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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES**MEMORANDUM BY THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH
TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES**

NUMBER 195

16 JUNE 1944

THE POLISH-AMERICAN LEFT

*The coalescence of ultra- and moderate- nationalist Polish-American forces in the Polish American Congress which met at Buffalo 28-30 May has tended to divert attention from the less numerous but also well organized forces which comprise the left wing of American Polonia. Consisting for the most part of labor elements from the industrial area around the Great Lakes, the Left itself is divided into a pro-Soviet camp variously organized by such leaders as Leo Krzycki, Father Orlemanski, and Oscar Lange, and a group of factions recently stirred by this pro-Soviet activity into rallying fresh support to the cause of the Polish Government-in-Exile.**

WITH the development of the Polish-Soviet Russian controversy and its injection into American party politics the struggle for the political allegiance of an estimated 600,000 Polish-American trade unionists has become acute. Chiefly employed in the heavy industries, about two-thirds of these 600,000 workers belong to CIO unions and one-third to those of the AFL. A substantial fraction, chiefly in the Detroit area, are believed to be Communist Party members or sympathizers.

On the pro-Soviet side the chief instruments in this campaign have been the Communist-led Polish-American Section of the International Workers' Order (IWO), the American Slav Congress (in which Polish-Americans participate), the Kosciuszko Leagues, and the American Polish Labor Council, all of which have, with strong CIO Political Action Committee backing, undertaken to swing Polish-American labor behind the Russian position in the Polish-Soviet dispute. A newly organized group of pro-Soviet intellectuals calls itself the Center for Liberal Polish Refugees.

* Reference to earlier papers of this Branch relating to the Polish-American Left will be made in the course of this study. Of general interest are "Polish Nationalism in the United States," FN Number 173 of 12 February 1944; "Detroit: A sample of American Polonia," FN Number 172 of 10 February 1944, and "The Polish-Language Press in the United States," FN Number 164 of 8 December 1943.

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Until recently the only important left-wing agencies favoring the Polish Government-in-Exile were various counterparts in the United States of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). Now, however, Polish nationalists are campaigning to create additional labor and liberal organizations to support their cause. These efforts have brought into being a network of Polish-American Labor Councils, a Polish Association for Democracy, and a Representation of the Polish Democratic Party in the United States.

I. BACKGROUND OF THE POLISH-AMERICAN LEFT

Polish-Americans and Polish refugees in the United States belong to organizations of three types. First come the Polish national organizations, chiefly fraternal societies and Polish Roman Catholic or Polish National Catholic Church parishes. Then there are the general American organizations of which the trade unions and American political parties are the most important. In the third category are found adherents of Polish political parties, chiefly refugees, but exercising strong traditional influences among a few Polish-Americans. There is, of course, a great amount of overlapping. Fraternal societies are largely organized around parishes. Many Polish-Americans belong both to fraternal societies and to trade unions. They take part also in organized American political life, on the local, state, and national levels. Refugees and Polish-Americans intermingle.

The Search for Left-Wing Support

Until last summer the effort to mobilize Polish-Americans as pressure groups was restricted largely to a campaign to activate the lethargic fraternal societies in favor of the Polish Government-in-Exile. Other types of organization tended to be disregarded. The Russian victories and attendant Roman Catholic fears of a Bolshevized Europe swung attention to the parishes as such, but except for commemoration masses, the Catholic interest served chiefly to make the fraternal societies more active.

In opposition the only important agencies of the pro-Russian Polish-Americans were the Communist-led Polish-American Section of the International Workers' Order, and the American Slav Congress. The American Slav Congress was organized in 1941, became dormant and was revived in 1942, largely at the initiative of the Slovene-American author Louis Adamic, but with important Polish-American collaborators. It attracted a considerable number of important Polish-Americans to its platform of uniting the war efforts of Slavs

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in the United States. By 1943, however, the organization had swung steadily to the Left, incurring charges of "Communism." Its Polish-American leaders undertook other activities, and Yugoslavs were left as the most active members.

