

Historic Role of the Polish American Congress in U.S. – Polish Relations

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I am not a historian, however I am an observer of history and in my, over 30 years of service to the Polish American Congress, I have been part of a great organization, that was, and is, committed to serving the people of the American Polonia and the People of Poland.

A good deal of the PAC history has been published by Professor Donald Pienkos – I will attempt to provide some details with emphasis on the role of our national leaders. It is to the eternal credit of PAC presidents Rozmarek, Mazewski and Moskal that they were able to lead and judiciously select individuals who carried out the details.

Although most of my comments will be about the activities of the Polish American Congress, however, I believe, that the larger question should be about the performance of the American Polonia. The Question then is, did the American Polonia and specifically the Polish American Congress meet the challenge presented by the deteriorating political situation in Europe, when after Teheran and the machinations of Stalin, it became clear that Poland would not be a free country? Also, how did PAC's activities affect US policy and history of both countries?

In order to understand the reason why the Polish American Congress was founded and the actions taken to bring Poland into NATO and to return it into the family of Western nations – one must go back to the tragic events that molded Poland's history during the 20th Century.

On September 1, 1939 Poland was invaded by the Nazis, and on September 17 the Soviets attacked from the East, ripping Poland apart and sending millions of its citizens into forced labor, concentration camps and to the methodic killing of the Polish elite.

During World War II, the Polish military forces fought valiantly on the side of the Allies, on all fronts, while the Polish Home Army and the Polish Underground continued the struggle in the Polish territories.

When early in 1944, Soviet forces were approaching again the Polish border, representatives of the Polonia, specifically fraternal organizations in Chicago, acted in response. On March 4th, at a meeting at the Polish Women's Alliance (PWA), a motion was made to form a Polish American Congress in May in Buffalo, NY. An Executive Committee of eleven was formed with PNA President Karol Rozmarek presiding, PRCU President Jan Olejniczak as Treasurer and PWA President Honorata Wolowska as

Secretary. Over 5,000 delegates participated in the Buffalo Congress. And as the saying goes -- the rest is history -- and what a glorious history of the Herculean effort to save Poland and its people. In the very limited time afforded me here I could only highlight some of the events that followed:

PAC offices were established in Chicago with an Information Office in Washington D.C.

In 1945 Rozmarek and the PAC are among the first to publicly denounce the Great Powers agreement on Poland and Eastern Europe as a betrayal of the reasons for participating in the World War.

Rozmarek heads a PAC delegation to the founding meeting of United Nations in San Francisco where he asserts Poland's right to freedom and sovereignty. In 1946 Rozmarek travels to Germany and France to observe conditions of thousands of Polish displaced persons. -- He denounces the handling of refugees by the UN and calls for immediate changes. In Paris he calls for free elections in Poland.

In March President Truman proclaimed his new "foreign policy" doctrine to oppose Soviet threats to Greece and Turkey. Several months later Secretary of State George Marshall proposes the United States contribute substantially to Europe's economic reconstruction. \$13 billion is distributed throughout Western Europe. However, Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe were not permitted by Stalin to accept this offer.

Rozmarek made many specific contributions worthy of note.

- His criticism of Soviet perfidy over the seizure of Polish underground leaders lured into meeting with Red Army officers and then illegally imprisoned;
- His championing of the Polish refugee cause immediately after the War and his successful effort to help in their resettlement in America. The PAC strongly supported "The Displaced Persons Act of 1948";
- His unending defense of Poland's right to its postwar frontiers;
- He exhibited great courage in questioning the President of the United States over Poland's postwar fate following the Yalta Conference -- this helped reshape American opinion as to the propriety of FDR's decisions towards Poland and Eastern Europe;
- When on October 10, 1962 the German weekly magazine, "Der Spiegel" revealed top secret NATO plans to use atomic weapons on Poland in the event of military aggression against the Western Alliance by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact forces, Rozmarek's letter to President Kennedy expressed great dismay at the idea of making Poland, a Soviet-dominated satellite, a possible target for nuclear weapons based in Germany.

