and more recently the electronic media), and the Polish American fraternal movement, together with a wide assortment of other and more particularistic voluntary associations of Polish Americans. The name commonly given to these structures when considering them together in their functioning as Polish American organizations is that of "Polonia."⁹

Most significant on the local community level have been the Polish American parishes.¹⁰ Centered around a church but usually including a number of ancillary educational and charitable agencies, the Polish parish has been particularly important in offering its members not only a number of explicitly religious, spiritual and ethical reasons for belonging, but, historically, it also provided a range of other valued social benefits to them. At their height, in the 1930s, one could count more than 800 Roman Catholic and more than 100 Polish National Catholic parishes in the United States together serving most of the Polish American population and playing a considerable leadership role in Polonia.¹¹

Second only to the parishes in size and importance have been the many Polish American fraternal insurance benefit societies, the first of which, the Polish Roman Catholic Union in America, dates back to 1873. Together, these organizations (more than twenty were in operation at one time) reached the status of mass membership bodies by the beginning of the 20th century. Indeed, by the time of the First World War, their combined memberships exceeded 350,000 men and women and by the mid 1930s exceeded 700,000. While the fraternal societies could not count in their ranks as many individuals as the parishes, in two respects they outdistanced them as ethnic institutions. For one thing, the Polish American fraternal societies, particularly their four largest representative bodies, the Polish National Alliance founded in 1880, the Polish Roman Catholic Union, the Polish Women's Alliance (1898) and the Polish Falcons of America (1894), succeeded in extending their operations beyond the local community and, in time, were promoting their aims across state borders and even into different regions of the country. In this respect, they differed from the parishes (at least the Roman Catholic ones) which, while preeminent at the neighborhood level, were, after all, but a part of a much larger multi-cultural national institution, the Roman Catholic Church in

America. Moreover, while the Polish parish was essentially a religious institution in terms of its aims and functions, the fraternal were free from the start to address their members unabashedly in ethnic terms.

Third in its significance has been the Polish language (and more recently Polonia-directed English language) press in America. As recently as the 1950s, one could count eight Polish language daily newspapers and scores of weekly and semi-weekly publications in operation, with a combined regular readership approaching one million. By the 1990s, only three Polish language dailies and but a handful of weekly, bi-weekly and monthly commercial papers remained in operation, not counting the still numerous periodicals sponsored by the various fraternal.¹² Indeed, the decline in the Polish language press (only partly reversed by the appearance of a host of new publications catering to the post 1980 generation of Polish immigrants) is one of the more dramatic signs pointing to Polonia's diminished importance with respect to the Polish American population. (In making this observation one ought not ignore the corresponding decline in the numbers and circulations of the English language press in America, a phenomenon that indicates that the problems facing the Polonia press may not be unique. Also worth noting is the more recent expansion of radio and even television broadcasting into Polonia.)

Aside from their particular characteristics as individual organizational structures with their own specific histories, records of accomplishment and dominant personalities, what may be most significant about the organizations of Polonia is their enduring success in building and maintaining a sense of Polishness among their mass memberships. Here a key element has been Polonia's continuing interest in Polish affairs, whether this has meant an interest in Poland's political situation, a concern over its people's material welfare, or an identification with the culture, language, literature, music, or folkways of the old homeland. As a consequence of such engagement, Polonia's interest in Poland has periodically led to organized ethnic actions on Poland's behalf. Such actions, while explicitly aimed at mobilizing assistance to the Polish people in their time of great need have fulfilled a second purpose, that of revitalizing emotional attachments to Poland and its people within the Polish American population. This may well not have occurred had such organizational efforts not been made.¹³

It is undoubtedly true that by the 1990s, the great majority of the Americans of Polish ancestry (and perhaps even a sizeable segment of the population of Polish birth as well) were not formally members of one of Polonia's mass membership organizations. But what has counted for more than membership figures alone has been Polonia's ability to reach out beyond its formal organizational networks to promote its concerns. And more often than not, Polonia's message has involved efforts to mobilize the general population to work on Poland's behalf.

While such efforts can be evaluated as successes or failures in terms of the funds raised in charitable drives for Polish relief or the numbers of persons actually in attendance at rallies having to do with Poland's political situation, more important is the fact that Polonia has continued to concern itself with such matters. It might even be argued that Polonia's historic and continuing interest in Poland is very much responsible for the continuing survival of a Polish ethnic consciousness in America in the 1990s, long after it might otherwise have largely disappeared.

At this point, a definition may be in order. By "Polish Americans," I mean all those people of Polish birth or ancestry living in the United States who freely identify themselves in some fashion with their Polish heritage. As Polish Americans one can include individuals born in Poland, their children, grandchildren and their later descendants. In this definition, one may also count individuals possessing more than one ethnic ancestral heritage as well. Briefly then, "being Polish American" is more a matter of psychological orientation than biology.¹⁴ If this is so, the source of one's sense of self-identification becomes crucial to understanding "why" a Polonia continues to exist and "how" it serves as a link between Americans of Polish heritage with the land of their ancestral origins.¹⁵

It seems clear that most Polish immigrants of every successive "first generation" in the United States have tended to become members of a Polonia organization for at least some period of their lives, even to this day. For them, the matter of ethnic group membership was readily understood, since it connected them with others who shared similar experiences and interests and who literally spoke the same language. For members of the first generation, the subject of Poland as it related to Polonia was also one that could be readily appreciated.

For the second generation, and even more so for later generations, the question of identification has become more complex. The children and later descendants of the immigrants possessed greater opportunities to become part of the broader life of American society and more easily interacted with non-Poles in the schools, the workplace, the military, by intermarriage, travel, recreational activity, and through their relocation outside the old Polonia neighborhoods in which their parents and grandparents had lived. As a consequence, these individuals' contacts with Polonia institutions were attenuated, their ethnic consciousness increasingly associated with the practices and memories of ethnic family traditions, foods, celebrations— and in their less frequent contacts with Polonia or Poland itself.¹⁶

Polonia however, has continued to exist, both locally and as a national system of ethnic life, its survival a response to the needs of successive streams of new Polish immigrants and to some degree because of its organizations' capacity to offer social and psychological benefits to those American-born persons of Polish heritage who enjoyed such associations. Nationally, Polonia has also

existed as an attempt to link together the Polish Americans around broad-based causes that have concerned them.¹⁷ Thus while much has changed in the lives of successive generations of Polish Americans and the Polonia communities serving their needs during the past 140 years, a system of Polonia life in the United States has continued to exist and to exert an influence on the ways in which Polish Americans have expressed their sense of ethnic identity.¹⁸

Still, despite the many changes that have occurred over time within the Polish American population and its organizations, there has been one constant, the extent to which both have taken an interest in working on behalf of Poland. This interest has existed from the earliest years, in which a substantial community of immigrants resided in the United States, up to the present time.

