

GABRIELE SIMONCINI

NATIONAL MINORITIES OF POLAND AT THE END OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Introduction

Both scholarly and popular literature on the issue of minorities in postcommunist Poland began to flourish in 1989 and continues to grow.¹ In a way, this phenomenon can be considered surprising because contemporary Poland is viewed as a compact nation-state with no minorities. This attention to minority affairs addresses both recent past history and the current realities of Poland. It has produced a number of specialized periodical publications dedicated to ethnicity.² It is an interest that has become a matter of fashion

1. The initial bibliographic search I have conducted of the work done in the Polish language for the years 1989 to 1995 lists about 300 books and 1500 articles, including scholarly articles, materials and memoirs. A large number of weekly and newspaper materials also exists. There are few works of a general character on the topic of all minorities, and few theoretical studies as well. Most of the articles are on individual ethnicity, first of all on Jews, secondly on Germans, and thirdly on Ukrainians. Quite a few articles on Lemkos, Roma and other minor groups have started appearing. Some general studies appeared recently, including: Tereza Koniecka, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce* [National Minorities in Poland] (Opole: 1991); Wojciech Wrzesiński, editor, *Polska-Polacy-Mniejszości narodowe* [Poland-Poles-National Minorities] (Wrocław: 1992); Jan Jachymka, editor, *Mniejszości narodowe w polskiej myśli politycznej XX wieku* [National Minorities in Polish Political Thought in the Twentieth Century] (Lublin: 1992); and Mieczysław Iwanicki, *Ukraińcy, Białorusini, Litwini i Niemcy w Polsce w latach 1918-1990* [Ukrainians, Belarussians, Lithuanians, and Germans in Poland in the Years 1918-1990] (Siedlce: 1994).

2. This is the case for *Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne* [Belarussian Historical Notebooks], published in Białystok since 1994. It contains studies in the Belarussian and Polish languages. The newest relevant publication is certainly *Sprawy narodowościowe (seria nowa)* [Nationality Matters (New Series)]. It has been published in Poznań since 1992 by the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute for Nationalities Studies [*Zakład Badań Narodowościowych PAN*]. It covers ethnicity and minority issues in Poland and internationally. It publishes theoretical studies as well as materials and information. In a way, the journal is a continuation of *Sprawy narodowościowe*, the government journal published in Warsaw in the interwar period from 1927 to 1939.

both in society and in scholarship. Trendy journalistic attention, in turn, can now be found in western Europe and across the Atlantic.³

It is useful to pay some attention to terminology and definition, since a critical problem arises in dealing with ethnic issues of the past and the present. Some terminological confusion and certain bad habits existed and still exist in Poland as well as in the West, particularly among political scientists. These shortcomings are even more evident in governmental and institutional language, in the common language, and, above all, in the media.⁴

The use and the epistemological value of the term "minority" [*mniejszość*] remains vague in postcommunist Polish literature where national minorities and ethnicity are concerned. The use of the term ranges from a strictly political meaning (often derogatory, or metaphoric [meaning "the Jews" or "the Ukrainians"]) to the most traditionally anthropological and ethnographical meaning. The term "minority" is commonly used together with the terms "ethnic" [*etniczny*] and "national" [*narodowościowy*]. These two qualifiers and the term "nationality" [*narodowość*] seem to be synonymously used and are considered without distinctions being made between them, appropriate for defining anything in the realm of religious and cultural communities, regionalism, folklore, and so forth.

The same applies to the term "identity" [*tożsamość*], whose meaning is even more vague and undefined in its current common use. Furthermore, the term "locals" [*tutejsi*] (the other-defined, not self-defined local inhabitants of a place), an infamous definition used in the past as the institutional level for census manipulation, has reappeared, finding renewed legitimacy of use among scholars.⁵ Efforts toward a more theoretical approach to the issues of

3. Jan Buruma, "Young Poles, New Jews," *The New York Times Magazine*, August 3, 1997.

4. Relativism and confusion dominate the semantics in the field. This is quite understandable for Polish literature since the situation in the West is not much better. The use of definitions by the government and the mass media dominates and adds confusion. On the need to find a kind of epistemological order, see the critical contribution by Joseph Rothschild, "Nationalism and Democratization in East Central Europe: Lessons from the Past," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 22, no. 1 (1994).

5. In the censuses of 1921 and 1931, the term was used in the questionnaires and in the statistical compilation to manipulate and to try to reduce the actual numbers of minority population. This applied in particular in the case of the Belarussian and Ukrainian minorities in the *kresy* [eastern border regions]. Other classification terms used with the same intent were *język inny* [other language] or *język nieznany* [language unknown] when the ethnic identification criteria were officially based on the identification of the language. It may be worth recalling the case of pure terminological invention adopted by the Nazis during the war when they invented the term *Goralenvolk* to identify the Poles and Slovaks living in the south, a people generically referred to by the Poles as *górale* [mountain people].

minority, ethnicity, and identity are hampered by the Poles' seeming unfamiliarity with Western modes of articulation, a difficulty that stems from past communist censorship. Some theoretical norms are necessary for accurate investigation and a clearly articulated analysis to take place. It is not clear, for example, why some ethnicities receive less attention than others and their definition and relationship to others remain unclear. It may appear clear who the Germans or the Jews are, but what of the Kashubs, Warmians or Silesians? And how do these peoples relate to each other? Again, the difference between the Kashubs and Silesians may appear obvious, the former seeming an ethnic category and the latter much less so, but what theoretical implication can be drawn from considering them in one way rather than another?

On the other hand, the current production of case studies, often quite well articulated, is paving the way to a possibility for more theoretical elaborations. A small contingent of more "informed" scholars in keeping with Western standards, does exist in Poland.

On a global Polish — and European — scale, minorities, both old and new, due to their actual number, their historical origin, and, not least, to the configuration of European democracy, are not likely to produce relatively new phenomena like multiculturalism, which are more proper to non-European societies. The issue is, nevertheless, complicated by the "presence" of new ethnic phenomena. The presence of over a half-million "illegal aliens," non-Poles (and to an extent non-European) "residents/immigrants," is certainly a novelty for Poland.⁶

Minorities are being rediscovered in Poland, after the long eclipse of individual civil rights during the communist era. This has happened, first of all, because of the assumption of a democratic system and the reemergence of a dormant civil society. There is nothing historically new in those developments. They have happened elsewhere. The Polish nation-state has been built along the lines of a long and costly historical path. Now the era of nation-states in Europe is starting to experience new realities. A new era is at hand, with the vision of a globally United Europe under a structure of federalism.

