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The symbol of the Kościuszko Squadron was designed by Lt. Elliot Chess, one of a group of Americans who helped the fledgling Polish air force defend its skies from Bolshevik invaders in 1919 and 1920. Inspired by the example of Tadeusz Kościuszko, who had fought for American independence, the American volunteers named their unit after the Polish and American hero. The logo shows thirteen stars and stripes for the original Thirteen Colonies, over which is Kościuszko’s four-cornered cap and two crossed scythes, symbolizing the peasant volunteers who, led by Kościuszko, fought for Polish freedom in 1794. After the Polish-Bolshevik war ended with Poland’s victory, the symbol was adopted by the Polish 111th Kościuszko Squadron. In September 1939, this squadron was among the first to defend Warsaw against Nazi bombers. Following the Polish defeat, the squadron was reformed in Britain in 1940 as Royal Air Force’s 303rd Kościuszko. This Polish unit became the highest scoring RAF squadron in the Battle of Britain, often defending London itself from Nazi raiders. The 303rd bore this logo throughout the war, becoming one of the most famous and successful squadrons in the Second World War.
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Marian Hemar, Termos
Dear Friends and Colleagues,

We are in our fifth year of operation here at the Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia. We would like to thank all those who have facilitated our mission at the Miller Center and at the History Department between October 1998 and October 2003, in particular Dr. Kenneth Thompson, Dr. Philip Zelikow, and Dr. Chuck McCurdy.

After the inaugural ceremony in October 1998, it took two years before the arrival of the first chairholder, Professor Wojciech Roszkowski, who set up the Kościuszko Chair (KC) academically and charted the scope of its scholarly operations. Teaching, researching, and writing became integral parts of our activities. Dr. Marek Jan Chodakiewicz joined the KC team in May 2001 and has stayed the course after the departure of Professor Roszkowski in June 2002. We have taught classes at UVA and at other universities, including summer school in Rome and Los Angeles. We have lectured and delivered papers throughout the United States: at universities, scholarly conferences, and, last but not least, Polish American cultural events. We have also traveled to Poland to lecture and share the latest in American scholarship. We have expanded beyond Poland’s history as we have supported cultural events, including concerts and art exhibitions, and lectures by outside scholars with Polish connections. In essence, the KC has become a transcontinental, multicultural, and multidisciplinary affair. Yet, it has remained unshakably faithful to the intent of the founders of the Chair: to promote Polish studies.

We keep in touch with our friends and supporters by means of our yearly bulletin: Nihil Novi. This is its third issue, a joint effort of the KC and its volunteer supporters. Please read on.
At home and away

During the Fall 2002 semester Dr. Chodakiewicz alternated between home at Charlottesville, VA, and “near abroad” in Washington, DC, to research. At UVA, he guest lectured in Marc Selverstone’s HIEU 352 class on “The Second World War.” The topics of his lectures were “The World of Extremes: Europe,” and “Stalingrad and Kursk.”

During the Spring 2003 semester, thanks to Professor Chuck McCurdy, Dr. Chodakiewicz taught a class on “Poland and East Central Europe since 1918” (HIEU 218). The enrollment was high, reaching about 40 students. Some students eagerly expressed their willingness to learn Polish and further study Polish culture. Professor Dariusz Tolczyk offers such a course in the Fall of 2003.

Meanwhile, in the first half of 2003, many of the outside speaking engagements of the KC concerned the European Union. On January 26, 2003, Dr. Chodakiewicz participated in a panel discussion on the “Pros and Cons of Poland’s Accession to the European Union” at the Knights of Columbus Hall in Silver Spring, Maryland. The other participants were Dr. Susanne Lotarski, Director of Central and Eastern European Trade at the US Department of Commerce, and Radek Sikorski, Executive Director of the New Atlantic Initiative at the American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC. The event was organized by the Polish American Congress, Washington Metropolitan Area Division, and we would like to thank Ted Mirecki in particular. On January 31, 2003, Dr. Chodakiewicz spoke about the European Union at the “Speakers Forum” of the Polish American Cultural Center in Cleveland, Ohio. The event was ably arranged by Eugene Bak. On February 7, 2003, during the conference on the “European Union at the Crossroads,” at the panel session on “Accession and Enlargement,” Dr. Chodakiewicz talked about the EU and the need for expansion of Polish and East Central European studies in American universities. The conference was organized by the Miami European Union Center, University of Miami, and the American Institute for Polish Culture.

Further, during UVA’s Spring break, on March 6, at the City Center House of Culture in Warsaw, Poland, Dr. Chodakiewicz promoted his newest book in Polish: Ejszyszki: The Background to the Events in Ejszyszki: An Epilogue to Polish-Jewish Relations in the Eastern Borderlands, 1944-1945: Recollections, Documents, Essays. He also delivered a lecture on “The image of Poles during the Second World War in contemporary Jewish-American eyes.” Many thanks to Fronda Publishers and, in particular, Grzegorz Górny for bringing out the book and organizing the promotion. Dr. Chodakiewicz also took advantage of his sojourn in Poland to acquaint himself with the latest in Polish historiography, namely the newest monographs not yet available at US libraries.

Back in the US, on April 3, 2003, at the Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities held at Columbia University in New York, Dr. Chodakiewicz spoke at the panel “Issues of Identity in Poland Past and Present.” His topic was “Poland’s Fragebogen: Collective Stereotypes, Individual Recollections.” This, in essence, was also a book promotion, concerning Poland’s Transformation: A Work in Progress (Leopolis Press 2003), a recently published collection of KC conference papers.

Traditionally, the KC participated in the annual conference of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. On June 6, in Montreal, we co-organized a panel on “The Communist Secret Police in Poland: The Beating Heart of the Party.” It was chaired by John Radziłowski and the panelists included Dr. Ted Zawistowski, Dr. Adam Sułkowski, and Dr. Chodakiewicz who read his paper on “The Dialectics of Pain: The Use of Torture by the Communist Secret Police 1944-55.”

During Summer 2003, thanks to the kind offices of Professor (Brother) John Grever, Chairman of the Department of History at Loyola Marymount University in Los Angeles, Dr. Chodakiewicz taught two courses there: “History of Poland since 966” (History 498) and “Western Civilization from 1500” (History 101). On July 20, he also delivered a lecture on “Property Restitution in Poland, 1989-2003.” The event, which took place at the Polish Catholic parish in Los Angeles, was organized by Jan M. Malek, President of the Polish-American Foundation for Economic Research and Education “Pro Publico Bono.” We would like to thank Californians Edmund Lewandowski of PAC and Marty Cepielik of News of Polonia for media and internet coverage of the History of Poland class at LMU.
In addition, the KC was involved in two important projects concerning Poland. In the Spring of 2003, Dr. Chodakiewicz commenced cooperation with Professor Ralph Clem, co-director of the Miami European Union Center and a scholar at Florida International University, regarding the Polish-EU referendum project. Dr. Chodakiewicz wrote an introductory essay on Polish politics and society for the purpose of this project. He also coordinated Professor Clem’s visit to Poland in May and June 2003. During his mission to monitor the referendum, Professor Clem was assisted by our 2002 Kościuszko Chair fellow Sebastian Bojemski. For the referendum project, Sebastian collected raw data from the Office of the Committee for European Integration (OCEI), the Institute of Public Affairs, and the National Electoral Office. He also consulted with Poland’s top EU experts, including Dr. Barbara Fedyszak-Radziejowska (Polish Academy of Sciences), Dr. Jacek Kucharczyk, Dr. Tomasz Żukowski (University of Warsaw), and politicians, including Kazimierz M. Ujazdowski of the Law and Justice Party and Roman Giertych of the League of Polish Families. Last but not least, Sebastian arranged for Professor Clem to meet with Anna Kamyczek of the Department of Economic and Social Analyses of the OCEI, Romuald Drapiński, deputy director at the National Electoral Office, Henryk Bielski, counselor at the NEO, and Kazimierz M. Ujazdowski.

In June 2003, in a related project of the Kościuszko Chair, Sebastian Bojemski and another 2002 KC fellow, Wojciech Jerzy Muszyński, facilitated a meeting between Dr. John Lenczowski of the Institute of World Politics and a group of Polish politicians at the Parliament in Warsaw. Dr. Lenczowski spoke about Poland’s role as an American ally and the necessity of reforming the nation’s economic and political structure. In particular, he emphasized the need to lower taxes and to overhaul the Polish intelligence community. Both projects enjoyed the support of Professor Wojciech Roszkowski, who is back at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.

Our esteemed guests

As before, we continued our Polish speakers series at the University of Virginia. Organized by Professor Kenneth Thompson, these high-profile events became increasingly popular among the local community. On December 16, 2002, almost 200 people assembled to listen to Dr. Zbigniew Brzeziński. Dr. Brzeziński considered the question of further NATO expansion in Eastern Europe. Currently a counselor and trustee of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, he was national security advisor to President Jimmy Carter.

On January 24, 2003, former US Ambassador to Poland John Davis introduced Dr. John Lenczowski, who spoke about “Emboldening the Freedom Fighter” to an audience of nearly 100. The founder and president of the Institute of World Politics, Dr. Lenczowski headed the Soviet and European desks at the National Security Council under President Ronald Reagan.

On March 3, 2003, Dariusz Wiśniewski spoke on “US-Polish Relations at the Beginning of the 20th Century.” Mr. Wiśniewski, who teaches US politics at the American Studies Center, University of Warsaw, was formerly counselor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland and political counselor at the Polish Embassy in Washington, DC. Last but not least, in April Professor Dariusz Tołczyk of the Slavic Department hosted Professor Julian Kulski. The latter returned to UVA to share with us once again his experiences during the Nazi occupation of Poland in general and the Warsaw Uprising in particular.
Research and writing

In 2002 and 2003 we essentially finished all research and writing projects commenced under the auspices of the Kościuszko Chair.

Between September 2002 and February 2003, in our nation’s capital, at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Dr. Chodakiewicz researched the topic of the Nazi and Soviet occupations of Poland’s Eastern Borderlands (1939-47). Once again, the assistance of Aleksandra Borecka and Dr. Michael Gelb proved invaluable. In the Summer of 2003, at the archives of the Hoover Institution, Stanford, CA, Dr. Chodakiewicz finished researching the collection of the Polish underground press from 1939 to 1949 and commenced a study of the documents of the Polish National Committee in Paris during the First World War and its aftermath. Many thanks to Zbyszek Staƒczyk and Dr. Maciej Siekierski of the Hoover Institution archives as well as Dr. Wojciech Zalewski of the Stanford libraries for their kind assistance in all our projects.

A two-volume anthology of the Polish underground press, edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz and Wojciech Jerzy Muszyƒski, will be published in 2004. The fruit of another research project, a collection of documents concerning the massacre in Piƒsk in April 1919 will also appear late next year. Based on primary sources from American libraries and Polish and post-Soviet archives, it is edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz and Mariusz Bechta. Some additional documents, along with essays on related topics, are published in various Polish periodicals, including Glaukopis, a historical periodical Dr. Chodakiewicz helped to create in Poland.

A monumental endeavor of the KC, the Polish-language version of Professor Roszkowski’s Biographical Dictionary of East and Central Europe in the Twentieth Century is ready for publication. The translation of biographical entries into English continues.

As for other KC projects, we are pleased to announce that in January 2003 Leopolis Press published our May 2001 conference papers as Poland’s Transformation: A Work in Progress (ed. by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz and John Radziƒowski). This is an eclectic collection of papers by prominent authors concerning recent developments in Poland’s history since 1989. The topics include the negotiated abandonment of Communism, foreign affairs, constitutionalism, literature, property restitution, and collective memory.

In March 2003, Columbia University Press/East European Monographs published After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz. Many thanks to Professor Stephen Fischer-Galati who facilitated the completion of this project and encouraged the author along the way.

Also in March 2003, Fronda published Ejszyszki: Kulisy zajÊç w Ejszyszkach: Epilog stosunków polsko-˝ydowskich na Kresach, 1944-1945: Wspomnienia, dokumenty, publicystyka [Ejszyszki: The Background to the Events in Ejszyszki: An Epilogue to Polish-Jewish Relations in the Eastern Borderlands, 1944-1945: Recollections, Documents, Essays]. The two-volume work contains witness testimonies, NKVD records, and scholarly essays and punditry concerning the infamous Ejszyszki affair. The collection was edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, who also provided an extensive, bi-lingual (English and Polish) introduction.

In October 2003, Leopolis Press published Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism: The Borderlands of Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries. The contributors to this volume include leading US Hispanicists, Alexandra Wilhelmsen, Carolyn P. Boyd, Boyd Cathey, and Patric Foley, who focused mostly on the Carlist phenomenon of Catholic Traditionalism. On the Polish side, Dr. Chodakiewicz explored Poland’s reaction to the Civil War in Spain. And Dr. John Radziƒowski introduced the topic of a Polish-Spanish nexus.


In fact, all our English-language works are available on-line at www.amazon.com or directly from the publishers at http://www.aulam.org/leopress.htm and http://www.columbia.edu/cup/catalog/data/088033/0880335114.HTML

Polish language works can also be ordered at Szwede Slavic Books, 1629 Main St., Redwood...
Publications of the Kościuszko Chair Fall 2002-Fall 2003:


Soon forthcoming and in progress:


The Massacre in Jedwabne, July 10, 1941: Before, During, After


Egzekucja czy pogrom? Masakra w Pińsku, 3-4 kwietnia 1919: Dokumenty i wspomnienia [An execution or a pogrom? The massacre in Pińsk, April 3 and 4, 1919: Documents and Recollections]

Poles in the Gulag, by Janina Bogusz
I’m honored to be in the city of Kraków, where so many landmarks give witness to Poland’s history and Poland’s faith.

From this castle, Polish kings ruled for centuries in a tradition of tolerance. Below this hill lies the market square, where Kościuszko swore loyalty to the first democratic constitution of Europe. And at Wawel Cathedral in 1978, a Polish Cardinal began his journey to a conclave in Rome, and entered history as Pope John Paul II — one of the greatest moral leaders of our time.

In all the tests and hardship Poland has known, the soul of the Polish people has always been strong. Mrs. Bush and I are pleased to make our second visit to this beautiful country, and we bring with us the friendship and the good wishes of the American people.

In Warsaw two years ago, I affirmed the commitment of my country to a united Europe, bound to America by close ties of history, of commerce and of friendship. I said that Europe must finally overturn the bitter legacy of Yalta and remove the false boundaries and spheres of influence that divided this continent for too long.

We have acted on this commitment. Poland, the United States and our allies have agreed to extend NATO eastward and southward, bringing the peace and security of our alliance to the young democracies of Europe.

You also struggled to become a full member of the Atlantic alliance, yet you have not come all this way — through occupations and tyranny and brave uprisings — only to be told that you must now choose between Europe and America. Poland is a good citizen of Europe, and Poland is a close friend of America — and there is no conflict between the two.

America owes our moral heritage of democracy and tolerance and freedom to Europe. We have sacrificed for those ideals together, in the great struggles of the past. In the Second World War, the forces of freedom came together to defeat Nazism. In the Cold War, our trans-Atlantic alliance opposed imperial communism. And today our alliance of freedom faces a new enemy, a lethal combination of terrorist groups, outlaw states seeking weapons of mass destruction, and an ideology of power and domination that targets the innocent and justifies any crime.

For my country, the events of September the 11th were as decisive as the attack on Pearl Harbor and the treachery of another September in 1939. And the lesson of all those events is the same: aggression and evil intent must not be ignored or appeased; they must be opposed early and decisively.

One of the main fronts in this war is right here in Europe, where al-Qaida used the cities as staging areas for their attacks. Europe’s capable police forces and intelligence services are playing essential roles in hunting the terrorists. And Poland has led the effort to increase anti-terror cooperation amongst central and eastern European nations. And America is grateful.

Some challenges of terrorism, however, cannot be met with law enforcement alone. They must be met with direct military action. In the battles of Afghanistan and Iraq, Polish forces served with skill and honor. America will not forget that Poland rose to the moment. Again you have lived out the words of the Polish motto: for your freedom and ours.

In order to win the war on terror, our alliances must be strong. Poland and America are proud members of NATO, and NATO must be prepared to meet the challenges of our time. The enemies of freedom have always preferred a
divided alliance — because when Europe and America are united, no problem and no enemy can stand against us.

Within an hour’s journey of this castle lies a monument to the darkest impulses of man. Today, I saw Auschwitz, the sites of the Holocaust and Polish martyrdom; a place where evil found its willing servants and its innocent victims. History asks more than memory, because hatred and aggression and murderous ambitions are still alive in the world. Having seen the works of evil firsthand on this continent, we must never lose the courage to oppose it everywhere.

Through the years of the Second World War, another legacy of the 20th century was unfolding, here in this city of Kraków. A young seminarian, Karol Wojtyła, saw the swastika flag flying over the ramparts of Wawel Castle. He shared the suffering of his people and was put into forced labor. From this priest’s experience and faith came a vision: that every person must be treated with dignity, because every person is known and loved by God.

In time, this man’s vision and this man’s courage would bring fear to tyrants and freedom to his beloved country, and liberation to half a continent. To this very hour, Pope John Paul II speaks for the dignity of every life and expresses the highest aspirations of the culture we share. Europe and America will always be joined by more than our interests. Ours is a union of ideals and convictions. We believe in human rights, and justice under law, and self-government, and economic freedom tempered by compassion.

We do not own these beliefs, but we have carried them through the centuries. We will advance them further, and we will defend them together.

Thank you for your hospitality. Thank you for your friendship. May God bless this great nation, and may God bless the Polish people.

George W. Bush
Some claim that the collapse of the Soviet Union occurred, first, because the US outspent the Soviets on defense. Next, lowering oil and gas prices caused an increased hemorrhage of the USSR’s defense budget. The crisis was further compounded by internal weaknesses of the Communist system. Additionally, there was massive unrest by the people and the national minorities. Last but not least, the Communist party lost internal discipline.

But why did Soviets and East Central Europeans demonstrate against the system? Why did the Communist parties give up their power? In other words, what emboldened the freedom fighters? First, it was the Pope; second, it was the election of President Ronald Reagan and his public diplomacy.

The central fact of life in the Soviet Union was the regime’s fear of its own people. The message of the party was “resistance is futile.” They
all repeated the propaganda lies. However, in reality, in the 1980s the regime entered the final and crucial stage of the crisis of its own legitimacy. Putatively, the Communist party was invincible. Marxist determinism dictated “scientifically” the inevitability of Communism. And then the initial glitch occurred. Ronald Reagan ordered the invasion of Grenada which for the first time in history toppled a fully consolidated Communist regime.

But the real strength in the battle against the Evil Empire was not material; it was moral. Reagan’s launching of public diplomacy emboldened popular resistance. It neatly complemented Pope John Paul II’s message: “Be not afraid.”