PAC Comprehensive Memoranda dealing with Poland's freedom have been presented to successive Secretaries of State: Burnes, Stettinius, Acheson, Dulles, Rusk and Rogers and in year 2000 to Madeleine Albright.

In December 1965, PAC sends a letter to President Johnson on the eve of an official visit to Washington of the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany: PAC is deeply concerned with Germany's intention to co-possess nuclear weapons within NATO – This would be tantamount to proliferation of these weapons;

In 1952 The PAC strongly endorsed the creation of a Select Committee of the United States House of Representatives on the Katyn Massacre. The committee fixes guilt upon the Soviets. Chief Investigator for the committee was Roman Pucinski of Chicago, who in 1958 was elected to a seat in the US House of Representatives and later became a Vice President of the PAC.

In March 1954 - Stalin's death begins the process of internal change in the Soviet Union and its East European satellites.

1957 - The Polish American Congress strongly backs U.S. economic assistance to Poland amounting to nearly \$600 million over the next seven years, along with the "Most Favored Nation" status.

1960's - Outgoing President Dwight D. Eisenhower speaks to PAC delegates at their fifth quadrennial convention in Chicago; his appearance is a first by an American chief executive. Also addressing the conclave is the Democratic Party's Presidential nominee, Massachusetts Senator John F. Kennedy.

In 1964 - President Lyndon B. Johnson addresses an assembly of PAC leaders at the White House on the twentieth anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising.

1966 - President Johnson speaks to Polonia leaders on the occasion of Poland's Millennium as a Christian nation and independent state: His "Building Bridges" policy toward Eastern Europe is being promoted.

In 1968 Aloysius A. Mazewski succeeds Rozmarek as President of the Polish American Congress. Rozmarek headed the PAC for 24 years.

Mazewski gives new attention to the "American Agenda" with more appointments of worthy Polish Americans to responsible posts in the government and greater concern for broad public appreciation of Poland's and Polonia's culture and history.

The first formal dialogue between the PAC and leaders of the American Jewish community takes place in 1969.

In July 1970, replacing retiring newspaper man Karol Burke, retired US Army Colonel Casimir I. Lenard is appointment as the first National Executive Director to run the Washington D.C Office.

The same year, organized Washington Polonia demonstration against the Polish Regime,

200 feet from the Polish Embassy on 16th Street, NW. – This, because of the tragic events, which took place in the Polish Baltic ports, where death and injuries to the demonstrators for decent living conditions were meted out by the police state.

PAC obtains and administers a \$100,000 US Agency for International Development (USAID) feasibility study to build a \$4.5 million Children's Rehabilitation Center, in Krakow, Poland. When the study was completed the construction and administration project was turned over to Project HOPE.

The PAC lobbies to establish the General Kosciuszko Home in Philadelphia as a National Historic Site, and for passage and funding of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Bill. PAC also initiated the action and lobbied to save the General Pulaski Monument in Washington, DC from being placed in "indefinite" storage and for its retention at the proposed new Freedom Plaza, during the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue, in Washington, D.C.

PAC worked very closely with Msgr. Geno Baroni, founder of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, in addressing the subject of urban problems in the Polish American communities and parishes.

PAC worked closely with the AFL-CIO Executive Council, which on February 19, 1971 took a strong position in support of the Polish workers struggle for food and freedom.

In 1972 President Richard M. Nixon visits Poland following his historic May meeting in Moscow.

PAC initiated enactment by the U.S. Congress of the Polish Veterans Bill, which secured medical and hospital care for Polish veterans of WW I and II.

Promoted issuance of commemorative U.S. postage stamps and postal cards honoring Ignacy Jan Paderewski, Poland's Millennium of Christianity (1966) and the General Casimir Pulaski stamp.

Urged legislation to provide permanent residence status to martial law refugees, who were granted temporary residence permits under the Extended Voluntary Departure (EVD) privilege.

Consistently supported Congressional funding of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Voice of America, National Endowment for Democracy and appropriations in support of SOLIDARITY.

Initiated designation of Polish American Heritage Month.

President Mazewski established in 1971 the Polish American Congress Charitable Foundation (PACCF) a not-for-profit organization under Section 501 (c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code, with offices located in Chicago and Washington, D.C.