In the process, the nation-state has to give up something. Its value (universalist or relative), for example, may be affected. The growing relevance of a Europe of *tesserae* (as the regional focus of local community life) rather than of states, may tend to dilute the value of "Polishness" and subject it to some reshaping in both absolute and relative terms. It will be an ironic destiny for a construct of such universal value (although of a past era) to be diluted in a broader identity perception — that of "Europeanness." Most

6. At least 500,000 in 1995, mostly from former Soviet republics and eastern Europe. This figure is relatively unclear, and subject to rapid and extreme variation. See *Rzeczpospolita* [The Republic], September 23, 1996, p. 17.

likely, when that happens, only the Polish economic and cultural elites will be initially affected. Possibly later, the educated, professional upper classes will feel the effects of that dilution of Polishness. Meanwhile, the lower parts of the society and the peasantry will not be so affected. Their perception of non-Polishness, in turn, will remain traditional and demotic.

As democracy grows stronger, as an unchallenged and undisputed free market generates new attitudes and behaviors, a new space opens up not just for "rediscovering" but indeed for "conjugating" the most unexplored paradigms of identity: "national," "ethnic," "religious," "local," "migrant," "mixed," and "cosmopolitan." "Europeanness" will impact on "Polishness" on the one hand. On the other hand, conjugating, non-Polish identity will be a legitimate way to reappropriate (or appropriate) identity (real or presumed) and together with it, also civil rights, eventually civic consciousness, and participation in society, including the political arena, will be realizable goals.

After 1989, the introduction of the democratic process in Poland had an impact also on the realities of ethnic minorities and the communities. In the past, the difference in the relationship between the Polish central power and national minorities had been marked by the characteristics of the previous political systems: the authoritarianism of the Second Republic, the totalitarianism of the "People's" Republic.⁷

An important distinction needs to be made here. Interbellum Poland was a polyethnic society and state. Postbellum Poland was not. It was a nation-state with national minorities. They were reduced in number, and decreasing in visibility with time, due to migrations and the ideological dictates of the communist regime.

On the conceptual level, the political theory and practice of both past regimes concerning minorities were crystallized into a *conventio ad excludendum* philosophy. Contemporary Poland, benefiting from democracy, showed that (since 1989) the central authority had opted for a *conventio ad consociandum* philosophy, a policy of inclusion and not exclusion of minorities into Polish society. Certainly, two elements were critical in determining this change: the current size of national minorities, and the reminders etched in Polish collective historical memory by the recent past.⁸

7. Statistical data for both periods are summarized in Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce XX wieku* [National Minorities in Twentieth Century Poland] (Warsaw: 1991), pp. 23, 45. This and other studies on minorities by Tomaszewski remain among the most useful.

8. The journal *Nationalities Papers* has published over the years several contributions on the issue of minorities in Poland, including: Edward D. Wynot, Jr., "World of Delusions and Disillusions: The National Minorities of Poland during W.W. II," *Nationalities Papers*, no. 2 (1979); Edward D. Wynot, Jr., "Poland's Christian Minorities, 1919-1939," *Nationalities Papers*, no. 2 (1985); Sigfried E. Heit, "National Minorities and Their Effect on Polish Foreign Rela-

The assumption of a democratic process was essential for adopting a new philosophy regarding minority affairs by the central state and by institutional power at the local level. Policies, legislation and norms were initiated although in an unsystematic manner, given the difficult general situation. The specter of minorities (particularly, and understandably, the Jewish) resurfaced in society, haunting the political arena, mostly during political and presidential elections, as well as the margins of political extremism.

Nevertheless, minority questions in contemporary Poland are in fact a circumscribed issue. First of all, Poland had ceased to be a polyethnic state, and it had been reconfigured along nation-state *limes*. This change happened as a consequence of World War II, Nazi genocide, and early postbellum population transfers and migrations.

Minority issues (more than "The Minority Question") at the end of the twentieth century differ from what they were in the past. First of all, they are of a simpler nature. Aside from the changed relevance of numbers, the critical question of the danger posed by non-Polish ethnicity to the territorial unity of the interbellum Polish nation-state, is gone. The issue of borders, in general, is *de facto* of little weight, even more so now, considering Poland's relatively small geopolitical importance. The issue of social subversion, namely minorities's subversiveness toward the Polish state, so relevant during the Second Republic, is undoubtedly gone.

Minority issues, then, are perhaps reducible at political level to the question of how Polish minority realities can become compatible with Western European dictated standards of definition. Moreover, Poland, because of its history, and geographic position, may have earned itself the task of contributing fresh thinking to the broader issue of ethnicity in Europe. Within a broader European scenario, Poland might also play an increasing role as a demographic/ethnic bridge to the realities of twenty-first century European minorities, migrations and their attendant ethnic and labor issues.⁹

The broader question of Poland's integration into the European community arises here. This perhaps means, in the first instance, integration with German realities. From this perspective, in turn, the German national minority in Poland, the largest and most relevant of all Polish minorities, acquires a special value. It could be an increasingly powerful magnet for

tions," *Nationalities Papers*, no. 1 (1980); and Gabriele Simoncini, "The Polyethnic State: National Minorities in Interbellum Poland," *Nationalities Papers*, Special Issue, Supplement No. 1, 1994.

9. Interesting studies on minorities in contemporary Poland include: Adam Gwiazda, "Poland's Policy towards its National Minorities," *Nationalities Papers*, vol. 22, no. 2 (1994); and Barbara Stoczewska, "National Minorities in Poland before and after World War II," in Peter Gerlich, Krzysztof Glass and Barbara Serloth, *Neuland Mitteleuropa. Ideologiedefizite und Identitätskrisen* (Vienna-Torun: 1995).

integration into Europe, alas, via Germany, with a German leadership in economic and other spheres, recognized and integrated into Polish society, with its influence extending eastward, beyond Poland. For the society at large, or possibly part of it, that would imply tangible benefits of participating in German *Ergranzungswirtschaftsraum*.

As democratization grows in Poland, members of minorities have undoubtedly benefited. The government has created institutions, produce legislation and established norms designed to guarantee protection and benefits for national minorities.