The first such effort dates back to 1863, when a Polish committee, headquartered in the city of New York, formed to promote public support for the cause of insurrectionists against Russian rule and to raise funds on behalf of their efforts. The most recent manifestation of such activities have been associated with Polonia's support for the Solidarity cause from 1980 on and its cooperation with the Roman Catholic Church to provide medical supplies and other goods to people in need of them throughout Poland.¹⁹

Between 1863 and 1914, a rapidly growing Polonia on several occasions organized relief activities and political demonstrations for this cause. Most notable, in this period, was the Polish National Alliance's founding a fund raising campaign in 1887, the Polish National Treasury (*Skarb Narodowy*), an 1899 Polonia-wide appeal for international recognition of Polish independence, the community's support of Polish resistance activities during the 1905 Russian revolution, the calling in 1910 of a Polish national congress in Washington, D.C. of representatives from the Polish American community and the partitioned homeland to discuss their common objectives, and the creation of the first national political action federations in Polonia, the Polish National Defense Committee (*Komitet Obrony Narodowej*) in 1912 and the Polish National Council (*Rada Narodowa*) in 1913.²⁰

The most substantial expressions of Polonia concern for Poland have occurred in response to the consequences of the First and Second World Wars upon the Polish people and following the establishment of Soviet communist-sponsored rule over Poland after World War II. It is Polonia's support for the Polish cause during these three periods that I want to focus on throughout the rest of this presentation.

The World War I years were witness to the greatest outpouring of organized ethnic activism on behalf of the Polish independence cause, both up to that time and since. This activism, directed by a largely immigrant leadership and involving a still mainly immigrant ethnic community in its work, had three

central objectives - humanitarian in the form of fundraising appeals and drives to produce and collect clothing and medical supplies for the victims of the conflict; political, to generate U.S. support for a reunited and independent postwar Poland; and military, to create a trained force of immigrant soldiers to fight under Polish colors in Europe for the independence cause.²¹

The humanitarian tasks facing organized Polonia and its chief agencies, most notably the Polish Central Relief Committee (*Polski Centralny Komitet Ratunkowy, 1914*) were particularly difficult. It was one thing to collect materials for shipment to the war-ravaged homeland, quite another to move them through the blockades erected by Poland's partitioners, Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary, which were battling each other on historically Polish territories.

Politically, the situation was also very complex. Until 1917, the United States remained staunchly neutral. This meant that Polonia was, for all intents and purposes, prohibited from taking any aggressive steps to promote a particular course of action about Poland's independent future. Yet by then, Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary were all offering the Poles some type of postwar autonomy in return for their support in their war efforts. Moreover, even after the United States entered the conflict, Polonia was limited in its capacity to influence the U.S. government because of the absence of any Polish Americans in elected office in Washington, D.C. Only by backing the efforts of the celebrated virtuoso pianist Ignacy Paderewski, who was in America as a representative of Polish activists in Europe led by Roman Dmowski, could Polonia have a significant role in persuading the government of President Woodrow Wilson to support Polish independence. Paderewski did meet with Wilson and his advisors on several occasions and may have helped strengthen Wilson's personal commitment to this cause. Indeed, Wilson did announce the United States' support for an independent Polish state in January 1917, a few months before the United States entered the War on the Allied side, but the idea was his and not one originating with Paderewski.²²

A major success for Polonia in mobilizing the Polish community in America came in August, 1918, when the Polish National Department (*Wydział Narodowy*), the political affairs arm of the Polish Central Relief Committee, orchestrated a massive "congress of the Polish emigration" (*or Kongres Wychodźstwa*) in Detroit, Michigan, at which Paderewski and Dmowski took part. There, Dmowski praised Polonia for its work in organizing a substantial Polish army from America, whose members' sacrifices showed the Allies that the Poles' desire for their country's independence was deeply enough felt so as to lead men to risk their lives on behalf of the cause. In 1919, Poland's new head of state, Józef Piłsudski, expressed the same sentiment when the Polish army from America arrived from France under the command of General Józef Haller to lend its assistance to the embattled cause of the newly independent nation.²³

The Congress of the Emigration approved Paderewski's appeal to establish a \$10 million drive on behalf of the homeland's needs. The War's end only ten weeks after the Congress adjourned took the wind out of the appeal's sails and when the effort was called off several years later, only about \$5.5 million had been raised. Perhaps more telling, however, the Polish National Department itself and the other political and charitable federations had by then gone out of existence, their work seemingly completed with independent Poland's rebirth. Interestingly, fewer than 200,000 Poles in the U.S. returned to Poland following the war, less than five percent of the Polish population in America at the time.²⁴ The vast majority of Poles in America had chosen to remain permanently in this country.

Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1939 signalled the start of World War II and with it a revival of Polonia efforts on behalf of the old homeland. The Polish American community by this time was quite different from what it had been in 1914, and was somewhat equally composed of the ageing pre-World War I immigration and its second generation offspring. Significantly too, in 1939 Polonia's organizations were led largely by the sons and daughters of immigrants. Their involvement in Polish internal politics was somewhat remote, in contrast to the First World War situation, when the leaders of Polonia had enjoyed a closer working relationship with men such as Paderewski, Dmowski, Piłsudski and their representatives.²⁵ Moreover, it would not be until 1944 that Polonia would be fully activated politically - till then the organizations of Americans of Polish origins and extraction, would focus their energies upon humanitarian concerns aimed at providing material aid to thousands of Polish refugees around the world, military personnel fighting in the armed forces of occupied Poland's allies, France and Britain, and Polish soldiers quartered in German prisoner of war camps.