1973 - PAC promoted the nationwide celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus – Mikolaj Kopernik. In Washington DC the PAC organized the Polish American Day on the Mall – a Tribute to the Age of Copernicus

1974 - A new division - The Washington Metropolitan Area PAC Division was founded.

In 1978 Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, Archbishop of Krakow is elected as Pope John Paul II.

In 1979 The PAC has a welcoming committee and participates in the Pope's reception in the President Carter White House.

1980 - The forming of the Solidarity Trade Union Movement in Gdansk in August. President Mazewski announces an immediate endorsement for the union's cause.

In November 1981 Mrs. Myra Lenard is appointed Executive Director of the Washington D.C. Office.

In 1981, the PAC Charitable Foundation (PACCF) initiated the "Relief for Poland" project at the direct request of Lech Walesa, and the PAC works through the Polish Episcopate Charity Commission (CARITAS). Thanks to the generosity of thousands of individual donors, and donations in kind received from other humanitarian organizations and U. S. manufacturers, The PACCF was able to send to Poland countless shipments of medicines, hospital equipment, medical supplies, rehabilitation equipment, baby foods and children's vitamins, clothing and shoes, agricultural tools and disinfectants. During the first 11 years of its existence the Foundation has sent to Poland over \$185 million worth of humanitarian aid, at a cost of just over \$8 million. By early 1990's more than \$200 million in materials will be distributed in Poland in cooperation with Polish Catholic Church leaders.

In 1981 PAC organizes the "Solidarity Express", a train made up of 22 railroad cars with relief goods valued at \$7 million. This was the first large highly publicized undertaking of the PAC Charitable Foundation. Contributions from PAC divisions and member organizations stretching from West to East with railroad transportation donated by the railroads.

To mark the first anniversary of Solidarity, PAC initiated a nationwide drive that resulted in a "Solidarity Convoy" of thirty-two 40 foot container trucks full of relief cargo, valued at over \$10 million. The truckers donated the transportation.

In June President Mazewski attended the funeral of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski in Warsaw.

December Martial Law proclaimed. The PAC backs American sanctions against the USSR and the Polish state. Alerted to the plight of the Solidarity members that were arrested at night with little or no warm clothing to protect them PAC solicits a donation

from Jockey International of a container full of warm underwear delivered to the Port of Baltimore, to be shipped to Gdansk.

PACCF qualified as a USAID Private Volunteer Organization (PVO) and became recipient of federal funding, for projects in Poland, through the US Agency for International Development and become enabled to qualify for the Combined Federal Campaign funds. PAC and PACCF expanded its contacts with the Administration, the Department of State, the US Congress and other government agencies, closely monitoring Capitol Hill activity related to Poland. PAC administered a series of National Endowment for Democracy grants, helping to sustain the fledging spirit of democracy in communist controlled Poland.

The PAC lobbied strongly for the Immigration Reform Act of 1981.

The PAC and Mr. Witold Plonski of Brooklyn win five year funding from the US National Endowment for the Humanities for proposal to create a national "Consortium for Humanities and Arts Programming".

1984 was the fortieth anniversary of the Polish American Congress (May); amnesty of most political prisoners in Poland (July). President Reagan presided at the fortieth anniversary of the Warsaw Uprising in the White House, in August. Father Jerzy Popieluszko was murdered in October.

PAC initiates the month of October as Polish American Heritage Month, an annual event under the direction of Michael Blichasz, President of the Pennsylvania State Div.

In 1985 PAC protests General Jaruzelski's visit to New York and the United Nations, September 26 with over 3,000 showing discontent and their objections to the terrorist tactics of General Jaruzelski. In October there are Polish parliament elections.

A resolution, submitted by the PAC denouncing Soviet violations of the Yalta Agreement rejecting the concept of the division of Eastern Europe into spheres of influence, and repudiating any attempt to legitimize the domination of East European nations by the Soviet Union, was approved by both Houses of the United States Congress.

US Legislation, is introduced by Senator Paul Simon to give permanent residency to Poles who have fled Martial Law in Poland and have entered the US prior to July 21, 1984, this affects 7 to 10 thousand Poles and their families, currently under Extended Voluntary Departure Status (EVD).