Gathering accurate and consistent data on minorities is an ongoing, though difficult, enterprise, both for the government and the minorities themselves. It seems, however, that the government is making concrete efforts. A commission for National and Ethnic Minorities [*Komisja Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych*] has existed in the *Sejm* since 1989. It has representatives of national minorities and undertakes a wide range of activities. It elaborates projects for legislation and does direct research in ethnic areas.¹⁰ The Ministry of Culture and Art has a Department of Minorities and Groups whose purpose is to produce research, studies and statistics on minorities.¹¹

On the minorities' side the situation is somewhat chaotic. Some minorities sponsor various organizations which at times seem to produce inconsistent and contradictory data. In other cases disputes exist over their own name, history and geography. Finally, if one gives credence to the mass media, there are reports about feverish rushes (by a mass of "Kowalskis") to become (or to be identified as) German or Jewish.¹²

A small but sizable body of legislation, including the draft constitution and the just approved new constitution, guarantees minority rights and forbids discrimination based on ethnicity. A series of laws is dedicated specifically to

10. The Commission published the handbook *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce. Informator 1994* [National Minorities in Poland. 1994 Directory] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1995), hereafter, *Informator*.

11. Not much seems to be available from the activity of this ministerial department. Referred to in Gwiazda.

12. Data used throughout this article come from the following sources: Minority Rights Group International, *World Directory of Minorities* (London: MRG, 1997); Sejm Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej. Komisja Mniejszości Narodowych i Etnicznych, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce. Informator 1994* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Sejmowe, 1995); Wiesław Władyka and Aleksandra Garlicka, *Inni wśród swoich* [Others Among One's Own] (Warsaw: Instytut Badań Literackich Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1994); *Rocznik statystyczny GUS 1993* [Statistical Yearbook GUS] (Warsaw: 1993); Jerzy Tomaszewski, *Mniejszości narodowe w Polsce w XX wieku* (Warsaw: Spotkania, 1991); Janusz Bugajski, *Ethnic Politics in Eastern Europe. A Guide to Nationality Policies, Organizations, and Parties* (Armonk, New York: 1994).

the protection of religions and churches and the religious rights of minorities, including the respect of minority holidays in the work place.¹³

The right to free association, ushered in by the new democratic system has unleashed minority organizations. Since 1981, ethnic organizations have mushroomed, and have continued to grow, to where they now number about two hundred.¹⁴ Under the past regime, from 1956 to 1981, only a half dozen organizations existed. Communist tenets dictated the exotic criterion of only one organization (with only one publication) for each nationality group. Furthermore, the very existence of national minorities in Poland was denied.

In the field of education, minorities have been protected by recent legislation. The right to study one's native language as well as the right to be taught in one's native language at school are legally established. Additional regulations within the Ministry of National Education address the educational needs of minorities.¹⁵ Not much is known about the actual implementation of regulations, which remains problematic and somewhat limited. Legislation permitting access to the mass media entitles minorities to have access to national public radio and television at the local level, and to make use of the native language in broadcasting.¹⁶

Since 1993, regulations of electoral mechanisms have allowed minority parties not to be subject of percentage minimum limits. Some minority representatives were elected to the parliament, five in the *Sejm* and one in the Senate. On the local, communal level, legislation provides the right for minorities to participate in self-government although the implementation of that right remains problematic, especially in situations of minoritarian minority presence, that is, when a minority, being a majority in an area, finds itself a minority in a specific part of such area.¹⁷

Given the youth of today's democratic Poland, one can consider the government's record a positive one for the early 1990s and leading in a promising direction. Understandably, many would not bet on the government's good intentions or on its capability of putting thoughts into practice effectively and efficiently. It has to be remembered that the government is one thing, and prejudice, political extremism and uncivil behavior within society is another. But this is not a matter for examination here. Suffice to say that the general situation is still very much in flux.

13. Draft Constitution articles: 67.2, 81.1,2. *Informator*, pp. 32-33.

14. *Informator*, pp. 101-143. A list of registered organizations divided by ethnicity is given with addresses and short descriptions of each one. Also, a list of "who is who" (with short biographies) in minority affairs is given, pp. 144-202.

15. *Dziennik Ustaw* [Daily Legislative Record], no. 95, pos. 425 (1991).

16. *Dziennik Ustaw*, no. 26, pos. 95 (1990).

17. On communal and local regulations, see *Dziennik Ustaw*, no. 34, pos. 198 (1990).

The Ethnic Minorities

Germans [*Niemcy*]

The German minority is the largest, the most important, and the most politically relevant national minority in Poland. Official government estimates put the number of Germans in Poland at between 350,000 and 450,000; some international estimates put the figure at about 1,100,000.¹⁸ Germans can be found throughout the entire territory of Poland. Their major concentrations are in Silesia, in the *województwa* of Katowice, Częstochowa, Opole, and Wrocław; and in the north of the country, in the *województwa* of Szczecin, Koszalin, Słupsk, Gdańsk, Olsztyn, and Toruń.¹⁹

Germans have a major umbrella organization, the Union of German Social-Cultural Associations in the Republic of Poland [*Verband der Deutschen Sozialkulturellen Gesellschaften in der Republik Polen*], with headquarters in Opole. The German Worker Society "Reconciliation and Future" [*Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Versöhnung und Zukunft"*] is an unaffiliated organization. In the north there are two major organizations: the *Związek Stowarzyszeń Ludności Niemieckiej w Byłych Prusach Wschodnich w Olsztynie* [The Union of Organizations of German People in the Former East Prussia in Olsztyn - name in Polish only], and the Union of the German Associations in the Regions of Olsztyn, Gdańsk, Toruń [*Verband Deutscher Vereinigungen in der Regionen Allenstein-Danzig-Thorn*]. About seventy officially registered German organizations exist throughout the country.²⁰

Cultural life is very active, and a variety of events is organized locally and regionally. At the local level, the bases for activities are the German Clubs, dedicated to musical life, the teaching of German, maintaining libraries, and cultural events. The club of intellectuals with a membership of one hundred *Eichendorf* in Opole is engaged in events such as the commemoration of the anniversary of the end of World War II, and the expulsion of Germans from Poland.

The major German publication is the weekly *Schlesisches Wochenblatt* [Silesian Weekly News] which has a national circulation. It is based in Opole and is a continuation of the bilingual biweekly *Oberschlesische Zeitung/Gazeta Górnośląska* [Upper Silesian Gazette], connected with the *Verband der Deutschen Sozialkulturellen Gesellschaften in der Republik Polen*. The *Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft "Versöhnung und Zukunft"* issues

18. Minority Rights Group International, *World Directory of Minorities* (London: 1997), p. 237; *Informator*, p. 14.

19. *Informator*, p. 14.