During the summer of 1943 leaders of the camp favoring the Polish Government-in-Exile began to look to the coming Presidential elections as a favorable opportunity for placing pressure upon the Administration to come to the aid of Poland, while certain Republican leaders of both Polish and non-Polish background looked favorably at the possibility of using the Polish problem as a means of weaning Polish-Americans away from their traditional Democratic allegiance.

Democratic Party leaders, particularly those of the CIO Political Action Committee, determined to counteract this use of the Polish issue, and found allies in Polish-American labor leaders, chiefly of CIO affiliation, who undertook to warn their followers against attempts to manipulate them for anti-Administration and what they deemed to be anti-labor purposes. The Communist-led organizations joined heartily in the effort.

In part this counteraction took the form of the creation of the Kosciuszko Leagues, sponsored by Father Stanislaus Orlemanski. The Kosciuszko Leagues, however, appear to have had limited success, probably because the official aim of the Leagues—to lend aid to the Kosciuszko Division in Russia, later expanded into a Polish Army—was too narrow in scope, and perhaps because Father Orlemanski, who is heartily anti-Communist, has endeavored (according to his own statement) to keep local leadership in Catholic lay hands and to exclude Communists and fellow-travelers from all key posts.

During the fall of 1943 efforts to supplement the Kosciuszko Leagues and to align Polish-American trade union workers as such behind the Administration were made on a small scale in Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, Milwaukee, and, on a state-wide basis, in New Jersey. On 16 January 1944 a national trade union conference, with delegates from both CIO and AFL Polish sections of trade unions, but with the CIO predominating, met in Cleveland and formed a nationwide American Polish Labor Council. Subsequently, conferences were held at Detroit and Chicago. The Council's purpose, as stated by its organizers, is to defend the Administration's foreign policy against anti-Soviet pressure by Polish-American nationalists. The Council has a large membership but has become, organizationally speaking, inactive.

Possibly as an independent move, but more probably to block the emerging

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pro-Russian appeal to Polish-American labor through the Kosciuszko Leagues, Alojzy Adameczyk came to the United States last fall from England. President of the Polish Trade Union Council in England, a member of the Polish National Council (the Polish "parliament-in-exile") and former president of the Polish Transport Workers Union in Great Britain, Adameczyk's aim has been to align Polish-American labor behind the Polish Government-in-Exile, and from behind the scenes he has succeeded in organizing a series of Polish-American Labor Councils which support the Government-in-Exile.

Meanwhile the two main Polish Socialist organizations in the United States, the Polish-Socialist Alliance and the Polish Labor Group, together with other Socialist groups suffered internal splits over the Polish-Soviet issue. These Socialists are not labor leaders for the larger part, but intellectuals, who often speak of themselves as "liberals" or "democrats." The split began in April a year ago, at the time of the Polish-Soviet break in relations. The Polish Socialist Party and the Polish Labor Group organizations supported the Polish Government-in-Exile, an important faction, following the lead of Oscar Lange, professor of economics at the University of Chicago, issued a *Call to Reason* protesting against the anti-Russian course. As a result, Lange and his fellow-thinkers were read out of the Polish Socialist Party.

With the spread of the struggle to the Socialists, new organizations have emerged. These include, on the pro-Soviet side, the Center for Liberal Polish Refugees, and in the pro-Government-in-Exile camp the Polish Association for Democracy and the Representation of the Polish Democratic Party in the United States.

II. PRO-SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS

Polish-American Section of IWO

The Polish-American Section of the IWO is under Communist leadership and represents the extreme Left of American Polonia. * One of its organs is the vividly edited Detroit weekly *Glos Ludowy*, a faithful copy of the *Daily Worker*. One of the *Glos Ludowy* editors, Jozef Gebert is president of the Section. The Section has carried on a consistent propaganda in favor of the Soviet Union directly through *Glos Ludowy*, but it has reached a

* A general description of the background and present status of the IWO, including its Polish-American Section, will be given in a forthcoming study now in preparation by this Branch.

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much larger constituency through collaboration with other pro-Soviet movements. The Kosciuszko League in Detroit was vigorously supported, and possibly originated, by Polish-American IWO leaders, strongly entrenched in CIO labor unions, and these leaders have also collaborated in the formation of the American Polish Labor Councils.

