PAHA Mid-Year Board Meeting in Gdańsk, Poland, 14 June 2019

PAHA Mid-year Board Meeting took place on June 14, 2010 at the University of Gdańsk, Poland. The selection of the venue was conditioned on the fact that PIASA (PAHA’s sister organization) joined forces with the Faculty of History at the University of Gdańsk to co-organize the Seventh World Congress on Polish Studies there. PAHA lent its friendly support to this meeting by becoming an official partner to this event, and with many of PAHA members actively participating in the Congress (including Board members: Pula, Müller, Praszałowicz, Wojdon, Erdmans, Kozaczka, Leahy, Mazurkiewicz, McLees Barczyk, & Pease). Thus, after seven years PAHA Board members returned to Gdańsk to discuss the current business as well as take part in an academic conference. The PIASA Congress (June 14-16, 2019) attracted 273 participants (137 from Poland; 89 from the U.S.). Participants came from sixteen different countries, close to ninety from the US alone. 77 sessions organized into concurrent sessions filled up three full days of the conference. Therefore, the opportunity to showcase PAHA publications released within the Ohio Polish and Polish-American Studies series, *Polish American Studies* journal, to engage and network with Congress participants was ample and dutifully utilized. For the full program and photos of the Congress please check the PIASA site: [www.piasa.org/annual-meetings.html](http://www.piasa.org/annual-meetings.html)

**Interview with Mary Patrice Erdmans by Anna Müller**

*Anna Müller – [AM]: Could you tell me a little about your newest project that you are worked on during your semester as a Fulbright scholar in Poland.*

*Mary Patrice Erdmans [MPE]: I am recording the oral histories of people who were involved in the opposition in Poland, who emigrated, and then returned to Poland. The majority of them became involved in the opposition in the 1980s, although some of them were involved as early as 1968. They were granted refugee or asylee status in the US, Canada, France, Norway, Sweden, or Australia and they returned to Poland sometime after 1989. As a Fulbright Scholar, I was based in Gdańsk but travelled around Poland (Łódź, Wrocław, Katowice, Kraków, Warsaw, and Koszalin) to collect the oral histories. To date, I have completed 40 oral histories. The longest one I have is eighteen hours (over multiple sessions), but the average is around five hours. The oldest person I interviewed was born in 1939, but the majority of them were born in the 1950s. I am interested in how the tumultuous events in Poland over the last 40 years was experienced in the lives of these returnees. The origin of this study dates back to my dissertation when I conducted fieldwork in Chicago (1985-1992) on the political activities of Solidarity refugees. My question then was ‘how do people fight a revolution from abroad’ and the study was grounded in social movement literature. I kept in touch with several people from that time and in the 1990s and 2000s they began to return to Poland to live (as opposed to just visiting). I have five people from that original study who are part of this oral history project, which...*
is wonderful because now thirty years later I have a chance to interview them again.

**AM: So in a sense, this project is a follow-up, or a form of continuation of your previous projects...**

**MPE:** Yes, but this time I am more interested in migration patterns than social movement activities, in particular transnationalism, political and economic transnationalism, and descriptions of social remittances – attitudes, behaviors, ideas, and attitudes – that they bring back with them to Poland. I am also interested in understanding why they returned and how they were received when they returned.

**AM: What are you planning on doing with these interviews?**

**MPE:** Right now, I am transcribing them. I collected over 160 hours of interviews in 2019, some of them are in Polish (I used a translator) but most are in English with Polish words sprinkled liberally throughout and at times in heavy accents. It is difficult for others to transcribe – I tried using a professional transcriber but I spent so much time cleaning the interviews that I decided to transcribe them myself. At some point this project will turn into a book, but at the moment I am working on a couple of articles (or ideas). One idea challenges the narrative that Poland is an ethnically homogenous country. Very few of the returnees had only Polish heritage – the others had Russian and German mothers, Ukrainian fathers, Jewish, Lithuanian, and Byelorussian parents and grandparent(s) and they talk about their own lives through this family history. When I ask, “let’s start at the beginning” they often begin by telling me about their parents (or grandparents). I had one man who spoke for two hours before he came to the part where he was born. They told me fascinating stories that really captured the history of Poland and its shifting borders in the 20th century.

**AM: Are there any other surprises that push you perhaps to ask conceptually new questions?**

**MPE:** The biggest surprise was the number of people who were supportive of the current government. I haven’t analyzed it yet, so I am cautious when talking about the fact that former Solidarity activists are pillars of the current regime, but it needs to be talked about with nuance and academic objectivity. I think there is a problem in the US in a way we talk about what is happening in Poland today. Everything that comes out in the Washington Post, or New York Times, comes from a few sources and Poland ends up looking more one-dimensional – anti-Semitic, nationalistic and intolerant of the LGBT community – than it really is. While these sentiments definitely exist (just like racism and xenophobia exist in the US), not every Pole holds these beliefs, not even the majority. This is a problem in American news when we are only told about this negative slice of Polish society. As an academic, I am more interested in understanding and explaining than I am in condemning and chastising.

**What do you think is the relevance of your study today?**

People left for different reasons and they returned for different reasons. Understanding these reasons will help us to better understand contemporary migration. It is not a simple economic push-pull model. I also think that an analysis of their narratives will contribute to the field of aging and migration – an area that to date few scholars have explored.

*Lech Walesa’s 76th birthday, with Mary Mazurkiewicz*

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*Mary with Jaroslaw Cholodecki, owner of nigdy wiecej! (never again!) hotel; with bullet holes on its walls.*
The 77th Annual Meeting of the Polish American Historical Association will be held on January 3-5, 2020 in New York, in conjunction with the 134th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association.