20. Throughout this article names of minority organizations, associations and publications are given the way they are officially registered with the authorities. Sometimes they are in both Polish and the titular minority language, and sometimes in only one of them.

an irregular periodical, *Hoffnung* [Hope]. In Katowice and Opole there are weekly radio broadcasts in German. The public television local branch in Opole broadcasts *Oberschlesien Journal* [Journal of Upper Silesia], a biweekly program in German.²¹

A variety of schools uses German as the language of instruction, and it seems they are growing in number. There were 67 schools with 6,152 students in the two *województwa* of Opole and Katowice in 1994. Teachers from Germany on temporary contracts are recruited to teach in German language schools, which suffer a large shortage of mother tongue teachers. Various kinds of support, including textbooks, also come from Germany.

Roman Catholicism is the major religion among Germans in Poland. Masses in German are common in churches throughout Upper Silesia. The Evangelical (Lutheran) Church is common among Germans in the southeast. There is no evidence of religious friction, and religious diversity does not appear to be an issue within the compact German minority in Poland.²²

Political activity, visibility, and representation of Germans in Poland is strong. In the Polish Parliament there is a German club, *Parlamentarne Koło Mniejszości Niemieckiej*, with four representatives elected in the 1993 elections. One senator was elected to the Polish Senate.²³

Although limited to the local level, a degree of conflict between Germans and Poles originated in recent years in the Opole *województwo* concerning the building of monuments to German soldiers who died in World War II. Some of those monuments were set on fire by Polish extremists in 1994 and 1995.

Belarussians [*Białorusini*]

Belarussian sources estimate the number of Belarussians in Poland as somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000. Estimates in the scholarly literature range from 250,000 to 300,000 individuals. *Niva* [The Field], a major Belarussian weekly, undertook in 1900 a research study on the territorial base of the Białystok region, from which the total figure of 206,000 resulted. The maximum number estimated does not come from Belarussian sources, but from international estimates.²⁴

Belarussians live in the southeastern area of the Białystok region. Urbanization (the city of Białystok remaining the major pole of attraction) and emigration to urban centers outside the area or abroad, have conspicuously lowered numbers in the countryside. Although Orthodox Belarussians

21. *Informator*, p. 15.

22. *Informator*, p. 16.

23. Gerhard Bartodziej was elected senator. The elected representatives were Joachim Czernek, Henryk Kroll, Roman Kurzbauer, and Helmut Paździor. *Informator*, p. 17.

24. *Informator*, p. 5.

generally retain the religion when they move, they are easily identifiable as Orthodox, while the extent to which they maintain their ethnic identity is less clear. In the more southern area of Podlasie, Belarussians are challenged by an active Ukrainian competition in claiming the ethnic identity of the area. There is an educated Belarussian presence in Lublin, Warsaw and a few other cities.²⁵

Belarussians have a variety of organizations. The Belarussian Social-Cultural Association [*Bielaruskaje Hramadska-Kulturnaje Tavarystva*] has been active since 1956. The new (founded in 1993) Belarussian Union in the Polish Republic [*Związek Białoruski w Rzeczypospolitej Polski*] seems to be an umbrella organization for other organizations: The Belarussian Democratic Union [*Bielaruskaja Demokratychnaje Ab'jadnannie*], a political party; The Belarussian Historical Association [*Bielaruskaje Historychnaje Tavarystva*]; The Association of Belarussian Journalists [*Ab'jadnannie Bielaruskich Zhurnalistau*]; and other literary, youth and student organizations. Prominent religious organizations in the Białystok region are the Youth Orthodox Fraternity [*Bractwo Młodzieży Prawosławnej*] and the Orthodox Fraternity of the Saints Cyril and Methodius [*Bractwo Młodzieży św. Cyryla i Metodego*]. These are religious organizations and cannot be treated purely ethnic because they are based on religious criteria. They are open to polyethnic membership.²⁶

In Białystok there is an annual festival of Belarussian song and a festival of Belarussian culture with a variety of events celebrating, among other things, popular music and painting. There is also a Belarussian youth rock music festival.

The major publication in the Belarussian language is the weekly *Niva*. It receives support from the Polish Ministry of Culture and Arts. In existence since 1957, it is a chronicle of Belarussian life and society in the area, and offers literary and children's sections. The weekly is also responsible for intense publishing activity in Belarussian and for publishing contemporary Belarussian authors. Another important publication is *Chasopis* [The Review], which was started in 1990. It is social-cultural in character, with articles in Belarussian and Polish. *Dyskusja-Dyskusija* [Discussion] is a bilingual periodical dedicated to Belarussian culture. There are also some irregular student publications. The Polish autocephalic Orthodox Church publishes in Belarussian the periodical *Przegląd Prawosławny* [Orthodox Review]. The Youth Orthodox Fraternity issues *Fos* [The Light], a religious quarterly, also in Belarussian. A daily thirty-minute program in Belarussian is broadcast by the national radio branch in Białystok for the benefit of the local Belarussian community. There are 42 schools using the Belarussian language with Polish and two lycea (high schools) serving a total of 3,895 students.

25. *Informator*, p. 5.

26. *Informator*, p. 6.

There are 76 qualified teachers of the Belarussian language. Government sources report a steady decline in the number of students interested in learning Belarussian.²⁷

Belarussians gained 1.5 percent (three mandates out of fifty) in the Białystok city council in 1993, with the list of the Orthodox Electoral Committee. Notable electoral success was scored by Belarussians in the towns of Gródek, Hajnów and Bielsko Podlaski. Belarussians do not necessarily vote for Belarussian parties. Furthermore, a trend exists within those identifying themselves as Orthodox not to vote for "Belarussian" parties.²⁸

Ukrainians [*Ukraincy*]

Estimates about the number of Ukrainians vary greatly, from tens of thousands to 300,000, with international estimates up to half a million. Although Ukrainians are an autochthonous people in the southeastern regions of Poland, they live now mostly in the northern and western regions. As a result of the massive Ukrainian population transfers after World War II, mostly in 1947, the most sizable concentrations of Ukrainians are to be found in the *województwa* of Olsztyn (40,000 estimated), Koszalin, Słupsk, and Zielona Góra, among others. In the southeast, where some Ukrainians returned after 1956, the major concentration of Ukrainians is in the *województwo* of Przemyśl (10,000 estimated).²⁹