The views of the Section are frequently reflected in the Detroit magazine-type weekly *Nasz Swiat* -- whose editors, though not Communists, maintain close friendships with the *Glos Ludowy* editors -- and to a lesser extent in the weekly *Gwiazda Polarna* of Stevens Point, Wisconsin.

Although the Polish-American labor leader Leo Krzycki of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has been since its reorganization in 1942 the president of the American Slav Congress,* and the Polish-American Judge Blair F. Gunther, of Pittsburgh, president of its Board, Polish-Americans play a numerically minor role in the organization. Krzycki frequently addresses meetings, as does Gunther, an active Republican politician, but both appear to maintain their memberships largely from momentum. Gunther says that his chief aim in remaining is to keep the movement free from Communism; his critics charge that political ambition is the reason for his interest. In Chicago a number of Polish-American members withdrew from the Midwest Region of the American Slav Congress with Wacław Hetman, first president of the Polish Section of the Congress, following an internal feud last spring. Hetman asserted that his withdrawal was in protest against the pro-Russian alignment of the Congress, while his opponents declared that his withdrawal was in pique over failure to win re-election to the office of vice president of the Midwest Region, which he then held. The bulk of the officers of the American Slav Congress are now Yugoslav-Americans. Poles appear to be present only in small numbers, which may be explained in part by the fact that Pan-Slavism has in Polish history usually been regarded as a weapon of Russian imperialism.

Krzycki has recently expressed an intention to reactivate the American Slav Congress. But it appears probable that whatever success he may have will be in the direction of an increase in effort by the predominantly Yugoslav membership, with Polish-Americans continuing to play a minor role.

* See FN Number B 176 of 28 March 1944. "Two Regional Meetings of the American Slav Congress."

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Krzycki himself, meanwhile, is gaining increasing prominence as the outstanding foreign-nationality leader in the labor field. American-born and a former chairman of the Socialist Party in the United States, Krzycki is at present a vice president of the CIO, whose Polish section he heads, and also vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. He is national president of the American Slav Congress, and president of the American Polish Labor Council. An extraordinarily effective speaker to labor audiences and an old hand in labor politics but a poor organizer, Krzycki complains that he is overburdened by his many activities.

Not long ago fiercely anti-Communist, Krzycki now accepts philosophically Communist collaboration. His shift in attitude is striking, but by no means unique these days. A year ago he was bursting with the wish to attend the Latin-American Pan-Slav Congress in Montevideo for the purpose of keeping it from falling by default into the hands of Communists; today he is in full, if resigned, collaboration with Communists in the United States, and readily admits this flexibility. He recalls out of his long experience that he and other labor union organizers were accustomed to take in all who were willing to help—including some who were not of the best character and did not understand the cause, and a few who even joined for the purpose of advising the opposition. In time, however, such people fell by the wayside and the real leaders in the movement remained. In his American Polish Labor Council he expects to witness the same phenomenon.

Krzycki's self-defined "crusade" for Polish-Soviet friendship derives, it would appear, less from a strong feeling for either the Soviet Union or Poland than from a mounting conviction that in America the Polish-Soviet quarrel has become the tool of anti-labor forces. Americans of Polish descent working in war plants, he said in a speech at Town Hall in New York 19 December 1943, were loyally backing the American Government, but "reactionary propaganda" was creating confusion and causing quarrels and division among them. He castigated "the extravagant statements of Polish reactionaries" who, he declared, were issuing warnings against the menace of the Russification of all Europe. In the face of these threats, Krzycki said, there could be no question as to where Polish-American labor stood.

Like his friend Father Orlemanski, Krzycki bases his opposition to Polish nationalists on a firm footing of Americanism. "I stand before you," he said to a recent assembly, "as an American of Polish descent." Americans of Polish

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descent, he went on, must remember that they live in America, and most of them expect to stay here. Accordingly they must approach all Polish questions "with an American mind, heart, and feeling We owe it to America to be loyal to our Government. We owe it to our President to stand squarely behind him." It was not good Americanism for a Polish newspaper and Polish speakers to say that the Moscow Agreement was "another Munich, only worse." "When we slur and condemn Hull," Krzycki declared, "we slur our Government."

