POLISH TRANSMISSIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

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Introduction

The period under discussion in this book—1945–2004—can be divided into Cold War and post–Cold-War eras, and for Poland the story of "Americanization" breaks sharply along that divide. Poland, which once lent the name of its capital to the Warsaw Pact, was among the first group of new NATO members in 1999 and became part of the "coalition of the willing" in the 2003 Iraq war. Bearing in mind this temporal divide, the issue of Americanization also needs to be examined from the perspectives of transmission and reception, from the viewpoint of the sender as well as that of the receiver. We are presenting this chapter in two distinct voices to reflect this double vision and dialogue. The section headed "Transmissions"—representing the voice of the "sender"—presents a largely chronological account of U.S. efforts to exert cultural influence on Poland. "Translations"—representing the voice of a Polish "receiver"—presents a more subjective view, giving Polish responses to American cultural imports. Finally, we take a look at anti-Americanism in Poland.

Transmissions

U.S. cultural policy toward Poland must be seen in the broader context of U.S.-Polish diplomatic relations, a context that has always been greatly influenced by the large and vocal Polish-American community. Estimated to exceed

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10 million in number, backed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and concentrated in several key states, the Polish-American community has closely monitored U.S. foreign policy toward their homeland and willingly exerted pressure on presidents and members of Congress to assist Polish resistance to communist rule during the Cold War and support the transition to democracy and a market economy in the post–Cold-War era. The export of U.S. culture can be seen as playing a role in both those endeavors.

In the immediate post–World War II years cultural relations between the two countries were limited, and they remained so until after Stalin's death. One visible sign of this cultural freeze was a drastic curtailment of the teaching of English at Polish universities. After the 1947 elections, through which the Communists consolidated their control in Poland, English departments that had recently been opened at the new universities in Łódź and Wrocław and reopened in Poznań and at Jagiellonian University in Cracow were closed. This left only two English departments open at Polish universities: one in Warsaw, which was intended to train interpreters and translators to fulfill government needs, and the other at the Catholic University in Lublin, which maintained resistance to ideological pressures. The formalization of censorship[1] and other restrictions on publication meant that American literature in this period was largely represented by translations of the works of Howard Fast and other proletarian writers as well as reissues of works by John Steinbeck, Jack London, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, and Mark Twain.[2] Polish authorities in turn accused the U.S. of also implementing cultural restrictions. A 1952 illustration entitled "Culture Bearer" by Polish artist Jerzy Flisak depicts a fat cowboy wearing American stripes carrying to a bonfire books by Howard Fast, Lenin, Gorky, Majakowski, and Marx. Howard Fast was not the only U.S. cultural figure officially admired in Poland in the early 1950s. Paul Robeson was honored by a larger-than-life 1952 sculpture by Danuta Tomaszewska-Kolarska that identified him as a "winner of the Lenin Peace Prize."

With many other channels of cultural communication between Poland and the U.S. blocked during these early postwar years, international broadcasting played an important role in disseminating American culture. In 1952 Radio Free Europe (RFE) was established in Munich with a Polish section headed by Jan Nowak-Jeziorański, who had been a courier for the Polish underground in World War II. The initial Polish broadcast began precisely at 11:00 A.M. on 3 May 1952, the anniversary of the Polish Constitution. Polish listeners heard: "This is Radio Free Europe speaking—the Voice of a Free Poland.… Poles speaking to Poles." The Polish program, like those of its sister stations broadcasting to other Eastern European countries, was to serve as a surrogate home service staffed with émigré broadcasters providing news and opinion about developments in Poland as well as broader cultural and information programs. Publicly RFE was not a government-funded station but a

private organization under the National Committee for a Free Europe that solicited donations from the public through the Crusade for Freedom, an organization especially incorporated for this purpose. In fact the stations were funded by Congress through the CIA until 1971. The Polish government reacted to RFE not only by jamming its broadcasts but also by conducting a publicity campaign against it. A 1955 poster by Ignacy Witz depicts a funnel going into the head of an RFE broadcaster. Into this funnel two figures—one a Nazi identified by swastika signs, the second an American, identified by a red-striped bow-tie decorated with $$ and a blue-starred shirt—are pouring such toxic ingredients as lies, gossip, blackmail, and libel. Polish authorities would use the Munich location of RFE to link this station in the public mind with the hated Germans.