A notable difference in Polonia's responses in the two wars concerned its military actions on Poland's behalf. In World War I, an army of Polish immigrants had eventually been recruited (with the grudging approval of the U.S. government) and more than 20,000 men volunteered for service. In 1939, there were very few Polish nationals eligible for such an operation, due to the absence of mass Polish immigration during the previous twenty-five years. As a result, no Polish army from America was formed.

Humanitarian assistance efforts were organized almost within weeks of the War's beginning under the leadership of the Polish American Council (*Rada Polonii Amerykańskiej*), a federation of Polonia fraternal, parishes and social organizations chaired by the Milwaukee, Wisconsin attorney and P.N.A. leader, Francis Swietlik. During the conflict the *Rada Polonii* operated under the name of "American Polish War Relief" and later on it took yet a different title, that of "American Relief for Poland." Like its First World War predecessor, the Polish Central Relief Committee, the *Rada* was faced with monumental

problems in delivering the goods it laboriously gathered to a Poland that by October, 1939, had been partitioned a fourth time between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. However, and as already noted, the *Rada* successfully redirected its efforts to assist refugees, Polish prisoners of war and the fighting personnel of occupied Poland in France and Britain. Later it would also provide foodstuffs, clothing, medical supplies, books and other goods to Poles in the Soviet Union and assist in the resettlement of orphans and other refugees into the Western Hemisphere. After the war, the *Rada* aided war victims in Poland and displaced persons in Central Europe who refused to return to a communist-ruled Poland. Yet another action had the *Rada* engaged in bringing Poles to the U.S. to begin new lives here in cooperation with various American government agencies and the Roman Catholic Church.²⁶

Rada Polonii efforts were enhanced by its success in cooperating with charitable organizations such as the American Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services. Most significant was its relationship with a U.S. government agency, the National War Fund, from which it received a regular allotment of funds throughout the War. By the end of 1946, the *Rada Polonii* had received more than \$6.7 million in such funds; in all likelihood this amount was greater than what it could have generated through its own appeals directed mainly toward Polish Americans. In all, by the end of 1948, *Rada Polonii* leaders proclaimed that the assistance rendered in all its forms to Poles in need throughout the world surpassed 18,000 tons in total weight and possessed a dollar value conservatively estimated at \$20.7 million (or nearly 150 million current dollars). In the years that followed, the activities of the organization were greatly scaled down, although the *Rada Polonii* continued in existence and was occasionally reactivated into the early 1970s.

Politically, the World War II activities of Polonia were initially limited to giving its moral support to the Polish government, which had relocated its headquarters to London under the leadership of General Władysław Sikorski and was allied to the United States, Britain and, from 1941 Soviet Russia. Things changed dramatically in 1943, when the graves of several thousand Polish military officers missing in Soviet Russia since 1940 were discovered by Nazi officials in Russia's Katyn Forest. Berlin declared the atrocity the work of the Soviet Union, Germany's ally in 1939 when the two states had partitioned Poland, but which later had become its sworn enemy. When Sikorski's government requested an impartial international investigation to determine guilt for the crime, the U.S.S.R. broke diplomatic relations with it and henceforth identified its interests with those of its own Polish communist clients inside Russia. In the United States, Polish Americans could also be found to do the Soviet Union's bidding, in the American Slav Congress and the American Polish Labor Council. Both groups pledged their total loyalty to the United States and its war aims and their unswerving commitment to the anti-Nazi Soviet-American alliance.²⁷

Sikorski's own death a few months after the revelation of the Katyn massacre further politicized Polonia. Early critics of Sikorski's policies in a largely emigre-led organization called the National Committee of Americans of Polish Descent (*Komitet Narodowy Amerykanów Polskiego Pochodzenia, or K.N.A.P.P.*) now moved aggressively to make their case for strong Polonia political involvement on Poland's behalf, arguing that Poland's postwar future increasingly rested upon strong United States support. Within a matter of weeks plans were afoot to form a new Polonia political action organization to promote Poland's interests in this country.²⁸

In early 1944, the leaders of *K.N.A.P.P.* reached an agreement with the heads of the main Polish American fraternal organizations to create such a political federation. This Polish American Congress (*Kongres Polonii Amerykańskiej*) was established as a massive rally in Buffalo in May 1944; elected to head the new Congress was the President of the Polish National Alliance, Charles Rozmarek. Proclaiming itself the representative of Polonia's estimated six million members, the P.A.C. reaffirmed (as if this were necessary) Polonia's loyalty to the United States and its war aims and dedicated itself to the establishment of a democratic Poland after the war's end with its pre-1939 borders intact.²⁹

President Franklin Roosevelt accepted instead a different set of proposals on Poland's future at the Soviet-American-British conference at Yalta in February, 1945. There, the great powers' deliberations over Poland gave the Soviet-backed Communists an inside track in ruling the country, but on his return home Roosevelt characterized what had transpired at Yalta as "the most hopeful agreement possible for a free, independent and prosperous Polish state." For his part, Rozmarek, as P.A.C. President, sharply condemned the action: "It is surely a profane tragedy that in our President's first decisions as they related to Europe's future he would ratify the fifth partition of Poland and cooperate in the fashioning of a Polish puppet regime manufactured in Moscow."³⁰ Rozmarek was proven correct. By the end of 1948, a communist regime entirely submissive to the Soviet Union was in control of the war-ruined country.