Friday, January 3, 2020: 1:30 PM-3:00 PM Harlem Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
SESSION 1: BOOK PANEL: AMERICAN WARSAW: THE RISE, FALL, AND REBIRTH OF POLISH CHICAGO BY DOMINIC A. PACYGA
Chair: Neal Pease, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee
Panel: Ewa Barczyk, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee; David A. Gerber, State University of New York at Buffalo; James Pula, Purdue University Northwest

Friday, January 3, 2020: 3:30 PM-6:30 PM
Midtown Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
PAHA BOARD MEETING. Chair: Anna Müller, President

Saturday, January 4, 2020: 8:30 AM-10:00 AM
Hudson Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
SESSION 2: SEARCHING FOR A VOICE, SEARCHING FOR A PLACE
Chair: Marta Cieślak, University of Arkansas at Little Rock
Papers:
The Polish Rifle: Connie Wisniewski and the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League - Neal Pease, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee; Helena Modjeska's Bilingual Morality Tale of 1896 - Maja Trochimczyk, Moonrise Press; "There Are No Capitalists among Our Kind": State, Nation, and Class in Dymytry Vyslutsky's Interwar Lemkovyna - Nicolas K. Kupensky, Bowdoin College; Stanislaw Gutowski: America's Secret Weapon in World War I - James Pula, Purdue University Northwest
Comment: Marta Cieślak, University of Arkansas at Little Rock

Saturday, January 4, 2020: 10:30 AM-12:00 PM
Hudson Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
SESSION 3: GRASSROOTS DEMOCRACY
Chair: Piotr Puchalski, Pedagogical University, Kraków
Papers:
Comment: Piotr Puchalski, Pedagogical University, Kraków

Saturday, January 4, 2020: 3:00 PM-5:00 PM
Harlem Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
SESSION 5: POWER AND DISEMPOWERMENT IN THE LIVES OF POLISH AMERICAN WOMEN
Chair: Rachel Brenner, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Papers:
The Dangerous Intersection of Ethnicity and Sexuality in Migrant Fiction - Grażyna Kozaczk; Between Assimilation and Resistance: The Transatlantic Modernity of Polish Rural Women - Marta Cieślak, University of Arkansas at Little Rock; "The Twenty" via Memory Work: Reinterpreting Story, Rewriting Identity - Kristina Kwacz, Empire State College, State University of New York.
Comment: Rachel Brenner, University of Wisconsin–Madison

Saturday, January 4, 2020: 3:00 PM-5:00 PM
Midtown Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
SESSION 6: IS THERE A HISTORY OF POLAND BEYOND THE HOLOCAUST?
Chair: John Bukowczyk, Wayne State University
Panel:
Natalia Aleksin, Touro College, Graduate School of Jewish Studies; Anna Müller, University of Michigan–Dearborn; Wiktor Marzec, Robert Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw; Janine P. Holc, Loyola University Maryland

Saturday, January 4, 2020: 5:30 PM-7:00 PM
Hudson Room (New York Hilton, Fourth Floor)
SESSION 7: HAMTRAMCK
Chair: Anna Müller, University of Michigan–Dearborn
Papers:
Interconnections and Parallels between Muslims and Polish Catholics in Hamtramck - Alisa Perkins, Western Michigan University; Moving Out, Moving Back, Moving Over: 21st-Century Polonia in Hamtramck - Karen Majewski, University of Michigan; Hamtramck, Poletown, and Bangladesh Avenue: Exploring the Intersection of Communal Autonomies in the Formation of Diaspora Identities - Sunanda Summadar, Wayne County
During its annual meeting in Philadelphia, PA, the Organization of American Historians (OAH) presented Prof. Anna Mazurkiewicz, University of Gdańsk, with their prestigious 2019 Willi Paul Adams Award, which is given every two years for the best book on American history published in a language other than English. The book, *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w amerykańskiej polityce zimowojennej, 1948–1954* [Political Exiles from East Central Europe in American Cold War Politics, 1948–1954] was published by the Institute of National Remembrance and University of Gdańsk. This is an impressively detailed study of the origins and dynamics of U.S. involvement on behalf of East Central European exiles in the early years of the Cold War. Based on transatlantic archival work and covering exile groups such as Albanians, Romanians, Hungarians, Poles, and Soviets, the book’s signal contribution is to join the literature of U.S. Cold War policy and propaganda formation with the literature on exile politics in these important but understudied regions of the Soviet bloc. In her book, Mazurkiewicz presents a nuanced analysis of the two-way relationship between East Central European exiles and U.S. Cold War policy makers, especially through formation of the Free Europe Committee, an anticommunist Central Intelligence Agency–supported organization that established Radio Free Europe and served American propaganda interests. Documents from exiles and interviews with them demonstrate the compromises involved in becoming tethered to the U.S. propaganda mission and give voice to their complex and often-equivocal response to the partnership. The author concludes that the East Central Europeans’ integration in the Free Europe Committee became a model for U.S. relations with anticommunist exile groups from other regions of the world. Because exile and refugee politics are often tied to U.S. policy makers’ interest in regime change elsewhere, Mazurkiewicz’s history will remain a meaningful reference point for the present. The award was presented on April 5 by OAH’s 2018–19 President Earl Lewis and 2019–20 President Joanne Meyerowitz.
The book resulted from my earlier research related to the Assembly of Captive European Nations (a representation of exiled political leaders from nine countries of East Central Europe in the United States). I found many similarities in the American treatment of various émigré groups and organizations that belonged to it. However, questions on the political reasons for American support for these exiles, the mutual relations between the exiles and their American “partners”, conditions fostering their peculiar interdependence remained unanswered. Therefore, it became essential for me to unveil the circumstances for the exile operations within the framework of American policy planning. Who, and on what grounds selected both American and émigré personnel to staff organizations established to work with the exiled anticommunist East Central European politicians? What was the ultimate goal of the exile political programs given the fact that the American government had already officially recognized the puppet regimes installed in East Central Europe? When, who and why decided that the National Committee for a Free Europe/Free Europe Committee (FEC) was to be established within the state-private network in order to serve American political interests? Did it become the basic tool for carrying out the American policy towards the political exiles from East Central Europe?

My book Political Exiles from East Central Europe in the American Cold War Politics, 1948-1954 constitutes an attempt to answer these questions. The aim of it is to identify and describe the origins, instruments and forms of American involvement on behalf of the East Central European exiles in the first years of the Cold War. It is, therefore, not a book on East Central European exile politics but rather on the conditions surrounding their actions - the political, administrative, social and financial context of their operations carried out from the United States.

Political exiles... covers the years from 1948 to 1954 when the American policy towards the political exiles was formed. It began with a political and humanitarian crisis and ended in the establishment of a cooperation model structured chiefly around the FEC. To date many books have been written on the Radio Free Europe. However, not a single academic book deals with the history of FEC activities in their entirety - including cooperation with political exiles from East Central Europe. This is a serious gap, as models for such cooperation, realized in the United States as well as in Europe, were later adopted for anticommunist groups from other regions of the world.