The Voice of America Polish service, begun in 1942, was the open, public, government foreign broadcast service. In addition to news bulletins and editorials supporting U.S. government policy and attacking communism, VOA carried various cultural features. One of the most popular VOA programs was Willis Conover's *Music, USA Jazz Hour,* broadcast six nights a week starting on 6 January 1955. When Conover died in 1996, the *New York Times* noted that "at the peak of the cold war it was estimated that Conover had 30 million regular listeners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union."[3] Polish pianist Adam Makowicz has credited Conover with inspiring his jazz career: "In the mid-fifties I discovered Willis Conover's program *Music USA Jazz Hour,* broadcast every night by the Voice of America. It changed my life forever. I chose a new life of freedom and improvisation considered by the authorities to be 'decadent' over the career of a classical pianist my parents and teachers envisioned for me."[4] Countless Polish jazz fans have expressed their appreciation for Conover's program, which kept them connected to current developments in jazz ("America's classical music") throughout the Cold War. Indeed, it is almost impossible to find a memoir by a Polish jazz artist or fan that does not begin with a tribute to the influence of Willis Conover and VOA and an account of the excitement of huddling around a short-wave radio to catch the broadcasts. When Conover first visited Poland in 1959, he was exuberantly welcomed as a hero by cheering crowds, young girls bearing flowers, and a band. The VOA and RFE Polish service both introduced programs of pop and rock and roll music in the 1960s, and Polish state radio responded by broadcasting its own rock music program on a short-wave band close to that of RFE.[5] Popular music thus entered Poland with little official resistance after 1956 and was readily adopted and adapted by Polish listeners. The story of the reception and translation of the various forms of popular music will be told in the "Translations" section below.

The "thaw" in U.S.-Polish relations can be dated from the Polish October of 1956, when after the workers' demonstrations in Poznań in June of that

year, Władysław Gomułka became First Secretary of the Party and initiated a policy of increased liberalization. Cardinal Wyszyński was released, restrictions on the church were eased, censorship was relaxed in comparison to the Stalinist period, emigration policy was loosened, the jamming of foreign broadcasts ceased, and in general contacts with the West increased. Indeed, contacts grew so rapidly in the three years following Gomułka's assumption of power that Jan Błoński could even refer to the "invasion of Americans."[6] The U.S. government had identified Poland as "a model for other regimes to emulate in pursuing independence from Moscow" and elaborated a program of cultural contacts, including the distribution of U.S. publications, films, and exhibits; the establishment of a USIS library; and the funding of exchange programs to bring Polish scholars, technical experts, and cultural leaders to the U.S. and send their American counterparts to Poland.[7]

Implementation of this program of increased contacts was tied directly to Poland's need for economic aid. Starting in 1957 the Polish government was allowed to purchase U.S. agricultural commodities (wheat and cotton) under Public Law 480. Payment was made in zlotys, which the U.S. government would use to finance (among other things) cultural and educational exchange programs.[8] Under the Information Media Guarantee Program, Poland was given the right to buy in zlotys U.S. media products including films, books, authors' rights, stage-production rights, musical recordings, newspapers and periodicals, and TV series.[9] The spread of U.S. cultural products in Poland was thus directly related to the policy of economic aid ("peaceful engagement") instituted after 1956. The U.S. also signed agreements providing loans and credits to the new Polish government, and in 1957 sent to Poznań a trade fair exhibit housed in a Buckminster Fuller dome. The American Pavilion displayed to the Poles not only machinery but also the latest examples of American consumer culture including cars, a model home, and women's fashions, all of which attracted eager crowds of Polish fair-goers.[10] Jeans were the hit of the 1958 Poznań fair,[11] and as elsewhere in the Eastern bloc, they became the symbol of the West. The "thaw" also meant that restrictions on music and popular culture were eased. Jazz, which had been suppressed during Stalin's lifetime, flourished. Jazz festivals were organized in Sopot in 1956 and 1957. In 1958 Warsaw created the Jazz Jamboree, a festival that over the years attracted to Poland many of the top names in American jazz, including Duke Ellington, Miles Davis, Dizzy Gillespie, Thelonious Monk, Charlie Mingus, Sarah Vaughan, Herbie Hancock, Ray Charles, and Keith Jarrett.