The policies of the Polish American Congress from the end of the Second World War through the next four and one-half decades would be defined in terms of its continued opposition to Communist rule in Poland. The mass infusion of thousands of anti-communist emigres into American Polonia after the War would also have its impact, serving to deepen Polish Americans' concerns about Polish matters. As many as 120,000 emigres eventually settled in this country, thanks to Federal legislation that was supported by the P.A.C. and its American Committee for the Resettlement of Polish Displaced Persons.³¹

Through this entire period, the P.A.C. under Rozmarek and his successors, Aloysius Mazewski (president from 1968 to 1988) and Edward Moskal (from 1988), went beyond traditional Polonia efforts to mobilize the ethnic community

in support of its objectives and lobbied U.S. Senators, Congressmen and presidential candidates who shared their views. But while there were some achievements on the largely symbolic level especially in the 1950s (notably in terms of a special U.S. Congressional investigation of Soviet responsibility for the Katyn massacre and Congress' proclamation of annual "Captive Nations" week observance), the U.S. government did not adopt a foreign policy calling for the "liberation" of Eastern Europe from communist rule, an idea that the P.A.C. favored over the U.S. doctrine of "containment." Indeed, when Poland's Stalinist regime was forced out of power and replaced by more moderate communists in 1956, the P.A.C. wound up supporting a substantial U.S. foreign aid commitment that could only serve to stabilize the new government and deal a seemingly fatal blow to the dream of liberation.³²

Furthermore, the P.A.C.'s endorsement of Poland's post World War II western border was not adopted by the United States until the mid 1970s, when it signed the Helsinki Accords. Indeed, from the 1950s onward the P.A.C.'s greatest service was in its strong backing of continued U.S. funding for Radio Free Europe, especially in the face of Congressional critics who in the early 1970s denounced the station's covert dependence on funds from the Central Intelligence Agency and called for its dissolution.³³

Between the late 1940s into the 1980s, the views of Americans of Polish origins and ancestry were generally thought to be reflected by the Polish American Congress, at least on foreign policy matters relating to the communist world.³⁴ But there is little research on this question; most likely, Polish Americans did tend to hold anti-communist opinions which helped to reinforce the positions taken by both political parties, the Roman Catholic Church and the organized labor movement into the late 1960s. But Polish Americans did not necessarily hold views on U.S. foreign policy toward Eastern Europe and Russia that were decidedly different from or better informed than those of other Americans.³⁵ Nor did most regard as likely or even desirable any U.S. initiative to directly overturn communism in the region.

Conditions only changed in the late 1970s. In Poland, the communist regime began to collapse under the weight of its economic failures and the pressure emanating from newly assertive internal popular forces which questioned its political monopoly. Another major challenge to the *status quo* came with the election in 1978 of a Polish Pope, John Paul II, and yet a third and quite different threat came from labor unionists, many of them quite young, who would work with the intellectual opposition to form the Solidarity movement in and after 1980. Together with the rise of a resurgent American anti-communist conservatism embodied by President Ronald Reagan and the aged Soviet leadership's incapacity to deal effectively with its empire's mounting problems, the stage was set for a series of totally unexpected events that brought about the collapse of European Communism in 1991.³⁶

To its leaders' credit, the Polish American Congress rose to play a serious role in supporting the cause of democracy and sovereignty for Poland following the birth of Solidarity in 1980. Perhaps its most constructive work came in urging the Carter administration (which included several high ranking Polish Americans, most notably National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski) to publicly caution the Soviet Union not to interfere in Poland's internal affairs.

When the Polish regime did order the repression of Solidarity in December 1981, the P.A.C.'s advice against sanctions against Poland was not accepted. However, the organization fully supported the Reagan administration on its Polish policy, although the sanctions issue remained controversial in Polonia. It was only in August, 1986, that P.A.C. President Mazewski broke with the Reagan administration over the utility of sanctions, which finally ended in early 1987.³⁷

Throughout the 1980s, following the rise and the later repression of Solidarity, and leading up to the end of Communist power in Poland in 1989 and afterwards, the Polish American Congress attempted to make its presence felt in other areas too. On the humanitarian side, it mobilized its Charitable Foundation, an agency formed in the early 1970s to replace the *Rada Polonii*, to collect moneys and materials, chiefly medical goods, for needy Polish citizens. By the end of 1992, nearly \$200 million in goods had been shipped to Poland in cooperation with the U.S. government and the Polish Church.³⁸ Most of this aid came in the form of donations from American medical and pharmaceutical companies. Significantly, the dollars generated by the P.A.C. Charitable Foundation amounted to less than \$10 million and were used to ship more than 10,000 tons of donated materials abroad. Thus while the P.A.C. Charitable Foundation's work represented an action comparable to the World War II achievements of the *Rada Polonii*, in terms of the financial contribution made by Polish Americans to carry out the relief effort, the sums generated were much smaller. This is a good indicator of the diminishing capacity of Polonia by the 1980s to reach out to as many persons as had been the case in the past.

Politically, the P.A.C. enjoyed some successes in the 1980s in its contacts with Washington, through grants it received from the federally funded National Endowment for Democracy to support the activities of the democratic opposition in Poland after the declaration of Martial Law. Its leaders also won U.S. approval for several thousand Polish nationals, in America following martial law, to remain permanently in this country. After the collapse of Polish communism in 1989, the P.A.C. supported Federal legislation in that same year to provide more than \$840 million to assist Poland's democratic government in its reform efforts.

A final action came in the efforts headed by its President, Edward Moskal in 1989 and 1990 to win strong and explicit U.S. recognition of Poland's

western borders with the reunified German state.³⁹ This work was backed by an outpouring of letters, telephone calls and telegrams from around the country. During the same period, Moskal and other P.A.C. representatives made a series of visits to Poland, both to express Polonia's support of the new government and to promise its efforts to present Poland's case in the U.S.

But two developments combined to limit the impact of these initiatives at least into the foreseeable future. In November, 1992, President George Bush was defeated in his reelection campaign, a serious set-back to a P.A.C. whose leaders had established a good rapport with a succession of Republican administrations reaching back to the late 1960s. And events in the Soviet Union and its successor states from 1991 onward drew American public attention away from Eastern Europe and to the collapsing political and economic situation in Russia and to a lesser extent the newly independent states that had been part of the U.S.S.R.

Some Last Observations

1. Did Polish Americans as members of Polonia play a continually significant role in affecting U.S. policy toward Poland in the 20th century? In general the answer to this question must be in the negative.

In World War I, President Wilson backed Polish independence in his own right, although Paderewski and Polonia's appeals for this cause may well have strengthened his resolve. In World War II, President Roosevelt, whatever his true views about Poland's future, was simply not as attached to the causes advanced by the Polish American Congress as he led Polonia and Poland to believe during his critical war-time reelection year of 1944. Once the limits of U.S. interests toward Poland were clear after Yalta, the P.A.C. faced a dilemma: whether to bow to the new realities or risk a split in Polonia by opposing one of the most popular presidents in the annals of U.S. political history.