With strong PAC lobbying in 1984 the US Congress passed a bill to appropriate \$10 million to the Polish Agricultural Foundation. PAC one of prime initiators also testified.

PAC worked with the US Census Bureau personnel to prevent them from eliminating the ancestry question, which they wanted to replace with The Place of Birth question.

PAC supported funding for Assistance to Parochial Schools in tuition credit.

President Mazewski did a tremendous job of lobbying for the repeal of the tax-exempt status of fraternal benefit societies – it affected 200 fraternal, 20 of which were Polish American.

The humanitarian aid sent to Poland surpassed the expectations of many of the political and business leaders. All of Polonia stood together to achieve this. PAC left no stone unturned. The PACCF would collect \$ 5 million in cash – and do a \$90 million job. PAC's VP Helen Zielinski chaired a successful PAC drive to raise funds for the restoration of the Statue of Liberty.

1988 -Edward Moskal, newly elected President of the Polish National Alliance, succeeds Aloysius Mazewski as President of the Polish American Congress following Mazewski's death.

In April, President George H. Bush delivers a major speech in Hamtramck, Michigan where he offers a new and supportive US policy towards Poland. In October, President Moskal heads a PAC delegation to Poland to show full support of the PAC for the Solidarity government.

In November, The PAC greets Lech Walesa in Chicago where he receives a hero's welcome.

PAC successfully lobbies for the "Support to East European Democracy Act of 1989" The SEED Act, committing \$800 million to help Poland transform into a democratic, free market economy. PAC works closely with Senator Barbara Mikulski on this legislation, which also establishes the Polish American Enterprise Fund (PAEF) with \$264 Million, (And the Hungarian American Enterprise Fund). The PAC, competed for the management of the PAEF. In the year 2000 assets from this fund establish the Polish American Freedom Foundation.

In 1990 the PAC enthusiastically receives Prime Minister Mazowiecki in America.

President Moskal successfully lobbies President Bush for permanence of Poland's western border with the reunited Germany. The Oder-Niessa Line.

September – PAC under the leadership of Vice President Wojcik raises nearly \$600,000 for the restoration of The Ellis Island Immigration Museum.

In 1990, the PACCF received a \$1.5 million grant from the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to support a project of "Assistance to Rural Hospitals in Poland." This grant provided over \$15 million worth of relief to over 140 rural hospitals.

In 1991, the PACCF received an additional \$1 million from A.I.D. for a second project of

“Special Assistance for Disabled Children and Elderly” which helped to provide updated medical equipment and the refurbishing of very old rehabilitation centers.

During 1992 PACCF focused on assistance for needy Polish children as well as the elderly and the handicapped. The PACCF placed special emphasis on assistance in sending relief aid to over 80 orphanages and rehabilitation centers for the disabled, pediatric and regional hospitals throughout Poland.

Following is a listing of some of the other major accomplishments of the PACCF:

- In 1986, PACCF responded immediately to the Chernobyl disaster by sending (via donated Tiger Airline) 130 tons of baby food, powdered milk, and 3 million vitamins for children.
- Two national telethons were organized in Chicago, which raised \$1-1/2 million, and two more telethons in Buffalo raised over \$300,000.
- PACCF sent medical supplies and equipment to the Cardiology Center in Katowice-Ochojec where today over 1,000 heart operations are performed annually.
- Over one million medical and technical books were sent to more than 600 institutions in Poland by year 1992
- In 1992 the PACCF shipped the 1,000th marine container of humanitarian relief goods from the United States to the people of Poland.

1992 The PAC plays a leading role in the activities of the historic First Congress of Poles from more than fifty countries held in Krakow, Poland, under the auspices of the WSPOLNOTA POLSKA Association.

NATO

The entry into NATO is one of the most significant events for the Polish Nation in this century. Following a long history of incursions upon Poland's sovereignty, membership in the Alliance finally ensures its peace, freedom and independence.