Political relations also entered a new era. In 1959 Vice President Nixon visited Warsaw from 2 to 5 August, and on 29 August of that year the United States reopened its consulate in Poznań. Poland also saw the beginnings of its Fulbright program in 1959. Under this program young Polish scholars traveled to the U.S. to conduct research, and American Fulbright professors came

to teach at Polish universities, mostly in American Literature and American Studies in the early years of the program. However, the selection of the Polish participants in the Fulbright program, as in other scholarship programs such as those administered by the Ford Foundation, was controlled by Polish authorities. This governmental control of the selection of scholarship recipients would lead the Ford Foundation to suspend in 1967 the program that it had financed since 1957 to bring Polish scholars to U.S. universities.[12]

English departments were restored at the universities that had had them prior to the 1947 closures, and a new department was opened at the Maria Curie-Sklodowska University in Lublin. At Warsaw University, Margaret Schlauch, an American expatriate who had become head of the university's English department, helped promote the teaching of American Literature.[13] With the relaxation in censorship more American authors appeared in Polish translation, including William Faulkner, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, and Norman Mailer. Best-sellers in this period included *The Snows of Kilimanjaro, For Whom the Bell Tolls, The Grapes of Wrath, East of Eden, Absalom, Absalom!,* and *Light in August.*[14] Books by Hemingway, Faulkner, and Thorton Wilder took the top three places in a 1959 survey of Polish writers, who were asked to name the new novels they had read that year that had most impressed them. In a similar survey in 1960 works by Faulkner, Wilder, and Steinbeck topped the poll.[15] Seeking to account for the enduring popularity of these writers, Błoński remarks, "Polish readers see Hemingway as a marvelous upholder of human liberty."[16] He also notes parallels between Faulkner's South and Polish society: "The Polish South died in the Warsaw insurrection of 1944. But the vanquished are not always defeated, as Faulkner's work testifies."[17]

Over the 1960s the Polish government reasserted some of the censorship controls that had been loosened after 1956. *New York Times* correspondent David Halberstam was ordered out of Poland in December 1965 for writing "slanderous articles about Poland." Reporting on the Vietnam War in the Polish press was also censored. One Polish newspaper was accused by the censorship bureau of an ill-considered selection of information when it described the case of a U.S. marine corporal sentenced to life imprisonment by a U.S. military tribunal in Chalai for killing a Vietnamese peasant-housewife in cold blood. Readers in Poland were not to be given the impression that the U.S. would actually prosecute war crimes.[18] The 1968 repression of universities and trials of dissidents subdued much of the freedom of expression that had been gained in 1956.[19] However, cultural exchange was allowed to continue. Under president Nixon's Special International Program for Cultural Presentations, the U.S. State Department sent American performing artists, among them major ballet companies and symphony orchestras as well as jazz groups, college and university bands, and vocal groups, on tour to Poland. Arts exhibits accompanied by Polish-speaking guides were also sent. The touring

Family of Man photography exhibition attracted a quarter of a million Polish visitors. The monthly Polish-language magazine *Ameryka* (circulation 30,000), produced and distributed by the United States Information Agency, provided stories about U.S. society, culture, and technology.[20] Arthur Miller, Saul Bellow, and John Steinbeck were among the American writers who visited Poland in the 1960s, a decade in which Miller's plays were staged in Poland, as were those by Tennessee Williams and Edward Albee. Translations appeared of works by a new generation of American authors: John Updike, J. D. Salinger, Truman Capote, James Baldwin, Phillip Roth, Bernard Malamud.[21]

A new warming in U.S.-Polish relations in 1972 was accelerated by the broader East-West thaw known as *détente.* In May 1972 Richard Nixon returned to Poland, this time as the first U.S. president to visit that country. This visit was followed by an agreement to establish a U.S. consulate in Kraków and by the signing of a science and technology agreement. Subsequently, Presidents Ford and Carter also visited Poland, and Poland's leader Edward Gierek went to the U.S. In 1976 policy changed at Radio Free Europe, and new guidelines were issued in keeping with the new era of *détente.* In May 1976 Jan Nowak retired under what George Urban, RFE's director in the 1980s, has termed "the result of pressure from the State Department."[22]