This book shows the place that the political exiles occupied in the American Cold War strategy and tactics and explains the complex conditions in which their operations were carried out. As such, this book bridges two historiographies: the American, which - in regards to the topic of my interest - focuses mostly on Cold War politics, military and intelligence operations, psychological warfare planning, and immigration policy with little or no interest in the émigré politics; and East Central European that focuses mostly on post-World War II and Cold War migration patterns and exile politics being described in the context of national history, with little or no explanation of the conditions in which political exiles operated. My book looks at these operations from the perspective of a host country - the United States. I based my arguments mostly on the American sources (governmental archives, private and public organizations’ papers, interviews, memoirs and
press) confronted and complemented by the primary sources originating with the exiles. Political exiles... introduces new facts and documents released on my request, corrects the often repeated faulty generalizations and some mistakes as well as asks new questions. Therefore, my analysis offers a fresh perspective in the research on East Central European political migration in the first decade after the Second World War.

For the first time, not only in the Polish historiography, the fate of the political exiles who entered in the partnership-like cooperation with the Americans, was presented in such broad scope. The thematic range of this book encompasses varied research areas: post-war migrations, American policy of the first years of the Cold War and its complex international and domestic determinants, U.S. domestic security issues, American anticomunism, as well as issues pertaining to the molding of public opinion and propaganda development. Multifaceted analysis of American policy towards the post-war refugees from Central and Eastern Europe, which I was able to perform, constitutes a starting point for further studies on anticomunist exiles from other regions of the world. On the basis of the results of my research on American policy towards the East Central European exiles in the early years of the Cold War new studies may be developed. By comparison with other national and ethnic groups scholars may continue trying to evaluate the effectiveness and the degree of independence of the émigré anticomunist political actions in the U.S.

Contents of Polish American Studies 76:1 (Spring 2019)

In the introduction to the Spring 2019 issue of the Polish American Studies, the Editor, Anna Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann writes: "We are glad to present to you the new issue of Polish American Studies (vol. 76, no. 1: Spring 2019)! This issue highlights two distinct themes in the research on Polonia in the Western Hemisphere. The first theme pertains to the transformations within contemporary Polonia in one specific location: Greenpoint, NY. A group of distinguished sociologists and urban anthropologists share their research on this topic. Jerry Krase discusses how the media coverage coming both from print and internet sources created a changing image of the Polish Greenpoint. Judith DeSena comments on how economic changes and gentrification affected the housing market in Greenpoint. A group of researchers from NYU and CUNY (Karolina Lukasiwicz, Ewa Dzurak, Ewa Maliga, Izabela J. Barry, and Marta Pawlaczek) present a sociological study of the aging population of Polish residents in Greenpoint.

The second theme focuses on the history of the Kashubs, a regional ethno-linguistic group originating from the northern part of Poland. In his article, Joshua C. Blank offers an insightful look into the culture of Kashub settlers in Ontario, Canada, and especially the traditions of imbibing. In "Varia" Anne Gurnack, Aleksandra Kurowska-Susdorf, and Janina Kurowska recall a forgotten story of the Kashub fishermen from Jones Island, WI, who became an object of the travelling exhibit on both sides of the ocean.

In Memoriam includes a tribute to Professor Thaddeus C. Radzilowski. Book Review section brings reviews of publications authored by Anna Mazurkiewicz, Sheldon Anderson, Waldemar Glinski, Thaddeus Gromada, and Katrina Shawver.

Last but not least, please note the cover: it is an image of a mural on the walls of the Polish National Home in Greenpoint, NY, commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Warsaw uprising of 1944. It had been unveiled in 2014. The mural was painted by artist Rafal pisarczyk and sponsored by the Pangea Network/Gramp-X Promotions and by the Polish American Veterans Association Chapter 2 in New York City."


ARTICLE: ☀ Stills in the Hills: Moonshine Memories from Around Canada's First Polish Kashub Community - By Joshua C. Blank

VARIA: The Saga of the Jones Island’s Kaszube Fishermen Returns Home to Poland in 2017 - By Anne M. Gurnack, Aleksandra Kurowska-Susdorf, Janina Kurowska
Submission Guidelines for Polish American Studies

The editors welcome scholarship including articles, edited documents, bibliographies and related materials dealing with all aspects of the history and culture of Poles in the Western Hemisphere. They particularly welcome contributions that place the Polish experience in historical and comparative perspective by examining its relationship to other ethnic groups. Contributions from any discipline in the humanities and social sciences are welcome. The Swastek Prize is awarded annually for the best article published in a given volume of Polish American Studies.

Manuscripts or inquiries should be submitted in Microsoft Word via e-mail attachment to the anna.k@polishamericanstudies.org (the Editor, Dr. Anna Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Eastern Connecticut State University, Department of History, Webb Hall 333, 83 Windham Street, Willimantic, CT 06226). Manuscripts should be no longer than 8,000-10,000 words plus notes, tables, etc. They should include an abstract of 200 words, and a brief author’s biographical information, their affiliation, and email address. It is the author’s responsibility to obtain all copyright permissions for illustrations and images. Editors will not review works previously published in any form or ghost-written. Authors should follow The Chicago Manual of Style, 16th edition. Contributors whose first language is not English should have their work reviewed for clarity and style prior to submission.

Editor: Anna D. Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Eastern Connecticut State University, anna.k@polishamericanstudies.org
Dr. Anna D. Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann, Editor, PAS
Eastern Connecticut State University, Department of History, Webb Hall 333
83 Windham Street, Willimantic, CT 06226

Books for review should be sent to Mary Patrice Erdmans (English language) or Joanna Wojdon (Polish language) at the addresses below. Books may be submitted by publishers or authors. Submission is no guarantee that books will be reviewed and books will not be returned.