The organizational structure of the Ukrainian community is well developed and comprehensive. The major organization is the Union of Ukrainians in Poland [*Objednannja Ukrajinsiv u Pol'shchi/Związek Ukraińców w Polsce*]. It was created in 1990 as a continuation of the old Social-Cultural Ukrainian Association [*Ukrajins'ke Suspil'no-Kul'turne Tovarystvo*], in existence since 1956. This is an umbrella organization, federative in character, which includes, among a variety of diverse organizations and groups, the Union of Ukrainian Women [*Sojuz Ukrajinok/Związek Ukrainek*], the Association of Lawyers [*Klub Jurystiv/Klub Prawników*], the Association of Business [*Tovarystvo Pidpryjemciw/Stowarzyszenie Przedsiębiorców*], the Ukrainian Teachers Association in Poland [*Ukrajins'ke Vchytels'ke Tovarystvo Pol'shchi/Ukraińskie Towarzystwo Nauczycielskie w Polsce*], the Association of Independent Ukrainian Youth [*Sojuz Ukrajins'koji Nezalezhnoji Molodi/Związek Ukraińskiej Młodzieży Niezależnej*], and the Association of Ukrainian Political Prisoners of the Stalinist Period [*Spilka Ukrajinciv - Polityvjazniv Stalinovskoho Periodu/Stowarzyszenie Ukraińców - Więźniów Politycznych Okresu Stalinowskiego*]. A variety of local organizations

27. *Informator*, p. 7.

28. *Informator*, p. 8.

29. Minority Rights Group International, *World Directory of Minorities* (London: 1997), p. 237; *Informator*, p. 22.

exists, including the Association of Ukrainians in Podlasie [*Sojuz Ukrajinciv Pidljashsja/Związek Ukraińców Podlasia*]. Ukrainians have also developed a number of cultural foundations: the Foundation of Ukrainian Culture [*Fundacja Kultury Ukraińskiej*], the Kontakt Foundation for the Development of Ukrainian Culture [*Fundacja Rozwoju Kultury Ukraińskiej "Kontakt"*], the Zahrava Foundation for the Development of Ukrainian Instruction and Education [*Fundacja Rozwoju Ukraińskiego Szkolnictwa i Oświaty "Zahrava"*], the Ukrainian Archives Foundation [*Fundacja Archiwum Ukraińskiego*], and in Gdańsk the Center for Information on National Minorities [*Ośrodek Informacji Mniejszości Narodowych*].³⁰

The major cultural event is the biannual *Festiwal Kultury Ukraińskiej* [Festival of Ukrainian Culture] in Koszalin. The annual *Festiwal Kultury Ukraińskiej* takes place in Podlasie, and a number of festivals, such as the festival of Ukrainian youth in Mrzygłody, are dedicated to children and youth. In 1994, the European Conference of the Ukrainian World Congress took place in Warsaw.

Publications are numerous. Major publications are the weekly *Nashe Slovo* [Our Word], the independent biweekly *Homin'*, the quarterly *Nad Buhom i Narvoju* [On the Bug and Narev], *Krakowskie Zapiski Ukrainoznawcze* [Cracovian Ukrainianist Notes], the religious monthly *Blahovist*, and the quarterly *Peremyski Dzwony* [Przemysł Bells]. In 1994, *Ukrainski Archiv* [Ukrainian Archive] and *Tyrsa* Publishing House started the publications of books dealing with a broad range of subject matter.

In 1994 about two thousand students were studying Ukrainian in 51 grammar schools and four lycea. Four grammar schools have Ukrainian as the language of instruction. There are 82 teachers of Ukrainian. As part of the programs of the Ministry of Education, the history and geography of Ukraine are also taught in some schools. Institutes of Ukrainian Philology exist in the major universities: Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, Poznań, and Szczecin. Ukrainian is also taught in the Higher Institute of Pedagogy in Rzeszów and Słupsk.³¹

In religion, Ukrainians are divided. The majority follow the Greek Catholic Church [*Kościół Katolickiego Obrządku Bizantyjsko-Ukraińskiego*]; the rest follow the Orthodox Church [*Polski Autokefaliczny Kościół Prawosławny*]. The Greek Catholic Church is based in Przemysł. It was elevated to Apostolic Capital in 1993, where the presiding bishop of the Church resides. One hundred parishes strong, with 56 priests, the Church is organized into the seven *decanates* of Przemysł, Cracow-Krynica, Włocławek, Zielona Góra, Koszalin, Olsztyn, and Elbląg. New Greek Catholic churches have been built. The Orthodox Church, under the authority of its own *metropolita*, has 242 parishes with 260 clergy, organized in 21 *dekanty* and six dioceses. In the

30. *Informator*, p. 22.

31. *Informator*, p. 23.

1994 administrative elections, Ukrainians obtained a total of 31 representatives in the city council of a dozen towns, including Kołobrzeg and Bielsko Podlaski.³²

Roma [*Romowie*]³³

Romany sources put the number of Roma in Poland at 25,000 to 30,000. Government estimates are a few thousand lower, like the international ones. Not taken under consideration in arriving at these figures is the growing and unknown number of foreign — mostly Romanian — Roma who have entered Poland since 1990. Given the novelty of such a phenomenon for Poland, the issues involved seem to be still unexplored by authorities and analysts.³⁴

Roma are spread throughout Poland, mostly in urban environments, and are divided into four major groups: the *Polska Roma*, the *Bergitka Roma* (also known as the Carpathian Gypsies), and the *Kelderasze* and *Lowarzy*, who are related to each other. Some minor groups are also identified according to the area or provenance under foreign occupation prior to 1918: the *Chaładytka*, a former Russia area; the *Sasytka*, a former Prussian area; and the *Galicjaki*, a former Austrian area. These groups are of different origins, having arrived in Poland at different times. They speak different dialects, and their traditions are marked by differences.

Polska Roma are the oldest and most numerous group in Poland, dating back perhaps to the sixteenth century. They are internally divided into some major groups and families, but maintain a strong internal integration and a chief authority. Almost exclusively urban, they live throughout Poland. *Bergitka Roma* have lived in Poland since the end of the eighteenth century. They are the major Roma concentration in the country, located in the Nowy Sąd województwo. Some of them can also be found in Nowa Huta and other locations where they transferred after World War II. They are not strongly internally bonded and integrate to a certain degree with other people. The *Kalderasze* and the *Lowarzy* are minor groups. Many of them left Poland after World War II. They are urban, compact, do not seek contacts with outside people, and their community chiefs maintain strong authority.³⁵

The degree of institutionalized social organization among the Roma is very low. The very characteristics of their different communities are objective

32. *Informator*, p. 25.