This increasing warmth in political relations was matched by greater cultural contact. The major American Bicentennial Exhibition "The World of Franklin and Jefferson" was shown in Warsaw in 1975. However, the information about the American Bicentennial itself was subject to censorship guidelines and could only be reported through the intermediary of the official Polish news agency Polska Agencja Prasowa (PAP), although "mentions of and references to the anniversary are also permissible in publications popularizing the role of Poles in the revolution, history and modern life in the United States and in historical articles that contrast the progressive nature of these past events with current U.S. socioeconomic problems."[23] In 1974 the censorship office also denied permission for a student production of Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* at Warsaw University because the work "presented the fundamentals of hippie ideology."[24]

In 1976, however, after three years of negotiations, an agreement was signed by Warsaw University and Indiana University to create reciprocal centers—an American Studies center in Warsaw and a Polish Studies center in Bloomington, Indiana. The American Studies center in Warsaw housed a research library, hosted American students and professors, organized seminars and lectures, and published the journal *American Studies.* The American Studies center and journal were the first of their kind among the Warsaw Pact countries, benefiting not only from the relatively relaxed restrictions on Polish academic freedom but also from the support of the Polish-American community, who endorsed such efforts in their homeland. Seminars organized by the Ameri-

can Studies Center and by English departments at Polish universities brought noted American writers such as Robert Coover, Susan Sontag, John Ashbery, and Joyce Carol Oates to Poland.

Polish journals such as *Literatura na Świecie* (Literature Throughout the World, established in 1971) and *Przekrój* (Profile) published Polish translations of American fiction, poetry, and essays. Among the writers whose works appeared in Polish translation in the 1970s were Robert Coover, Thomas Pynchon, Ken Kesey, John Barth, Sylvia Plath, Kurt Vonnegut, Donald Barthelme, and Joseph Heller. One critic attributes the runaway success of Heller's *Catch-22* to the resonance many Polish readers found between their own situation in 1975 and that of the novel's protagonist Yossarian. "As someone who rebelled against authority and tried to fight a senseless system, he was particularly attractive to Poles, many of whom were involved with their own private struggle with an absurd system they could not accept." This book, along with Vonnegut's *Slaughterhouse Five,* opened a generation gap as older reviewers condemned the mocking of World War II and younger reviewers and readers championed these novels.[25] An anthology of American short stories of the 1960s and 1970s was published in 1980: *Gabinet luster: krótka proza amerykańska 1961–1977* (Room of Mirrors: Short American Prose 1961–1977). Postmodern and experimental writing enjoyed particular acceptance among Polish scholars and critics.[26]

Works of American literature, once translated into Polish, circulated beyond Poland's borders into other Slavic-language countries. Readers in Warsaw Pact countries with stricter censorship than Poland often first encountered many American authors in Polish translation. Joseph Brodsky said he taught himself Polish in order to read *Literatura na Świecie.*[27] "In those days [the 1960s] the bulk of Western literature, and of news about cultural events in the West, was not available in the Soviet Union. Poland was even at that point the happiest and most cheerful barrack in the Soviet camp. People there were much better informed and they were publishing all sorts of magazines and translating everything into Polish."[28] Lithuanian poet Tomas Venclova had a similar experience: "I was one of a large number of people in the USSR who learned Polish for obtaining information on the West and Western culture. We had no access to Western books and newspapers, yet we could subscribe to Polish newspapers and magazines, which from 1956 on became appreciably more informative than Soviet publications."[29] Thus Poland served as both a translator and transmitter of American culture-making American works accessible to others in the Eastern bloc.

American films were also more available in Poland than in neighboring countries through most of this period. From 1945 to 1967, 336 American films were imported for exhibition in Poland.[30] Polish authorities tried to keep an ideological balance by importing equal numbers of films from the