However, the Communist societies were atomized. No one trusted anyone else. Alexandr Solzhenitsyn stressed the importance of the battle between truth and falsehood. “Fight the lie!”: one day at a time as individuals and society.

To fight the lie, one needed ammunition. It was most readily provided by Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Voice of Liberty; for many it served as a surrogate free national radio. At the same time, the Catholic Church remained an island of autonomy, in Poland in particular. It waged spiritual warfare against the Communists.

The dissident movement in Poland was the avant-garde of the resistance. Poland’s “Solidarity” was the first to show the way to “people’s movements.” The Polish way to struggle was emulated throughout the Soviet Bloc: from the Baltics to Tajikistan. And the rest is history.

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On July 1, 2003, over 200 persons attended the “Ronald Reagan – Legacy for Europe” conference at the Sheraton Hotel in Warsaw. The conference was organized by the New Atlantic Initiative (NAI) at the American Enterprise Institute, Washington, DC, and the Adam Smith Research Center, Warsaw, Poland. The organizers invited individuals from President Reagan’s inner circle and conservative pundits from Poland to reflect upon the phenomenon of his presidency and his legacy for Europe. The conference was hosted by Radek Sikorski, executive director of the NAI, and Andrzej Kondratowicz of ASRC. The keynote address was given by former Speaker of the US House of Representatives, Newt Gingrich. The President of the National Bank of Poland, Leszek Balcerowicz, opened the session, invoking President Reagan, Ludwig von Mises, Milton Friedman, and others.

“Victory Over the Evil Empire” was the focus of the first part of the conference. John Lenczowski, Soviet affairs advisor and current director of the Institute of World Politics, recalled the political background of the late 1970s. He reminded the audience about the steady expansion of Communism throughout the world and the general malaise of American politics. Carter’s presidency was a series of concessions, which
only served to feed the insolence of the Evil Empire. US foreign policy was heavily on the defensive. Domestic policy suffered likewise from poor management. Afterward, US Ambassador to Poland, Christopher R. Hill, spoke about his work as a diplomat in Poland during the 1980s and the atmosphere of those times. And it was a different world. He recalled never-ending lines, special stores for the diplomatic corps, butcher’s meat wrapped in The People’s Tribune and countless one-person, illegal Communist-style “foreign exchange bankers.”

Former Prime Minister of Estonia Mart Laar, who introduced a poll tax in his country, was the only speaker who actually lived inside the Evil Empire, in the Soviet satellite of Estonia, during the 1980s. He recounted how in the early 1980s, upon the election of Ronald Reagan, an officer of the Red Army announced to the recruits that a dangerous madman had taken leadership of the United States. This was a sign that the Soviets were starting to get nervous. For the first time in recent memory, someone had stood up to them.

Then, editor-in-chief Piotr Wierzbicki of center right Gazeta Polska spoke briefly about the situation in Poland before the Reagan presidency and during martial law (1981-1983). Wierzbicki mentioned that contrary to general opinion, the opposition at that time was demanding only cosmetic changes of the Communist system. Their main demand was to share power with the regime within its socialist framework. Only a handful of conservative dissidents, including the late Stefan Kisielewski and Mirosław Dzielski, supported an outright free market.

Finally, Peter Wallison, an advisor to President Reagan and author of Ronald Reagan: The Power of Conviction and the Success of His Presidency, identified two main features of the Reagan presidency: the President’s unwavering beliefs and his strategy of putting them into action. It was Reagan who first dared to call evil by name against the advice of many of his advisors. Moreover, the same applied to his domestic policy. Even today, some say that President Reagan was a puppet in the hands of his advisors. Yet, in accordance with the prevailing economic doctrine, President Reagan’s advisors (i.e., James Baker) had actually begged him to raise taxes in the depressed economy. Fortunately, Reagan remained resolute. In this as in many other matters, it was President Reagan who called the shots. And he swam against the current.

The second portion of the conference addressed the issue of “20-Year Boom – What is the Lesson for Europe?” The panelists for this portion of the conference were James Glassman, member of the AEI and columnist for the Washington Post, and Robert Gwiazdowski, director of the Tax Commission at the Adam Smith Research Center.

James Glassman emphasized that when President Reagan took office, the United States was facing its greatest crisis since the Great Depression. Taxes were on the rise, the US was drowning in regulations, spending on social programs was growing, government spending was increasing, and the economy was burdened by unemployment and inflation. Ronald Reagan faced a difficult challenge. And met it. A new approach to economic matters began to dominate while the effects of lowered taxes and deregulation kicked in. Mr. Glassman concluded that these principles could serve as an invaluable guideline for Poland. It is especially important to remember that a free market is much better than socialism at sustaining economic development.

Afterward, Robert Gwiazdowski concluded that while the lessons learned from the Reagan presidency are certainly relevant to Poland, it is necessary to go even further in Poland’s case, as in the matter of personal income taxes, for example. Unfortunately, according to Gwiazdowski, only 2% of Poles would understand the debates of the conference.

A debate followed the presentations. The leading libertarian pundit Janusz Korwin-Mikke commented on Mr. Gwiazdowski’s discussion of the “optimal system of taxation generating the most revenue.” He stressed that from the conservative and libertarian economic point of view the objective is not for the budget to have the most money but for the taxpayers to have the most money. Mr. Gwiazdowski agreed and added that he used the word “optimal” to mean that the government’s expenses on military, law enforcement, judicial, and necessary administrative matters are optimally covered.

Next, the conservative journalist Stanislaw Michalkiewicz pointed to one very important issue, namely that Ronald Reagan was a freedom fighter and that in fighting for freedom, he fought against the “Evil Empire.” This struggle came out of his love of freedom, not out of some enmity towards the Soviet Union as such, all the more so since this struggle was also waged on an economic level at home in the United States. Then and now, in Paris, for instance, where Michalkiewicz recently spent some time,
there are Marxists leading a very comfortable life. In response, Mr. Glassman agreed on this very important point, that freedom is not given once and for all but is actually continuously threatened on various levels, both economically and politically.

Subsequent voices from the audience addressed how supporters of the Adam Smith Research Center can aid in propagating and implementing Reaganomics in Polish economic policy and how they can support the reforms in Poland.

The highlight of the conference was the speech by former Speaker of the US House of Representatives, architect of the “Contract with America,” Newt Gingrich. He pointed to three characteristics of Ronald Reagan and his politics – his perseverance, pragmatism and joyous optimism. Perseverance accompanied Ronald Reagan for many years; indeed, the defeat of the Republicans in the American political arena had been talked about since the 1960s. Setback followed setback and socialism seemed triumphant. Promulgating free market slogans, fiscal responsibility, and tough foreign policy was seemingly a guarantee of electoral defeat, yet Reagan persevered and won.

Once his goal was reached, pragmatism was necessary. Congress was not controlled by the Republicans, so Reagan had to solicit, sometimes late into the night, support from Democrats, who had control of both the House and the Senate. This demanded a great deal of effort, accentuated by the fact that he often had to solicit support for his policies from Republicans as well. But his joyous optimism, confidence in his ultimate success and sense of purpose carried him through it.

Gingrich told many anecdotes from the period of Ronald Reagan’s presidency. During his electoral campaign, President Reagan quipped: Can you claim that during the previous presidency your situation has improved? Democrats demand of us to be specific. OK. Let me fulfill their wish. A recession occurs when your neighbor loses his job. A depression occurs when you are unemployed. But the recovery will take place when Carter becomes unemployed! According to Newt Gingrich, most of the elite were always opposed to Reagan, in particular the universities which were stifled by socialist thinking. What did Reagan do? He ignored them. He appealed directly to the American people and underscored several important matters: security, prosperity, and their guarantor – freedom.

The last portion of the conference was devoted to the media and the politics of success. The panelists were Mark Burson from the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Jarosław Sellin from Poland’s Committee for Radio and TV, and Steven Hayward, publicist and member of FK Weyerhaeuser. Sellin spoke about the situation of the media in Poland after 1989. The American guests discussed the role of the media in Reagan’s success. When Reagan was taking office, the slogan “equality of the people” was especially popular. Reagan, on the other hand, emphasized freedom. But the US media opposed the President and often misquoted him. By criticizing him, they nonetheless spread his message. Thus, his easily understood, straightforward, and powerful statements reached every American and caused Reagan’s policies to gain support. Equally important were President Reagan’s experience and sense of humor, which allowed him to deal with difficult situations and helped him gain popular opinion. Mr. Hayward noted two other important things. First, he observed that Ronald Reagan never attacked people in his speeches, and second, that he always repeated simple messages. Sometimes, especially during the campaigns, these methods seemed irritating. However, ultimately, they proved effective, especially since Reagan never hid his true agenda. Of course, he did not always discuss everything in great detail, but his belief in the proposed solutions was so apparent that he was not afraid to speak openly about difficult and controversial issues.

One of the Polish participants, Robert Gwiazdowski, had complained about the lack of understanding of the conservative message among Poland’s voters. The American panelists said that they did not consider this the fault of the audience, but rather that of the speakers, who must use clear language to convey their intentions. The American people were rather easy to persuade, according to Steven Hayward. Regrettfully, however, President Ronald Reagan was underappreciated and misunderstood by the media; this continues to be so to this very day.

Following the official part, the participants enjoyed a reception with the participation of Warsaw’s Mayor, Lech Kaczyński, who co-sponsored the conference.

Wojciech Popiela
Mr. Popiela is a libertarian and conservative activist and a former deputy mayor of Tarnów.

(Translated and edited by TD)
The Polish-Canadian Technical and Engineering Tradition

by Mark Węgierski

The upcoming year 2004 is very important for the Polish-Canadian community – it marks the 60th Anniversary of the establishment of the Canadian-Polish Congress (the community’s main umbrella organization) (1944); and the 140th Anniversary of the arrival of the first large group of Polish settlers in Canada (in Renfrew County, near Ottawa, Ontario, in 1864).

Since World War II, highly-skilled Polish immigrants and their descendants have made a very significant contribution to the intellectual and physical development of Canada, out of proportion to their overall numbers. In fact, it is possible to see a specific Polish-Canadian tradition of technical, engineering, architectural and scholarly achievement.

Prior to 1939, Polish immigration, ongoing since the 1850s, had largely consisted of peasants and laborers. Nevertheless, one should mention two prominent nineteenth-century engineers, Sir Casimir Gzowski and Aleksander Edward Kierzkowski, as well as the eighteenth-century cartographer Charles Blaskowitz, a Loyalist refugee from America.

During World War II, about a thousand Polish technicians and engineers came to Canada, partly from Britain and partly from occupied Europe, by a variety of routes, to help with the war effort. Immigration expanded in the 1950s, as thousands more technical persons and scholars came to Canada, mostly from Britain. (After fighting alongside the Western Allies, they had refused to return to a truncated Poland ruled by Stalin’s henchmen.) This generation operated according to rigorous, Continental European traditions of design. Their approach was new to Canadians, who were accustomed to more provincial, British-derived technological models.

Among these persons was Antoni Piechota, who played a large role in the construction of the country’s military radar-antenna system. W. Czerwiński significantly improved the Mosquito, Canada’s WW II-era long-range fighter-bomber. W. J. Jakimiuk, who eventually became Chief of Engineering at DeHavilland, designed with Stepniewski the famous Chipmunk and Beaver aircraft. During the 1950s, many Polish technicians and designers (including Czerwiński, Jakimiuk, Z. S. Cyma, Dr. Eryk Kosko, and J. Łukasiewicz) and even test pilots (Janusz Żurakowski) were involved with the grand project of the Avro Arrow. DeHavilland continued to hire significant numbers of Poles into the 1980s.

Władysław Wyszkowski was responsible for the first, difficult phase of the construction of the Bloor-Yonge subway system in Toronto. Ludwik Alejski was involved in the design and supervision of construction at Robarts Library at the University of Toronto, Roy Thomson Hall, and many Toronto high-rises. Much of the construction and electronics for the CN Tower were designed and installed under the supervision of Eugeniusz Danowski. Architect and builder Tadeusz Jeruzalski has been involved in many construction projects in Montreal and Toronto. Władysław Marcinkowski (“Jaxa”) was involved in the construction of numerous buildings in Montreal. Dr. Teodor Blachut was famous for his then-pioneering techniques of making maps based on satellite photography. Bohdan Ejbich worked for many years at General Electric, designing electrical transformers, and has also written several books about the heroic World War II experiences of the Polish air force squadrons in Britain that fought alongside the R.A.F. Wojciech Krajeński is known for his fine work on the design and casting of ironworks for several coal-generating stations of Ontario Hydro and has also written about various wartime tragedies in German- and Soviet-occupied Poland. Dr. Andrzej Garlicki, a prominent research engineer, received the Order of Canada. Dr. Zdzisław Przygoda, a member of the Polish Underground, and a survivor of the Dachau concentration camp, enjoyed a distinguished career in Ontario; he was eventually made an associate of the Association of Professional Engineers of Ontario (APEO) committee verifying the qualifications of engineers from abroad. Dr. Jerzy Dobrowolski designed the anti-forgery hologram on the $50 Canadian bill. Stefan Szalwiński became the President of the engineering firm Yolles Associates and Tobias Associates – and designed numerous government, academic, commercial, and hospital buildings – both in Canada and abroad. Stanisław Orłowski, as the Chief Architect working for the Ontario education system, directed the building of twenty-two Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology, the largest project of its kind in Canada. Alex Jablonski worked in a senior capacity for Atomic Energy Canada. The oldest member of the Association (in 1991) was Piotr Jaskiewicz, then 94. He remembered, for example, that in Canada’s Aircraft Research Bureau, there originally worked 42 Poles... and two English-Canadians. Dr. B. Wiechula, an oil-processing expert, is one of only two members in Canada of the Polish Special Commandos, who during World War II carried instructions from the Polish Government-in-Exile in London to the Underground in German-occupied Poland. B. D. E. Prazmowski, who served in the Polish Underground, is an expert in environmental technologies and has also written an emotionally-searing book based on his wartime experiences.
The Polish tradition of technical excellence had its ultimate origins in the pre-World War I Partition period, when many Poles, frustrated under the rule of Imperial Germany and Imperial Russia and disillusioned by the continued immateriality of Polish statehood, embraced the concreteness of the exact sciences. The long-awaited rebirth of an independent Polish state after World War I gave this tradition a fully national focus. Between the world wars, Poland existed as a fully independent state for the first time in 123 years. The desire to build a modern state and the necessity for rapid industrial advancement fueled the development of technical specialization and professional excellence. One of the attestations to this excellence was the fact that much of the clandestine work of decoding ULTRA (the German Army coding system) was done before the onset of the war by Polish mathematicians.

Because of the post-World War II arrangements in East-Central Europe, Canada has received the benefit of this outstanding technical skill and expertise. The generations born in Canada (many of whom have taken up technical professions), as well as the large number of those with technical training arriving from Poland, especially in the 1980s, look forward to replicating the success of the older generation and continuing this Polish-Canadian tradition of technical excellence and achievement.


Motivations for Popular Support of EU Accession in Poland since 1989: The Role of National Pride as an Assimilative Force

Adam Józef Sułkowski

Introduction

One would naturally suspect that Polish public opinion in favor of EU membership during the past decade would be motivated by perceived economic benefits resulting from accession. An objective external observer may also imagine that Poles have supported EU accession because closer integration with the West would improve their strategic position vis-a-vis security threats from the East.

However, a close examination of Polish public opinion from the past decade reveals that neither of these motivations completely explains Poles’ support for their country’s membership in the EU. The majority of Poles are skeptical of the economic consequences of EU accession, and Poles are increasingly confident that membership in NATO guarantees their country’s independence and security.

An additional explanation for support of EU membership among Poles is a sense of national and cultural identity that is rooted in the same civilization as Western Europe. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the opponents to EU membership are definitely motivated by cultural concerns (among them, the conviction that materialism and secularism will destroy Poland’s distinct national identity). Ironically, after a century during which nationalism led to catastrophic conflict, national pride in a cultural identity may to some extent be motivating popular support for integration with other countries under the auspices of EU institutions.

Poles support EU membership despite popular perceptions that accession will be economically painful

Approximately 55% of Poles in separate recent studies stated that they would vote in favor of immediate EU membership. 62% would vote in favor of membership once their economy improves. 30% would vote against immediate accession. While this majority represents a deterioration in popular support from a decade ago, which hovered around 80%, Poles are, relative to the populations of other Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries, supportive of EU membership.

Yet Poles are among the least optimistic CEE populations with regard to the economic impact of EU membership. Only 27% of Poles agreed with the statement that immediate EU accession “would speed up improvement and modernization” of their economy, compared to 34% of Czechs, 37% of Hungarians, and 40% of Slovaks.

Poles are also inclined to see their potential membership in the EU as primarily benefiting their western neighbors; 54% of Poles would agree with the statement that “the EU would primarily benefit,” from their country’s membership, compared to 36% of Czechs, 23% of Hungarians, and
30% of Slovaks.

Perhaps most importantly, only 6% of Poles saw their country as being the primary beneficiary of its potential EU membership, as compared with 22% of Slovaks, 13% of Czechs, 24% of Hungarians, and 29% of Lithuanians.

Clearly, regardless of the validity of their perceptions, a majority of Poles continues to support EU membership despite the fact that only a minority believes economic benefits will follow.

**Poland’s desire for EU membership as a security guarantee**

The surge of Polish popular support for EU and NATO membership in the early 1990’s could have been interpreted as part of a general thrust to integrate with western political and security structures. However, since the mid-1990’s, the desire for security against perceived threats from the east is not a convincing explanation for why a majority of Poles support EU membership. This is because (1) the population generally can distinguish the functions of the EU and NATO, and (2) the population increasingly trusts NATO as a guarantor of Poland’s independence and security.

Between 1999 and 2000 alone, the percentage of Poles who saw NATO membership as a guarantor of their nation’s independence and security rose from 41% to 56%. The percentage of Poles who saw their nation’s membership in NATO as a new form of submission to a foreign power shrank from 42% to 29%. The reverse is true in some other CEE countries. Generally, Poles now feel secure in the physical integrity of their current borders; between 1999 and 2000, the percentage of Poles with a favorable outlook on their peace and security grew from 55% to 60%.

Therefore, unmet security concerns do not appear to explain Polish popular support for EU membership.

**Polish cultural identity: an assimilative force?**

EU membership undoubtedly holds tremendous symbolic value for both Polish leaders and the Polish population.