▶ Book Review Editor: Mary Patrice Erdmans, Case Western Reserve University, mary.e@polishamericanstudies.org
Department of Sociology, 10900 Euclid Avenue
Case Western Reserve University
Cleveland, OH 44106

▶ Book Review Editor for Poland: Joanna Wojdon, University of Wroclaw, Poland
joanna.wojdon@uni.wroc.pl
Faculty of History, Szewska 49, 50-139
Wroclaw, Poland

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There will be no humanity without forgiveness. There will be no forgiveness without justice. But justice will be impossible without humanity.” Yolande Mukagasana

The possibility of going to Rwanda came to me as a big surprise. One day, my university colleague, with whom I teach in the Macomb Correctional Facility, asked me if I was interested in learning more about post-genocide recovery in Rwanda: in learning how people cope with loss and how they attempt to grow together as a society regardless of the terrible crimes that divided them, and in learning how violence destroys the fabric of a society and what it takes to sew it back. The tragic events in Rwanda that culminated in the 1994 genocide have been part of my teaching for a while. For someone raised in Poland, with an ear almost subconsciously attuned to the Holocaust, it was particularly nauseating that the world watched another genocide on their TVs in 1995, although repeating Never Again. In my teaching, I have learned that the best way to talk about the tragic events in Poland and the Holocaust, is to do so in context – to show how evil grows, how stigmatization is followed by exclusion, and how violence spreads. Framed this way, violence ceases being something that surprises us, but rather becomes the force that grows next to us while we watch it develop. Rwanda’s tragedy was driven by the same set of mechanisms that led to the Holocaust. So yes, I did want to learn about how the society deals with those wounds, how they carry on, and how some accept their guilt and others learn to forgive. This was my story too.

But this particular opportunity offered even more. As a Polish citizen, I often reflect on the space that trauma plays in Polish history: from the partitions, uprisings, never-ending waves of migrations, wars, and the sense of threat and loss that seem to dominate Polish thinking about history and our past. There is a sense of fragmentation that seems to define Polish thinking about the past. We talk a lot about the difficult past, the blood of Polish sons and daughters, the lost lands, missed opportunity, and the ruins and destruction that surround us. As Jeffrey Alexander wrote in a book on cultural trauma, suffering is a matter of collective concern. And that particular sentence seems to aptly describe the atmosphere in which I grew up. Trauma is an important element of Polish and Polish-American identity. And yet, we rarely address it using these terms. The trip offered an opportunity to get a glimpse of Poland – a country and culture close to my heart through immersing myself in a tragedy and trauma of a country that is culturally and politically completely different.

The trip went beyond my expectations – the beautiful country that I had a chance to visit, the wonderful people I met there, as well as the complex and fascinating history I had a chance to explore. The group I was part of visited some of the memorial sites: Kigali Genocide Memorial, Garden of Memory, and Nyanza Memorial in order to learn about Rwanda’s complicated past – colonialism, difficult independent political existence, the genocide, and post-genocide contemporary Rwanda, a country that struggles with balancing the need to respect and investigate the past with building hope and maintaining trust towards a better future. Nowhere else have I seen ‘the present’ so dominated by ‘the past’ and ‘the future’. However, the key component of our work in Rwanda was working with representatives of various local organizations, activists and academics who deal with post-genocide trauma every single day. With them and through them we learned about the country’s regular challenges and efforts to overcome them. We talked, reflected on the

From Rwanda with Love – By Anna Müller
dramatic history of the country, but we also danced and laughed while learning from each other and building strong ties that hopefully will bloom in the future. The kindness and openness of apparent strangers – our local partners and people we met with during our excursions through town – to share the history and wisdom that came with their experience was overwhelming. Their journey to heal is far from complete, and yet the hope with which they look to the future is inspiring as much as it is perplexing.

Perhaps the biggest impression made on me came with the juxtaposition of the Nyamata Memorial and the Garden of Memory. Nyamata is a small town south of Kigali, Rwanda’s capital, where in a local church 10,000 Tutsi were killed. They fled from all over the area hoping to find safety in the church. Today it is a particularly striking memorial, where the ferocity and intimacy of the violence is distinctly visible. How can one forget and move on after seeing that? And yet, around 40 miles from Nyamata is Nyagaza Memorial Center with a Memory Garden. While Nyagaza Memorial is another site of a mass grave, the Memory Garden composes a site for forgiving in order to move on from the violence. The garden is carefully composed of trees, plants, and stones of two colors – lighter and darker. Every single element of the design is telling. Some stones there symbolize the act of defense, while others the opposite – the offense. Stones align to form paths that are supposed to remind visitors of the treacherous rivers that many people crossed in their search for safety, just to find out that danger awaited them on the other side. Finally, the stones also talk about the loneliness in the struggle for survival. The purple color of some plants symbolizes mourning. But there are also acacia trees, which, with their wide crowns of leaves, create a space for comfort, openness, and dialogue. The remembrance of suffering and loss leads to an emphasis on an urgent need for dialogue. I cannot help but think that the perhaps tired phrase Never Again is replaced here with a desire to talk in order to understand not only the causes, but also the harm for both sides that the genocide produced.

There were many things we learned, and I think the depth to which this journey affected us all will keep revealing itself throughout years. The genocide happened only twenty-five years ago, so it is too early to say anything definitive about the process of dealing with the societal trauma, but throughout the trip I saw multiple attempts to unite in order to move on. Here ‘the past’ serves as a reminder of how cruel people can be – even the people we know well, our friends and neighbors – but also a reminder that sometimes we just need to look to history for what can push us forward, rather than something that keeps us behind. Thinking about this I am reminded of what I read a long time ago in Tzvetan Todorov’s Facing the Extreme, that the act of solidarity is a political, not a moral act. It provides the community with dignity that helps them move on from the traumatic event. One word that we kept hearing in Rwanda over and over again was the Kinyarwanda word Ubuntu, which means “to be human,” to be kind, generous, and empathetic. Perhaps solidarity is the only weapon we have against hatred around and inside us. And finally, I took away from this experience a sense of responsibility that history, or the stories we tell about our past, can fragment and divide us, but can also unite and guide us towards the future by helping us see hope for the future – even through the most difficult past.
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PAHA’s goals are: to promote the study of Polish American history and culture as part of the greater Polish diaspora; to encourage and disseminate scholarly research and publication on the Polish American experience in the fields of history, the social sciences, the humanities and the arts; to advance scholarly collaboration across disciplines; and to support collection and preservation of historical sources regarding the Polish past in America.