West and from the Eastern bloc, and by giving greater and more enthusiastic press coverage to films from the East, but American films ran longer and played to larger audiences than did those from the East. For example, "although only 5 per cent of the (old and new) films shown in 1960 were American, they accounted for 16 per cent of the total cinema-audience." In that year 29 U.S. and 64 Russian films were imported into Poland.[31] Polish audiences became very familiar with Western "myth-setters," including John Ford's *Stagecoach* (*Dyliżans*) (1939) starring John Wayne as the Ringo Kid, *High Noon* (*W samo południe*) (1952) directed by Fred Zinnemann with Gary Cooper and Grace Kelly, Howard Hawks' *Rio Bravo* (1959) with John Wayne, Dean Martin, Ricky Nelson, and Angie Dickinson, and John Sturges' *Last Train from Gun Hill* (*Ostatni pociąg z Gun Hill*) (1959) with Kirk Douglas and Anthony Quinn. Although the popularity of westerns declined towards the end of the 1980s, there are very few people in Poland unfamiliar with the figure of the lonely cowboy, the saloon, or the "red-skins."

Another group of movies enjoyed by Polish cinema-goers was what today would probably be labeled (light) entertainment; however, many of the actors in those films became household names in Poland. Such movies included films with Marilyn Monroe, from *Niagara* to *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (*Mężczyźni wolą blondynki*), *How to Marry a Millionaire* (*Jak poślubić milionera*) (all 1953), and *Some Like It Hot* (*Pół-żartem, pół-serio*) (1959). Polish audiences also enjoyed *The Barefoot Contessa* (*Bosonoga kontesa*) (1954) with Ava Gardner, Humphrey Bogart, and Edmond O'Brien, as well as musicals like *An American in Paris* with the superstars Gene Kelly and Leslie Caron.

The more serious productions included Orson Welles' *Citizen Kane* (*Obywatel Kane*) (1941) with Welles and Joseph Cotton, Frank Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (*Mr. Smith jedzie do Waszyngtonu*) (1939), Nicholas Ray's *Rebel without a Cause* (*Buntownik bez powodu*) (1955), and Billy Wilder's *Witness for the Prosecution* (*Świadek oskarżenia*) (1957) with Tyrone Power and Marlene Dietrich. There were also movies that Polish fans instantly recognized as absolute blockbusters, including Fleming, Cukor, and Wood's *Gone with the Wind* (*Przeminęło z wiatrem*) (1939) with Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable, Fred Zinnemann's *From Here to Eternity* (*Stąd do wieczności*) (1953) with Burt Lancaster, Montgomery Clift, Deborah Kerr, and Frank Sinatra, and *Casablanca* with Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman. More recent hits included movies such as John Badham's *Saturday Night Fever* (*Gorączka sobotniej nocy*) (1977) with John Travolta and Karen Lynn and *Dirty Dancing* (*Wirujący seks*) (1987) with Patrick Swayze and Jennifer Grey. Due to the scarcity of funds available to Polish state distributors, the release dates of American films in Poland almost never coincided with their release dates in the West. This, however, did not prevent Polish cinema-goers from enjoying movies made even before World War II.

The most popular American film in Poland before 1989 (third in the overall rankings) was Bruce Lee's martial arts film *Enter the Dragon* (*Wejście Smoka*). Steven Spielberg's *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (*Poszukiwacze zaginione arki*) ranked nineteenth on the list of most popular films in the 1951–1988 era.[32] Not all major American films were allowed into Poland before 1989. Films considered anti-Soviet or biased against other communist governments were prohibited. As Gierek sought more economic aid and trade ties from the West, he wanted to reassure the Russians of Poland's continuing ideological reliability. Thus, *Doctor Zhivago* was not shown in Polish cinemas before 1989,[33] nor were James Bond films, Ken Russell's *The Devils,* or Fred Zinnemann's *The Men (Battle Stripe).* However, the total number of films—both foreign and Polish—that were prohibited or removed from distribution was relatively small, confirming the observations that Poland enjoyed greater cultural freedom than other countries of the Soviet Bloc. In 1970, for example, censors watched 859 feature films, 247 medium-length films, and 205 shorts, out of which only 6 were held back (compared to 21 in 1969, which, according to Pawlicki, was an exceptionally high number).[34] Decisions regarding the exhibition and prohibition of films treating the Vietnam War show the nuances of Polish censorship. *Apocalypse Now* (*Czas Apokalipsy*), with its portrayal of drugged, violent Americans, was publicly exhibited in Poland, but both *Rambo* (an American hero killing "evil" Vietnamese) and *The Deerhunter* (*Łowca jeleni*) ("evil" Vietnamese torturing Americans) were not, although the latter circulated in underground film clubs. *Apocalypse Now* was playing when martial law was declared in December 1981, and Chris Niedenthal's unforgettable photograph of the period shows a tank in front of Warsaw's Moskwa (!) cinema with the words *Czas Apokalipsy*—The Time of Apocalypse—on the marquee.