The hope for a free and democratic Poland did not arise yesterday. President Charles Rozmarek was a guiding light in the founding of the Polish American Congress, laying the ground-work for decades of struggle that were to follow. His successor President Aloysius Mazewski, guided the PAC through the difficult times of the Cold War between East and West, as well as the heroic and perilous events surrounding martial law in Poland itself. President Edward J. Moskal, through his determination and leadership has seen the crowning of a seven-year lobbying campaign with the acceptance, on March 12, 1999, of Poland into The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as a full member. Working on this issue under the direction of President Moskal were Les Kuczynski as National Executive Director, Myra Lenard, Executive Director of the Washington DC Office, all of the PAC State Divisions and Chapters and Member organizations. This was a TEAM effort.

Following are just a few highlights of the campaign:

1991, June 14, first of a series of PAC resolutions dealing with removal of Soviet forces from Poland and opening membership in the North Atlantic Alliance to Poland.

In December of 1993 PAC launched its full-blown campaign of lobbying with letters, phone calls, cables, e-mail and personal contacts with Members of US Congress, President Clinton, Secretaries of State and Defense, Chairmen of both the Democratic and Republican Parties and other key members of his Administration.

The PAC also sought allies in this campaign, by reinvigorated 16, eventually 19, ethnic groups with roots in Central and East Europe, into the Central and East European Coalition (CEEC). PAC worked with staffers of US Legislators in developing, molding a series of legislative documents for support with funding and materiel to help bring the candidate nations into the Alliance.

In January 1994, in Milwaukee, WI, a "Round Table" meeting of representatives from Polish American, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak American communities met with the Assistant National Security Advisor to the President, and later with Vice President Al Gore who delivered a major "foreign policy" speech.

Listing of major Events and Legislation dealing with NATO expansion:

"NATO Expansion Act of 1994", Rep. Benjamin Gilman;

"NATO Participation Act of 1994", Senators Hank Brown, Barbara Mikulski and Paul Simon;

"Title VI-Revitalization and Expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization" as part of the "National Security Revitalization Act";

December 1994. - NATO launches comprehensive study of enlargement;

February 1995 - "NATO Participation Act Amendments";

March 15, 1995, a PAC Press Conference at the National Press Club, Washington, DC to protest the fact that there have been private negotiations between the Clinton Administration and Yeltsin on NATO, which have not included the governments of countries wishing to join NATO;

March 23, 1995, a bill introduced to mandate "NATO Transition Program", by Senators, Brown and Simon;

1995, November 9, The PAC meets with President Clinton.

1996, February 8. In a joint letter to the secretary-general of NATO, The Polish ministers of defense and foreign affairs formally accept the alliance's invitation of January 29 1996, to begin individual dialog with NATO;

1996, February 15, PAC and members of the CEEC meet President Clinton;

1996, June 19-22 an annual (13th) NATO Workshop took place in Warsaw, the first such event held in Poland;

September 1996 "NATO Enlargement Facilitation Act". (House 353-65, Senate 81-16);

October 22, 1996 - President Bill Clinton, in a speech in Detroit, for the first time, disclosed a specific date for the expansion of NATO. He stated that the first new members from among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe should be admitted

into the Atlantic Alliance no later than 1999 (50th anniversary of the Alliance);

In 1997 installation of the Polish American Congress WEB PAGE and the use of the INTERNET to reach broader audience beyond the Polish community;

February, 1997 – “Roth-Lieberman Concurrent Resolution”;

PAC sponsors a Congressional Staffers Visit to Poland, February 19-22, 1997;

February 18 – U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright at Brussels NATO Foreign Ministers meeting;

April 1997 PAC co-sponsors an all-day conference on Capital Hill entitled “Security and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe”;

April 22, 1997, Senate leadership announces NATO Observer Group (SNOG) of 28 Senators, from both parties, co-chaired by Senators Joe Biden and William Roth;

May 1, 1997 PAC hosts a special May 3rd Breakfast on Capitol Hill;

June 12, 1997, President Bill Clinton announces that he has decided the United States will favor invitations to NATO membership for three countries, Poland Hungary, and the Czech Republic;

1997, July 8, 9 Madrid, Spain, NATO Summit officially invites Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic to begin accession talks;

August 1, 1997 – The Polish Sejm adopted resolution authorizing the government to enter into accession talks;