It is important to clarify precisely how the cultural identity of Poland relates to the issue of integration. One could characterize Poland’s desire to assert an identity within the EU as driven by a moderate form of nationalism in that it is fueled by a deeply-rooted, shared, emotional sense of history harking back to previously grand eras of the nation’s past. Poles cite such events as Sobieski’s liberation of Vienna from the Ottoman Turks in 1683 and Pilsudski’s victory over the Red Army in 1920 as evidence of their role as an antemuralis Christianitatis. Further, Polish contributions to the American War of Independence, and the Second World War, and the pivotal role of the Solidarity movement are cited as examples of Polish sacrifice in the service of democracy and free enterprise. Contributions such as Copernicus’ proposition of a heliocentric planetary system, the discoveries of Marie Curie, and the first European constitution are cited for the notion that, beyond its role as a bulwark and martyr in defense of political and economic freedom, Poland’s identity is firmly rooted in Western Civilization’s legacy. In the 1990’s, before extreme nationalists became Euroskeptics, the popular consensus in support of Poland reasserting its identity as a European state had the additionally galvanizing effect of uniting Poles regardless of class, party affiliation, level of education, or occupation.

Polish leaders have repeatedly indicated that EU entry is associated in their minds with asserting a place in Western Civilization that has wrongfully been denied. Whether these statements are interpreted as the musings of opinion-leaders, or rather words chosen to resonate with pre-existing popular opinion, they are indicative of Polish national identity as it relates to Europe. According to former Polish Foreign Minister Władysław Bartoszewski, speaking in July 1995, “Psychologically, the Western orientation is so deeply rooted in Poland that the Germans often do not understand that, since the 10th or 11th century, the Poles have continuously oriented themselves increasingly toward the West. The people’s psychological situation has not changed in 50 or 60 years.”

Foreign Minister Bartoszewski elaborated upon this argument for Polish integration into the EU based on political and cultural grounds on another occasion: “For us the road is clear. That is, I say to those like myself, there is a single Polish foreign policy in the West and in the East, the basis of which is to think about ourselves as a future member of the alliance of democratic states only on account of a certain system of our thinking, a cultural and civilizational option, and that is why we want to enter into an agreement with the best insurance in the European market.”

In a June 1995 interview, Polish Prime Minister Józef Oleksy insisted that EU membership was more than an issue defined in terms of economic self-interest:

Poland does not see the EU as a foreign institution from which it would merely seek financial assistance. Let us be clear: We have chosen Europe as a historical option for Poland. This is the reason we are ready to speed up the process of compliance with membership criteria. We are not simply after financial assistance. We embrace all of the democratic values embodied by the EU.

In 1992, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski argued along a similar vein: “In mov-
ing closer to the Community, Poland is not just seeking material advantages. It is profoundly aware of its cultural affinity with Western Europe — is the Pope not Polish? — it wishes to anchor itself once and for all to the group of nations to which it is bound by so many historical and human ties.”

Over the past decade, Polish public opinion has reflected the rhetoric of the nation’s leaders. As early as 1989, 84% of Poles supported increased cultural ties with the European Community, substantially more than the 63% who welcomed cooperation in the area of defense.

The passage below is one author’s summary of the role of political and cultural concerns among Poles during the past decade. Note that the Polish popular perception of EU accession as creating economic hardship has remained consistent — compare the data listed below with the 1999-2001 data cited previously:

Why do people say “yes” to the West-oriented policies? It seems that Poles would first of all present political arguments. Asked [by an August 1995 Demoskop poll] whether full integration of Poland into the EU would in any way affect their incomes, 54% of the respondents gave a negative answer. Also, according to most respondents, entry into the EU would not have any [positive] effect on their housing conditions: 71% gave a negative answer to this question (merely 17% are optimistic here). As far as possibilities of getting a more attractive job are concerned pessimists prevail here as well (48%).

Demoskop also asked the respondents which partner gets greater benefits from the relations between Poland and the EU. According to 34% of the respondents, both sides benefit from them equally; 29% pointed to the EU countries and only 14% pointed to Poland.

Conclusion

Among the three motivations that would explain Polish popular support for EU membership — economic, strategic, and political/cultural, polling data indicates that political/cultural motives offer the best explanation. Most persuasively, the majority in Poland continues to see EU membership as detrimental to its own economic self-interest, even as the majority in Poland continues to support EU membership. While concerns over the independence and territorial integrity of Poland could have explained this paradox during the early 1990s, Poles have grown increasingly confident with regard to their national security since Poland’s entry into NATO in 1999.

Undoubtedly, certain segments of the Polish population such as entrepreneurs and urban professionals see their own economic interests served by their country’s integration with the EU, but that does not explain why a majority of the Polish population would, for a decade, continue to support the EU accession process. Based on public opinion data and the rhetoric of leaders who partly chose their words to resonate with the population, it appears that a powerful desire to define and cement a national identity plays a significant role in popular support for EU accession. The Polish case illustrates a potentially positive role for mild forms of nationalism. Rather than exclusively playing the negative, divisive role it has frequently assumed, national aspirations to reaffirm a political and cultural identity under certain circumstances may play a unifying role by motivating states to assimilate into organizations based on shared values.

Notes & Quotes

• During a Mass to celebrate Poland’s Independence Day on November 11, 2003, the Archbishop of Gdańsk Tadeusz Gocłowski preached that “people who claim that things were better before 1989 should confess that as a sin. We cannot compare the current difficulties, which are indeed real, with the ideals of freedom, of the sovereignty of the nation, for which many generations of Poles died.” The Archbishop reacted to many complaints prompted by high unemployment and economic problems in Poland. Some interpreted his statement as declaring Communism a sin. Polish Press Agency, 11 November 2002

• “For retired Gen. Slowomir [sic Sławomir] Petelicki, a big problem [in the Polish army] is senior officers brought up under the Soviet system and ‘trained to wait for orders, not to be creative.’ ‘The Russians ... did not want to have good brains in command positions,’ he said. ‘The future of our armed forces is in the
younger generation, who have studied abroad in the West.’”
Paul Ames, “Poland’s Airborn Cavalry Hope to Point the Way for New NATO Members,”
Associated Press, 11 November 2002

- The Institute of National Remembrance held a seminar to review the case of the judicial murder (Justizmord) of 35 Polish postmen who resisted the Nazis on September 1, 1939, at their post office in Gdańsk/Danzig. After a sham trial that lasted a few hours, they were secretly executed on October 5, 1939. Following the Allied victory, the presiding judges in that case were perfunctorily “de-Nazified” and enjoyed illustrious careers in West Germany’s judiciary. Their story was finally revealed by Dr. Dieter Schenk, a German prosecutor.

Jan Ordyński, “To był mord sądowy,” Rzeczpospolita, 28 November 2002


- In November 2002 in Moscow, the Third Congress of Poles in the Russian Federation appealed to President Vladimir Putin to rehabilitate fully all Polish victims of Communism. The delegates reminded the President that the “Poles were the first victims of ethnic purges” which commenced in August 1937 in the USSR. After the Poles, “the terror extended to the Koreans, Germans, Latvians, Lithuanians, Greeks, and the nations of Northern Caucasus.” Between August 1937 and October 1938, the so-called “Polish operation” of the NKVD led to the slaughter of 30% to 90% ethnic Poles, depending on the region. Halina Subotowicz-Romanowa was elected the chair of the Congress and entrusted with the task of fighting for Polish national autonomy in the Russian Federation, where an estimated 300,000 ethnic Poles reside.

“Czas na zadośćuczynienie,” Nasz Dziennik, 2 December 2002

- A priceless collection of antique sculptures went on exhibit in Lwów in 2002. They were originally located at the garden of the Count Lanckoroński’s family chateau of Stary Rozdol. Following the invasion of Poland in 1939, and the incorporation of that part of the Polish state into the USSR (in 1939 and again in 1944), the Soviet “experts” judged the sculptures to be clay copies made in the 18th century. Consequently, they were dumped into garbage but, luckily, never carted away from the estate. In reality, the sculptures date from classical Greece. They were brought to the estate following the 1884 expedition of Count Karol Lanckoroński to Asia Minor. The expedition discovered and illegally brought back to the Galician estate ten priceless antique sculptures. To conceal their origin and to protect them from the elements, the Count had them covered with a thin layer of clay. The truth was discovered through sheer accident by the Director of the Lviv Art Gallery, Boris Voznitsky. The scholar approached the garbage dump and scratched the clay off of a sculpture and discovered marble underneath.

Jan Bończa-Szabłowski, “Tajemnica Lanckorońskich,” Rzeczpospolita, 12 December 2002

- According to the census figures published in December 2002, there were 147,900 Poles living in Ukraine. In 1989, 218,000 were registered as of Polish background. However, Polonian organizations in Ukraine claim that there are over 2 million people of Polish origin there.

“Polacy wchłonięci,” Nasz Dziennik, 8 January 2003

- On November 12, 2002, Charles Chotkowski was decorated with the Knight’s Cross of the Order of Merit at the Polish Consulate in New York City. Chotkowski was recognized for his work on the Holocaust Documentation Committee of the Polish American Congress and the Holocaust Studies Committee of the Kościuszko Foundation.


- On December 11, 2002, Poland’s erstwhile Foreign Minister Władysław Bartoszewski was honored at the US Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC, at a ceremony to commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the clandestine Council to Aid Jews
Bartoszewski is also a Righteous Gentile recognized by Yad Vashem.


On December 27, 2002, the Poles selected US-made Lockheed-Martin F16 fighter for their air force. The French Mirage and the British-Swedish Gripen fighters were thus rejected. In April 2003 Poland decided to order 48 F-16 fighters at a price of $7.5 billion. The first 26 planes are scheduled to arrive in 2006.

Danuta Walewska, “F-16 kupiony,” Rzeczpospolita, 19 April 2003

“Poland is the best friend of the United States. We have been cooperating together like equal partners.”

President George W. Bush


“The real bond between the U.S. and Europe is the values we share: democracy, individual freedom, human rights and the Rule of Law. These values crossed the Atlantic with those who sailed from Europe to help create the United States of America. Today they are under greater threat than ever. The attacks of September 11th showed just how far terrorists—the enemies of our common values are prepared to go to destroy them. Those outrages were an attack on all of us. In standing firm in defense of these principles, the governments and people of the US and Europe have amply demonstrated the strength of their convictions. Today more than ever, the transatlantic bond is a guarantee of our freedom. We in Europe have a relationship with the US which has stood the test of time. Thanks in large part to American bravery, generosity and farsightedness, Europe was set free from the two forms of tyranny that devastated our continent in the 20th century: Nazism and Communism. Our strength lies in unity.”

From a declaration of eight pro-US European nations, including Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Spain, Italy, and Great Britain in “United We Stand,” The Wall Street Journal, 30 January 2003

French President Jacques Chirac chastised Poland and other ECE countries for their support of the US during the war in Iraq. The French media referred to Poland as “America’s Trojan horse in Europe.” The German press upped the ante, dubbing Poland as America’s “Trojan donkey.” German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer gaily adopted the slur.

Rzeczpospolita, 19 February 2003; Andrew Purvis, “New Europe, Old Economy,” Time Magazine (Europe), 2 June 2003 at http://www.time.com/time/europe/magazine/printout/0,13155,901030602-454455,00.html

“The list of countries under the French whip is ironic: Poland, Hungary, The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Romania and Bulgaria. All these countries were on the wrong side of the Iron Curtain during the Age of Communism. They were unlucky enough to be occupied by the Soviet Red Army in the closing months of WWII, and thus lived in enforced slavery for a half-century. But geography was destiny. France was occupied by American, British, Canadian and other British Empire troops, and was thus saved from such a fate by their English-speaking liberators. It is worth recalling that while French soldiers were throwing down their rifles in 1940 as the Germans advanced, the flower of Polish manhood charged into the invading Nazi tanks on horseback in the last and most gallant cavalry charge in history. Of course, they were killed to the last man. While the Poles were dying with their boots on, the French were living on their knee-pads (during which, they cheerfully ferreted out and shipped their French Jews off to the German death camps). How dare the French attempt to blackmail the Poles — of all peoples. (And the Czechs and Slovaks whom they helped to sell out at Munich.)”


“We are especially grateful for the direct military involvement of the forces of Great Britain and Australia and Poland and so many other countries.” Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld

Associated Press, 24 March 2003
“Poland does not deserve to be blamed for having divided Europe; it deserves applause: bravo Poland!” Secretary of State Colin Powell
“Powell chwali Polaków,” *Rzeczpospolita*, 19 May 2003

Thanks to the assistance of the Russian authorities, Polish art historians have identified several pieces of art looted by Red Army soldiers from Poland during the Second World War. The Russian government posted some of the missing items on-line at www.lostart.ru. The Polish Ministry of Culture intends to file claims for these and other missing pieces of art.

UNESCO has mentioned three documentary collections from Poland on its “World’s memory” list. They include De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium by Copernicus, the musical notes of Chopin, and the Emmanuel Ringelblum underground archive from the Warsaw ghetto. The Poles would also like to see included the text of the Confederation of Warsaw (1573), which guaranteed religious freedom, and the Twenty-One Demands of Solidarity (1980).
“Historia zapisana na dykcie,” *Rzeczpospolita*, 6 May 2003

On March 26, 2003, a techy whiz team from the University of Warsaw won the 27th International Academic World Championships in Team Programming in Beverly Hills, California. Tomasz Czałka, Krzysztof Onak, and Andrzej Gasiennica-Samek solved nine out of 10 problems in the time allotted. The trio beat 3,850 similar university teams from 68 nations.
AP, “Polacy najlepsi w programowaniu,” *Rzeczpospolita*, 27 March 2003

Roman Polański’s movie “Pianist” – based upon Władysław Szpilman’s recollections about the Holocaust – won several Oscars this year. Polański comes from an assimilated Jewish family of Cracow. Although not Christian converts, the Polańskis adopted some of the customs of their Catholic neighbors. Here’s how Roman recalls his first winter following the confinement of his family to the Cracow ghetto in 1941: “I also remember Christmas trees that were sold at the Podgórski Market. I begged my father to buy one. ‘Are you crazy?’ he asked. After all, we had no money. That was my first holidays ever without the Christmas tree.”


“Seeing the film, and reading the reviews in the American press, I was struck – as I was at the time I met Szpilman – by how differently the Second World War is remembered by those who survived it and by those who know it from books. Szpilman, like Polanski himself, did not mythologize his experiences. There are no hero or enemy nations in his memoir or in Polanski’s film. Szpilman encountered brave Jewish resistance fighters and corrupt Jewish ghetto policemen, courageous Poles who risked their lives to hide him and thieving Poles who cheated him out of his meager rations. How different, by contrast, are modern American perceptions of a war that few of us remember. On the whole, we prefer our victims to be heroes. Yet Szpilman was not a hero, only a survivor who never claimed to be anything else. On the whole, we like to make easy, sweeping generalizations about our historical enemies, in a way that makes us feel morally superior: Daniel Goldhagen’s book “Hitler’s Willing Executioners” became a bestseller in America, in part, because he blamed the Holocaust on the German national character. Yet Szpilman’s life story tells the opposite story: that the potential for tremendous evil, and tremendous good, lurks within every nation.”


Following the release of Roman Polanski’s “Pianist” some reviewers felt the director downplayed the factor of Polish anti-Semitism. At least one pundit, writing in *The Wall Street Journal*, dressed his comments in overtly anti-Catholic and anti-Polish rhetoric. It was too much for at least one of his peers at the *Chicago Sun-Times*: “I would like to suggest modestly that the men and women who have done the research on the ‘righteous Poles,’ while politically incorrect, are morally correct because they search for truth instead of demanding that it be covered up. *The Wall Street Journal* writer is immoral – profoundly immoral – because he believes that horrible memories cannot be kept alive unless
you lie. His hatred for Catholics is so intense that he urges that the truth be suppressed. I wonder how much different he is from the Poles who hated Jews so much that they stood by silently and lied to themselves about what was really going on.”

Andrew Greely, “Holocaust Film Faces Invective Borne of anti-Catholic Bias,” Chicago Sun-Times, 28 February 2003

- May 3rd is observed annually at West Point as Kościuszko Day. This year, following a mass and a sermon recounting Kościuszko’s contributions to America’s freedom, a plaque was dedicated to Lieutenant General Edward Rowny, class of 1941. About 6,000 visitors viewed the parade by the Corp of Cadets which preceeded the unveiling of the plaque. Professor Mieczysław Biskupski of Central Connecticut State University delivered the keynote address.

- In May 2003, Polish TV Polonia screened Hanna Kramczuk’s documentary about the Polish government-in-exile (1939-1990). The movie is titled “Z Orłem w Koronie” (An Eagle with a Crown). In 1990 in Warsaw, the last Polish President-in-exile, Ryszard Kaczorowski, passed his insignia onto the first democratically elected Polish President, Lech Wałęsa, thus symbolically closing the circle which began 51 years earlier with a joint Nazi-Soviet invasion of Poland.

- May 12th is observed as “Ponary Day” in Poland. Between 1941 and 1944, at the Ponary Forest near Vilnius (Wilno) the Nazis and their Lithuanian accomplices shot about 100,000 people, mostly Polish Jews but also up to 20,000 Polish Christian elite. Along with Palmiry and Katyn, Ponary was a site where the most massive shootings of Polish citizens took place during the Second World War.

- After Professor Wojciech Roszkowski revealed in his highly popular Newest History of Poland, 1914-1993 (Najnowsza historia Polski, 1914-1993) that the former Communist minister of culture Stanisław Wroński had connections to the KGB, the offended ex-apparatchik sued the eminent historian for defamation. A flurry of research revealed that Wroński not only was affiliated with the KGB but also had earlier been an operative with an NKVD death squad. From February 1943 Wroński served as the deputy (political) commander of the special operations NKVD unit “Olymp” of the Belorussian SSR. Its tasks included attacking the Home Army in north-eastern Poland. In 1945 the unit was active in Slovakia. Wroński’s tenure as the minister of culture in the 1970s was characterized by the tightening of censorship. Following the revelations in the Polish press, Wroński fell ill and missed his court date thrice: in January, March, and July 2003. “Agent czy tylko partyzant,” Rzeczpospolita, 28 January 2003

- In April, the British released official documents concerning the Katyn Forest Massacre, a single name for a string of mass shootings by the NKVD of about 28,000 of the Polish elite in spring 1940. Her Majesty’s government knew from the very start that the Soviets perpetrated the crime. However, for reasons of political expediency, from 1943 until 2003, the British refused to name the guilty. First, it was the matter of inter-Allied solidarity against Nazi Germany. Later, the British were unwilling to exacerbate their relations with the Communists in Moscow and Warsaw. Officially, as late as 1990, the British government refused to admit its knowledge of the culprits. Two weeks later Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev revealed the truth.

Jan Nowak Jeziorański, “Anglicy milczeli bo się bali,” Gazeta Wyborcza, 8 May 2003

- In addition to the “Thunderbolt” (Grom) unit of Poland’s elite special forces, other Polish detachments took part in Gulf War Two. They included chemical and biological warfare specialists, sappers, and mine sweepers operating out of Jordan, Kuwait, and Turkey as well as a logistical war ship, Kontradmiral Xawery Czernicki, in the Gulf.