In the 1950s, the P.A.C.'s militant foreign policy perspective favoring Liberation was not adopted by either of the two major political parties. Thus, U.S. foreign policy remained one of "containment" and, with it, the de facto relegating of Poland to the Soviet camp. Indeed, despite the words of support it received from some like-minded politicians, Polonia's efforts yielded few tangible results, among them a special Congressional investigation finding the Soviet Union responsible for the Katyn massacre and the Federal government's recognition of "Captive Nations" week as an annual event. More significant, when the Stalinist regime in Poland was replaced in 1956 by a more moderate communist leadership under Władysław Gomułka (but one still loyal to Moscow), the P.A.C. wound up endorsing a foreign aid initiative limited to encouraging the new government to grow more independent of the Soviet Union, *à la* Yugoslavia.

In the Solidarity era, the P.A.C.'s positions were responsibly presented to Presidents Carter, Reagan and Bush and its connections with Carter advisor

Brzezinski in particular may have been helpful. However, Reagan's anti-communism was sufficiently virulent in its own right that he did not require too much pressure from Polonia to take the actions he did against the Communist world in his early years in office.⁴⁰ Indeed, on the matter of U.S. sanctions against Poland, Reagan went further than the P.A.C. had proposed. Moreover, when sanctions were lifted, that action had little to do with P.A.C. complaints and was more a response to appeals from the Pope and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and the Administration's interest in improving relations with the newly-installed and reform-minded leader of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev.

On the issue of Poland's western border with Germany after 1990, the P.A.C. seems to have played a helpful, if modest, role (one later recognized by the new Polish government) in pressing for explicit U.S. recognition of the permanence of the Odra-Nyssa boundary. This position had previously been approved by all interested governments on several occasions. But it required restatement in the radically changed political circumstances that followed the collapse of Communist rule in Eastern Europe and because of the uncertain situation in the newly unified German state. However, the fact remains that Polonia supported U.S. recognition of the Odra-Nyssa border from 1945 onward and had little impact in altering official policy in Washington, D.C. for nearly three decades.

2. How significant was humanitarian assistance to Poland?

Given the extent of Poland's difficulties caused by World Wars I and II and the worsening impact of the country's economic debacle by the late 1970s, there was very little that Polonia could do on its own to appreciably improve conditions on behalf of the Polish people. Even U.S. relief efforts had only limited effects, though the funds that this government did provide over the years to Poland have been considerable - nearly \$200 million in aid and loans after World War I through the American Relief Administration, over \$360 million in assistance through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration established after World War II, and more than \$840 million in assistance to Poland through the U.S. SEED Act of 1989, to mention only the three most substantial assistance efforts among many this country has directed to Poland.

During and after World War I, Polonia collected as much as \$10 million dollars for Polish humanitarian needs, a dollar figure nearly matched during the World War II and Solidarity eras. This help was considerable, but much of the assistance rendered through the Polonia humanitarian drives from World War II onward came not from Polish Americans but from non-Polish individual and corporate donors. One can attribute Polonia's inability to engage more Polish American support for its efforts to assimilation's increasingly evident effects. But there are other factors to consider, not the least of which was the

sheer enormity of the humanitarian task facing Polonia in aiding Poland, one many readily dismissed as service on behalf of a hopeless cause. More important were the individual assistance efforts that Polish Americans continued to provide families and friends in Poland. The size of this help has never been easily estimated but it may have exceeded \$1 billion a year by the late 1980s. Such help was thus greater than all the sums generated by the U.S. government, and the charitable offices of organized religion in America and Polonia added together.⁴¹

What then was the significance of these efforts, since they did not especially affect the conduct of U.S. policy toward Poland or in themselves dramatically improve the conditions of Polish people?

First of all, Polonia's efforts perpetuated a sense of identification with Poland, helped strengthen feelings of ethnic consciousness and pride in what Polish Americans stood for as Americans, and may have brought some recognition to them as an interest group to be taken seriously in American politics, at least for a time. It gave to Polonia's institutions, fraternal and church-based, a renewed commitment to their missions. It also enabled Polish Americans in general to regard their efforts in a positive way, because their concerns for Poland were largely shared by their fellow Americans of other ancestral backgrounds.

Second, these efforts gave knowledgeable people in Poland a chance to appreciate the fact that there was a community of persons of common ancestry abroad which retained an interest and concern over their fate. And despite all the difficulties that have existed over the years in communicating this sense of shared concern in Poland itself, there seems no reason not to expect that in the democratic political conditions in which Poland has found itself since 1989 that opportunities for contacts between Poland and the people of Polish heritage abroad will increase.

Third, and on the other hand, the emphasis on Polish issues created a sense that the community was not providing enough of a focus on what has come to be called Polonia's "American agenda." This concern is understandable and has been frequently pointed out. There is only one problem here, that of adequately defining the content of this "American agenda" and then mobilizing sufficient popular support among Polish Americans to realize its aims.

Significantly, concern for Poland has been an attractive area of activity for Polish Americans and their organizations for more than five generations. Moreover, if Polish Americans are to reinvigorate a broadly based interest in things having to do with Poland, its people, history, language, arts and literature, Poland's help must be more systematically enlisted by Polonia. Perhaps this is the best of all American agendas, a partnership to help strengthen knowledge and pride in the Polish heritage in this country.

In sum, service to Poland has had many implications for the Polish Americans and their community-it strengthened and perpetuated popular identification with

noble and significant causes that could only serve to build pride in what was best in the Polish identity. It helped link Polish Americans to the larger American nation of which they were part, since the goals of Poland's freedom and material betterment were in harmony with America's values. It reinvigorated Polonia's most significant mass membership institutions, the churches and the fraternals, with a renewed appreciation of their missions of service. It helped to preserve the Polish identity in America long after Polish Americans would otherwise have become assimilated following the end of mass emigrations from Poland. It even brought some genuine material and moral assistance to Poland and its people on more than a few occasions. This is a substantial record that deserves to be recognized!