33. The term "Roma" [*Romowie*] is to be preferred to "Gypsies" [*Cyganie*], which has a pejorative connotation. The singular noun is Rom, Roma is the plural, and Romani is the adjective. The Roma speak the Romani language. See Zoltan D. Barany, "Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies," *Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 2 (1994).

34. *World Directory* . . . , p. 237; *Informator*, p. 17.

35. *Informator*, p. 18.

obstacles to their development of a national identity and to the creation of institutions to which such an outcome could lead. The Association of the Roma in Poland [*Stowarzyszenie Romów w Polsce*] has been the major organization since 1991. With headquarters in Oświęcim and no branches, it had about nine hundred members in 1994, and tries to act as the general Romany organization for Poland. In 1994 it organized an observance of the anniversary of the Nazi extermination of the Roma in the Auschwitz concentration camp. An older cultural association is the *Centrum Kultury Romów* [Roma Cultural Center], in existence since 1963 in Tarnów where the local museum has a collection devoted to the Roma. Not much is known about other minor organizations established in the past two decades in Gdańsk, Nowy Targ and other towns. A Romany organization was established in Kielce in 1992. Some Romany foundations seem also to exist. The Romany language monthly *Rrom p-o Drom*, connected with the international Romani Union, has been published in Białystok since 1990.³⁶

In the past few years an annual festival of Romany folklore groups has taken place in Gorzów Wielkopolski with exhibits, movies and a book fair. In Tarnów, activities were organized for the local Romany youth. Cultural events and study sessions dedicated to the Roma are held annually.

Education is a difficult matter to assess, and not much information about it is available. In general, most Romany children do not finish grammar school. They attend regular school, often without having a sufficient command of Polish. Illiteracy among them is relatively common. Since 1992, attempts to organize introductory classes for Romany children have been made, and the Ministry of Education has created experimental programs targeting Romany illiteracy. Some reports indicate the existence of 25 classes and 430 students involved.

In terms of religion, most Roma refer to Roman Catholicism, with various degrees of participation. Church activities among the Roma have yielded mixed results. In 1983, a celebration of the "Blessed Holy Mother of the Roma" was initiated in Jasna Góra by a Jesuit Father, who also issued a Romani religious publication. Jesuit Fathers also offer a monthly Mass for the Roma in Nowa Huta, where in 1994 they organized a conference on the Church and the Roma. The most important Romany religious event seems to be the annual pilgrimage to the locality of Limanowa, in the Tarnów area.³⁷

Lithuanians [*Litwini*]

According to Lithuanian minority sources, the number of Lithuanians ranges from 20,000 to 25,000. Government estimates put the number at about 20,000, and international estimates range up to 30,000. half the Lithuanians live in the Suwałki region, an area of their native land. The rest

36. *Informator*, p. 18.

37. *Informator*, p. 21.

is spread, as a result of migration from their native Polish and Lithuanian lands, throughout the country in major urban centers such as Gdańsk, Wrocław and Szczecin.³⁸

The major organization is the Lithuanian social-Cultural Association [*Litewskie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne*], created in 1992, a continuation of the old Association of Lithuanians in Poland [*Lenkijos Lietuvių Draugija/Stowarzyszenie Litwinów w Polsce*], active since 1956. A St. Casimir Lithuanian Association [*Lietuvių sv. Kazimiero Draugija/Litewski Towarzystwo św. Kazimierza*] was created in 1990, a revival of a successful association by the same name prospering during the Second Republic. It is dedicated to folklore. Representatives of both associations, together with representatives of a variety of organizations, constitute the Community of Lithuanians in Poland [*Lenkijos Lietuvių Bendruomenės/Wspólnota Litwinów w Polsce*], a sort of umbrella institution aiming at being a governing and coordinating body of the social-cultural Lithuanian organizations. Its agenda is to represent Lithuanians *vis-à-vis* Polish institutions, and to maintain contacts with Lithuanians abroad. At the local level, a network of Lithuanian Cultural Houses is engaged in the organization of a variety of local events: folkloric celebrations, theater, dance. In 1994, the Lithuanian Cultural House in Puńsk organized a festival of national minority (Roma, Ukrainians, Russians, Germans) folkloric groups of the region.³⁹

The bimonthly *Ausra/Jutrzenka* [Morning Star], published in the Lithuanian language by the Association of Lithuanians in Poland, is the major periodical. It has been in existence since 1993, and as a publishing house published books in Lithuanian. *Lituanica* is a minor periodical published in Poland, which is dedicated to Lithuanian cultural life. Education in the Lithuanian language is considerable. Within the municipalities of Puńsk and Sejny there were in 1994 four elementary schools, one technical school and one lyceum with Lithuanian as the language of instruction. A Lithuanian preschool self-government, independent of Polish institution, exists in Puńsk. Two elementary schools teach in both the Lithuanian and Polish languages, and three schools offer Lithuanian as an additional language. In Suwałki 782 grammar school children were learning in Lithuanian in 1994. Programs to teach Lithuanian history, geography and language, from grammar school to high school (lyceum), are in force, approved by the Ministry of Education, which paid for textbooks.

Lithuanians are Roman Catholic. Masses are celebrated in Lithuanian with Lithuanian concentration in Puńsk, Sejny and Smolany. The parish in Puńsk is the center of regional religious life. It has a Lithuanian-speaking priest, a stipulation of the founding statute of the parish in 1597. Masses in

38. *World Directory* . . . , p. 237; *Informator*, p. 11.

39. *Informator*, p. 11.

Lithuanian are available, although only weekly or monthly, in Warsaw, Wrocław and Suwałki. Lithuanians participated in last year's general elections under the National Minorities Bloc, but gained no representative. At the local level some Lithuanian representation appears in the city councils of Puńsk and Sejny.

Slovaks, Czechs [*Słowacy, Czesi*]

The number of Slovaks in Poland ranges from 10,000 to 20,000 in most estimates. The Czechs are put at about 3,000 to 5,000. Both are geographically concentrated. Slovaks are to be found in the areas of Spisz and Orawa, Czechs in the areas of Żelów, Kuzów and to some extent in Lublin.⁴¹

The primary organization of Czechs and Slovaks is the Social-Cultural Association of the Czechs and Slovaks in Poland [*Kulturno-Socialna Spolocnost cechov a Slovakov v Pol'sku/Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Czechów i Słowaków w Polsce*], founded in 1984 to replace the old Cultural Association of Czechs and Slovaks in Poland [*Towarzystwo Kulturalne Czechów i Słowaków w Polsce*], active since 1957. In this organization only about a hundred members were Czech, and the rest Slovak. A further change of name occurred in 1995, when the organization became the Association of Slovaks in Poland, with the Czechs holding the status of associated members with their own Czech Clubs. The activities of the Association, based in Cracow, include instruction in the Czech and Slovak languages, literary activities, promotion of popular culture and arts, maintaining relations with the motherland.