September, 1997- PAC invites 23 national veteran and civic organizations to further coordinate efforts on informing Americans throughout the country about the importance of NATO enlargement for the security of the United States and the world. Forming The NATO Enlargement Ratification Working Group;

October 7, 1997 – The Senate Foreign Relations Committee begins a series of five hearings devoted to NATO growth. These will be among twelve hearings by four Senate committees between 4/97 and 3/98;

1997, October 18-26, PAC invited by Secretaries of State and Defense to participate as observers on a tour to NATO Headquarters, US European Command, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland. To assess the military readiness and preparations of the three candidate countries to join NATO;

November 1997, President Moskal testifies before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings, in favor of Poland’s membership in NATO;

December 16, 1997 – NATO’s foreign ministers signed Accession Protocols for Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary in Brussels. The Protocols were to be subject to ratification in the 16 countries of the alliance in 1998;

1998 January 16, PAC present at the White House at the Signing of the US-Baltic Charter of Partnership;

February 2, 1998 – Canada became the first member of the alliance to ratify the Accession Protocols;

February 11, 1998 – President Clinton transmits the protocols of accession to the Senate, accompanied by a detailed report by Secretary Albright;

February 24, 1998 – Secretary Albright, Secretary Cohen, and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry H. Shelton appear at the final hearing on NATO enlargement before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee;

1998, April 27,28, 29 in the U.S. Senate numerous amendments against

ratification;

1998, April 30, 10:25 pm, Thursday evening, the US Senate ratified the Protocols of Accession to the NATO Treaty by overwhelming majority of 80 to 19. PAC witnessed the session. Senator Biden led the session in which Senator Mikulski with great emotion and eloquence supported the vote for ratification;

May 3, 1998 – The Senate Foreign Relations Committee votes 16-2 in favor of NATO enlargement;

1998, May 21, President Clinton signs the Resolution to Ratification of the Protocols to the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 on the Accession of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic as agreed to by the U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C., April 30, 1998. Witnessing the signing, in the White House Rose Garden, were: the Ambassadors of Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic. Also present (in the photo) were members of the Joint Chiefs' of Staff, Secretary of State, the Vice President, leading members of the Senate and hundreds of invited guest to witness the signing. Representing the PAC were Myra Lenard and Casimir Lenard (who took the photo);

October 20, 1998 – Poland's Council of Ministers adopted and conveyed to the Sejm a draft bill on ratification by Poland of the North Atlantic Treaty;

February 17, 1999 – Poland's Parliament passes the law allowing the President to ratify the North Atlantic Treaty;

February 26, 1999 – President Aleksander Kwasniewski ratifies the North Atlantic Treaty;

1999, March 12, Independence, MO. Signing of Acceptance into NATO by the Foreign Ministers of Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. The ceremony took place at the library dedicated to the former U.S. President Harry S. Truman, who signed the original treaty creating the alliance on April 4, 1949. PAC represented by Les Kuczynski, National Executive Director, and Casimir I. Lenard;

1999, April 23-25, NATO's Summit, in Washington, D.C. PAC represented by Col. Casimir I. Lenard. A Gala banquet was hosted by PAC in Washington, DC, guests of honor were Presidents of Poland of Lithuania.

CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of this presentation I posed a couple of rhetorical questions:

- 1) Did the American Polonia and specifically The Polish American Congress meet the challenge presented by the deteriorating political situation in Europe, when it was evident that Poland would not be a free and independent country after World War II, and
- 2) How did PAC's activities affect US policy and the history of both countries?

I submit that this short review may give you a clearer picture of what the PAC and American Polonia has done since 1944 in service to Poland and our position in the United States. This could serve as a starting point for an in-depth study to prove the point that – YES – the Polish American Congress did accomplish its original goal and could adjust to continue and expand its activities. With the cooperation and financial support of the Polish American Community there is no end of what could be accomplished. As long as we all work together. Every viable body, every Polonia organization, large or small

should work for the common good of our ethnic group. Independent but joined under one umbrella group for the strength and visibility needed to be nationally effective and to give each other, not only moral support, but financial support as well.