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Dr. Dominic Pacyga, a highly respected historian of Polonia and an expert on the history of Chicago served as Vice-Marshall in the 2019 Constitution Day Parade in Chicago. He commented: "Being Vice-Marshall of the Polish Constitution Day Parade in Chicago was one of the high points of my professional life. I was surprised and honored to be nominated by the Dziennik Związku and grateful for their endorsement of my work. The parade was wonderful. It was a delight to see so many young people and children involved. I was especially happy to see the widespread support of Polonia for the event. It proves the staying power of Polskość and that the Chicago area’s Polonia remains a vital force in the social, economic, cultural, and political life of the city and suburbs." Dominic A. Pacyga is Professor Emeritus of the Columbia College in Chicago. For three decades, he taught in the Liberal Education Department at the college. He earned his Ph.D. in history from the University of Illinois at Chicago in 1981 and has wide ranging interests in urban development, labor history, immigration, and ethnic relations. He worked with museums including the Chicago Historical Society, the Museum of Science and Industry, and the Field Museum in Chicago on a variety of public history projects. Pacyga has also worked with numerous neighborhood organizations as well as ethnic, labor, and fraternal groups to preserve and exhibit their histories. Pacyga acted as guest curator of a major exhibit, "The Chicago Bungalow" at the Chicago Architecture Foundation, and co-edited The Chicago Bungalow (Arcadia Press 2001), a companion volume to the exhibit. Dr. Pacyga won the Oscar Halecki Award from the Polish American Historical Association for his book, Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago (1991) and the Catholic Book Award for Chicago: City of Neighborhoods (1986). Dr. Pacyga served on PAHA Board in 2016-2018. The Polish Constitution Day Parade in Chicago was held for the first time in 1892 in Humboldt Park, and after World War II it was moved to downtown, currently being held in Grant Park, from Buckingham Fountain to the bridge. The event honors Poland's May 3rd Constitution, the first democratic constitution of Europe, adopted by the Polish Seym in 1791, after four years of debating. It is the second constitution of its kind, following the Constitution of the United States Constitution. The 2019 Parade Marshal was Józef Cikowski, president of Polish Highlanders Alliance of North America, an organization gathering former residents of the Tatra Mountains and their foothills, who emigrated to Chicago in large numbers mostly prior to World War I. More than 100 Polonia organizations participated in the parade, including schools, culture clubs, Polish student clubs, Polish scouts (Harcerstwo), businesses, and fraternal and social organizations.

At the onset of the Second World War, my father, aged nineteen, was forcibly removed from his family in Poland by the Russian secret police and exiled to the harshest of the Siberian labour camps, the dreaded Soviet GULags of Kolyma. He spoke very little about it. Only very occasionally would his painful memories allow him to give a little snippet of information. After his death I became intrigued and began researching his early life. As I discovered more and more, I became amazed and shocked at the ordeals he’d endured. When Germany invaded Russia, he was freed from Kolyma but still had many trials to face. He survived GULags, torture, and the war, but was never allowed to return home. I traced his footsteps on a journey of 40,000 kilometres, through places most of us have never heard of, a journey through despair, fear, hope and disappointment, and in these pages I recount his journey. This is a true story occurred during a largely unknown and poorly documented period of modern history that has been denied by successive Russian Governments and largely ignored by western governments and media. I believe it is a valuable insight into not only my father’s story but the story of a whole Polish nation. More information on Mr. Pleszak’s website: Pleszak.com, and Pleszak.blog.
Anna Mazurkiewicz edited *East Central European Migrations During the Cold War. A Handbook*. (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019). [https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/506317](https://www.degruyter.com/viewbooktoc/product/506317). A result of international cooperation of authors from eight countries this handbook offers a unique look at migrations from East and Central Europe during the Cold War. The scholars – familiar with regional and foreign archives, with the state of research in the field both in their home countries and abroad, fluent in the languages of the countries included herein, joined their competences, experience and erudition to put together this unprecedented academic guide. A coherent chapter structure allows the reader to pursue own comparisons and design innovative research projects. For general readers interested in the history of East and Central Europe, this volume serves as a survey of major migration streams in the context of political history of the Cold War. For scholars, mainly historians and sociologists, it points to the new areas, requiring a thorough, in-depth research, problems that need to be addressed on a transitional level. Since it contains a review of current state of research, with a special focus on further research potential it is intended as a starting point for anyone interested in pursuing the study of regional migrations after World War II.

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**Little Elephant - by Donna Urbikas, from "Objects that Speak"**

This little elephant traveled with me from England where I was born to America in the early 1950’s and has remained with me ever since as a reminder of the ordeals that my parents and sister endured during World War II. Its origin began in the early 1940’s in the Middle East where my father had been stationed with the newly formed Polish Army under General Władysław Anders. In England, my mother sewed it by hand from my father's woolen army coat that the British had supplied to the newly forming Polish army. After getting out of the USSR—the labor camp, the tortuous back and forth journey across the southern USSR, my mother and sister found temporary refuge in Tehran. They had met my Polish Army officer father during that whole turmoil, first at the Polish Army camp in Tatishchevo in 1941, then in Džhalal-Abad, and eventually in England.

My mother, Janina Ślarzyńska Zimmerman Solecka, and my sister, Mira Zimmerman, spent the remainder of the war in India so elephants were a daily presence in their lives. In 1947, they left India for England as going back to Poland was not a good option for them. Life in England was difficult for Poles like us with few material resources, but my mother was very resourceful and a talented seamstress, so she took my father's old army wool coat and a toy elephant pattern published in the local newspaper and made this toy elephant for me. My father mounted it on a wooden platform with wooden wheels that he had made and tied a straw basket to the top, which he filled with colorful M&M candy. I remember strolling with the elephant pulling it along and sneaking candy when I visited my mother in the hospital where she was recovering from pneumonia, shortly before we came to America. The elephant was packed up for me but without the wheels. I didn’t really like it at first since the material was very course so the elephant was mostly on display in my bedroom, but it survived all these years and it has been on display in my home ever since. It reminds me of my mother and her frugality and all the sacrifices she made for me after surviving such a brutal journey and having been forced to leave her home in Poland, which today is Belarus.