In his appeals Krzycki links closely support of the present Administration on the Polish question with support of the Administration on the American labor scene.

Kosciuszko Leagues Krzycki was not one of the organizers of the Kosciuszko Leagues,* which are built largely around labor groups, but he has been deeply interested in them. The Kosciuszko League of Detroit, claiming 3,000 members, is the oldest and until lately the most active of the non-Communist Polish-American pro-Russian organizations. Recently, however, it has evinced very little activity, in consequence partly of the diversions suffered by its organizer, Father Orlemanski, and partly as a result of a shift of emphasis to the American Polish Labor Council and its direct appeal to the labor unions. There has been considerable discussion in League circles of the possibility of starting a new daily paper in Detroit to offset the KNAPPist *Dziennik Polski*. Both the IWO organ *Glos Ludowy* and the leftist *Nasz Swiat* are weeklies. President Anthony Karczmarzyk of the Detroit Kosciuszko League says, however, that publication of a daily will be impossible until \$75,000 can be raised, and by the middle of April, when he was speaking, pledges had come to only about \$12,000.

American Polish Labor Council Chief center of pro-Russian activity in the Polish-American labor field is now the American Polish Labor Council. Organized in Cleveland 16 January 1944,** the Council is not expected to become a mass movement, but will act rather as a national coordinating body of local representative committees

* The Kosciuszko Leagues and their organizer, Father Orlemanski, are described in FN Numbers B-121 of 3 December 1943 and B-166 of 10 March 1944.

** See FN Number B-154 of 9 January 1944, "Nationwide Labor Council Organized to Combat Polish-American Nationalism."

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composed of labor union officials. A few such committees have already been formed. Direction of the Council is in the hands of Krzycki, its president.

Since the American Polish Labor Council was organized, two large local conferences have been held, one in Detroit 7 May and a second in Chicago 21 May.

At the Detroit conference* 26 local unions were represented. Krzycki was the principal speaker and about 1,000 persons were present. The local council decided to affiliate with the national American Polish Labor Council. The Ford Local #600, which claims 12,000 "Polish and Slavic members" was invited, but did not appear. As this local later sent greetings to the Polish American Congress at Buffalo, it has evidently decided to support pro-Polish forces. Representation was fairly evenly divided between the AFL and the CIO.

At the Chicago meeting 100,000 Polish-American workers were represented, the organizers said. The meeting coincided with a regional AFL convention; still the CIO dominated — 35 of the 135 delegates present being from CIO unions and only 5 from AFL organizations.

At the time of the creation of the American Polish Labor Council at Cleveland 16 January 1944, it was decided to hold a mass congress at a date to be set by the executive committee. It was expected that this congress would be held upon the occasion of the entrance of the Polish and Soviet Russian armies into Poland. Later Boleslaus Gebert of the *Glos Ludowy* said that the congress had been postponed and would probably be held in connection with the Presidential election. Action in this regard would depend, Gebert explained, upon the tone of the Buffalo Congress, and was to be guided more by domestic than by foreign issues. If the Buffalo Congress should announce itself unambiguously and clearly in support of the present Administration and for the re-election of President Roosevelt (which it didn't), the American Polish Labor Council would regard action of this kind as invitation to a truce until after the elections. Otherwise, Gebert explained, the mass congress would be held as stated, and coming closer to election day than the Buffalo Congress, its organizers would expect it to be that much the more effective. Apart from such plans and the two local conferences already noted, however, the American Polish Labor Council has become (even in the eyes of its friends) a dormant organization.

* A report of this conference is given in FN Number M-184 of 19 May 1944.