Major Slovak cultural events have been held, among them a Day of Slovak Culture in Jabłonka Orawska, a festival of popular theater, and a festival of folklore, a poetry contest in Jurgów. The only major periodical is the monthly *Zivot* [Life], with articles in Slovak, Czech and Polish. It has been published since 1958 by the Association of Slovaks in Poland. The work of a new quarterly journal on Slovaks in Poland is in progress. The same association is an active publisher, with recent publications on Slovaks in Poland, Czechs in Poland, and on the participation of Slovaks in the Warsaw Uprising and in the World War II underground National Army [*Armia Krajowa*].

The Slovak language remains in limited use. Fifteen schools and six hundred students use it. An additional twelve grammar schools use Slovak as an additional language and two as the language of instruction. One lyceum uses Slovak as an additional language. Seven Catholic parishes are reported to offer masses in Slovak. Programs exist under the auspices of the Slovak Ministry of Education and the Association of Slovaks in Poland to send high

40. *Informator*, p. 14.

41. *World Directory* . . . , p. 237; *Informator*, p. 9.

school and college students to study in the Slovak Republic.⁴²

Jews [Żydzi]

Since many Jewish people are assimilated within Polish society, it is difficult to know their real number. The estimate of 5,000 to 10,000 is generally accepted also by Jews. Somewhat higher estimates also exist. Jews are urban and live mostly in major cities such as Warsaw, Cracow, Gdańsk, and Wrocław. In the south there are Jews in Legnica, Częstochowa and Bielsko-Biała.⁴³

The Social-Cultural Association of Jews in Poland [*Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne Żydów w Polsce*] has, since 1950, been the major organization. In 1993, it listed 2,563 members organized in fourteen sections. New Jewish organizations have been created in recent years: the Association of Jewish Fighters and Those Wounded in World War II in Poland [*Stowarzyszenie Żydów Kombatantów i Poszkodowanych w II Wojnie Światowej*], the Polish Union of Jewish Students [*Polska Unia Studentów Żydowskich*], the Sport Club "Maccabees" [*Klub Sportowy "Makkabi"*], the Association "Children of the Holocaust" [*Stowarzyszenie "Dzieci Holocaustu"*]. The Coordinating Commission of Jewish Organizations in Poland [*Komisja Koordynacyjna Organizacji Żydowskich w Polsce*] is a sort of umbrella organization which includes representatives of the Jewish organizations.

Since 1994 the most important Jewish institution has been the Jewish Historical Institute [*Żydowski Instytut Historyczny-Institut Naukowo-Badawczy*]. It is the continuation of the old Jewish Historical Institute Association [*Stowarzyszenie Żydowski Instytut Historyczny*]. One of the major pillars of Jewish culture, the E. [Ester] R. Kamińska State Jewish Theater in Warsaw [*Państwowy Teatr Żydowski im. E. R. Kamińskiej*], is a professional Jewish theater using the Yiddish language. Two major foundations are also active: The "Shalom" American-Polish-Israeli Foundation for the Promotion of Polish-Jewish Culture [*Amerykańsko-Polsko-Izraelska Fundacja do Spraw Promocji Kultury Polsko-Żydowskiej "Shalom"*] and the Jewish Forum Foundation [*Fundacja "Forum Żydowskie"*]. The Lauder Foundation is dedicated to educational and religious activity for youth of Jewish origin.

The most visible publication is the biweekly *Słowo Żydowskie/Dos Jidisze Wort* [Jewish Word], published since 1992 by the Social-Cultural Association of Jews in Poland. It is a bilingual Polish-Yiddish publication, and is the continuation of the old *Folks-Sztyme* [People's Voice] published since 1946 in Warsaw. *Jidele*, a Polish-language Jewish youth magazine has appeared irregularly since 1992. Hebrew and Yiddish are not present in the

42. *Informator*, p. 10.

43. *Informator*, p. 26. *World Directory* . . . , does not mention Jews in the statistical data for Contemporary Poland.

public school system. In Warsaw a private school teaching Hebrew is open to all children.

Since 1992 the religious organization of the Jewish community has been the Union of the Communities of Jewish Confession in the Polish Republic [*Związek Gmin Wyznaniowych Żydowskich w Rzeczypospolitej Polski*], a continuation of the previous Religious Union of Mosaic Confession in Poland [*Związek Wyznania Mojżeszowego w Polsce*]. The organization promotes religious life and charities, and issues an annual almanac. There is one active synagogue in Warsaw, where the chief rabbi of Poland resides.⁴⁴

Tatars [*Tatarzy*]

Tatar sources put the number of Polish Tatars at 5,000. Official estimates are somewhat lower. Tatars are concentrated in the Białystok *województwo* and can also be found in the northern and western regions.⁴⁵ The only major organization is the Union of Polish Tatars in the Republic of Poland [*Związek Tatarów Polskich w Rzeczypospolitej Polski*], created in 1992. It produces some publications, including the annual *Rocznik Tatarów Polskich* [Polish Tatar Annual]. The Religious Muslim Union [*Muzułmański Związek Religijny*] is the Tatar religious organization which is headed by a Higher Collegium [*Najwyższe Kolegium*]. It has five ministers and six religious sections, including one in Gdańsk and one in Warsaw.

Russians [*Rosjanie*]

There are probably a few thousand Russians in Poland. No specific data on their numbers exist. They are concentrated in the eastern and southeastern Suwałki *województwo*, mostly in rural areas, and also in the Masurian Wojnów area. Their religion is the Old Orthodox Rite, which dates back to before the mid-seventeenth century. Their non-acceptance of the reformed ritual caused their migration to Polish lands at the end of the eighteenth century. Their Eastern Church of the Old Rite [*Wschodni Kościół Staroobrzędowy*] had 2,560 members in 1993, three sections in Suwałki, Grabowe Grądy, Wodзилky, and a convent in Wojnów.⁴⁶

Lemkos [*Łemkowie*]

Lemkos are more than an ethnic segment if the 50,000-60,000 figure estimated by Lemko sources is realistic. Definition, identification and number still remain difficult issues. No figures on the number of Lemkos are officially available. Lemkos themselves are divided on the issue of their identity. Those identifying themselves as Rusyns [*Rusini*] are organized in

44. *Informator*, p. 27.