DONNA URBIKAS is the author of award-winning memoir *My Sister's Mother*, about the ordeal of her mother and half-sister as slave laborers in a Soviet gulag in Siberia during WWII. see [https://danutaurbikas.com/](https://danutaurbikas.com/). More stories from “Objects that Speak” are on PAHA Website: [polishamericanstudies.org/text/38/objects-that-speak.html](https://polishamericanstudies.org/text/38/objects-that-speak.html)
Katrina Shawver’s *Henry: A Polish Swimmer’s True Story of Friendship from Auschwitz to America* (Köehler Books, November 2017) is an incredible true story recounts how Henry Zguda, a Polish (Catholic) competitive swimmer, survived Auschwitz and Buchenwald concentration camps and went on to live the American dream. At times humorous, always gut-honest, this view of the Holocaust through Polish eyes fills a huge gap in historical accounts of Poles during WWII. The book features many authentic documents, original photos and Topics for Discussion. Polish history is woven throughout to give the reader a sense of context and setting of the time. Ultimately, HENRY is the story of a resilient young man who survives by his wits, humor, friends, and a healthy dose of luck. The book has garnered many awards including First Place for Published Nonfiction in the 2018 Arizona Authors Association Literary Contest. It is listed as recommended reading on Poland by the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland in Los Angeles. (https://losangeles.msz.gov.pl/en/news/books/) Per John Guzlowski, author of *Echoes of Tattered Tongues: Memory Unfolded*, “I’ve read dozens of memoirs of people who survived the camps, and Katrina Shawver’s book is among the best.”

Katrina Shawver is an experienced writer, speaker, and author. She wrote columns in the Arizona Republic for eleven years. In 2002, she met Henry Zguda, an eighty-five-year-old Polish (Catholic) survivor of Auschwitz and Buchenwald during WWII. He lived a mile from her house. Intrigued, she soon offered to write his story, knowing very little about Poland at the time, as she is not Polish. Katrina spent many years researching Poland, World War II, and the Holocaust, that included a trip to Poland in 2013. Katrina is the recipient of the 2018 Polish Heritage Award from the Polish American Congress of Arizona for “her contribution to the documentation of the suffering inflicted on Polish people during the Holocaust.” She lives in Phoenix Arizona where she has served as the Writer in Residence for the Glendale Public Library, and is a Road Scholar with Arizona Humanities, presenting on Polish history.

**New Research Project on Polish Americans - by Joanna Wojdon**

The research project “The History of the Polish Americans 1854-2005,” funded by the NCN (National Research Center, Poland), was launched in July 2019. A team of four researchers: Anna Jaroszyńska-Kirchmann (Eastern Connecticut State University), James Pula (Purdue University Northwest), Adam Walaszek (Jagiellonian University, Kraków), and Joanna Wojdon (University of Wrocław, project coordinator) will work for three years to develop a synthesis of the history of the Polish Americans together with an accompanying selection of primary sources covering the period from the beginning of the Polish presence in the United States until today. The results will be published both in Polish and in English.

The authors state in the project description: “Our goal is to present the multifaceted image of the Polish American past against the broad historical, social and political background of both nations. We are not going to avoid the traditional issues of the Polish American organizations, assimilation, political activities, leaders or disputes over the Polish American achievements and failures. However, we also want to include issues of living and working conditions, the Polish American everyday life and festivities, typical and specific features of Polonia. Such a perspective should also give appropriate proportions to the image of the Polish community in the United States.”

The selection of primary sources will reflect but also go beyond the synthesis that it will accompany. So far neither in Poland nor the United States has this sort of publication appeared that would document the life and achievements of Polonia. We would like to let the Poles in America and Polish Americans speak with their own voice to a broad audience, including students and researchers who we see as the potential readers of our publications. We would like to provide them with material for their own reflections and conclusions with the hope that in the long run it would enliven scholarly research on the Polish ethnic group.
POETRY CORNER: ANNA MARIA MICKIEWICZ

Socrates Faces Cold Weather in May

Socrates is lost in anxiety
This is because of cold weather
and of today's cool philosophy

His friend Mr Green was in the hospital
His heart now beats at an even pace
He returned
Made a fireplace burn again

A Sunny Day in Davis

Angels of few feeble white words
leave on the vaguely imperceptible clouds of spring
They leave to clasp their hands and nod their heads
high up there
Humbly stooped people in small towns
leave their apartments and their geranium-filled balconies
on summer days when coolness is elusive even at night
They leave their large white Californian houses
Their gardens sprinkled with artificial dew
They leave an image of Our Lady on the branch of a tree
Spooked by something sneaking up on the hot shiny car metal
Their automatic windows close shut
That was how it seemed to them...
Or maybe we were the ones that didn’t see the signs?
They leave...

Reagent’s Park

He proposed
To invisible clouds
In Regent’s Park

And she
Engulfed in sun-trimmed rose muslin
Stepped through doors of glass
One golden step
Under the sky, now draped
Across a steel clock
At the vertices of Victorian towers
One misty evening

Mickiewicz is a Polish-born poet, writer and editor who writes both in Polish and in English. Anna moved to California, and then to London, where she has lived for many years. She edits the annual literary magazine Pamiętnik Literacki (The Literary Memoir), London, and is a member of English Pen. Her first collection of verse was published in 1985. Since then, publications include short stories and essays Okruchy z Okrągłego Stołu (Breadcrumbs from the Round Table) in 2000, Londyńskie bagaże literackie in 2019, and verse collections Proscenium in 2010, London Manuscript, (2014) and The Mystery of Time (Flutter Press, 2019). With Danuta Blaszak she has published an anthology Flying Between Words, Contemporary Writers of Poland (Florida: 2015). Her poetic works have appeared in the following journals in the United States, UK, Australia, Canada and Poland: Akant, Poezja Dzisiaj, Tygiel, Galeria, Pamiętnik Literacki, South Bank Poetry (UK), Krytyka, The Exiled Ink (UK), The Screech Owl (UK), Syndic Literary Journal (CA), Lost Coast Review (CA).

Her verse has appeared in many anthologies: Through A Child’s Eyes: Poems From World War Two, chosen by Moira Andrew (UK: Poetry Space, 2013), Contemporary Writers of Poland, ed. Danusia Blaszak (Orlando: Dreammee Little City, 2013), The Arts of Being Human, Vol. 13 (Burlington, Ontario, Canada: Brian Wrixon Books, 2015), Piękni ludzie, by Adam Siemienczyk (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo IBiS, 2012). She has translated British and American poetry and drama. Mickiewicz performed at the Penzance Literary Festival in 2013, and organised European Poetry Dialogues events to celebrate UNESCO’s World Poetry Day in 2014 Her poetry featured on the radio in the UK (Poets Anonymous), Australia and Poland. Anna won the Miasto Literatów (The City of Writers) Author of the Year in 2013 and was honored with the Gloria Artis medal by the Polish Ministry of Culture. Website: faleliterackie.com
Meet a Polish American Artist: Katarzyna Kociomyk