The history of motion pictures in Poland would not be complete without a brief historical sketch showing the development of television, which in addition to serving its political "mission" turned many of the American actors and titles mentioned above into household names. The beginnings of Polish state television go back to the late 1930s, when the first regular broadcasts began in Warsaw. As Tadeusz Pikulski writes in his book *Prywatna historia telewizji publicznej* (A Private History of Public Television), after the war it was mainly the voices of Polish émigrés in the U.S. that contributed to the growing interest in the medium, making the authorities realize that not having television in Poland proved Poland's cultural inferiority to America.[35] American entertainment—both feature films and TV series—was popular on Polish state television. Premiers of the movies *The Great Escape* and *The Graduate* as well as the *Dynasty* TV series attracted millions of television viewers. The country held its breath watching Alexis's merciless assaults on Krystle and also copied their hairstyles and ways of dressing.

Dynasty's popularity matched the reverence with which Poles had earlier treated the *Rich Man, Poor Man* series, adapted from Irwin Shaw's novel and extremely popular in Poland owing to its novelty and "reality" in presenting the Land of Dreams. Halina Frąckowiak, a popular music icon of the 1980s, turned the Polish title of the series *Pogoda dla bogaczy* (*Weather for the Rich*) into a hit song still played by Polonia stations all over the world.[36] The popular American series *Roots* was shown in Poland, not for its portrayal of social changes but for its critique of slavery and inequality in the Land of the Free. Probably each person born in Poland in the early 1970s or earlier remembers Kunta Kinte, but few realize that Nyo Boto was played by Maya Angelou, whose poetry Polish students read now as part of the American literature canon. Walt Disney's *Zorro,* Westerns like *Bonanza,* and family entertainment like *Disneyland* also played on Polish state TV.

The imposition of martial law in December 1981 reversed the "thaw" in bilateral relations and provoked a sharp and immediate response from the Reagan administration. Economic sanctions were placed on Poland, and President Reagan proclaimed 30 January as "A Day of Solidarity with the Polish People." Well-wishers throughout the U.S. attended union rallies and church meetings, excerpts of which were included in "Let Poland be Poland," a 90-minute television program broadcast on 31 January. This show, which was organized by Charles Z. Wick, the director of the International Communication Agency (the successor to the USIA, which had been reorganized and renamed in the Carter years), also included world political leaders' messages of support for Solidarity and a free Poland as well as statements and readings by cultural figures such as Bob Hope, Charlton Heston, Kirk Douglas, Henry Fonda, Joan Baez,[37] and Frank Sinatra. "Ever Homeward," a Polish-language song sung by Sinatra in the 1948 film "Miracle of the Bells," was accompanied by a "video-over with current scenes from Poland that," according to Wick, "will hopefully be symbolic of the anguish involved with tanks and that sort of thing."[38] The show was beamed by satellite to more than fifty countries, but of course it was not shown by Polish television. "Let Poland Be Poland" was not the only action Wick took in support of Solidarity. According to Peter Schweizer, in violation of the VOA charter, Wick allowed VOA to be used to send coded messages to the Solidarity underground in Poland. "A special song might be played; a carefully crafted broadcast could pass along information about an impending crackdown, a special shipment, or a meeting time and place."[39] Radio Free Europe reversed its détente-era policy and was now collecting and broadcasting Polish *samizdat.*

In spite of the economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. against Poland, and notwithstanding the tight surveillance kept on the U.S. Embassy and its diplomats during the martial law period, other academic and cultural exchanges were able to continue to operate. American lecturers and scholars came to

Poland under the Fulbright program and other exchange programs such as the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX, founded in 1968 to conduct academic exchange programs with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe). Polish scholars still had access to American books and periodicals at the American Studies Center in Warsaw,[40] and in Poznań foreigners who could enter the library at the American Consulate checked out books on behalf of Polish students and scholars who were prevented from entering.[41] The teaching of American literature continued at the universities, as did the publication of *Literatura na Świecie.* A major study of American literature, *Historia literatury Stanów Zjednoczonych w zarysie* (an outline history of the literature of the United States) was published in 1982/83 by Andrzej Kopcewicz and Marta Sienicka.