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**Center for Liberal
Polish Refugees**

On the side of the intellectuals, Professor Ignacy Zlotowski of Vassar College, whose pro-Russian views have made the headlines a number of times within recent months, is heading a new "Center for Liberal Polish Refugees." Its organ is the *Polish Bulletin*, an English-language publication. The first issue appeared in April and the organization was expected to grow rapidly following the printing in the *Bulletin* of its declaration of principles. Adherence is looked for among Polish intellectuals, and former members of the Polish Socialist Party. The names so far heard, in addition to Zlotowski, include Abraham Penzik, a refugee Socialist newspaperman; the poet Julian Tuwim, who formerly wrote for the *Tygodnik Polski*; the cartoonist Arthur Szyk, Stefan Arski, and Alexander Hertz. The last two and Penzik are former Labor Group members and associates of the *Robotnik Polski*, who left the paper following its attack upon the signers of Professor Lang's pro-Soviet *Call to Reason* appeal last spring.*

The Center follows with lively interest the activities and pronouncements of the pro-Soviet Union of Polish Patriots headed by Wanda Wasilewska in Moscow and the Polish Progressive Club in London, whose chairman is Edward Puacz. Its activity is devoted chiefly to the publication of materials in English and in Polish intended to "spread liberal ideas among the masses of Polish immigrants." A series of articles on ideological problems is said to be ready for early publication in book form. The Center is also interested in the American Polish Labor Council's project for a joint conference of all pro-Russian Polish and Polish-American groups to work out a unified program.

III. LEFT-WING ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING THE GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

As already noted, until recently the chief liberal-labor organizations of American Polonia supporting the Polish Government-in-Exile were a number of Socialist societies. Two of these, the Polish Socialist Alliance and an allied fraternal organization, the Polish Workmen's Aid Fund, are long-established groups. Two other Socialist groups date from the beginning of the present war and consist primarily of refugees — these are the Polish Labor Group and

* The *Call to Reason* and the accompanying split in Polish Socialist ranks in the United States were described in FN Number B-58 of 15 July 1943.

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the Committee of the Polish Socialist Party in the United States. The limited appeal of their Socialist tag stunts the effectiveness of these Socialist groups, both old-established and refugee. The two last named are handicapped particularly by the open receipt of subsidies from the Polish Government-in-Exile.

Goaded by the activity of the pro-Soviet camp, Government-in-Exile adherents have recently intensified their efforts to overcome these handicaps and reach organized labor as well as left-of-center Polish-Americans from the middle classes. New organizations have been created. On the "labor front" Polish-American Labor Councils have been organized, and on the "middle class-front" a Polish Association for Democracy and a Representation of the Polish Democratic Party in the United States have emerged.

Polish Socialist

Alliance and Polish

Workmen's Aid Fund

The Polish Socialist Alliance of the United States of America is the chief Socialist organization of Polish-Americans. It was founded in 1917 as an American offshoot of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), which had been organized in Poland in 1892 as a nationalist party of liberal economic tendencies. The Alliance is predominantly an organization of Polish-Americans, but in the course of the present war it has fallen under the ideological leadership of Polish refugees. The guiding light at present is Wladyslaw R. Malinowski, officially registered representative in New York of the Committee of the Polish Socialist Party Abroad, whose London head is Vice Premier Jan Kwapiński of the Polish Government-in-Exile. The Alliance follows closely the policies of the PPS in London as set forth by the vice chairman of the Committee in London, Jan Śladczyk, who is also Minister of Labor and Social Welfare in the Government-in-Exile, and chairman of the Polish Trade Union Delegation Abroad.

Closely allied to the Polish Socialist Alliance is the Polish Workmen's Aid Fund, a Polish-American fraternal organization. Both use as their joint official organ the New York weekly *Robotnik Polski*. Founded in 1895, and claiming a circulation of 9,000, the *Robotnik Polski* carries frequent contributions from Polish refugees and Socialist members of the Government-in-Exile.

The Polish Socialist Alliance claims the huge membership of 270,000 and the Polish Workmen's Aid Fund 4,000. Both organizations, however, are politically inactive, though their leaders participate actively in the Polish nationalist campaign in the United States, and propagandize the members.

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**Polish Labor Group;
Committee of the Polish
Socialist Party**

The Polish Labor Group and the Committee of the Polish Socialist Party in the United States are refugee organizations created by Socialist emigres of the present war. Their combined and overlapping membership is about 150. The leading figures are Malinowski, Wiktor J. Ehrenreichs, managing editor of the Group's organ *Poland Fights*, and Jan Trzaska, secretary of the Committee of the PPS in the United States. Politically the Group is the more active of the two.