Katarzyna Kociomyk graduated with Honors from one of the most prestigious Academies of Fine Art in Poland. Mrs. Kociomyk’s paintings are in private collections in the United States, Canada, South America, Europe, Australia and Asia. She says: “My first oil painting I painted when I was 4 years old. I think that back then I first started to think about becoming a painter. Through painting I was creating my own spaces, and new worlds starting from some small element of reality. That internal and external reality seemed to be my early inspiration. After an Elementary School I applied to a strictly art oriented High School, and near the end of it I was considering studying at one of the best Fine Art Academies in Europe. In October of 1993 I was accepted to Academy of Fine Art in Warsaw, and in a matter of weeks I was studying under some of the best art professors in the Country. I finished the Academy with Honors with a solid technical foundation, extensive knowledge of art history, and a better understanding of the word ‘artist.’” Born, raised, and educated in Poland, Kociomyk came to the United States in December 2009. She opened her studio in a tranquil home in Vermont just few days after her arrival. In 2015 she moved to rural Indiana, where for two years she was developing new ideas and created new artistic challenges. In 2017 Katarzyna relocated to Santa Barbara, California and since April 2018 she has her new home and studio in Las Vegas, Nevada where she now lives and creates full time. Painting reproduced by permission: “Looking Out For Myself,” oil on canvas, 48X60in.

World Premiere of Helena, a Play About Modjeska by Marta Ojrzyńska

The world premiere of a new solo play by actress-writer, Marta Ojrzyńska, entitled "Helena" and dedicated to the legendary Helena Modjeska took place at Magicopolis Theater in Santa Monica, CA on May 19, 2019. Modjeska, who was the first major Polish theater star in the nineteenth century, went abroad and achieved a stunning success. This is a story about art, difficult family life, struggle for survival, huge determination, success, love but also great loneliness and longing. As Marta Ojrzyńska wrote: "I am trying to answer the question of who would such a great actress be today and how where artistic path would lead her in the era of television, film, and social networking. What is the actor's profession and what challenges do we face today? Modjeska achieved enormous success in England and America, I look at how we perceive her in California, and how her history and achievements function in Poland. Until today, no Polish actor has had such an extraordinary world career as Modjeska. She was among the most hardworking stars of the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. She performed on stage for 46 years and appeared in over 300 different cities around the world. In total, she gave over 6,000 performances, playing over 300 characters.” The play, commissioned by the Helena Modjeska Art and Culture Club, featured lighting and sound design by Bartosz Nalazek, and promotional photos by Emi Morell. Marta Ojrzyńska is a Polish actress working in the field of drama theatre, performance, visual arts and film. Educated in Kraków, since 2005, she has been performing at the prestigious National Teatr Stary in Kraków. She also directed two plays, Molly B. and Brzeg -Opole for which she has won many theatre awards.
The world premiere of "80/75 Warsaw at War" envisioned and directed by Konrad Tademar Wilk took place on September 28, 2019 at the Santa Monica Playhouse in Santa Monica, CA. The date was selected for its historical significance: the signing of the capitulation of Warsaw in 1939 and the second capitulation after Warsaw Uprising in 1944. The performance included texts by Tademar to introduce writings by Polish poets and writers: Krzysztof Kamil Baczyński and Józef Szczepański who fought and died during the Warsaw Uprising, Teresa Bogusławska who participated in the Uprising and died in 1945, and Władysław Szlengel who fought and died in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. Poetry and longer narrative fragments from war-time memoirs of Tademar's maternal grandparents, Dr. Alicja Burakowska and her husband Marian Burakowski were masterfully presented by Monika Ekier and Łukasz Dziemidok. These two incredibly talented and passionate actors brought the material to life. The deeply moving program included songs from what could be called the Polish Patriotic Songbook, such as We, the First Brigade, Red Poppies on Monte Cassino (performed by exceptional soprano, Jolanta Tensor), March of Lviv Children, Heart in the Backpack, and various partisan songs presented by "one of us," Sylvia Wilk. Professional dancers Ewa Violet and Krzysztof Glowinkowski presented a newly-wed couple in a waltz "Dancing in the Rubble" to the music of Adam Lewandowski. 11-year-old Stella Beaudoin sang Siekiera Motyka satirical song from the occupation period. Authentic recordings of speeches by President of Warsaw, Stefan Starzyński, German and Russian war-time broadcasts, and period music provided an acoustic thread that enriched the spectacle with the air of authenticity. The set of carefully selected songs and poems encapsulated the whole war-time experience of Polish fighters and civilians, their suffering, horrors, bravery, and resilience.

The author of this moving spectacle, Konrad Tademar Wilk was born in Los Angeles, with family roots in Lviv and Warsaw. He told the audience: "I was raised by Polish partisans who never gave up their arms. They were the parents of my mother Liliana Tademar. My grandfather Marian Burakowski fought in the Warsaw Uprising in the Kiliński Batalion of the Home Army; he took part in the PASTA action, and was awarded the Cross of Valor. Together with my grandmother, Dr. Alicja Burakowska, they were honored as Righteous Among the Nations in 1984 by the Yad Vashem Institute for helping people of Jewish origin."

The audience included a special guest, Hanka Gutkowska, who participated in the Uprising ("Wilga") and has lived in Los Angeles for over 50 years. The veteran was honored by the organizers with a symbolic bouquet of white and red flowers. Dancer Ewa Violet thus summarized her experience: "It was a very special and unforgettable evening for me and for many. I was touched deeply. When the play, the program moves the audience to tears you know that you are a part of something exceptional. This was a little token of appreciation to our ancestors’ bravery. It's been 80 years since the siege and 75 years since Warsaw uprising. It is still very fresh... our grandparents experience that... we all grew up listening to those stories... we will never forget..."
The Hollywood Fringe Festival, a mammoth month-long presentation of alternative and experimental theater from all over the world featured three plays with Polish themes.

**Andy Kolo’s “The Trial of Dali” by Teatr Fantazja from Sydney, Australia**

Polish American artist, leader of the Krak Art Group in Los Angeles, Andrzej Kolodziej (Andy Kolo) wrote a fascinating play *The Trial of Dali* that Polish “Teatr Fantazja” from Sydney, Australia included in their repertoire and brought to the Hollywood Fringe Festival in June 2019. Based on an episode from the life of Spanish painter, Salvador Dali, and effectively directed by Joanna Borkowska-Surucic, *The Trial of Dali* is a comedy set in 1948 Spain that depicts the legal troubles of the flamboyant surrealist. Dali and his wife and muse Gala, return from the U.S. to Dali’s small hometown of Figueres, in his native Spain, at a time when Dali is broken financially and artistically (although he would never admit it).