Rzeczpospolita, 20 March and 2 April 2003

- “Finally, there is the vexed question of our relations with Europe – or rather, with European nations. Here our policies should be guided neither by a petty desire for revenge against France and Germany nor by the felt diplomatic imperative to make nice. Our interest lies in strengthening the power of our friends in Europe and marginalizing our foes. That means that we should continue to cultivate our ties to Eastern Europe. It also means that we should stop encouraging the centralization of political power on the Continent. For several years, we have told Eastern Europe to join the European Union and have blessed the EU’s efforts to devise a common defense and foreign policy. It is hard to imagine a European
policy more perversely counter to our interest. And it is time for the Bush administration to show the same boldness and imagination in its approach to alliance diplomacy that it has shown, to such good effect, in Iraq.”


The Polish zone in Iraq touches Baghdad in the north but mostly consists of southern Shiites areas adjacent to the border with Kuwait. It encompasses 50,000 square miles and a population of about 3 million Iraqis. The Polish zone is divided into three parts. The Poles control the area around Babil and Karbala; the Ukrainians supervise the region of Vaseet; and the Spanish are in charge of the provinces of An-Nadzhaf and al-Kadiseeya. The “Polish” army division in Iraq consists of 10,000 troops from 16 countries commanded by General Andrzej Tyszkiewicz. The Poles sent the largest contingent of troops: 2,300 men. They are reinforced by 1,800 Ukrainians, 413 Bulgarians, 300 Hungarians, 149 Romanians, 85 Slovaks, and 50 Lithuanians. The Spaniards pledged 1,300 soldiers. The detachments from Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic are directly subordinated to the Spanish brigade. The Filipinos, the Fijians, and the Thais also serve under the Poles. Norway, the Netherlands, and Denmark dispatched only staff officers to the Polish zone.

Rzeczpospolita, 30 April, 23 May, 3 and 17 June 2003

“I would like to let you know that I am very much looking forward to my visit in Cracow. I would like to tell the Poles how together we can achieve our common goals: world peace, free markets, and how to combat terrorism. I also would like to thank Poland and the Polish government for supporting the operation to stabilize Iraq.”

President George W. Bush
Gazeta Wyborcza, 25 May 2003

“Devoid of the Franco-German engine, the rest of Europe would most likely transform itself soon into a free trade zone, closer to the union prior to the Treaty of Maastricht rather than to a federal state. If Poland remained in the outside zone, it could benefit from free trade and it could orient its security policy toward the mightiest nation in the world. New Europe, that is, Great Britain, Spain, perhaps Italy, and the majority of the post-Communist Europe, would constitute the counterweight for the central states. Hosting the logistical and training infrastructure of the US armed forces in Europe, Poland could aspire to the role of Israel on the Vistula, that is a trusted and useful ally of the superpower. This would be a very risky way for two reasons at least. First, because of its geographic location, it is hard to assist Poland militarily. Second, one cannot be sure that we can ever become a partner important enough for a global power not to sacrifice us on the altar of its strategic interests. The benefit derived from this arrangement would be that we would decide out our fate for better or worse.”


According to the newest census figures of June 2003, most inhabitants of Poland, 36,983,700 persons (96.74%), declared themselves of Polish nationality. 774,900 (2.03%) failed to identify themselves nationally. And 471,500 citizens (1.23%) claimed to belong to various ethnic minority groups. Among them, 173,200 declared themselves as Silesians, 152,900 as Germans, 48,700 as Belorussians, 31,000 as Ukrainians, 12,900 as Roma, 6,100 as Russians, 5,900 as Lemko, 5,800 as Lithuanians, 5,100 as Kashubs, 2,000 as Slovaks, 1,100 as Jews, 1,100 as Armenians, 800 as Czechs, 500 as Tartars, 50 as Karaim, and over 16,000 as others. The authorities were baffled by the sudden emergence of the Silesians as the largest, self-identified minority. At the same time, 37,405,300 citizens (97.8%) stated that they speak Polish at home as their everyday language. Further, 36,894,400 (96.5%) persons listed Polish as the only language they use. The most popular second language used at home was German – 204,600 respondents – followed by English – 89,900 citizens.


58.85% of Polish voters participated in the European Union referendum on June 7. 77.45% voted “yes,” while 22.55% “no.” Voter participation was highest among large town dwellers over 40 years old. More men voted than women, but the latter voted in the affirmative more often than the former. The urbanites also favored the EU accession more frequently than the denizens of the countryside.

Rzeczpospolita, 9 and 12 June 2003

Most Frenchmen (54%) object to the expansion of the EU eastward. Only 31% support the idea. However, in Greece 71% favor expansion, while in Spain and Portugal – 60%, and
in Italy – 59%. The statistics for other EU members are as follows: Belgium – 44% against and 33% for; Austria 44% against and 43% for; UK – 36% against and 36% for; and Germany 39% against and 42% for. 63% of the Danes support the idea, as do 56% Swedes and 50% Finns.

“Czeka nas chłodne przyjęcie,” Rzeczpospolita, 18 June 2003

- Polish architect Janusz Obst, who had once headed a team of over sixty sculptors in reconstructing the Royal Castle in Warsaw, may be commissioned to reconstruct the Tomb of the Unknowns at the Arlington National Cemetery.

“The Los Angeles Times, 29 June 2003

- 1,600 boxes with documents and items belonging to Polish soldiers stationed in Scotland during the Second World War were returned to Poland by the British Ministry of Defense. The boxes contain military documents, love letters, photographs, trinkets, and musical instruments.


- According to scholar Jadwiga Rodowicz, the Japanese educator and diplomat Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933) was inspired by Poland’s history and, in turn, inspired Polish nationalism. Known in the West principally as the author of Bushido: The Soul of Japan (1900), he also served as a high official of the League of Nations. “Nitobe learned from Poland’s experience. As Poland had long been dismembered by the three major powers of Austria, Prussia and Russia, he was well aware that Japan had to modernize to survive the 19th-century encroachment in Asia by European powers and Russia.” According to Rodowicz, “he mourned Poland’s lost freedom as if he himself were a Pole.” Nitobe’s Bushido influenced a generation of Polish nationalists. In his memoirs, Nitobe recalled with fondness his meetings with Józef Piłsudski and Marie Skłodowska Curie. The former expressed his admiration for Japan’s victory over Russia in 1905. Madame Curie impressed upon the Japanese diplomat the importance of patriotism for the Poles.


- “Germans continuously complain that their civilians perished during the Allied bombing of Germany. That testifies to their overweening pride and hubris. And it proves that they have not understood the lesson of the Second World War. Let us not delude ourselves that ordinary Germans did not know about concentration camps, ghettos, etc. Germans were expelled [from East Central Europe] because they lost the war. And it was additionally a total war against civilians. Before you erect a monument to the expelees, one must cry over these who were killed. Stop pitying the Germans because they are not being maltreated.”


- Irena Sendler, a Righteous Gentile who is credited with saving over 2,000 Jewish children from the Warsaw Ghetto, was awarded the Jan Karski Award of Valor and Courage for 2003.

- “I lived in pre-war Poland, later in the part that was occupied by the Soviet army. When the Germans destroyed Russia, I suffered under the German occupation, and then once again under the Soviet one. Later, we were expelled from Lvów to the Polish People’s Republic. I experienced five different [political] systems. All of them were awful. One can remember with a tear in one’s eye the time of [emperor] Franz Joseph. And, naturally, that Lvów, parts of which I can see in my dreams. It does not exist anymore. But I hope – perhaps it is ugly what I am about to say but maybe not – that Lvów returns to Poland. This used to be a Polish city probably since Boleslaus the Brave.”


- Founded in 1947 by Dr. Tomasz Potasz, the Polish University Club of Los Angeles awards scholarships to California residents of Polish descent who are pursuing a Bachelor’s or higher degree. For the 2003-2004 academic year, the PUC presented scholarships totaling $17,000.00 to 17 Polish-American students. Among this year’s scholarship recipients are students at UC Berkeley, UCLA, University of Houston, Loyola Marymount University and Stanford. Their fields of study include medicine, law, computer science, math, history,
For many years, the history of the Polish diaspora in America has been treated as a topic of minor importance. Polish scholars have tended to view immigrants as part of the history of other countries and no longer germane to the story of Poland. American scholars have also largely ignored Polonia, whether through unfamiliarity with the Polish language or ignorance. Yet this immigration of millions of people from one country to the other had a major impact on both Poland and America. Millions left the Polish countryside during the crucial years of the late nineteenth century and significant numbers left after World War II and again in recent decades. But these immigrants did not merely affect Polish history by their absence. In America, many immigrants developed a heightened sense of Polishness. When Polish culture was restricted and even banned in the old country, many immigrants first heard Chopin, read Mickiewicz, or celebrated May 3rd in America. Many immigrants who came from impoverished rural areas were first exposed to the glories of Poland in Chicago, Buffalo, or Detroit rather than in Kraków, Warsaw, or Poznań.

In addition, Polish immigrants sent millions of dollars to rebuild Poland after both world wars. Tens of thousands joined a volunteer army during World War I to fight on behalf of Polish liberty. Having experienced democracy, freedom of speech, and the right to vote in America, immigrants transmitted those ideals back to their friends and family in their home villages through letters and visits. If today Poland is considered one of the most pro-American countries in Europe, this is a result of attitudes engendered by Polish immigrants.

In America, Poles shaped urban, industrial life. They were a driving force behind the development and expansion of major urban centers such as Chicago and Detroit. Poles played a crucial though often forgotten in role in America’s first civil rights movement—the struggle for the rights of workers in the decades prior to World War II.
John Radziłowski’s book, The Eagle and the Cross, is an effort to shed light on this often-overlooked history by focusing on the history of the first significant Polish organization in the New World, the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America (PRCUA). The Union, a fraternal insurance society founded in 1873, was based on the ideals of Catholic positivism and was in harmony with the intellectual and cultural trends that were prominent in Poland at that time. Many of its founders had their roots in a rejection of Romanticism. Instead, they sought to build up Poland’s moral, economic, educational, and cultural resources through “organic work.”

These ideas were adapted to the needs of Polish immigrants in America by the priests and sisters of Congregation of the Resurrection, founded in Paris by Polish expatriates in the 1830s. The Resurrectionists were engaged in a vigorous counterattack against socialism, materialism, and modernism. Through the PRCUA, they sought to keep Polish immigrants faithful to the Catholic Church, true to their Polish heritage, and to avoid the temptations and perils of the new industrial cities. As Radziłowski shows, by the 1920s the PRCUA developed a major and impressive range of activities that reached out to the Polish community in America but which also mobilized that community to aid the cause of Poland where needed.

The book breaks new ground in that it is the first English-language history of this important organization, which continues to play a key role in American Polonia to this day. Radziłowski argues that in the past, scholars of Polonia have focused more attention on secular, radical, or dissenter organizations, often overlooking groups like the PRCUA and generally taking for granted the importance of Catholicism (in all its complexity) in shaping the character of the Polish diaspora. It chronicles the range and impact of PRCUA activities and shows how connected American Polonia has been to both American and Polish history over the last century and a half. Intriguingly, the book suggests, but does not fully develop, a connection between the ideals of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Polish positivism and the philosophical roots of Pope John Paul II.

*The Eagle and the Cross* fills an important gap in our knowledge about Polish and American history and challenges scholars to rethink the role of the millions of people who helped build two nations.


The masters of the Gulag, like the functionaries of the Nazi camps, were once confident that their crimes would remain secret. “All the murderers, provocateurs and informers had one feature in common,” Nadezhda Mandelshtam, the widow of the Russian poet Osip Mandelshtam who perished in the Gulag, wrote. “It never occurred to them that their victims might one day rise up again and speak.” A fundamental difference between the Nazi and Soviet henchmen was that the latter have come much closer to having their wish fulfilled. As the Allied soldiers tore down the barbed wire fences of Buchenwald and Dachau, exposing unspeakable horrors to camera crews, the world was by and large turning its back on survivors’ stories regarding the ongoing horrors of the camps run by the West’s greatest ally, Joseph Stalin.

Stories of Bolshevik atrocities and modern Soviet slavery had circulated in the West since the 1917 revolution and the civil war, and continued to appear after World War II and during the cold war, only to be routinely dismissed by largely left-leaning leaders of Western public opinion as projections of anti-Soviet political agendas, or simply private grievances of a few disgruntled individuals. And although the publication of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn’s *The Gulag Archipelago* in the 1970s did change quite a few Western minds and made it difficult for others to continue dismissing the topic, one thing remained unchanged: the only evidence about the Gulag was the “anecdotal evidence” of those survivors determined enough to speak out. Their stories could not be verified and thereby
Nihil Novi

turned into hard evidence as long as the Soviet Union guarded its bloody secrets.

This situation was supposed to have changed with the collapse of the Soviet state. To an extent, it did change, allowing scholars to establish some basic facts about the Gulag’s history. But the new Russian state has proven anxious beyond expectation to assume the role of chief guard of the skeletons in the old Soviet closet: today, scholars have even less of a chance of gaining access to key Soviet archival sources than a decade ago.

We must be aware of this context to fully appreciate the unusual value of Anne Applebaum’s magisterial *Gulag: A History*. When many scholars, particularly in the West, complained about the unavailability of Soviet sources, she demonstrated exceptional ingenuity in tracking, exposing, and researching scores of these sources despite official obstacles. Her book provides specific answers to many questions about the Soviet camps, which up until now have remained subject to speculative “theories.”

This comprehensive, panoramic history of the Gulag is not limited to an account of bureaucratic decisions, reports, and numbers, although it goes further than any other historical narrative in this respect. Applebaum’s purpose is deeper: she complements the archival, material research of the political and systemic aspects of the Gulag with ample use of survivors’ memoirs, thus giving the reader both a historical analysis of the Soviet camp system and a profound insight into the human experience in the camps. To achieve this complementarity is more difficult than it might initially seem. It requires from an author the knowledge, sensitivity, and self-discipline necessary to distinguish between the two central functions of each survivor’s story: a factographic function (subject to historical verification) and an insight into the human experience. All too often these two aspects become confused by less sophisticated scholars and get in each other’s way. Anne Applebaum’s book is in this respect a model from which all historians with larger humanist ambitions may learn a lot.


It took much courage and faith for Gulag survivors to write about their experiences. In the West, they faced the public’s skepticism, often dismissal, and sometimes hostility. In their own countries, usually under the Soviet empire, they either took the risk of challenging Communist dictatorships by publishing their stories underground or abroad, or only hoped that in the future the Soviet order would perish and their stories would be there to expose the past. In any case, Gulag survivors hoped to reestablish historical justice by having their testimonies to one of history’s most brutal tyrannies proven true at some point in the future. Anne Applebaum’s brilliant work does just that. For anyone concerned with the human legacy of the twentieth century, there is no excuse for not having read it. In fact, given the multiethnic character of the Gulag’s victims: Russians, Ukrainians, Balts, Jews, Poles, Koreans, Kazakhs, and others, Applebaum’s *tour de force* should become mandatory reading not only in Soviet history and Marxist studies but also in many courses on oppression, genocide, and multiculturalism which proliferate on our campuses.

Dariusz Tołczyk

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Marek Jan Chodakiewicz’s groundbreaking study, *After the Holocaust: Polish-Jewish Conflict in the Wake of World War II*, eschews standard, but facile, interpretations of Polish-Jewish relations found in the literature on the topic, whether as a continuation of the Holocaust or as a manifestation of traditional Polish anti-Semitism. Instead the author identifies and focuses on sources of conflict that increasingly polarized relations between Poles, especially those engaged in the struggle against the Communists, and Jews in the aftermath of the Second World War. These issues and tensions are treated thematically in the specific context of postwar developments, as the author traces the ebbs and flows of interaction on various levels.

In his examination of the essential background, Chodakiewicz describes the Soviet takeover of Poland from 1944, the reaction of the independentist forces and the resultant anticommunist insurrection. He then turns his attention to the situation of the Jewish community and its growing identification, both actual and perceived, with the Soviet-sponsored regime. In the following chapters he discusses how Jews were viewed in the propaganda of the independentist camp and by the insurgents. These topics are treated in a multifaceted way thus avoiding a simplistic dichotomy of motivation and a broadbrush attribution of uniform and entrenched stances. Furthermore, the lines that separated the two communities were not always clear cut, nor do all members of the “opposing” sides viewed the other as a monolith.

Apart from disputes over property (which some Poles did not want to return to their rightful owners) and common banditry (which was widespread in those times of lawlessness and affected both Jews and Poles), Chodakiewicz marshals considerable evidence of the participation of some Jews in the state security apparatus and the little known phenomenon of revenge. In each case, he examines carefully the Polish reaction before categorizing an occurrence as self-defense or act of anti-Semitism. In many cases, however, the perpetrators and circumstances remain rather murky and, without further research, it is premature to draw conclusions or even identify presumed patterns. That these events occurred is undeniable, however, responsibility for them cannot a priori be assigned to the insurgents.

A chapter that will strike most readers as extraordinary, and out of keeping with customary portrayal of the period and of the Polish underground, is the one that deals with personal relations between insurgents and Jews. In postwar show trials of beleaguered anti-Communist insurgents, Jews testified fairly frequently on behalf of Poles who had rendered assistance to them during the German occupation. Remarkably, Jewish witnesses even came forward on behalf of members of the National Armed Forces, who were especially vilified by the Stalinist regime.

The chapter that deals with Jewish losses will doubtless arouse controversy. Chodakiewicz does not omit in his tally the fact that Poles were also victimized by some Jews. From a scholarly point of view, this approach is eminently justifiable and restores even-handedness to the treatment of this issue. It is important to remember, as the author continually underscores, that only those who perpetrated wrongdoings are responsible for them and that the misdeeds of members of one national group should not be projected on the entire community. By the same token, accountability for them cannot be glossed over, as some members of the Jewish community both then and now candidly admit.

Significantly, Chodakiewicz confirms the validity of historian David Engel’s recent lowering of the estimated toll of Jewish victims during this period to under 1,000. Moreover, he reaffirms Engel’s tentative conclusion that “it will not do to represent anti-Jewish violence simply as a continuation of ancient hatreds that the Nazi Holocaust either intensified or, at the very least,
failed to uproot, without reference to the political context in which it occurred.”

Chodakiewicz is a cautious historian who does not arrive at sweeping conclusions from an examination of only one or two incidents. His canvassing of sources is nothing short of remarkable, and he crosschecks all available Jewish and Polish sources on the topic. After the Holocaust is a pioneering and important work that invites further research. The blueprint for future discussion is solidly laid in this seminal study which cannot be ignored by historians, students, and those who share an interest in this topic. As eminent historian Richard C. Lukas put it: “Professor Chodakiewicz is to be congratulated on his meticulously researched and well-written book which should help to banish the simplistic interpretations of Polish-Jewish relations that have dominated the literature on this subject.”