The Polish Labor Group is registered with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the United States Department of Justice as an agent of the Committee of the Polish Socialist Party Abroad, in London; the Representation of the Polish Trade Union Council Abroad, also in London; and the Central Leadership of the Underground Movement of the Working Masses of Poland, "somewhere in Poland." The propaganda activity of the Group in favor of the Polish Government-in-Exile has until recently been carried on chiefly through two publications, *Poland Fights* and the *Robotnik Polski*. *Poland Fights* is the official organ of the Group. Its masthead carries the information that it is sponsored by the American Friends of Polish Democracy and receives assistance from the Polish Government Information Service (PGIC), described in FN Number 192 of 8 June 1944. The American Friends of Polish Democracy was formed in 1942 with an impressive list of officers headed by Professor Robert M. McIver of Columbia University.

Though its sponsorship of *Poland Fights* is still noted on the masthead, the American Friends of Polish Democracy is now dormant. The pages of *Poland Fights* are devoted mainly to reports of life in German-occupied Poland, with emphasis on two points - - sabotage by the organized Underground directed against the Nazi occupants, and alleged solid support for the Government-in-Exile by the Socialist underground in occupied Poland. Considerable space is given to a program for post-war labor and agricultural reform in Poland along moderate Socialist lines.

Members of the Polish Labor Group also fill the chief editorial posts of the *Robotnik Polski*. They have written a number of books in defense of the "innate democracy" of Poland. The books have been widely distributed by the PGIC as well as through regular commercial channels.

In a statement by the Group published in *Poland Fights*, 5 February 1944:

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the "essential problem" in Polish-Soviet relations was declared to be full recognition by the Soviet Union of the Polish Government-in-Exile. "Polish-Soviet friendship can and should be achieved by means of an understanding between the Soviet Government and the Polish Government, which is the only genuine representation of the Polish people."

Polish-American Labor Councils are primarily intended to rally support for the Polish Government-in-Exile among Polish-American factory workers. The first Council was created in January 1944 at Detroit; other Councils are located in Chicago and in Springfield, Massachusetts. There is as yet no national organization but one is being planned. The confusing similarity of name with that of the CIO-sponsored American Polish Labor Council described earlier in this paper is apparently intentional. A lawsuit has been instituted in Detroit by the Polish-American Labor Council there, which claims possession of a Michigan State charter of incorporation, though the CIO group asserts a priority of seventeen days in adoption of its name. As noted previously there appears to be little doubt that the initiator of the pro-Polish Councils is Alojzy Adameczyk, chairman of the Polish Trade Union Council in London and member of the Polish National Council, who has been in this country since last fall. Speaking at a meeting in New York sponsored by the Polish Workmen's Aid Fund, 29 October 1943, Adameczyk said that the purpose of his visit to the United States was to establish contact with Polish labor circles here. American labor unions, he said, constituted a tremendous force, and would play an important part in the organization of the post-war world. He reproached Polish workers for being too "inconspicuous" and declared that they should have given a greater accounting of themselves.*

Adameczyk has recently been charged with undue political activity in the Polish-American field by Vincent Klein, a director of the Kosciuszko League in Detroit and secretary-treasurer of Chrysler Local No. 9 of the UAW-CIO. Klein declared publicly at a convention of the rival and pro-Russian American Polish Labor Council in Detroit 7 May, that about two and a half months earlier he had met a "representative of the Polish Government-in-Exile" who had appealed to him to assist the Polish Government-in-Exile. Klein, he himself says, demurred that "it takes lots of money to do work of this kind," to

* For a full account of this lecture see MR-93 of 2 November 1943, this Branch.

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which the other replied, "Don't worry, there will be a lot of money for this purpose." According to Henry Podolek, of the Detroit Polish IWO weekly organ *Glos Ludu*, the "representative of the Polish Government-in-Exile" was Adameczyk.