Upon arrival, Dali is served with a summons to a trial prosecuted by a vengeful attorney bent on proving Dali’s art has violated the moral code. Ultimately to win his freedom, prove his relevance as an artist, and save his marriage, Dali must defend himself by defending his art. At the end, artistic truth prevails, and Dali is free to create. Dali’s friends coming to his rescue include Marilyn Monroe, Andy Warhol, and Pablo Picasso (who snuck into Spain to give the impoverished artist a bag of cash). The play is filled with humorous banter and surreal antics of the “genius” – in a virtuoso, frantic, and unforgettable performance by Polish Australian actor, James Domeyko, the great-great-great grandson of the famous Polish-Chilean engineer Ignacy Domeyko who fought in November Uprising of 1831, found refuge in Paris and emigrated to Chile in 1838. (The Domeyko family moved from Chile to Australia in the dark years of 1970s). The actor was also the composer of most of the electronic music used in this exciting and imaginative play that touched upon serious issues of creative freedom, individual liberty, and artistic value. The exceptional performances by the whole cast (partly Australian, partly Polish) made the whole story vivid and colorful, with each character outlined in thick strokes by a master artist. Kolo’s own paintings appeared on the stage as well, discussed and criticized by “Dali.” The irresistible combination of creative vision (especially the mimed scene with flashing lights and intense music portraying the violence and war of Franco’s fascist Spain), wit, and intellectual brilliance should bring *The Trial of Dali* to other stages, including, after its translation into Polish, theater in Poland. A Polish-American writer, plus a Polish-Australian theater equals artistic success!

**Monika Ekiert in Hollywood Classic, “The Seven Year Itch”**

Monika Ekiert, a Polish-French actress who recently came to Hollywood from Paris, starred in the role made famous by Marilyn Monroe, in a romantic comedy, *The Seven Year Itch*. The film based on this play by George Axelrod gave rise to one of the most iconic images in screen history – Marilyn Monroe in her white dress, flowing in the air. Monika Ekiert rose to the challenge of matching Monroe’s allure – on stage, she is mysterious, beautiful and sensual, accidentally seducing a hapless husband left alone in the city for the summer. Despite the iconic magic of Marilyn Monroe in the film version, this is a trivial story, made bearable only by the charm, wit and charisma of the Polish star.

**World Premiere of the “Siren Call” – a Short Play by Jola Cora**

This 30-minute play for three actors won the Encore Award and additional performances at the 2019 Hollywood Fringe Festival. Its author, Jola Cora is a Polish American actress, writer and director, and she wrote the play to star in the main role of a famous actress, envied and kidnapped by her former friends, failing
In the words of one reviewer, Bend Zandpour, “witty, referential, sexy, and scary, this minimalist three-person critique of the idea of celebrity challenges our incessant worship of movie stars.” The playwright and star described her work as “a magical realist dramedy about identity and oneness, frustrated actors, classism, depression, myths and a quote by Albert Camus.” More information: jolacora.com

PERSONALIA

**Anthony J. Bajdek** presented two papers at separate locations in Poland on June 15 and June 18, 2019: the first being titled, "On the 212th Anniversary of Joel Barlow's Columbiad, A Perspective on Kościuszko's Role at Saratoga" for the 7th World Conference on Polish Studies at the University of Gdańsk on June 15; and then in Kraków on June 18, he repeated it to the Kościuszko Mound Committee in the Pałac Krzysztofory, and was also invited by the Committee to present a second paper titled, "When Victimization of Poland Was Never in Doubt: Fostering Knowledge of and Sympathy for Poland in the Early American Republic: Niles' Register, 1811-1849." Later that day, in the Chapel of Blessed Bronisława, which is an integral part of the Kościuszko Mound complex, he was inducted, in a formal ceremony of the Committee which he had known months in advance would occur, as the first foreigner (and thus, the first American as well) ever to serve permanently as an Honorary Member of the Committee that had been established in 1820 for the perpetual care of the Mound. What he hadn't known, prior to arriving in the Chapel for the ceremony, was that the record of his induction had been duly carved beforehand into one of the Chapel's two marble plaques, one for the Committee's eleven Lifetime Presidents and the other for the Committee's six Honorary Members, of which he became the most recent. Mr. Bajdek also presented a paper "On the 212th Anniversary of Joel Barlow's Columbiad, A Perspective on Kościuszko's Role at Saratoga" at the Seventh World Congress on Polish Studies at the University of Gdańsk in June 2019.

**John Bukowczyk**, Professor of History at Wayne State University in Detroit, In December 2019 will participate in a conference on "Pluralism in a Historical Context: Challenges and Opportunities in North America" hosted by the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University.

**Silvia Dapia** had her book *Gombrowicz in Transnational Context: Translation, Affect, and Politics*, published by Routledge in June. She gave a paper on “The Cow Stares at Us: Issues of Vulnerability and Precariousness in Gombrowicz” at the at the Seventh World Congress on Polish Studies at the University of Gdańsk in June where she also chaired another session on Gombrowicz.

**John Guzlowski** recently published his 6th book of memoir poems, *True Confessions*. His essay “Growing Up Polack” has been nominated for the Pushcart Prize this year. He is also a weekly columnist for the *Dziennik Zwiazkowy*, the oldest Polish daily newspaper in America. You can read his archived columns in both Polish and English at this link: http://dziennikzwiazkowy.com/category/guzlowski/

**Grażyna J. Kozaczka**, starting on January 1, 2020, will serve as book review editor for literature and the arts at the *Polish Review*.

**James S. Pula**'s book *Under the Crescent Moon, a History of the Eleventh Corps in the American Civil War*, received the U.S. Army Historical Foundation’s Distinguished Writing Award. He gave a paper titled “Tadeusz Kościuszko Prevents a War” at the Seventh World Congress on Polish Studies at the University of Gdańsk in June and also co-edited *Purdue University North Central: The History of a Regional Campus*.


**Pien Versteegh** (executive director of the Polish American Historical Association) recently accepted a position as the managing director of the School for Economics and Business at Maastricht University. She is also working on a research project comparing career patterns of Polish migrants in Pennsylvania and Illinois.
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