Richard Tyndorf
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U.S. volunteer pilots in Poland, 1920

When American F-16 fighter planes join Poland’s Air Force, this will be the perfect occasion to christen the new squadrons with the names of Merian Cooper and Cedric Fauntleroy. These are two of America’s most decorated pilots who volunteered to aid Poland following the First World War. Americans are familiar with two Poles – heroes of the United States’ fight for independence – Kosciuszko and Pulaski. Cooper had a particular link to the latter as one of his ancestors had fought under the leadership of the Polish general. As a thank you for Pulaski’s contributions, the pilot decided to assist Poland. It was 1919, and the young Polish state was fighting against Soviet Russia. Cooper organized a volunteer group of American Air Force pilots. Fauntleroy became the squadron leader.

This story, little known in both the United States and Poland, is the subject of Janusz Cisek’s Kosciuszko, We are here! American Pilots of the Kosciuszko Squadron Defense of Poland, 1919-1921. Historian and former director of the Józef Piłsudski Institute in New York, Cisek narrates how, after Poland regained her independence in 1918, the Americans provided her with significant humanitarian aid. Much of this can be credited to Herbert Hoover. Military assistance grew out of the humanitarian effort. Early in 1919, Merian Cooper, a pilot and World War I veteran, became the head of Hoover’s American Relief Administration in Lwów, Poland. He concluded, however, that what would benefit Poland more was his experience as an Air Force pilot. In April of 1919, he wrote a letter to Marshal Józef Piłsudsksi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Armies, to inform him about his links to Pułaski and the debt he would like to repay. Piłsudsksi agreed to Cooper’s serving in the Polish Air Force. The American then traveled to Paris to find more volunteers among his countrymen who were still stationed in Europe. He promptly ran into Cedric Fauntleroy, an experienced flier, who joined him in his quest to help the Poles. On September 1, 1919, seven more American pilots signed contracts as officers of the Polish Air Force. As Cisek shows, financial considerations did not enter into the equation – as Polish officers, the Americans earned much less than in the US Army. Nor could they expect much fame. The anti-Communist war in Poland’s borderlands was a local conflict on the fringes of Europe. On the contrary, they risked brutal treatment by the Bolsheviks should they fall into their hands. Cooper had learned about Bolshevism from Russian officers while in a German POW camp; he believed that Poland was fighting not only on behalf of its own interests but also in defense of Western civilization and that by fighting in Poland, he was defending US interests.

In October, the volunteers arrived in Lwów. They were assigned to the 7th Squadron along with four Polish pilots. Fauntleroy took over the command. In December 1919, the unit was christened the Tadeusz Kościuszko squadron – hero of Poland and America. Eliot Chess designed
the division’s emblem, consisting of the American stars and white-and-red stripes, peasant battle scythes, and a four-cornered Polish insurgent cap.

In the spring of 1920, the squadron was sent into battle. The 7th Squadron consisted of eleven planes, twelve pilots, two navigators, and thirty mechanics. The first encounter with the enemy took place on March 5, 1920, when Harmon Rorison bombed a train station full of Bolshevik soldiers. The pilots were bombing and strafing bridges and train stations. During one of the missions, Edwin Noble was wounded. Rorison’s plane was shot down over enemy territory, but he managed to make his way back to the Polish side. Jerry Weber and Kenneth Shrewsbury flew to Kiev with instructions for the Polish detachments to withdraw. The pilots attacked Budion’s cavalry, slowing down its momentum. During one of his flights, Fauntleroy noticed that the track on which a train full of Polish soldiers was traveling was mined. He landed in front of the engine and saved the lives of many soldiers. Arthur Kelley died on July 15 when his plane was shot down. Cooper, also shot down, was captured by the Bolsheviks but managed to escape in the spring of 1921.

Meanwhile, Fauntleroy was entrusted with the overall command of the Air Force operating on the Southern Front. George Crawford took over the 7th Squadron. The pilots played a decisive role in August 1920 when Lwów found itself in great danger. During these critical days, Polish and American pilots dropped bombs and strafed the enemy’s cavalry; the planes flew several missions per day. On August 16 and 17, the pilots of the 7th Squadron stopped the advance of the 6th Division of the Red Cavalry Army. According to Cisek, this was a strategic victory because if the city fell, the Polish line of defense would have been broken, and additional Bolshevik forces would have descended on Warsaw. Isaac Babel, who took part in the battle, wrote that the Poles defended themselves successfully thanks, in large part, to their Air Force. Soviet testimonies suggest that the pilots were more dangerous than the Polish infantry and cavalry. On September 23, 1920, two months after the victorious battles of August, the 7th Squadron ended its tour of duty.

Nine American volunteer pilots were decorated with Virtuti Militari crosses. A monument honoring the American pilots was erected in 1925 at the Eagle Cubs Cemetery in Lwów where Kelly, who died in battle, was buried along with Graves and McCallum, who lost their lives in plane accidents. One of the contested issues in the reconstruction project at Eagle Cubs Cemetery is the rebuilding of this monument. The Ukrainians oppose it even though the Americans were not fighting against them.

In the spring of 1939, Fauntleroy offered his services to the Polish military once again. The war broke out before the details of his missions had been worked out. In 1940, the Polish 303rd RAF Squadron took over the emblem of the 7th Squadron and achieved glory in the Battle of Britain.

Tomasz Stańczyk (translated and edited by TD)


Of all the ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland, none is better known than Warsaw. The dramatic, tragic, or heroic scenes of the Umschlagplatz, Janusz Korczak’s orphanage, or the Ghetto Uprising of April 1943 are burned into the mind of anyone who has studied the Holocaust. They have been portrayed in novels, plays, and on television and in movies. Yet it may be this very notoriety that has led many to take for granted or ignore surprising and important facts about the fate of Warsaw’s Jews during World War II.

Because of this, the author of Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw, Gunnar S. Paulsson, has rendered scholars and the general public a great service by casting new light on a well-known
topic and on familiar sources. Although this book is not without its errors and problems, Paulsson’s *Secret City* is one of the most important books published in recent years on Nazi-occupied Poland and on wartime Polish-Jewish interaction. Along with Alexander Rossino’s *Hitler Strikes Poland*, Paulsson’s book challenges shopworn assumptions and simplistic stereotypes, revealing a more complex picture of these topics that is long overdue.

The heart of this book is the author’s attempt to calculate the number of Jews hiding on the “Aryan” side of Warsaw. His dramatic imagery of a “secret city” of hidden fugitive Jews, rescuers, and the criminals who preyed on them illustrates his subject though may raise some objections. Paulsson revises the number of hidden Jews upward and makes the further point that leaving aside acts of war (e.g., the two uprisings against the Germans in Warsaw), the rate of Jewish survival in hiding in Warsaw was similar to that of Western European countries with a far less severe occupation regime such as Holland or even Denmark (230). In light of the way so many historians and polemicists alike have treated the Danish and Dutch cases in contrast to that of the Polish experience, such conclusions are earthshaking, if not, in some quarters, downright heretical.

**Escape, Evasion, Hiding**

Paulsson identifies “evasion” as an important and understudied Jewish response to escalating German repression and murder (7-13, 246-47). A long thread in the historiography of east European Jewry has been the tendency to view Jews as passive recipients of either anti-Semitic actions or, in a few cases, of aid and rescue. The literature on Jewish resistance movements is a notable exception but between armed resistance and passivity there is little middle ground. Even armed resistance, I would argue, is seen as a reactive response to existing circumstances. What is lacking is the sense of Jews as having historical agency. The author consciously counters this tendency by stressing the process of escape, evasion, and hiding as one initiated by Jews themselves. He describes this as an “inspiring story of self-help” (14) and even suggests that rescuers are secondary in importance in the process of Jewish escape, evasion, and hiding.

The majority of Jews in the Warsaw did not have an opportunity to escape the Ghetto. For the majority, until the deportations began in earnest and the German plans for mass murder became clear, leaving was seen a form of betrayal. In addition, until nearly the end, it was not clear that conditions on the outside were that much better. It was a widespread myth that survival on the outside was nearly impossible, especially for those without connections or “good looks” (i.e., non-Semitic appearance). For many Jews, especially those who were unassimilated, language, appearance, lifestyle, and lack of connections made existence on the outside seem impossible. Even for those who might have contemplated escape, two years of isolation from the rest of Warsaw left an information vacuum that the regime of smugglers, black marketeers, and political resistance activists could not or would not fill.

The first to leave the Ghetto (aside from those few who has “passed” as Poles from the outset), were those with good connections on the outside. Usually such connections were borne of pre-war business, political, or social connections and were found most commonly among the most assimilated Jews. Nevertheless, as time went on, connections between Jewish fugitives and their rescuers became more and more tentative. Nevertheless, even Jews without connections and without “good looks” stood a far better chance of survival outside than inside. Paulsson estimates that 28,000 Jews sought to hide in occupied Warsaw at one time or another and that about 17,000 were still alive and in Warsaw at the start of the Warsaw Uprising on August 1, 1944 (199-200). (The biggest losses occurred due to the Hotel Polski affair, which resulted in the capture of some 3,500 hidden Jews.)

After making the initial decision to evade the Nazis and to escape the Ghetto, the Jews dealt with both allies and enemies. There were both those aiding Jews and those seeking to exploit or betray them, most of whom acted out a range of motives. The majority of the population of Warsaw was at least partially aware of the “secret city,” and for the most part kept silent about it. In the memoir of Anna Lanota, her cousin was spotted by a former schoolmate while riding a streetcar. The ex-classmate started shouting “Catch the Jewess!” Lanota’s crippled cousin got off the streetcar and escaped into the crowd (112). Paulsson suggests how such memoirs have been misread. How for example did a crippled Jewish girl manage to escape from a whole streetcar of apparently healthy anti-Semites? If all Poles were as ready to turn in Jews as has been popularly portrayed why did this random cross sample of Varsovians take no action when a Jew in hiding was exposed in their midst?
As Paulsson points out, a single hooligan or blackmailer could wreak severe damage on Jews in hiding, but it took the silent passivity of a whole crowd to maintain their cover.

Blackmailers (szmalcowniks) were plentiful in Warsaw. Jewish memoirs mention many encounters with gangs of them. Paulsson estimates that their total numbers, however, were very small, “1 or 2 percent” of all Warsaw Poles (113). The damage that a criminal class could do, however, was substantial. Most blackmailers were interested in money and turning in large numbers of Jews to the Germans would have been counterproductive to their extortion business. Nevertheless, by stripping Jews of assets needed for food and bribes, harassing rescuers, raising the overall level of insecurity, and forcing hidden Jews to seek out safer accommodations (which was a risky business), blackmailers added significantly to the danger Jews faced and thus increased their chances of getting caught and killed.

**Secret City**

Paulsson’s imagery of a “secret city” of hidden Jews within occupied Warsaw may seem at first glance overly dramatic. However, he makes a convincing case that such a thing did exist. It was a network connecting “every Jew in hiding to every other.” It had its own culture, argot, and communication network. (News of the Hotel Polski trap, for example, spread with surprising speed among Jews in hiding.) Organizations like Zegota and the Jewish National Committee were the organization life of the secret city.

This imagery is in keeping with Polish descriptions of life in occupied Poland, stretching back to Jan Karski wartime book *Story of a Secret State*. Where we might question Paulsson’s description is of a Jewish secret city that existed separately from the Polish one. (Paulsson alludes several times to a parallel Polish secret city and to the large number of Polish fugitives hiding from the Nazis in Warsaw.) While the author is right to stress the fact of Jewish self-help, in fact it is doubtful that the network of Jews in hiding could have survived as they did without the existence of a “secret city” of Poles (which the author mentions only in passing). Although Jews in hiding were a special target for both the German authorities and Warsaw’s criminal class, the underlying context and the basic problems of life underground affected both Jews and Poles in hiding.

**Methodology and Sources**

The data which form the heart of *Secret City* provide a too-rare example of how a historian can combine qualitative and quantitative sources to develop a fuller picture of a particular moment in time. The quantitative sources in questions consist primarily of surviving lists of Jews in hiding who received assistance from aid organizations while the qualitative sources are largely memoirs. Such an approach is not used enough and particularly in Holocaust studies there is too often an aversion to quantifying the past (18-19). Although a strictly quantitative historian might look askance at some of the material presented here and there is no such thing a “perfect” statistic or source, Paulsson uses numbers in a sensible and convincing fashion.

This is not to say that the book is completely free of problems in this area. The methodology used is sometimes unclear and author sometimes omits explanatory footnotes. (Though this may have been a decision of the publisher instead of the author.) Frequently there are interesting, controversial, or puzzling statements that a reader might like to know about or that might serve as research projects in themselves that are not footnoted. One often gets the impression that the author is using more sources than appear in the notes. A case in point is Table 1.3 in which Paulsson tries to calculate the number of Warsaw Jews who voted for non-Jewish parties in the 1938 municipal election (39-40). The figure of 18 percent is an “approximate picture” drawn from some source with “corrections” made for “various factors.” There is no note and no source listed and no explanation of the corrections nor the “various factors.” Standard secondary sources, such as Edward Wynot’s excellent history of interwar Warsaw, and primary statistical compilations (e.g., *Concise Statistical Year-Book of Poland, Statystyka Polski*) do not provide an obvious basis for such an estimate. This is not to say that 18 percent is necessarily wrong, only that there is no basis to judge the validity of the estimate. It should not be necessary to remind the reader that notes serve a variety of important purposes. There is a “negative” function of simply backing up an author’s assertions as well as “positive” function of providing guideposts for future scholars who will elaborate on the subject of the note. Notes provide important clues about sources and methods other scholars may wish to use and inadequate footnotes hinder scholarly communication.
Paulsson’s treatment of qualitative sources provides an even more interesting subject for discussion. The author comments very positively on Jan T. Gross’ “affirmative” approach to memoirs of Jewish Holocaust survivors in which scholars essentially suspend their critical faculties. He rightly notes that most Holocaust scholars follow such methodology (17-18). Having said this, however, Paulsson then goes on to violate in the most shocking fashion Gross’ “affirmative” approach. Although he describes his approach as “slightly more restrictive” than Gross’ in truth Paulsson, in contrast to Gross, is far more careful and judicious in using testimonies and memoirs. There are numerous examples of this in the book (see also the case of Lanota’s memoir above). Paulsson notes that survivor testimonies too often record the unusual:

“Another effect that has been stressed is that of the ‘dog that did not bark in the night,’ the natural tendency of untrained observers to pay attention to what is exceptional rather than what is representative. This is reflected in the historiography, which tends to focus on the extreme cases: people who risked their lives to help Jews, on one hand; rabid antisemites and collaborators on the other. ‘Mr and Mrs Kowalski’ might not have liked Jews and might have felt nervous about having them next door in the face of German threats, but in situation where Jews faced immediate danger, they tended to be neutral or passively protective.

One reason for distorted post-war perspectives is that much of our knowledge and many of our beliefs about this period come from Jewish activists, whose situation was not at all typical. Activists tended to come into contact mainly with problem cases, were forced to seek helpers on the open market since their own contacts were soon exhausted and moved in small circles in which everyone knew everyone else. Consequently, they tended to underestimate the amount of spontaneous help that was extended to Jews, overestimate the dangers facing them, and, because they were politically engaged, largely in anti-assimilationist parties, they often had a jaundiced view of Polish society” (163).

While the author might describe his approach as a “slight” difference from that of Gross’ this reviewer would describe it as “good historical methodology.”

Not all Paulsson methodological choices are good ones. For example, he out right rejects the memoirs of Sara Kraus-Kolkowicz, merely because they do not portray the Jewish individuals in a positive light and because he could not find the author’s name in any postwar survivor lists (which he himself notes are not always reliable). Nevertheless, this book is vouched for by Prof. M. Wieliczko who prepared the manuscript for publication with the author, now a citizen of Israel. Clearly, this book should not have been denounced out of hand without further investigation. At the same time, he accepts the memoirs of Jack Eisner even though serious questions have been raised about its authenticity. Also rejected are all of the memoirs of Polish rescuers in the files of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw (21-22). The main criteria seems to be that they are written by Poles and some ask for monetary compension.

Warsaw’s Multi-Ethnic Criminals, the Polish Right, and Other Matters

One puzzling omission in Paulsson’s otherwise solid discussion of the regime of blackmailers and criminals that preyed on people hiding in the “secret city,” is that they are treated as entirely Polish. Since 40 percent of Warsaw’s population before the war was Jewish, it is no surprise that Jews were also found in the city’s criminal underworld and during the war these criminals—joined by others out of need or opportunity—would have been active at their former “professions.” So szmalcownik gangs and even German agents were not merely Poles, but Jews as well.

This is confirmed in both research and memoir literature. Many szmalcownik gangs found it helpful to employ at least a few Jewish confederates to help them find Jewish victims. (As Paulsson point out, though, it was not strictly necessary to do so since Poles were able to do it themselves in many cases.) In addition, the various arms of the German authorities employed Jews as catchers to hunt down Jews in hiding both prior to and after the liquidation of the Warsaw Ghetto. The most infamous were the so-called “Thirteens” who took their name from their headquarters on 13 Leszno Street. One memoir even records a child’s rhyme that circulated at the time:

Mummy, Daddy, listen do
With a German the Gestapo came two
by two
What a shame, what a disgrace
The first was a Pole, the second a Jew!
Mummy, Daddy, listen do
Here come the Gestapo, do you know who?  
What a shame, the worst disgrace  
The first is a Jew, and the second is too!

The author, Ruth Altbeker Cyprys, also writes that after the liquidation of the Ghetto “the Jewish Gestapo men who remained alive were very dangerous. Their eyes were penetrating and Jews pointed out by them were lost without hope.”