There is no definite substantiation but it is rumored that Jan Stanczyk, Minister of Labor in the Polish Government-in-Exile, has had a hand behind the scenes in forming the new pro-Polish Councils. In Chicago Adameczyk is known as "Stanczyk's man." One hears also that he and Stanczyk are now at a parting of the ways, Adameczyk leaning toward Prime Minister Mikolajczyk and "the more democratic men and blocs" in the Polish Government-in-Exile and Stanczyk being drawn, despite ideological differences, toward General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, commander-in-chief of the Polish Armies, by the latter's categorical opposition to Moscow.

Polish Association for Democracy The Polish Association for Democracy assumed final form at a meeting at the Madison Hotel in New York 25 May 1944. The program, adopted unanimously by the thirty persons present, set forth two general aims:

1) contact with American democratic groups, and 2) support for a democratic Poland. "Self-determination for Ukrainian and White Russian minorities" in Poland formed a part of the political platform. A motion to include a demand for the separation of Church and State was laid on the table for future discussion.

Professor Wacław Lednicki, the guiding spirit of the group, was elected chairman of a temporary executive committee. Lednicki has close personal ties with Alexander Kerensky, who as a young lawyer was associated with Lednicki's father, a prominent attorney in St. Petersburg before the Revolution. From the time of his arrival in the United States in 1940 until the present, Lednicki has been a visiting lecturer at Harvard University and has also lectured widely in the interests of the Polish national cause under the auspices of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America.* His assignment at Harvard is terminating at the end of this semester, in consequence, it is said, of the dissatisfaction of Harvard authorities with his nationalist activities.

* Typical public lectures by Lednicki were reported by this Branch in Numbers M-130 of 14 January 1944 and M-145 of 12 February 1944. An abortive project for the opening of a PGIC branch in Boston under his direction was described in "Polish Publicity Services in the United States," FN Number 192 of 8 June 1944.

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At the meeting on 25 May Lednicki repeated previously expressed views regarding the impossibility of a Polish-Soviet reconciliation, and stressed the need of persuading Americans that there are many Poles of democratic sympathies.

Among the other members of the committee are Michael Pankiewicz, Wacław Szukiewicz, and Miss Wanda Kiernik. Pankiewicz is executive secretary of the Sea League in America, offshoot of a Polish organization founded soon after 1920 to rally support throughout the world for the development of Polish maritime activities and the acquisition of colonies. Pankiewicz is said to have maintained close contacts with members of the Polish Government-in-Exile. Members of the League in America are chiefly foreign-born Poles. Szukiewicz is a refugee chemical engineer who makes his home in Philadelphia.

Except for Miss Kiernik who is an employee of the Polish Consulate in New York there were no Polish Government officials on the executive committee. Dr. Jozef Lichtensztul, adviser to the Polish Consulate General in New York, who had participated actively in the preliminary stages of the Polish Association for Democracy, and was present at the meeting, declined to accept membership in the executive committee.

At a preliminary meeting held at the Hotel Lexington in New York 30 April and attended by a number of Polish officials, Lednicki and Pankiewicz presented conflicting theses as to the aims of the organization. Opposing "all compromises with the original principles of the Atlantic Charter," Lednicki declared that "Poland cannot exist with the victory of either Hitlerite or Stalinist fascism." The war aims of the Allies, he said, had become perverted with the entrance of the Soviet Union into the war. Praising the Social Democratic weekly *New Leader* for its anti-Soviet stand on the Polish-Soviet boundary dispute, he stated that "it defends the Polish cause better than some Polish newspapers." Pankiewicz, however, pointed to Germany "as the main enemy of Poland," and praised "the heroic struggle of the Red Army." In the ensuing discussion the majority leaned toward Lednicki's view.

Representation of the Polish Democratic Party A second "liberal" pro-Polish Government group taking form is the Representation of the Polish Democratic Party. Farther to the left than the Polish Democratic Association in its program for internal political and social reform in Poland, it nevertheless approves the Government-in-Exile in its stand on the border question. The actual degree

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of propaganda activity it may undertake is as yet a matter of question, but Polish-Americans of the pro-Russian persuasion view it as a potential auxiliary of Polish nationalist propaganda in the United States.