NOTES

1. Numerous overviews of the Polish American experience have appeared over the past two decades, most notably Helena Lopata, *Polish Americans: Status Competition in an Ethnic Community* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1976); Andrzej Brożek, *Polish Americans: 1854-1939* (Warsaw: Interpress Publishers, 1985, originally published in Polish in 1977); and John Bukowczyk, *And My Children Did Not Know Me: A History of the Polish Americans* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1987). Other works of interest include Joseph Wytrwal, *America's Polish Heritage* (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1961, the first of a series of histories on the subject by this author); W.S. Kuniczak, *My Name is Million: An Illustrated History of the Poles in America* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1978); and Eugene Kleban and Thaddeus Gromada, editors, "The Polish Americans," a special issue of *The Polish Review*, 21, no. 3 (Autumn, 1976). The history, culture and social dynamics of the Polish American community have received consistently excellent treatment by professional scholars whose work has appeared in the semi-annual journal of the Polish American Historical Association, *Polish American Studies*, particularly under the direction of Frank Renkiewicz and James Pula, the publication's editors since the end of the 1960s.
2. This subject has received relatively modest scholarly attention despite the seeming importance of the "homeland" to successive generations of the Polish ethnic diaspora both in the United States and elsewhere. See Brożek, chapters 4 and 6, and Lopata, pp. 21-31; Piotr Wandycz, *The United States and Poland* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1980); Richard Lukas, *The Strange Allies: The United States and Poland, 1941-1945* (Knoxville, Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1979) and Stephen Garrett, *From Potsdam to Poland: American Foreign Policy toward Eastern Europe* (New York: Praeger, 1986). An earlier and somewhat controversial discussion of the relationship is that of Louis Gerson, *The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1964).
3. Lopata's attempt to explain the persistence of Polish ethnic consciousness in terms of the supposed status rewards accrued from involvement in Polonia organizations is one of the more interesting, if arguable, theoretical efforts to explain this phenomenon.
4. The assimilation process in the United States in terms of its numerous dimensions has been well analyzed by Milton Gordon, for example in his

Human Nature, Class and Ethnicity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 166-208; and by Stanley Lieberson, *From Many Strands: Ethnic and Racial Groups in Contemporary America* (New York: Sage Foundation, 1988), a work based upon the 1980 U.S. Census study of Americans' national origins. With particular respect to Polish Americans, see also the contributions by Theresita Polzin and Eugene Obidinski in the special issue of *The Polish Review* cited above.

5. *United States Department of Commerce: Bureau of the Census. The Foreign Born Population in the United States: 1990*; and *Detailed Ancestry Groups for States: 1990* (Washington, D.C., 1992).

6. "Census: Language Not Foreign At Home," *USA Today*, April 28, 1993. Mainly Polish language speakers placed sixth highest among all non-Spanish, foreign language speaking persons in this country, after French, German, Italian, Chinese and Tagalog. States where Polish language speakers were most commonly found were: Illinois, 16.5 percent of all foreign language speakers and second after Spanish speakers); Michigan, 7.1 percent and second after Spanish speakers; New Jersey, 24.5 percent (third after Spanish and Italian); Wisconsin, 6.2 percent (third after Spanish and German); Connecticut, 18.0 percent (fourth after Spanish, Italian, French); Indiana, 5.0 percent (fourth after Spanish, German, French); and Pennsylvania, 7.8 percent (fourth after Spanish, Italian, German).

In 1980, an estimated 828,000 persons were identified as mainly Polish language speakers, meaning that the total number of Polish speakers between 1980 and 1980 declined by 12.4 percent. This was fourth greatest decline, after Yiddish, Italian, and Hungarian speakers of any major language group in the country. *New York Times*, April 27, 1993.

7. According to the U.S. survey published in connection with the 1980 census, 8,228,037 persons identified themselves as Polish by ancestry. Of this number, 3,805,740 persons reported a single Polish ancestry (46.3 percent) to 4,422,297 (53.7 percent) reporting multiple ancestries including Polish. According to the 1990 Census survey, 9,366,106 persons were reported to be identify themselves as Polish by national ancestry, an increase of 13.8 percent for the ten year period. During the same time frame, the overall increase in the U.S. population was 9.8 percent, from 226,545,805 to 248,709,873 and the increase in the Caucasian population amounted to 6.0 percent, from 188,371,622 to 199,686,070. One might consider a variety of explanations for the substantial increase in the number of Polish identifiers between 1980 and 1990, among them better counting procedures, the effect of natural population increase among American born persons of Polish ancestry along with substantially higher

than expected immigration from Poland in the 1980s, and a heightened pride and awareness in one's Polish ancestry helped along by the presence of a Polish Pope, the actions of the Solidarity movement, and the extensive and favorable media coverage of Polish events throughout the decade.

A look at persons of Polish ancestry according to the two enumerations in terms of the fifteen states where their numbers were greatest provides grist for all of the above conjectures:

State	In 1980	In 1990	Rate of Increase
New York	1,178,173	1,181,077	0.25%
Illinois	892,009	962,827	7.96
Pennsylvania	840,741	882,348	4.88
Michigan	824,721	889,527	7.88
New Jersey	592,172	626,506	5.91
California	465,677	578,256	24.03
Wisconsin	462,145	505,808	9.52
Ohio	403,768	442,226	9.41
Massachusetts	337,518	359,677	6.51
Connecticut	287,016	312,587	9.06
Florida	264,237	410,666	55.68
Minnesota	204,819	238,039	16.10
Maryland	169,709	200,570	18.24
Texas	167,465	237,557	41.67
Indiana	155,520	179,501	15.39
Remainder of the U.S.	982,347	1,308,934	33.30

Rankings by states showed very little change during the ten year period: Michigan moved to third from fourth; Florida from eleventh to ninth; and Texas from fourteenth to thirteenth. Pennsylvania fell to fourth from third; Massachusetts from ninth to tenth; Connecticut from tenth to eleventh; and Maryland from thirteenth to fourteenth. Clearly, however, there was great evidence of substantial population movement away from the traditional centers of Polonia community life, the states of the northeast and the middle west, and into the sunbelt.

For a detailed examination of the 1980 Census with specific attention to the Polish American population, and some sharp criticisms of prevailing academic and government bias toward the serious analysis of data about the national ancestries of Americans, see John A. Kromkowski, "A Compendium of Social, Economic and Demographic Indicators for Polish Ancestry and Selected Populations in the United States," *Polish American Studies*, 47, no. 2 (Autumn, 1990), 7-73.