Secret City devotes a lot of attention to the Polish Right but the author’s portrayal of Polish rightists is a two-dimensional stereotype peppered with factual errors. For example, Paulsson claims that the Obóz Narodowo-Radykalny (National-Radical Camp or ONR) was “modeled on the Italian fascists” (xvii) which is not true since ONR did not subscribe to the Duce principle. Nor did the Camp of Great Poland, disbanded before the war by the Sanacja government, co-founded the Narodowe Siły Zbrojne (National Armed Forces or NSZ). The author also consistently confuses the relationship of the NSZ to the Armed Forces or NSZ). The author also consistently confuses the relationship of the NSZ to the Armia Krajowa (Home Army or AK). In fact the NSZ subordinated itself to the AK in March 1944 (save for the ONR faction). During the Warsaw Uprising, Paulsson claims that only individual members of the NSZ fought with the AK, which is patently false (167). Even the ONR subordinated itself to the AK during the Warsaw Uprising. At issue is whether the AK killed Jews. The so-called Prosta Street massacre and a few smaller incidents which claimed the lives of some 22 Jews and 4 non-Jews (!) receive far more attention than the Hotel Polski affair (which claimed 3,500 Jewish lives) or the liberation of some 350 Jews from the Gesia Street concentration camp. (The meaning of this disproportional treatment becomes clear only later.) Paulsson’s main source for this incident is a popular polemic by Michał Cichy that appeared in Gazeta Wyborcza in 1994. The article was widely read on which to rest weighty accusations. More seriously, Paulsson erroneously (and sans citation) claims that the post-war Milicja Obywatelska (MO) was made up largely of pre-war and wartime policemen when in fact these men were banned by communists from joining. He also falsely claims that during the pre-war era police did not oppose riots that attacked Jews when in fact police beat Christian demonstrators at Przytyk, Mława, and Grodno, and killed Christian demonstrators at Odrzywół and Radziłów, among other places (144-45).

The Warsaw Uprising

By far the most puzzling section of the book is the section that deals with the deaths of Jews during the Warsaw Uprising. At issue is whether the AK killed Jews. The so-called Prostą Street massacre and a few smaller incidents which claimed the lives of some 22 Jews and 4 non-Jews (!) receive far more attention than the Hotel Polski affair (which claimed 3,500 Jewish lives) or the liberation of some 350 Jews from the Gesia Street concentration camp. (The meaning of this disproportional treatment becomes clear only later.) Paulsson’s main source for this incident is a popular polemic by Michał Cichy that appeared in Gazeta Wyborcza in 1994. The article was widely criticized by Polish scholars and is a very thin reed on which to rest weighty accusations.

As Paulsson shows the eyewitness accounts differ greatly in their particulars. Some of the eyewitnesses conclude that the Chrobry II unit was responsible, a claim even Paulsson rejects as implausible. In fact, it was Chrobry II members who helped report the crime in the first place. It is quite clear that the author did little independent investigation of this incident himself, basing his account largely on Cichy’s newspaper article. Had he done otherwise, he would have discovered that the Chrobry II unit that he praises was in fact a unit made almost entirely of members of
the NSZ, Miecz i Plug, and ONR! Moreover, it was a unit that contained more than a dozen Jewish members, a fact confirmed by a recent history of the unit and by Chaim Lazar.19 This, of course, does not fit at all with polemical picture Paulsson presented in the book up to this point of Polish “conservatives” who are supposedly the reason why Polish culture is “sick” (182). While the killing of any innocent civilian—Jewish or not—is a black mark on the record of the Polish underground during the Warsaw Uprising, as distinguished historian Teresa Prekerowa noted, almost all of these killings were attributable to common banditry.

Conclusions

As noted above, in general, historians of modern Poland, scholars of World War II in east-central Europe, and historians of the Holocaust will welcome Secret City because of its basically solid research, its revision of received wisdom, and for what it says about the spurious comparisons that are still too often made by some Holocaust scholars between supposedly “good” nations and “bad” ones. The book is well written, nicely produced by Yale University Press, and could be read with profit by graduate students and professors alike.

The book’s one major problem (aside from any of the lesser issues noted above), however, is the author’s willingness to engage in polemics that are not only not germane to the thesis of Secret City but in some cases hinder it. In addition to the puzzling overemphasis on some incidents and the virtual ignoring of other seemingly more important ones, in the conclusion of the book, Paulsson launches into a long and angry polemic on behalf of Jan Gross’ book Neighbors. What exactly this has to do with the subject at hand may be questioned by the casual reader and with reason. Some may also question why a work proclaimed by some as virtually without and with reason. Some may also question why a hand may be questioned by the casual reader. What exactly this has to do with the subject at

it is clear that survival was much less dependent on the level of anti-Semitism in a particular society than we have heretofore been led to believe. In short, anti-Semitism is an imperfect and perhaps even poor predictor of Jewish survival and other factors need to be considered.

The unfortunate polemics in Secret City may be an indication that the author does realize how unpopular this conclusion may be in some quarters and is perhaps a way of anticipating the criticism that he is Polonophilic, a deadly faux pas in most Western academic circles. Nevertheless, the data are what they are.

The polemics against Polish conservatives and more generally against Polish Catholics and Catholicism found in Secret City would be embarrassing if applied to any comparable political or religious group in any other country. For example, Paulsson repeatedly sneers at the whole idea of Polish patriotism, essentially equating it with a desire to kill Jews. He uses the term “brave and decent” Poles (173) to refer to criminals who are accused of killing Jews. This approach, a sort of “colonialist” reading of Polish history, seems to be largely from Brian Porter’s deeply flawed book When Nationalism Began to Hate.21 This is downright offensive to the memory of countless Poles who fought and died to defend their homeland from Nazi and Soviet tyranny. The author’s claim that some significant body of scholars denies the existence or significance of Polish anti-Semitism makes for a fine straw man, but in truth no such group exists. To the contrary, the problem, as the polemical side of Secret City makes clear, is a myopic obsession with anti-Semitism that excludes every other causal factor in the 1000-year history of Poland.

Far more serious and archival research needs to be done on this aspect of Polish politics. The Right and Center Right were highly complicated and resist this sort of simplistic generalization. One wonders how an author who can find a diversity of behavior and attitudes among Nazi functionaries cannot find a similar diversity on the Polish Right. Much of the rhetoric employed here, while rooted in earlier Stalinist-era propaganda and pre-war Polish political conflicts passed on to a new generation, is also the result of many Western scholars being too close, personally and ideologically, to left and liberal opinion makers in today’s Poland who have cynically used highly charged issues (such as Jedwabne) as a way to get votes. To treat this subject seriously, scholars need to disentangle themselves from current political forces on either side.
More helpfully, Paulsson’s book refocuses our attention on the range of behaviors and attitudes (often contradictory) held by both Jews and non-Jews during this period. He trenchantly suggests that the differences between resistance and evasion have been too often blurred (7-11). The categories of resistance, collaboration, evasion, and accommodation need to be further elaborated. Over the course of the war and occupation, a particular individual could fall into each of these categories at one time or another based on circumstances, the most telling of which were the policies of the occupiers. In *de facto* rejecting Gross’ “new approach” to sources Paulsson has also refocused our attention on the need to maintain our critical faculties as scholars and not take short cuts that lead to politically useful but ultimately false and unsatisfying scholarship. That the author falls short of these ideals in a couple spots in the book is of no great moment. On the main subject of Jews in hiding he is solid and serious.

Secret City is an important and path-breaking book that challenges many old assumptions and will, it is hoped, provide a basis for further fruitful work on Jews and Poles under the Nazi occupation.

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3. See my review essay on Michael Steinlauf’s *Warsaw: Secret City* by Alex Rossino, *Periphery* Journal of Polish Affairs 4/5 (1998/99): 50-55. One can see this tendency in early histories, such as Simon Dubnow’s history of Jews in Poland and Russia. The current literature tends—quite correctly—to be the conditions of the Nazi occupation as the main fac- tor influencing Jewish actions. (Though frequently not Polish actions, which are more often than not viewed as stemming from inherent Polish characteristics, i.e., anti-Semitism.) What is frequently lost in this case is a sense of the internal complexity of the Jewish community and extent to which Jewish responses were driven by that complexity.

4. The author’s general point is well taken as a corrective to prevailing historiography and as the bulk of the book shows he discusses the actions and networks of Polish rescuers in sufficient detail. Nevertheless, this emphasis may strike the casual reader as a bit like a drowning man who calls for help from the lighthouse. Clearly, by alerting the lighthouse to his distress, he has “initiated” his own rescue, but it hardly could be called “self-rescue.”

5. The best secondary source in English on interwar Warsaw is Edward D. Wynot, Jr., *Alexander B. Rossino,* which were the policies of the occupiers.

6. For example: 139-140. The fatal problems of such an approach have been discussed elsewhere and lie outside the scope of this review but it is worth noting that this approach seems to apply only to Jewish testimonies or to testi- monies that agree with the author’s thesis (whether that author is Gross or someone else). Polish testimonies and those in agreement with an author’s thesis are not to be treated with the opposite or non-affirmative approach (e.g., automatically taken as false unless proven otherwise). At page 18, Paulsson, unfortunately, attacks Raoul Hilberg as a “purist” for insisting on verifiable evidence and for writing “the history of the Holocaust only from sources left by the perpetrators. Such criticism is unfair. It is far preferable to insist on rigor- ous scholarship than to lower standards to the point where we accept without criticism poorly researched works that just happen to portray unprovable ethnic groups or ideas in the “correct” way. Purists are preferable to ideologues.

7. To which this reviewer would only add—as a general “amen”—that apart from anti-assimilationists, many of the post-war views were shaped by activists (not only Jewish) who were leftist or sympatico to the left and by the left-wing book-selling trade, a view prevalent in most academic and journalistic circles during the past several decades. Since Poles in the main have tended to be both anti-Soviet and anti-communist, they have usually been viewed in very negative terms by leftist and left-friendly authors.

8. Sara Kraus-Kolkowska, *Dziewczynka z ulicy Mi¿ej: Albo Êwiadectwo czasu Holokaustu* (Lublin: Agençja Wydawnic-two-Handlówka AIS, 1995); Statement by Dr. hab. Mieczyslaw Wieduczko, Institute of History, Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, Lublin, in the author’s possession courtesy of Dr. Zygmunt Zadziłski, Lublin. Needless to say, memoirs that have been fabricated or given extra embroidery do exist.


10. See Jonas Turkow, *Czas i w Lolita: Narodowe S³êdy Z³ywko w PowstaÅÄu Warszawskim* (Warsaw: Głąboc, 2002). Paulsson also mistakes the commander of Chrobry II (176). On key personnel in this unit, see ibid., 205–209. Other minor errors regarding the Polish fleet include the claim that the WDM never held a ministerial public office (38) and misidentifying Jan Mosdorl as merely the editor of the ORN’s periodical *Prosto z mostu* (author’s possession courtesy of Dr. Zygmunt Zieliñski, Lublin). Needless to say, memoirs are poor research tools that just happen to portray unpopular ethnic groups or ideas in the “correct” way. Purists are preferable to ideologues.

11. See, for example, *Secret City:* *The New York Times* (21 April 2003), 203. At the very least, there is significant disagreement as to the cases and the circumstances of the killings.


13. Since Poles in the main have tended to be both anti-Soviet and anti-communist, they have usually been viewed in very negative terms by leftist and left-friendly authors.


15. See Jonas Turkow, *Czas i w Lolita: Narodowe S³êdy Z³ywko w PowstaÅÄu Warszawskim* (Warsaw: Głąboc, 2002). Paulsson also mistakes the commander of Chrobry II (176). On key personnel in this unit, see ibid., 205–209. Other minor errors regarding the Polish fleet include the claim that the WDM never held a ministerial public office (38) and misidentifying Jan Mosdorf as merely the editor of the ORN’s periodical *Prosto z mostu* (author’s possession courtesy of Dr. Zygmunt Zieliñski, Lublin). Needless to say, memoirs are poor research tools that just happen to portray unpopular ethnic groups or ideas in the “correct” way. Purists are preferable to ideologues.

16. The sword and Plow movement had solid anti-Nazi and anti-communist credentials until the summer of 1943, when in fact he one of ONR’s principal leaders (253n31). Neither was it the sword and Plow movement that gave the idea to the “correct” way. Purists are preferable to ideologues.

17. See Jonas Turkow, *Czas i w Lolita: Narodowe S³êdy Z³ywko w PowstaÅÄu Warszawskim* (Warsaw: Głąboc, 2002). Paulsson also mistakes the commander of Chrobry II (176). On key personnel in this unit, see ibid., 205–209. Other minor errors regarding the Polish fleet include the claim that the WDM never held a ministerial public office (38) and misidentifying Jan Mosdorl as merely the editor of the ORN’s periodical *Prosto z mostu* (author’s possession courtesy of Dr. Zygmunt Zieliñski, Lublin). Needless to say, memoirs are poor research tools that just happen to portray unpopular ethnic groups or ideas in the “correct” way. Purists are preferable to ideologues.


19. See Sebastian Bojomi, Początek w Sfery Powszechnej: Narodowe S³êdy Z³ywko w PowstaÅÄu Warszawskim (Warsaw: GlΛbo£ka, 2002). Paulsson also mistakes the commander of Chrobry II (176). On key personnel in this unit, see ibid., 205–209. Other minor errors regarding the Polish fleet include the claim that the WDM never held a ministerial public office (38) and misidentifying Jan Mosdorf as merely the editor of the ORN’s periodical *Prosto z mostu* (author’s possession courtesy of Dr. Zygmunt Zieliñski, Lublin). Needless to say, memoirs are poor research tools that just happen to portray unpopular ethnic groups or ideas in the “correct” way. Purists are preferable to ideologues.

20. There is no point in rehashing the arguments for and against Gross’ book here, but it is worth noting that even mild criticism of Neighbors has often resulted in wild and extreme personal attacks on the critics, not to mention efforts to censor them. Any disagreement with Gross’ conclusions or methodology has been systematically attacked as anti- Semitic. Indeed, what has now become a massive and growing body of literature on this subject is but the most recent manifestation of a larger, older pattern. Nevertheless, this emphasis may strike the casual reader as a bit like a drowning man who calls for help from the lighthouse. Clearly, by alerting the lighthouse to his distress, he has “initiated” his own rescue, but it hardly could be called “self-rescue.”


M. B. Szonert’s *World War II Through Polish Eyes* is part history textbook and part biography. Basing herself on the recollections of Danuta Fijałkowska Binienda (nee Karpowicz), the author intertwines history lessons with the personal experiences of the Karpowicz family during the Second World War in Poland.

Szonert provides the reader with the broad historical background which is intended to complement and reinforce the personal aspect of the story. The narrative jumps between the past and the present, a device intended as a hind-sight, twenty-twenty commentary on the war. Many of the present-day passages deal with conversations (or contrived conversations) between an elderly Danuta and her young grandson Konrad where the child supplies a string of statistics or a long monologue on military strategy or political developments. Is the boy wiser than his age suggests? Or does he serve as *Deux ex machina*? Is this fiction or hard facts? This gimmick is bound to confuse at least some readers.

Confusion reigns further where the present is depicted in such a detailed manner as to distract the reader from the more interesting and pertinent personal tales of the war, which are the book’s strongest suit. On a few occasions, the analogies between the past and the present are more than strained. For instance, while discussing the rigged Polish elections of 1946 which the Communists “won” by a landslide, Danuta draws spurious parallels to the contested US election of 2000 where the Supreme Court stepped in and stopped the hand count of the ballots in Florida. The author through Danuta’s mouth is claiming that the will of the American people was disregarded in 2000 just as the will of the Polish people had been disregarded for 50 years when the Communists ran the elections. Does this sort of modern day partisan preaching belong in a book titled *World War II Through Polish Eyes*?

Szonert would have done much better, had she stuck with her family’s war-time experiences. Some of them are simply breathtaking. For instance, according to Danuta, at the onset of the war the Nazis scattered poisoned candy throughout Warsaw so that the children would get sick and die. Danuta’s younger brother, Zbyszek, stuffs his pockets with this candy but does not eat any because he wants to share it with his family after dinner. Other children get sick in the meantime, and Zbyszek’s parents hear about this, so they are able to warn Zbyszek before he eats any of the candy. This is a close call which leaves the family, as well as the reader, numb and speechless. Fact or fiction? Another memorable episode which conveys the severity of life during the war occurs when Danuta marries her first husband, Józef. His sister comes to Warsaw for the wedding and has to smuggle in her gift, two wedding rings, by hiding them in her mouth. It is details such as these that make this work a valuable addition to the collection of the personal accounts of the war.

A professional historian may conclude that the book tries to be too many things and tends to lose its main message along the way. However, to the non-professional, this work can also serve as an adequate and accessible source of introductory-level information about the Second World War. A lay person can learn quite a bit from Szonert. One comes away having a better understanding of the political and military developments as well as a better sense of the impact the war had on Polish people.

Teresa M. Dudzik

It has long been understood that the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 had a significant brutalizing effect on the German armed forces and the German leadership and played an important role in making the Final Solution a reality. Omer Bartov, for example, has demonstrated how Nazi ideology played an increasingly important role in holding German units together, especially as combat losses mounted. The Nazi view of Jews and Slavs as subhuman informed the outlook of ordinary men in uniform, even if they did not always act on those views in a uniform manner.

For historians of Poland, this argument seemed essentially correct except that any cursory study of the German invasion of Poland in 1939 would seem to place the start of the brutalization of the Nazi armed forces in September 1939, not June 1941. Yet, the German assault on Poland was almost totally ignored by historians of the Second World War and the Holocaust. Most standard texts dismiss this key opening campaign of war in a paragraph or so and then move on to more familiar and popular stories of German blitzkrieg in the West. Copious Polish sources on the September Campaign are for the most part simply ignored in favor of fables about the Polish cavalry charging panzers, the destruction of the Polish air force on the first day of the war, and other myths, mostly created by Nazi propagandists. It would not be too great a stretch to suggest that Western scholars are far more apt to treat Josef Goebbels as a reliable source than anything Poles have written.

Alexander Rossino’s new work on the September Campaign is thus a welcome addition to the literature, not so much for what it says as for the fact that someone who is not Polish is saying it, using sources that are primarily not Polish to do so. This is a sad commentary on the status of Polish studies in the United States.

Rossino details German crimes in Poland committed by military and police formations against Polish prisoners of war and civilians (both Polish and Jewish). He shows that, first, anti-Polish and anti-Jewish attitudes and directives came from Hitler himself and top Nazi leaders. They were accepted by virtually all German military commanders. It was an attitude that filtered down to ordinary soldiers both from official indoctrination and from the words and actions of superiors. German officers who opposed the murder of POWs and civilians did so primarily out of concern for the impact of mass executions on the morale of their own troops and the potential for creating chaos behind the lines rather than out of concern for innocent lives or a desire to follow the Geneva conventions.

The September Campaign differed from Operation Barbarossa only in the scale of the brutality and in more systematic and thorough application of terror and killing. These were largely the result of a German military apparatus that had had an additional year and a half of war to hone its killing skills. September Campaign—far more than the milder invasion of France—was the true precursor for the invasion of the USSR and the training ground for the way Nazi armies would wage war as much against civilians as against opposing armies. The war against civilians was not militarily necessary, *strictu sensu*, but was seen by German leaders as a vital part of their war objectives. The brutality was not incidental but was part and parcel of the Nazi regime.