The Representation in the United States and Canada is headed by a joint committee consisting of Professor Manfred Kridl as chairman, Jozef Wittlin, Jozef Witenberg, and Boleslaw Zubrzewski, representing the movement in Canada. Kridl arrived in the United States in 1940, and has since been guest professor at Smith College and corresponding member of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America. Wittlin, novelist and poet, and member of the Association of Writers from Poland, was until recently associated with the New York Polish literary weekly *Tygodnik Polski*, from which the Polish Government recently withdrew a subsidy.

The Representation considers itself a continuation of the Polish Democratic Party prominent in Polish politics before the Pilsudski dictatorship. The organ of the Party in Poland was the Cracow *Nowa Reforma* (New Reform). Going underground during the dictatorship the party reappeared as the Polish Democratic Club, formed a united front with the Socialists in municipal elections and won some victories. In 1940 the party was reorganized in Paris, and now has its center in London. There are said to be local groups in London, Edinburgh, Liverpool and Glasgow, as well as one in Palestine.

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only for the purposes for which
it was prepared.

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FOREIGN NATIONALITY GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES
MEMORANDUM TO THE DIRECTOR OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
FROM THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

Number B-307

24 February 1945

THE POLISH AND YALTA

There are signs of a break in the broadcast-Soviet
banks of American Press. Two important Catholic papers,
and the *Polish Review*, largest of Polish-
American daily, are not taking such a "compromise" as
a result of the recent decisions arrived
at in the Yalta. At the same time a group of important
Polish refugees and officials here is rumored preparing
to set up the Polish Provisional Government of National
Unity.

These signs are more significant, which show no sign
of a complete break in the attack is being led
by the *Polish Review*, largest of Polish-
American daily, and the *Polish Review* and the *Polish Review*
are not taking such a "compromise" as a result of the
recent decisions arrived at in the Yalta.

The *Polish Review* is a daily newspaper published in
New York City. It is one of the largest Polish-
American newspapers in the United States. It is
owned and published by the Polish American
Committee. The *Polish Review* is a
strongly anti-Communist newspaper. It
has been a leading voice of the Polish-
American community in the United States.
It has been a leading voice of the Polish-
American community in the United States.

WARRANT OF ARREST

IN RE: [Illegible Name]
[Illegible text describing the warrant]



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PL 101-644 945

The Committee has received information from the Department of Justice, the State Department, and the Central Intelligence Agency regarding the activities of the Soviet Union and its agents in the United States. This information is being disclosed to you for your information and to provide you with a copy of the report prepared by the Committee. The report is classified "Secret" and is being released to you in accordance with the provisions of the Espionage Laws, 50 U.S.C. 3161, which require the disclosure of such information to the public. The report contains information that is vital to the national defense and is being released to you for your information and to provide you with a copy of the report prepared by the Committee.

The report is classified "Secret" and is being released to you in accordance with the provisions of the Espionage Laws, 50 U.S.C. 3161, which require the disclosure of such information to the public. The report contains information that is vital to the national defense and is being released to you for your information and to provide you with a copy of the report prepared by the Committee.

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NUMBER B-3

2 FEBRUARY 1945

Polish American Congress Speaks

Charles Rogozek, president of the Polish American Congress, and Stanislaw Gutowski, secretary, observed

that the democracies had adopted a policy of recognizing

"rights" and "interests" of Poland was "sold down the river." Gutowski asserted public opinion in the United States and Great Britain would not

approve the Yalta decision. In addition to the statements by Gutowski and

Rogozek, an appeal signed by 100,000 as of late was issued by the Polish

American Congress. The appeal stated that it was still not too late to save

known and possible West German territories of East Prussia, Pomerania and

Silesia not as compensation but as return of property robbed by the

Germans. The appeal was sent to the White House, the Department of

State and other agencies. It was signed with protest telegrams to

a large protest meeting in Washington, D.C. to be held on the Polish

American Congress. The appeal was also sent to the Polish American

Congress in London. The appeal was also sent to the Polish American

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