8. Helena Znaniecki Lopata, "Polish Immigration to the United States of America: Problems of Estimation and Parameters," *The Polish Review*, 21, no. 4 (Winter, 1976), 85-106; Lopata, *Polish Americans*, pp. 33-42; Donald Pienkos, *For Your Freedom Through Ours: Polish American Efforts on Poland's Behalf, 1863-1991* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), pp. 18 and *passim*.
9. Lopata, *Polish Americans*, pp. 12-32, 42-67; Donald Pienkos, *PNA: A Centennial History of the Polish National Alliance of the United States of North America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 3-33; Brożek, *passim*.
10. Brożek, p. 45.
11. *Ibid.*, chapters three and four; Pienkos, *PNA*, pp. 62-84 and *passim*; Daniel Buczek, "Polish Americans and the Roman Catholic Church," *The Polish Review*, 21, no. 3 (1976), 39-62. For a contemporary effort by priests of Polish heritage to play a leadership role, see the proceedings of the fourth convention of the Polish American Priests' Association. This organization, formed in 1990, distributes a regular bulletin to nearly three thousand clergymen of Polish origins and ancestry in the U.S. *Convention Book of the Polish American Priests' Association*: Detroit, Michigan, April 26-29, 1993.
12. Jan Wepsiec, *Polish American Serial Publications, 1842-1966* (Chicago: published by the author, 1968); Bernard Pacyniak, "An Historical Outline of the Polish Press in America," in Frank Mocha, ed., *Poles in America: Bicentennial Essays* (Stevens Point, Wisconsin: Worzalla Publishers, 1978), pp. 509-530. In 1993, three Polish language dailies remained in operation: the New York-based *Nowy Dziennik* (the New Daily) founded in 1971 following the demise of the New York *Nowy Świat* (or Morning World); and two Chicago publications, the *Dziennik Związkowy* (now named the Polish Daily News) established under the sponsorship of the Polish National Alliance fraternal in 1908, and the *Dziennik Chicagowski* (Chicago's Daily News), in business since 1988. As late as 1945, there were two Chicago Polish dailies, two in Milwaukee, and one each in Detroit, New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Boston.
13. Lopata, *Polish Americans*, pp. 21-31 and *passim*, provides several explanations for Polonia's identification with Poland over the years.
14. This characterization borrows from Gordon's discussion in *Human Nature*, p. 121 and *passim*.

15. *Ibid.*; Lopata, *Polish Americans*, pp. 42-67 and *passim*.
16. Stanislaus Blejwas, "Old and New Polonias: Tension within an Ethnic Community," *Polish American Studies*, 38, no. 2 (Autumn, 1981), 55-83; Brożek, pp. 170-192. See also Thaddeus Radzilowski, "The Second Generation: The Unknown Polonia," *Polish American Studies*, 43, no. 1 (Spring, 1986), 5-12; Eugene Obidinski, "Beyond Hansen's Law: Fourth Generation Polish Identity," *Polish American Studies*, 42, no. 1 (Spring, 1985), 27-42. See also Donald Pienkos, "Polish American Ethnicity in the Political Life of the United States," in Joseph Roucek and Bernard Eisenberg, eds., *America's Ethnic Politics* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982); and especially John Bukowczyk, *And My Children Did Not Know Me*, pp. 105-146 and *passim*.
17. On the dynamics of a national Polonia community in the United States, see Lopata, *Polish Americans*, and Pienkos, *For Your Freedom Through Ours*. In the twentieth century two international meetings bringing together the leaders of Polish emigrant and Polonia organizations have been held, the first of which gathered in Warsaw in 1934 under the auspices of the World Union of Poles from Abroad, *Światpol*, an agency of the Polish state. The second conclave was held in Krakow in 1992, sponsored by the newly formed and government subsidized "Polish Community," *Wspólnota Polska*; it was distinctive in including persons of Polish nationality from the republics of the former Soviet Union for the first time into what became a truly "worldwide" gathering of persons of Polish heritage. The story of these two events merits detailed study since each dealt with complex and sometimes controversial questions about the nature of future relations between Poland and the organizations of an emigration that was itself extremely diverse in character. Clearly, for example, the decisions of the large Polish American delegations at each congress not to join proposed federations of the worldwide emigration centered in Poland are in themselves subjects for serious analysis. On the significance of emigrations like the Poles, see Gabriel Sheffer, ed., *Modern Diasporas in International Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986) and Sheffer, "Ethnic Diasporas: A Threat to their Hosts?" in Myron Weiner, ed., *International Migration and Security* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992).
18. There have been occasions, particularly in recent years, when talk has led to action regarding the need for Polonia to develop a "domestic" or "American" agenda to complement its orientation toward Poland. Thus after Aloysius Mazewski's election to head the Polish American Congress in 1968, substantial efforts were made to put such an agenda together. These waned by the late 1970s, when concern over Poland once again

regained the attentions of Polish Americans. Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, pp. 152-167, 240-244 and 423; and the resolution on a new American agenda for the P.A.C. adopted at its 11th national convention in October 1992 and further defined at the October 1993 meeting of its governing national council of directors.