Rossino also demonstrates how the September Campaign was an important (though overlooked) element in the development of the plan to exterminate the Jews. The first use of *Einsatzgruppen* occurred in 1939 and they were used both against Jews and Poles. More controversial in some quarters will be Rossino’s well-documented claim that Poles as well as Jews were systematically targeted by Nazi forces and that anti-Polish rhetoric and propaganda was just as virulent as its anti-Jewish counterpart. Rossino documents with several independent sources that in late August 1939, Hitler did indeed call for the campaign to destroy not
merely an independent Polish state, but for the “elimination of living forces” (9–10), that is, the genocide of the Poles. (This quote has been ignored or denied by some Holocaust scholars.) German forces were instructed to treat the Polish people with “the greatest brutality and without mercy” not merely because they were enemies of Greater Germany but because they were Poles.

Rossino’s work is not without its problems. The most glaring is the almost complete lack of any Polish-language sources. This is unfortunate because Polish-language literature on the September Campaign and its immediate aftermath is truly massive. Rossino is not alone in failing to use Polish sources, but this makes it no more excusable. It is simply not possible to write a competent or complete history of World War II or the Holocaust without Polish sources and it is past time that someone hold the feet of scholars to fire in this matter.

Consulting Polish sources and memoirs would have much more strongly reinforced Rossino’s case. There are a number of omissions as a result of this lack (for example, the reported use of Polish civilians as human shields by German forces). The most startling omission, however, is that Rossino fails to mention the systematically illegal activities of the German air force. The Luftwaffe bombed and strafed Polish civilian targets and there are multiple eyewitness accounts of German pilots deliberately targeting refugees and even individual farmers working in fields. Polish hospitals were properly and clearly marked with the red cross symbol, making it especially easy for German bombers to attack them, which happened time and again. Also targeted were buildings of a charitable or cultural nature. Since in 1939 the Luftwaffe had not developed the kind of coordinated close-support of ground forces it would have later in the war, it attacks in Poland were against prearranged targets. Therefore, the targeting of civilians must have been approved and discussed at a higher operational level.

Another problem is the author’s discussion of Polish militia units, namely the Obrona Narodowa (National Guard or ON). Rossino calls the ON (wrongly spelled as “Obrona Narodowa”) a “paramilitary” force, implying that it was irregular (63). This is not correct. The ON was a part of the regular armed forces and received regular pay and training. Its members were issued second-hand equipment but wore uniforms. The ON was a part of the regular Polish order of battle and individual ON units were designed to be deployed in battalion strength as part of front-line and reserve infantry divisions. During the September Campaign, there were local defense units, made up of members of patriotic and paramilitary organization, boy scouts, police, local citizens, retired soldiers too old to be called up, and reservists and members of the armed forces who had not made it to their units due to the confusion of the mobilization (delayed at Allied insistence) or who had become other detached from their unit in the course of the fighting. Like the ON, local defense forces were under normal army command and were not guerrillas and should probably not even be termed irregulars. Some of these local units surely did not always wear full regulation uniforms, although whether that put them outside the rules of war is another matter. This is more than a minor detail of military history, since one of the major German justifications for the use of extreme measures against the civilian population was that it was actively assisting the Polish armed forces.

Another German justification for terror—and one Rossino does not deal with adequately—was the alleged mistreatment of the ethnic German minority in western Poland. The author uses almost entirely German sources to discuss the pro-Nazi uprising in Bydgoszcz that was crushed by Polish forces prior to the German conquest of the city. Since Josef Goebbels, German nationalists who like to complain about “Polish atrocities” against peaceful Germans have used this incident to great effect, more recently attempting to draw an obscene moral parallel between these alleged Polish crimes and the mass murder of Poles and Jews from 1939 to 1945. It needs to be stated clearly that Nazi and subsequent German claims about the mistreatment of ethnic Germans in interwar Poland are largely false. Nonetheless, there were a few cases where ethnic Germans who rose up in support of the Nazi invasion and then surrendered were executed illegally. Even under the extreme circumstances faced by Polish authorities at the time, such actions were unquestionably wrong and deserving of condemnation.

Nevertheless, there were important differences between the actions of Nazi and Polish civil combatants, both in theory and practice. The ethnic German Nazis who rose up in revolt in Bydgoszcz on September 3, 1939 were taking up arms against the legal government of Poland, at a moment of the most extreme national crisis, in a region under martial law. This was treason, plain and simple. Under such circumstances, even the most democratic and law abiding gov-
ernments might mete out harsh penalties to such traitors it catches red handed. So the fact that pro-Nazi ethnic Germans were killed in the revolt and others subsequently executed (legally) should not come as any surprise, let alone a cause for soul-searching or national apologies. By contrast, Polish civilians who took up arms against the Nazi invaders were doing so in defense of the legal government of Poland, against an invasion that was entirely illegal, and designed (as Rossino shows) to kill as many Poles as possible. In a very real sense they were attempting to defend their families, their homes, and their own lives. Although Rossino is not necessarily favorable toward the ethnic German Nazis fifth columnists, the distinction between Polish and Nazi civil combatants and their subsequent fates is not made clear.

Despite its minor shortcomings and the lack of Polish sources (which is not so minor), Rossino has given us a very fine book that deserves to be read and discussed by scholars of World War II, modern Poland, and the Holocaust as well as by the educated public at large.

Dr. John Radziłowski


On the night of October 19, 1944, the local Jewish community was massacred in Ejszyszki in the county of Lida, the Province of Nowogródek, in formerly Polish Eastern Borderlands. The Home Army (AK) unit of Michał Babul (“Gaj”) was supposed to have been responsible for the murder. Or at least this is how the story has been told and re-told in the West and in Poland, most recently by Professor Yaffa Eliach.

Now, we can learn about the tragedy from a new publication, Ejszyszki, which deals with the myth that “the crime” was perpetrated by the “anti-Semitic AK.” A much needed and timely corrective, this two volume publication, edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, consists of an exhaustive introduction, witness testimonies, records of the Soviet secret police (NKVD), and scholarly essays about the events in Ejszyszki.

According to Chodakiewicz, “The objective of the operation was manifold. First, the AK planned to capture official Soviet documents and stamps from the local authorities. Second, the Polish underground desired to secure supplies from the local cooperative. Third, the freedom fighters prepared a strike against the Soviet terror apparatus and military in Ejszyszki. Undoubtedly, the Poles hoped to exploit the element of surprise to eliminate their Communist adversaries or at least to neutralize them for the duration of the action. The AK hit squads had the exact addresses of the quarters of the Soviet personnel. The plan was to capture them quietly one by one. The most important task was to kidnap an officer of the Red Army counterintelligence (“Smersh” – Smert’ shpionam, Death to spies) for interrogation and to secure his archive.” We learn that the insurgent targeted the militia post, the civil government building, the local cooperative-tannery, food warehouses, and “the residences housing the Soviet police and military personnel as well as real and alleged collaborators their ethnic origin notwithstanding, including those among the Jewish population.”

Chodakiewicz explains that “the operation unfolded according to the plan. In general, the AK squads managed to fulfill their objectives. They encountered serious resistance only during the attempt to seize the Smersh officer, a captain. The officer was billeted in the house of Moshe Sonenson, who served in the local outfit of the auxiliary Soviet militia, the so-called istrebitel’nye batal’yony of the NKVD. Aside from Sonenson and the captain, there were also at least two other armed men inside: a seargant of the Smersh and another local red militiaman, Alter Michałowski.
The occupants resisted the assault squad of the AK. Consequently, two Soviets were killed but not on the premises, including later the Smersh officer, who was captured. Unfortunately, during the firefight a Polish woman was wounded and two Jewish bystanders were killed accidentally: a mother and her infant son, Zippora and Chaim Sonenson.”

The survivors included Moshe Sonenson and his 7 ½ year old daughter Sheinele (Sonia) Sonenson, future Yaffa Eliach. It was she who, having emigrated to the US, wrote _There Once Was a World_, her chronicle of the shtetl. Unfortunately, the chronicle became the main source of the false version of the events where the Home Army killed Jews allegedly for anti-Semitic reasons.

Eliach’s tale has been challenged by both Polish and Jewish scholars. Significantly, Professor Israel Gutman of Yad Vashem wrote: “I have no sympathy for the author. She is not an authority on the Holocaust. We should not close our eyes to the fact that the AK units in the Wilno region fought against the Soviet partisans for Poland’s freedom. Therefore the Jews, who happened to be on the opposite side, died at the hands of the soldiers of the AK as enemies of Poland and not as Jews.”

The objections of Gutman and other scholars to Eliach’s version can be reduced to two basic observations. First, Yaffa Eliach depicted the tragedy of her own family in a highly subjective way, which is understandable in a memoir. However, once this type of a testimony becomes the only “politically correct” rendition of the events, then we have a serious problem. To invoke this source only has nothing to do with scholarly impartiality and is highly tendentious.

Second, and more importantly, Eliach took the events of October 19, 1944, out of their context. She ignored completely the complex background of the situation in the Eastern Borderlands since the Soviet invasion and occupation of September 1939. Let us remember that these territories experienced several occupations, in succession, by the Soviets, Lithuanians, Germans, and once again the Soviets. All this influenced the developments in the area and impacted the attitudes of the local population, including Polish-Jewish relations. All this is missing from the standard tale of the events as told by Eliach. Witness testimonies, interrogation records, and scholarship and punditry assembled by Chodakiewicz in the _Ejszyszki_ rectify this grave shortcoming and should be the final word on the case.

_Tadeusz M. Płużański_  
Translated and edited by TD

### Briefly on Books:

- In March 2003, _The Brief Sun_ by Robert Ambros (1st Books, 2002) won First Place in international Writer’s Digest competition. A self-published novel, _The Brief Sun_ tells the story of the Polish Free Forces in the West, many of them erstwhile Gulag slaves, who – after they bled on the battlefields of the Second World War – were betrayed ignominously and abandoned by the Allies. The novel can be ordered at [http://www.thebriefsun.com](http://www.thebriefsun.com) and [http://www.1stbooks.com/cgi-bin/1st?partner=1st|type=6|Data1=9656](http://www.1stbooks.com/cgi-bin/1st?partner=1st|type=6|Data1=9656)


- In 2003 Leopolis Press published two collections of essays with contributions by scholars affiliated with the Kościuszko Chair and their colleagues: _Poland’s Transformation: A Work in Progress_, edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz, John Radziwiłł, and Dariusz Tołczyk, and _Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism: The Borderlands of Europe in the 19th and 20th Century_, edited by Marek Jan Chodakiewicz and John Radziwiłł. Both publications have been praised profusely by several authorities in the field.
According to Dr. Zbigniew Brzeziński of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Poland’s Transformation provides a comprehensive as well as incisive overview of the extraordinarily difficult and historically unprecedented process of transforming an increasingly corrupt and decayed totalitarian system into a modern democracy.” Dr. John Lenczowski of the Institute of World Politics averred that “this extremely useful volume explains the essential elements of the post-communist political transition in Poland. Its authors convey not only the basic necessary information of recent history but more importantly the cultural and ideological underpinnings that can be captured only by authorities who have developed over a lifetime that special sixth sense for detecting the elusive and unquantifiable soul of a country.” Radek Sikorski of the American Enterprise Institute explained that “Defying the stereotypes of their national character, Poles carried out two peaceful revolutions in the span of one generation: first, the self-limiting movement of Solidarity, which undermined the legitimacy of Communism, and then a negotiated transfer of power from Communism to free-market democracy. Today, while Poland is seen as a success story and is joining political and economic clubs of the democratic West, Poles themselves seem downcast. Is social anomie a price worth paying for a successful transformation? In making moral compromises with an outgoing tyranny, can you avoid cynicism and disappointment with democracy? We should be grateful to the authors and editors of this thoughtful volume for asking questions which remain relevant for that uncomfortably large part of humanity that still lives under totalitarian or authoritarian regimes.”

Commenting on Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism, one of the most eminent American historians Eugene Genovese stated that “As every schoolboy knows, Europe’s Catholic Right has consisted of reactionaries who began in the service of residual feudal landowners and ended in support of big capital’s exploitation and oppression of the masses. As ideological fairy tales go, this is no worse than many others that today pass for history on campus. Still, the totalitarian horrors of the twentieth century proved prescient the warnings of the Catholic Traditionalist Right about the consequences of radical democracy and cultural nihilism. These splendid essays, as readable as they are scholarly, launch a long-overdue assessment of vital political events.” Professor Ewa M. Thompson of Rice University observed that “the fall of communism facilitated growth of research in areas previously difficult to access. One such area is Polish interest in Spain; another, the history of the Catholic Right in Europe. This pioneering volume explores both narratives and succeeds in showing that they are related. The similarities have to do with the symmetrical positions of Poland and Spain as frontiers of Europe against invasions from Islam. The rest of Europe seldom noticed except in major victories, such as that of Don Juan at Lepanto in 1571 or that of John Sobieski at Vienna in 1683. The present collection of papers explores recent history developing against this background.”
Antoni Arkuszewski (1909-2002) came from the landed nobility. He graduated from the Warsaw Polytechnic, majoring in hydro-engineering. Involved with the resistance, he was seized by the Nazis as a hostage in June 1940 and spent almost five years as a prisoner of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Arkuszewski returned to Poland in the fall of 1945 and participated in the effort to rebuild the country. He worked as an engineer on waterway projects in Giżycko, Wrocław, and Warsaw. He also headed a department at the Ministry of Agriculture and served on the board of the hydroengineering periodical Gospodarka Wodna (Water Economics). Arkuszewski was active with the Club of the Catholic Intelligentsia in Warsaw, assisting the human rights movement and “Solidarity.” After 1989, he became involved with the Polish Landowners Association (Polskie Towarzystwo Ziemiańskie), as one of the leading lights behind its historical section. He was buried in the family crypt in Stara Błotnica.

Lidia Ciołkoszowa (1902-2002) was born in the assimilated Jewish Kahn family of Tomaszów Mazowiecki. She majored in Polish literature and history at the Jagiellonian University, where she also received her Ph.D. Ciołkoszowa joined the Polish Socialist Party (Polska Partia Socjalistyczna – PPS) in 1920 and devoted herself to work in the area of education. She was active in Tarnów and Cracow, in particular. In 1934 she was elected to the Main Board of the PPS. Following the Nazi invasion, she fled to the West. In France and England she assisted her husband, Adam Ciołkosz, who was one of the leading émigré politicians of the Polish government-in-exile. In 1949 she became a member of
the ruling free Polish émigré bodies in London: the Political Council, the Council of National Unity, and the National Council. Upon her husband’s death, Lidia Ciołkoszowa was elected as the chair of the PPS in 1978. She supported the Committee to Defend Workers (Komitet Obrony Robotników, KOR) and “Solidarity.” After 1989, she refused to allow anyone who wanted to cooperate with the post-Communists to appropriate the name of the PPS. Among her many articles and works, the most valuable are Publicystyka polska na emigracji, 1940-1960 (Polish émigré punditry) and Żarys dziejów socjalizmu polskiego (A Sketch of the History of Polish Socialism), which she co-authored with her husband. Ciołkoszowa left a memoir, Spojrzenie wstecz (Looking back), which was culled from her conversations with Andrzej Friszke. She died in London.

Rafał Gan-Ganowicz (1932-2002) was born in Warsaw, a scion of Polish nobility of Tartar origin. His mother was killed by Nazi bombs in 1939. His father joined the underground Home Army and fell fighting in the Warsaw Uprising (August-October 1944). Rafał Gan-Ganowicz participated in the battle as well. Later, he hid out in Warsaw and its environs until the entry of the Soviets. Subsequently, Gan-Ganowicz joined an anti-Communist underground youth group and fought against the Soviet proxy regime until 1950. When the secret police closed in on him, he escaped to the West. In Germany, after a stint in the US-backed Polish guard companies, Gan-Ganowicz was trained as a commando by the Americans. He also attended a NATO officers’ school, and General Władysław Anders commissioned him a lieutenant of the Free Polish Forces in Exile. After 1956, Gan-Ganowicz worked as a literature teacher in Polish émigré schools in France. In 1962, after the call to arms by Moses Chombe, he volunteered to fight the Soviet-backed revolutionaries in the former Belgian Congo. From 1964 until their victory, he served as an advisor with the anti-Communist insurgents in Yemen. In the mid-1980s Gan-Ganowicz was to head a Foreign Volunteer Legion, composed mostly of Poles, to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. However, the American sponsors changed their mind and the plan was scrapped. Meanwhile, Gan-Ganowicz supported underground Solidarity and worked as a journalist for Radio Free Europe. He returned to Poland after the fall of Communism and cooperated closely with the student Republican League and various Piłsudskite paramilitary youth organizations. Gan-Ganowicz became a star of a popular documentary film about his life: Pistolet do wynajęcia (A Gun for Hire). He also penned a highly entertaining memoir, Kondotierzy [The Mercenaries] (London: Polska Fundacja Kulturalna, 1989).

Leda Giedroyc (1919-2002) was an Italian who became enmeshed in Polish affairs. In 1966 she married Henryk Giedroyc, the brother of Jerzy, the founder and editor-in-chief of the Polish émigré periodical Kultura of Paris. Leda worked for Givenchy. She was not directly involved in the political and cultural activities of Kultura but she was prominent in the social life at the Maisons-Laffitte, where the editorial board was headquartered. Following Jerzy’s death, Leda and Henryk applied themselves diligently to assist Zofia Hertz, who succeeded the deceased founder as editor-in-chief. Leda Giedroyc died and was buried in Paris.

Father Michał Marian Zembrzuski (1908-2003) was born in a village near Mław, northern Mazovia. Throughout his life, he devoted himself to the Marian cult. Zembrzuski entered a Pauline seminary in Częstochowa in 1921 and later graduated from St. Anna’s high school in Cracow. In 1934 he was ordained a priest and dispatched to Hungary: first Budapest and then Pésc, where he built his first church and monastery. As the Pauline provincial, he established the order’s outposts in Jakab, Hegy, Palos-Szentkut and Soltvadkert. Following the Nazi invasion of Poland, Father Michał worked with Polish refugees. He served as an informal liaison between the refugee community and the Hungarian authorities, including in particular József Antal. He administered to about 150,000 Christian and Jewish refugees interned in 120 refugee camps and elsewhere. In 1942, the Nazi diplomatic pressure forced the Hungarian government to impose a house arrest on the Pauline provincial. After the German take-over of Hungary in March 1944, Father Zambrzuski found himself on the most-wanted list and went into hiding. He re-emerged under the Soviet occupation but avoided arrest and returned to his monastery in Pésc. In 1948, he fled Hungary and traveled to Rome, where Bishop Józef Gawlina appointed him the chief of the Polish section of the Papal Committee to Assist Refugees. In 1950 Father Michał established a homeless shelter for Polish refugees at the Irish College. However, in 1951, he emigrated to the United States with a mission to introduce the Pauline order. In 1953, he and other brothers set-
tled in Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Thus, the American Częstochowa was born. It became an important religious, cultural, and political center modeled closely on its Polish counterpart and the teachings of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. Father Zembrzuski ran a bi-lingual periodical (Jasna Góra – Bright Mountain), a radio program, and a library at the monastery. The basilica of Our Lady of Częstochowa at Doylestown (designed by Jerzy Szeptycki, a Home Army soldier from Lwów) was consecrated in 1966 to mark the millennium of Poland with about 130,000 faithful in attendance, including President Lyndon B. Johnson. Later, President Ronald Reagan visited the monastery which became a major pilgrimage site for Americans of all faiths. His work accomplished, Father Zembrzuski briefly moved to a Pauline monastery in Kittanning, near Pittsburgh (1975-1980) and then to New York, where he was appointed to the leadership of the Polish and Slavic Center, running its charity until 1993. Upon his retirement, he became the chaplain of the Union of Veterans of the Polish Army. He was active in the Polish American Congress. Father Zembrzuski took ill suddenly during his visit to Hungary; he returned to die at Doylestown. His memoir remains unpublished.