The 1980s also saw the creation of several new foundations, public and private, that operated in the international cultural field. In 1983 the National Endowment for Democracy was founded by an act of Congress. It channeled support funds to Solidarity and supported various publications, both *samizdat* and open. In 1988 George Soros funded the establishment of the Stefan Batory Foundation, an organization that makes grants to various groups and individuals developing civic society in Poland. In 1984 the Trust for Mutual Understanding was established by an anonymous American philanthropist as a private, grant-making organization funding cultural exchanges between the U.S. and the countries of the Eastern bloc. This trust provided American performing and visual artists with the support they needed for them to participate in festivals, stage exhibits of their work, or performances in Poland. For example, it has regularly supported an American season of dance and art at the Center for Contemporary Art in Warsaw's Ujazdowski Castle. Leading dance companies and artists have thus been able to make their work known to the Polish public. The impact of American influence on modern dance in Poland has been pronounced. Like jazz, modern dance is largely identified with the U.S., and American companies have been prominent in all the Polish dance festivals. Polish dancers maintain active contacts with the U.S. and many have trained there.

After the Round Table talks, the Solidarity election victory, and the installation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki as prime minister, the U.S. Congress passed legislation establishing SEED (Support for East European Democracy) in November 1989. The Marshall Plan was not to be repeated; Poland and other Eastern European countries would instead be the beneficiaries of SEED, which promoted the development of a free market economic system by establishing "enterprise funds" to finance private enterprise activities, by providing agricultural and technical assistance, and by providing currency stabilization loans. This act also specifically included support for expansion of educational and cultural exchange activities in Poland. It called for the establishment of

a binational Fulbright commission in Poland and the creation of a cultural center. In March 1990 an agreement signed by the U.S. Government and the Government of Poland established the Office of Polish-U.S. Educational Exchanges, the first independent binational Fulbright office set up in a former Warsaw Pact country.

The early years of the post–Cold War era were marked by a burst of activity in cultural exchanges funded by Congress as well as by private sources. The U.S. Embassy opened a cultural center in a palace near Warsaw's Old Town in 1993. It featured a spacious library, an active English-teaching program, and exhibit space where U.S. art could be shown to the Polish public. Lectures and performances were also held there. However, the initial Congressional euphoria over the downfall of the communist system could not be sustained, and budget cuts led to the closure of this center in 1996. The U.S. Embassy would continue to sponsor cultural exhibits and performances in Poland but would do so in cooperation with local institutions or by renting halls. Exhibits by James Turrell, Tony Oursler, David Hammons, and Jenny Holtzer were among the visual arts projects supported by the embassy, and Steve Reich's orchestra, Trisha Brown's dance group, and the Pilobolus Dance company were among the entertainers receiving embassy support for performances in Poland in the 1990s.

Corporate sponsorship of culture became an increasingly common feature in Poland in the 1990s—as it had done earlier in the West, for largely the same reason: government support for the arts was no longer sufficient to maintain the arts institutions and programs. A major exhibition of works by Andy Warhol and concerts by the Philadelphia Orchestra were among the prestigious cultural events that were largely underwritten by corporate sponsorship. Many other American performers, especially musicians playing jazz, rock, or various forms of popular music, toured Poland under purely commercial auspices. In the 1990s the roles of both the Polish and U.S. governments in the cultural field in Poland declined in relation to the growing importance of corporate sponsorship, private foundations, and commercial activities.

U.S. culture found new channels by which to enter Poland. Among the changes introduced by the postcommunist government was the establishment of teacher training colleges, three-year postsecondary institutions designed to prepare English teachers for a new curriculum in which English would replace Russian as the principal second language to be studied by Polish schoolchildren. The American, British, and Canadian governments supported this effort, providing materials, training workshops, and scholarships for study abroad, and posting ESL specialists at the new institutions. U.S. Peace Corps volunteers were also assigned to these colleges, as well as to high schools, to give instruction in English. The teaching of English carried a cultural component that added works by American authors, American documents such as

the Declaration of Independence, and American music and films to the curriculum. And the Polish Association for American Studies, which among other activities organizes annual conferences on American culture attended both by Polish and international American Studies scholars, was founded in 1990.