19. For the early years of Polish settlement in America, see Joseph Wierczerzak, "Pre- and Proto-Ethnics: Poles in the United States before the Immigration 'After Bread,'" *The Polish Review*, 21 no. 3 (Autumn, 1976), 7-38; and Waclaw Kruszka, *A History of the Poles in America to 1908, Part I: A General History of the Polish Immigration in America* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1993). Part two of this fully annotated work first published between 1905 and 1908 is scheduled for 1994 under the general editorship of James S. Pula. An overview of organized Polonia work for Poland is in Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, *passim*.
20. Pienkos, *ibid.*, pp. 20-72.
21. Joseph Hapak, "The Polish Military Commission," *Polish American Studies*, 38, no. 2 (Autumn, 1981), 26-38; and Louis J. Zake, "The National Department and the Polish American Community, 1916-1923," *Polish American Studies*, 38, no. 2 (Autumn, 1981), 16-25; and Donald Pienkos, *One Hundred Years Young: A history of the Polish Falcons of America, 1887-1987* (Boulder, Colorado: Eastern European Monographs, 1987), pp. 67-112.
22. Wandycz, pp. 110-122; Kay Lundgreen-Nielson, "Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland," in Arthur Line, ed., *Woodrow Wilson and a Revolutionary World. 1913-1921* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), pp. 105-126.
23. Pienkos, *One Hundred Years Young*, pp. 101, 106-107.
24. On the returnees, see Waclaw Soroka, *Polish Immigration to the United States* (Stevens Point, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, 1976); and Adam Walaszek, "'How Could It All Appear So Rosy?': Re-Emigrants from the United States in Poland, 1919-1924," *Polish American Studies*, 43, no. 2 (Autumn, 1992), 43-60.
25. On Poland in World War II, see Józef Garlinski, *Poland in the Second World War* (London: MacMillan, 1985). A provocative discussion of American Polonia in the two world wars is by Andrzej Brożek, "Polonia w Stanach Zjednoczonych wobec inicjatyw Paderewskiego oraz Sikorskiego w czasie I i II wojny światowej," *Przegląd Polonijny*, 7, no. 2 (1981).
26. Francis X. Swietlik, *Rada Polonii Amerykańskiej od 1939 do 1948* (Chicago: Polish American Council, 1948); and Richard Lukas, *Bitter*

- Legacy: Polish American Relations in the Wake of World War II* (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 1982).
27. Louis Gerson, *The Hyphenate in Recent American Politics and Diplomacy* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1964); and Lukas, *The Strange Allies*. See also Charles Sadler, "Pro-Soviet Polish Americans: Oskar Lange and Russia's Friends in the Polonia, 1941-1945," *The Polish Review*, 22, no. 4 (Autumn, 1977), 25-39. On the Katyn massacre issue, see Janusz Zawodny, *Death in the Forest* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1962); and Robert Szymczak, "A Matter of Honor: Polonia and the Congressional Investigation of the Katyn Massacre," *Polish American Studies*, 41, no. 1 (Spring, 1984), 25-65.
 28. The story of K.N.A.P.P. is in Lukas, *ibid.*; and Waclaw Jędrzejewicz, *Polonia Amerykańska w polityce Polskiej: Historia Komitetu Narodowego Amerykańców Polskiego Pochodzenia* (New York: K.N.A.P.P., 1954).
 29. Lukas, *ibid.*; Romuald Bilek, *Jak powstał Kongres Polonii Amerykańskiej* (Chicago: published by the author, 1984).
 30. Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, pp. 275-278, 119, 279 for the Roosevelt's statement and the P.A.C. response.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 518; *Memo to America: The DP Story. Final Report of the United States Displaced Persons Commission* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 366, 376 and *passim*; Barbara Stern Burstin, *After the Holocaust: The Migration of Polish Jews and Christians to Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989).
 32. Stephen Garrett, "The Ties that Bind: Immigrant Influence on U.S. Policy toward Eastern Europe," in A.A. Said, ed., *Ethnicity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1981, second edition); Stephen Kaplan, "U.S. Aid to Poland, 1957-1964: Concerns, Objectives and Obstacles," *Western Political Quarterly*, 28, NO. 1 (March, 1975), 147-166.
 33. Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, pp. 139, 340-343.
 34. See the series of U.S. Presidential statements addressed to the Polish American Congress and to Polonia from the 1960s onward, reprinted in Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, pp. 313-386, 401-406; and in Pienkos, *PNA*, pp. 415-419.
 35. Donald Pienkos, "Foreign Affairs Perceptions of Ethnics: The Polish Americans of Milwaukee," *Ethnicity*, 1 (1974), 223-235; and David Allen and Donald Pienkos, "Ethnicity and Political Attitudes: A Replication," unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, May 1, 1982.

36. Joseph Rothschild, *Return to Diversity: A Political History of East Central Europe since World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, second edition), pp. 227-231 and *passim*; Bernard Gwertzman and Michael Kaufman, editors, *The Collapse of Communism* (New York: Random House New York Times Books, 1990), *passim*; J.F. Browne, *Surge to Freedom: The Fall of Communist Rule in Eastern Europe* (Durham, North Carolina, New York and London: Duke University Press, 1991), pp. 1-98. For background, see Timothy Garton Ash, *The Polish Revolution: Solidarity* (New York: Vintage Press, 1985).
37. Aloysius Mazewski, "U.S. Lacks Clear Policy on Poland," *Polish American Congress Newsletter*, September 1986, p. 1; Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, pp. 187-189.
38. Semi-annual reports of the Polish American Congress Charitable Foundation presented at the meetings of the National Council of Directors of the Polish American Congress through October 1993 (Chicago: Polish American Congress home office); Pienkos, *For Your Freedom*, pp. 203-205.
39. *Ibid.*; conversation with Mr. John Kordek, August 10, 1990.
40. For example, Carl Bernstein, "The Holy Alliance," *Time Magazine*, February 24, 1992, pp. 28-35, a cover story piece arguing that Reagan and the Pope worked together to keep the Solidarity movement alive in martial law era Poland.
41. Tyler Marshall, "Powerful Political Force," *Los Angeles Times*, reprinted in the *Polish American Journal* (Buffalo), 74, no. 3 (March 1985), pp. 1-2; conversation with Mr. Roman Pucinski, February 15, 1989.

POLISH STUDIES

The Polish Studies Program at Central Connecticut State University is a unique endeavor. It contributes to the diversity and strength of Central as a University, and is the only active program of its kind in New England with roots both on the campus and in the community.

The Program, inaugurated in January, 1974, seeks to preserve and to stimulate an awareness of Poland's history and of her contribution to European and world civilization. The Program's core are courses in history, politics, culture, literature, language, and on the Polish American ethnic community. The Polish Heritage Collection in the University Library, numbering over 10,000 catalogued books and periodicals, and the Connecticut Polish American Archives and Manuscript Collection, a depository of research materials and memorabilia, supplement the course offerings.

The Program's activities also include evening and weekend lecture series and cultural events, including exhibits, the screening of motion pictures, concerts, and poetry readings. Educational materials for teachers are available from the Curriculum Laboratory in the University Library, and there is scholarship aid for students pursuing Polish Studies and for students of Polish American origin.

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