45. *World Directory* . . . , p. 237; *Informator*, p. 31.

46. *Informator*, p. 30.

the Lemko Union [*Zjednoczenie Łemków/Objednannja Lemkiv*]. Those who see themselves as a separate people have the Lemko Association [*Stowarzyszenie Łemków*], which is active in the western part of the country in an area extending from Wałbrzych to Gorzów, where an annual Lemko festival takes place. The Association is responsible for occasional publication of a Lemko periodical and some children's books.⁴⁷

Armenians [*Ormianie*]

No data are available about the number of Armenians in Poland. They are urban and live in the western regions. Before World War II, they numbered about 5,000, concentrated in the southeast (formerly eastern Galicia). An Armenian Cultural Association [*Ormiańskie Towarzystwo Kulturalne*] was created in Cracow in 1990. The Association has organized meetings of Polish Armenians, the General Polish Meetings of Armenian Groups [*Ogólnopolskie Spotkanie Środowiska Ormiańskiego*] in recent years, and produced some publications. The Armenians follow the Catholic Church of the Armenian-Catholic Rite. This Church has one parish, one priest, and owns one church in Gliwice, where masses in the Armenian rite are held. They are rare but exist in other places, including Cracow. An Armenian-Catholic Rite church publication appeared in Gliwice.⁴⁸

Karaites [*Karaimy*]

About two hundred Karaites live in Poland. They are distinguished essentially by their religion and language, which still survives, together with traditions, mostly among the older generation. Descendants of Turkic peoples, they arrived in Poland in the fourteenth century. Before World War II, they lived in Wilno, Troki, Łuck, and Halicz. Their religion is based exclusively on the Pentateuch, rejecting other scriptures. The Karaites Religious Union [*Karaimski Związek Religijny*] is their only existent organization, active since 1945. It has three centers, in Warsaw, Wrocław and Gdańsk. There is no religious authority. The Union owns a Karaite Cemetery in Warsaw.⁴⁹

Greeks, Macedonians [*Grecy, Macedończycy*]

A political immigration phenomenon, they number only a few thousand and their numbers are declining due to people returning to Greece. They arrived in Poland as refugees after the failure of an attempted communist revolution in Greece in the years 1946-1949. In the middle of the 1950s their numbers reached about 15,000. After 1981, most of them returned to a then democratic

47. *Informator*, pp. 28-29.

48. *Informator*, pp. 29-30.

49. *Informator*, p. 28.

Greece. After their arrival in Poland they were organized in the Nikos Belojanis Union of Political Refugees from Greece [*Związek Uchodźców Politycznych z Grecji im. Nikosa Belohanisa*]. After the return of democracy in Greece, the organization changed its name to Association of Greeks in Poland [*Towarzystwo Greków w Polsce*]. In 1989, an internal schism produced the Association of Macedonians in Poland [*Stowarzyszenie Macedończyków w Polsce*]. These associations promote a variety of cultural activities.⁵⁰

Hungarians [*Węgrzy*]

Not much is known about the small number of Hungarians in Poland. They date their presence in southeastern Polish lands back to the fourteenth century. Estimated at about 1,000 before World War II, they are now thought to number about four hundred, mostly in Warsaw and south Poland. Their degree of assimilation to Polish culture is probably high, and they are mostly Catholic, with some Protestants. There is no Hungarian organization in Poland, and no evidence of Hungarian cultural activities.⁵¹

Conclusions

In contemporary Poland — simplistically speaking — the issue of ethnicity/minority has, as it has in past Polish history, recreated two political parties and two ideologies usually quite antithetical and unfriendly to each other: the pro-minority and the anti-minority. Many other elements, understandably, add to the complexity of the issue. Furthermore, governmental policies and *raisons d'état* have their ideologists, no matter the political regime. Prejudice and political extremism also continue to exist and to be heard in a democracy. In one way or another, minority issues are deemed to remain a cantankerous feature of Polish society. Certainly a more diversified, Polish and European society might indeed be a richer society with different groups actually benefiting from interaction and mutual understanding. On those issues, both in eastern Europe and in a European Poland, "new thinking is critically needed."⁵²

50. Władyka and Garlicka, p. 130. The *Informator* does not mention Greeks and Macedonians.

51. Władyka and Garlicka, p. 118.

52. Rothschild.

National Minorities in Poland* (Estimates**)		
	Contemporary	Interbellum
Germans/ <i>Niemcy</i>	350,000 - 1,100,000	<1,000,000
Ukrainians/ <i>Ukraińcy</i>	250,000 - 500,000	>5,000,000
Belarussians/ <i>Białorusini</i>	250,000 - 350,000	>2,000,000
Lemkos/ <i>Łemkowie</i> (1)	50,000 - 60,000	>150,000
Roma/ <i>Romowie</i> (2)	25,000 - 30,000	>50,000
Lithuanians/ <i>Litwini</i>	20,000 - 30,000	>200,000
Slovaks/ <i>Słowacy</i> (3)	10,000 - 20,000	1,000
Russians/ <i>Rosjanie</i>	10,000 - 13,000	140,000
Armenians/ <i>Ormianie</i>	8,000 - 15,000	5,200
Jews/ <i>Żydzi</i>	5,000 - 10,000	>3,200,000
Greeks, Macedonians/ <i>Grecy, Macedończycy</i> (4)	3,500 - 4,000	0
Czechs/ <i>Czesi</i> (3)	3,000 - 5,000	38,000
Tatars/ <i>Tatarzy</i>	2,500 - 4,000	5,500
Hungarians/ <i>Węgrzy</i>	400 - 500	1,000
Karaites/ <i>Karaimy</i>	200 - 300	1,500
Illegal Aliens	500,000 - 600,000	-
Approximate total	1,487,600 - 2,141,800	11,792,200
Approximate percentage	3.5% - 5.5%	36%

* Limited to categories traditionally appearing in statistics, not including a variety of entities such as Kashubs, Silesians and others.

(1) Lemko, Ukrainian, Ruthenian, are unclear and confused terms in present and past statistics.

(2) Polish Roma only; Roma from outside Poland are part of the Illegal Aliens figure.

(3) Czechs and Slovaks are confused with each other, particularly in Interbellum statistics.

(4) Greeks and Macedonians appear together in statistics.

** Estimates based of the following sources:

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