Henryk Jabłoński (1907-2003) was a renegade socialist who joined the Communists. In 1939 he fought the Nazis in Poland; then, he fled to the West and as a soldier of the Free Polish Forces was dispatched to battle the Germans at Narvik, Norway. Afterwards, he joined the resistance in France. Jabłoński returned to Soviet-occupied Poland in 1945. He became a journalist and a professor of history at the University of Warsaw. Appointed to the puppet leadership of the Polish Socialist Party (1946-48), Jabłoński was instrumental in forcibly submitting it to a merger with the Communist party which henceforth dubbed itself the Polish United Workers Party. He became a member of the party’s Central Committee. In a government career that spanned several decades, he served as the minister of education (1966-72) and the chairman of the Council of State. In the former capacity Jabłoński presided over the anti-Semitic purge at the universities in 1968. In the latter post he rubber-stamped the imposition of martial law in 1981. Jabłoński died in Warsaw.

Marian Mikołajczyk (1923-2003) was born in Poznań as a son of a prominent populist politician, Stanisław, who eventually became prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile. Meanwhile, in Poland, Nazi terror forced his son Marian and his wife Cecylia to go into hiding. In June 1942 they were apprehended by the Gestapo and tortured. Soon after, the underground managed to free Marian Mikołajczyk from the Lublin Castle jail and smuggle him out to Hungary. In October 1943, through Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Egypt, he reached London and rejoined his father. Marian Mikołajczyk attended Harrow and Cambridge University, graduating with a BA in economics in 1948. The same year he emigrated to the United States and settled in the Washington, DC area. Mikołajczyk worked as an economist first in the Department of Agriculture (1956 to 1964) and later in the Civil Aeronautics Board until his retirement in 1981. He was active in the Polish émigré and Catholic circles and kept the legacy of his father alive.

Bolesław Wierzbiański (1913-2003) was born in Bachorz near Brzozów. He joined the boy scouts while at Jan Kochanowski High School and eventually rose to the top of the organizational ladder as a deputy inspector of all Polish scouting groups abroad. He became involved with the liberal Piłsudskite Union of Polish Democratic Youth and was eventually elected its national chairman (1937-38). Having studied at the Jagiellonian University and later at the University of Warsaw, Wierzbiański graduated with a degree in law and economics in 1938. He further augmented his knowledge at the School of Political Science (Szkoła Nauk Politycznych), and as a fellow of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg (1954-55), and Columbia University (1957-60). Media and journalism became his passion early on. He contributed to the scout paper Na tropie (On the trail). He worked for the Polish Radio, Polska Agencja Telegraficzna (Polish Telegraphic Service), Iskra information agency, and Polska Agencja Prasowa Światpol (Polish Press Agency of the Union of Poles Abroad). Following the German invasion, Wierzbiański joined the secret radical-liberal organization Zet (1939-46). He fled to the West and worked for the Polish government-in-exile’s propaganda department. In France, he edited Listy do Polaków (Letters to the Poles) and Free European Press Service. His dispatches were broadcast by the BBC. After his escape to England in June 1940, Wierzbiański also ran the Światpol news service and press. It supplied information about Poland and its legal authorities as well as published Polish authors. In 1944, he co-founded
“Niezależność i Demokracja” (NID – Independence and Democracy) and represented it on the National Council and the Council of National Unity of the émigré Poles. In addition, Wierzbiański headed the Department of Information of the Executive of the National Union and chaired the Union of Journalists of the Polish Republic (1948-56). He also was elected as the top officer of the International Federation of Free Journalists of East and Central Europe. Meanwhile, Wierzbiański began cooperating with Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America. He moved to the US in 1956 and settled in New York, where he ran the Foreign News Service that became a prime source of information about the Soviet Bloc (1958-65). He also worked as a correspondent at the United Nations. Wierzbiański continued his involvement with the Captive Nations, joined the board of Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, and served as a director of the Polish American Congress. To counter Communist infiltration, he participated in the activities of the Federation of Free Journalists and the American Newspaper Guild. In 1971 he co-founded three papers: Nowy Dziennik (The New Daily), Przegląd Polski (The Polish Review), and the New Horizon, and worked practically until the end of his life as their editor-in-chief (1971-2000) and publisher (1971-2003). Wierzbiański actively assisted the dissident movement and “Solidarity” in Poland. Many independent Polish journalists interned at his Nowy Dziennik. After 1989, he supported the liberal orientation in Poland.

Jakub Karpiński (1940-2003) was born in Warsaw and enrolled at the University there, majoring in sociology and philosophy. As an assistant professor, he became involved with the leftist part of the dissident movement and co-organized protest actions during the anti-Semitic campaign orchestrated by the Communist party in March 1968. Karpiński was fired from his job, briefly arrested, and released only to be rearrested after a few months when new charges were filed against him. Because he was involved in smuggling free literature from the West to Poland, the Communists threatened to try him for espionage, which carried a death penalty, during the so-called mountaineers trial (proces taterników). Almost uniquely, Karpiński refused to testify and incriminated no one. He served over two years of his three year sentence. Upon his release, he continued his dissident activities, including as a co-founder of the so-called “Flying Universities,” which provided illegal instructions in Poland’s history, politics, and society. He was also involved with the Committee to Defend Workers. In 1978 Karpiński emigrated to the West for medical reasons but remained intimately involved in Polish affairs. He settled in the Washington, DC, area. Together with his wife Irena Lasota, he actively supported the human rights movement and “Solidarity” in Poland. Through the Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (IDEE), which Karpiński co-founded in New York in 1985, he reached out to other captive peoples of the Soviet Bloc, including the Cubans. He was also involved with Social Democrats, USA, and in 1989 was on their National Advisory Council. He returned home after the fall of Communism. In 1997, he became a professor at the University of Warsaw. His youthful leftism increasingly yielded to libertarian and conservative attitudes. An author of over a score of books, in English Karpiński published Countdown: The Polish Upheavals (1982), Poland Since 1944: A Portrait of Years (1995), and Causality in Sociological Research (2002).

Henryk de Kwiatkowski (1924-2003) was born in Poznań. After his parents and four siblings were killed by the invading Nazis, he fled the country for the West. Kwiatkowski volunteered for the Royal Air Force in Great Britain and served with the Polish bomber wing. After the war, he worked around the world, including as an aeronautical engineer in Canada. Kwiatkowski eventually became a successful entrepreneur selling surplus aircraft in the Third World. He is best remembered as an avid horse breeder and racer in the United States, where he settled in 1957. Kwiatkowski claimed that the prefix “de” before his name derives from a title bestowed on his family by Napoleon.

Witold Sułkowski (1943-2003) was a dissident poet and journalist. In 1977, Sułkowski co-founded, together with Tadeusz Walendowski and Jacek Bierzeń, the underground literary periodical Puls. In September 1980 in Łódź, he began editing the unofficial journal Solidarność z Gdańskiem. His first volume of poetry, Szkoła Zdobyców (The School of Conquerors), was published in Paris. During martial law in 1982, Sułkowski emigrated to the US and settled in the Washington, DC, area, where he worked as a journalist for Radio Free Europe. Sułkowski contributed periodically to Voice of America Digest and the émigré press, including Nowy Dziennik (New York). He died during a visit to his native city of Łódź, Poland.
**Irena Gut Opdyke** (1922-2003) was born in Koziennice but her parents moved to Chełm, Radom, and Suchedniów. At 16, she entered a nursing school in Radom. In September 1939 as a nurse-volunteer she was attached to a Polish army unit fighting against the Nazis and the Soviets. Taken prisoner by the latter, she was maltreated but escaped from her captors and crossed over to the Nazi-occupied part of Poland. Soon, Gut Opdyke was arrested by the Germans and pressed into slave labor in a munitions factory. Having fallen ill, she was reassigned as kitchen help at a pension for German military personnel. She took advantage of her relatively privileged position to shelter secretly 12 Jewish fugitives there. She also smuggled other Jews out of the ghetto with the assistance of a priest and another girl. When her German supervisor, Major Eduard Rugemer discovered the fugitives, Irena agreed to become his mistress to guarantee his acquiescence in her “crime.” In early 1944 Irena fled with the Jews into the countryside. She also joined the Home Army but lost her Polish guerrilla fiancé who fell in one of the skirmishes in the spring of 1944. Following the entry of the Red Army into central Poland, Gut Opdyke was arrested by the Communists and tortured for her underground involvement. She escaped from jail and was hidden by the very Jewish family she had saved during the Holocaust. Later, her Jewish friends helped to smuggle Irena out of Poland, and she found herself at a refugee camp in Germany. In 1948 she emigrated to the United States. Gut Opdyke first settled in New York but eventually moved to Yorba Linda, California. In 1995 she was recognized as a Righteous Gentile by Yad Vashem and wrote a popular memoir – *Fado o moim życiu* [Fado about my life] (2000). Her recollections as told to Włodzimierz Paźniewski were published as *Fado o moim życiu* [Fado about my life] (2000).

**Professor (Father) Michał Poradowski** (1913-2003) was born in Niedźwiady near Kalisz. He was an active scout and a member of the All-Polish Youth. Upon graduating from the Tadeusz Kościuszko high school in Kalisz, he enrolled at the Catholic Seminary in Włocławek. Poradowski entered priesthood in 1936 and immediately commenced to study law at the University of Warsaw. Between 1939 and 1942 he served in the underground National-Popular Military Organization (NLOW). Afterward, he joined the National Armed Forces (NSZ). Active in their political leadership, Captain (Father) “Benedykt” headed the office for the military chaplaincy and edited the clandestine *Lux Mundi*, Poland’s only secret publication for the clergy. In August 1945 along with some others of the top brass of the NSZ, Poradowski escaped from Poland and reported in Murnau, where he was admitted to the Polish Armed Forces in the West to continue his work as a military chaplain. Upon demobilization, Poradowski moved to France. He enrolled at a university in Paris and eventually earned three doctorates: in theology, law, and sociology. In 1949, he emigrated to Chile and became a lecturer at Catholic universities in Santiago and Valparaiso. Poradowski was an expert in Marxism and edited a quarterly, *Estudios sobre el Comunismo*. He was also elected chairman of the Union of Poles in Chile and ran their monthly publication, *Polak w Chile* (A Pole in Chile). During the Allende presidency, he was fired from his job and earned his living as a cab driver. Poradowski became close with some of the leading lights of General Augusto Pinochet’s junta. Upon his return to Poland in 1993, he became involved with Catholic traditionalist, conservative, and nationalist circles. Among others, he was appointed an honorary member of the Union of the Soldiers of the NSZ and cooperated with Fronda. He died in Wrocław.

**Maria Ludwika Danilewicz-Zielińska** (1907-2003) was born in the Markowski family in Aleksandrów Kujawski near Kalisz. He was an active scout and a member of the All-Polish Youth. Upon graduating from the Tadeusz Kościuszko high school in Kalisz, he enrolled at the Catholic Seminary in Włocławek. Poradowski entered priesthood in 1936 and immediately commenced to study law at the University of Warsaw. Between 1939 and 1942 he served in the underground National-Popular Military Organization (NLOW). Afterward, he joined the National Armed Forces (NSZ). Active in their political leadership, Captain (Father) “Benedykt” headed the office for the military chaplaincy and edited the clandestine *Lux Mundi*, Poland’s only secret publication for the clergy. In August 1945 along with some others of the top brass of the NSZ, Poradowski escaped from Poland and reported in Murnau, where he was admitted to the Polish Armed Forces in the West to continue his work as a military chaplain. Upon demobilization, Poradowski moved to France. He enrolled at a university in Paris and eventually earned three doctorates: in theology, law, and sociology. In 1949, he emigrated to Chile and became a lecturer at Catholic universities in Santiago and Valparaiso. Poradowski was an expert in Marxism and edited a quarterly, *Estudios sobre el Comunismo*. He was also elected chairman of the Union of Poles in Chile and ran their monthly publication, *Polak w Chile* (A Pole in Chile). During the Allende presidency, he was fired from his job and earned his living as a cab driver. Poradowski became close with some of the leading lights of General Augusto Pinochet’s junta. Upon his return to Poland in 1993, he became involved with Catholic traditionalist, conservative, and nationalist circles. Among others, he was appointed an honorary member of the Union of the Soldiers of the NSZ and cooperated with Fronda. He died in Wrocław. A life long opponent of Communism, Nazism, lib-

**Alfred B. Wisniewski** (1922-2003), who died in Baltimore, is best remembered as an intrepid crusader for the truth about the Katyń Forest Massacre, where Stalin and his henchmen killed thousands of Polish POWs. He served as secretary, president, and president emeritus of the National Katyn Memorial Foundation, USA.

**Jan Rossman** (1916-2003) came from a family of Polish-German intelligentsia in Warsaw. His first childhood memory concerned a field trip with his engineer father who was in charge of building fortifications to stop the Bolshevik advance into Warsaw in July 1920. In 1939 Jan Rossman graduated from the Warsaw Polytechnic with a degree in engineering. However, his life long passion was scouting. In the 1930s he became a scout leader and worked closely with Michał Grażyński, a staunch Piłsudski who headed the Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego (Union of Polish Scouting). Rossman also joined the liberal technocratic pro-government *Naprawa* (Repair) group. During the Second World War Rossman served as one of the top instructors of the underground Szare Szeregi (Grey Ranks). Along with his wife Danuta, he also sheltered Jews at his Żoliborz home. Rossman fought in the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 and was awarded the coveted Virtuti Militari Cross for gallantry. Having been liberated from a Nazi POW camp, he briefly remained in the West but returned to Poland in 1946. Afterward he spearheaded the drive to rebuild Warsaw but by 1950 he felt the brunt of Stalinist terror. Official persecution and chicanery continued after 1956, when Rossman assisted in the rebirth of the scouting movement and involved himself with the dissident milieu, in particular the Home Army veterans. He was fired from his job in 1968 and spent most of the 1970s teaching at a university in Zaire. Later, he assisted underground “Solidarity”. After 1989, in his retirement, Rossman was a very critical observer of the Polish political scene but continued working with the scouting movement, mentoring the young.

**Izabella “Bibi” Wellisz** (1934-2003) nee Jelitaga-wska was born in a landed noble family in Warsaw. In September 1939, while her father remained behind to fight, she and her brother were spirited out of Poland by their American-born mother literally under the German bombs. Through Romania, they reached France, where the mother worked for the Polish Red Cross. After the fall of France, the family fled to Portugal and to the United States, where they settled in the Washington, DC, area in 1940. Following the Soviet occupation of Poland in 1945, when her father perished under unclear circumstances, the family decided to remain in the US. Izabella attended a Methodist high school in Washington, DC, and later earned a graduate degree in art history. She lived abroad quite a bit, including India and Thailand, which taught her appreciation for non-Western cultures and eventually directed her interest toward native American art, folklore, and spirituality. Nonetheless, her home and heart were always open to things Polish, in particular the activities of the Kościuszko Chair. Two major research and writing projects of the Chair were finished thanks to her hospitality in Santa Barbara. We are planning to name a research fellowship to commemorate her.

**Jerzy Boniecki** (1929-2003) was born in an assimilated family of Jewish-Polish intelligentsia in Warsaw. His father was a member of the Polish Socialist Party and, during the Nazi occupation, continued his socialist activities illegally, drawing his son in. Jerzy also served as a soldier of the Home Army. He lived in Communist Poland until the end of the 1950s when, posted as an expert in Australia, Boniecki refused to return to Warsaw. Instead, he eventually became a successful businessman in his adopted homeland. In the 1970s he co-founded the Australian Committee for Human Rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Later, he endowed and supervised the Polcul Foundation to assist dissidents and charity activists in Poland. Boniecki left a substantial grant to Polcul to ensure its functioning well into the future.
Dear Friends,

We would like to thank you for your generous contributions that made our travel, research, and writing possible. In addition to cash gifts, some of you extended your hospitality to us during our research trips and writing projects. This saved the KC a great deal of expense on room and board and travel. All your gifts are greatly appreciated.

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We truly appreciate all your assistance and hope that you will continue to support Polish studies, including the publication of *Nihil Novi*. Please send your tax deductible gifts payable to:

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Thermos

It’s hard to say it straight,
Plainly without a tremble,
my heart’s burning love for you
hidden like in a thermos

When you return – (the world is round,
Hasten around it faster,
The farther you are,
The closer you get, the nearer)

When you return – (you will without a fail,
Thinking that keeps me sleepless,
I’ll wait for you tomorrow again
And everyday again)

When you return – perhaps frozen,
When you return – maybe tired,
I’ll shower with kisses your hair,
Your eyes, your face, and your shoulders,

I won’t let you talk,
Smudging the rouge on your lips,
I’ll burn them with my love
Hot like tea in a thermos.

Termos

Trudno to tak powiedzieć
Po prostu, bez drżenia w głosie,
Że miłość w sercu gorącą
Schowałem, jakby w termosie

Gdy wrócisz – (świat jest okrągły,
Obiegnij go jak najchyżej,
Im dalej będziesz ode mnie,
Tym bliżej, tym bliżej!)

Gdy wrócisz – (nie możesz nie wrócić,
Co noc o tem myślę bezsennie,
Że jutro będę czekał na ciebie. Tak jest codziennie.)

Gdy wrócisz – może zziębnić,
Gdy wrócisz – może zmęczona,
Włosy twoi będę całował,
Oczy, twarz i ramiona,

Nie dam ci dojść do głosu,
Róż na tych ustach rozmażę,
Miłość ci usta poparzę,
Jak wrzącą herbatą z termosu.

Marian Hemar, „Termos” in Koń trojański
(Warsaw: Przeworski, 1936), reprinted in
Marian Hemar, Termos (Warszawa: Burchard Edition, [1993])
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