The lifting of censorship after 1989 unleashed an outpouring of new publications. Between 1979 and 1987 an average of 20 American novels were published in Polish translation each year. In 1990 this figure zoomed to 116. It eventually peaked at 530 titles in 1994 before returning to 250 in 1997.[42] Previously banned works of American literature became available, both in the original English and in Polish translation. American periodicals became ubiquitous on Polish newsstands, including Polish editions of *Time, Newsweek, Playboy, Cosmopolitan,* and *National Geographic.*

Among scholars and critics, American ethnic fiction by African-American, Asian-American, Native American, and Latina/Latino authors received increasing attention. Toni Morrison was the leading subject for masters' theses in American literature in this decade. In 1996 the number of M.A. degrees granted in American Literature/American Studies—200—by Polish universities surpassed those granted in British subjects by the same universities that year.[43] At the end of the decade (and of the century), a team of senior Polish literary scholars under the leadership of Professor Agnieszka Salska produced a monumental study of twentieth-century American literature.[44]

The 1990s also saw American dominance of mass-market fiction. American "popular" writers like Stephen King, Robert Ludlum, Tom Clancy, Danielle Steele, and John Grisham were translated into Polish, as were endless numbers of formulaic romance novels. The particular phenomenon of William Wharton deserves mention. This American writer is so popular in Poland that the term "whartonomania" has been coined to describe the fervor he incites, and his fans are known as "whartoniowcy."[45] Eight titles by this author came out in Polish in 1996 alone, placing him ahead of Stephen King (six titles).[46]

The importation of American films also accelerated after 1989—over 200 U.S. films are now distributed in Poland each year.[47] Spielberg's *Jurassic Park* (*Park Jurajski*) (1993), the most popular film in the 1990–1995 period, was accompanied by elaborate merchandising of T-shirts, toys, and other tie-in products.[48] In addition to the mass influx of commercial films in the 1990s we can point to examples of more ambitious cinema, probably best illustrated by David Lynch's movies, whose resonance remains very high in Poland. Lynch, a representative of postmodern cinema, won his fans in Poland with his first, "underground" productions—*Elephant Man* (*Człowiek słoń*) (1980) and *Eraserhead* (*Głowa do wycierania*) (1984)—and "swept" predominantly highbrow audiences with *Blue Velvet* (1986) and *Wild at Heart* (*Dzikość serca*) (1990). It was *Twin Peaks* that introduced Lynch to a wider audience in Poland, making viewers ponder the mystery of Laura Palmer's death. In 1991 an entire issue

of the magazine *Film na świecie* (*Film in the World*) was dedicated to Lynch with contributions from Henry Welsh, Jacques Valot, and Mateusz Werner. Another director who became an icon among a relatively narrow circle of devotees was Jim Jarmusch, whose *Stranger than Paradise* (*Inaczej niż w raju*) (1984), *Down by Law* (*Poza prawem*) (1986), and *Mystery Train* (1989) soon acquired the status of cult movies due to their "undecidability," openness of form, and intriguing message. While in the post-1989 context such movies were unconnected to any "anti-system" or "freedom" impulses, they can be labeled as alternative or niche cinema. In time, they generated quite a wide response among their Polish fans; the "candy-colored clown they call the sandman," from Roy Orbison's *In Dreams* in Lynch's *Blue Velvet,* brought back people's interest in music of the 1960s. The popular Polish rock group T. Love released a song called *Dzikość serca,* and Tom Waits became an icon of the alternative music scene in Poland. In 2003, Kazik Staszewski, leader of the legendary Polish group Kult, recorded an album with his own versions of Waits's 19 songs called *Piosenki Toma Waitsa.*

The year 1989 also marks the end of Polish state television's monopoly and the beginning of various cable "televisions," where the enthusiasm of their founders sometimes exceeded their professionalism and compliance with the law: by the mid 1990s, most of the private stations had been taken over by foreign companies with abundant capital. Polish cable television, profit-oriented from the outset, tried to meet its market targets by catering to less demanding, more entertainment-seeking audiences with the "safest available option"—broadcasting many American programs and movies that had already enjoyed success in the U.S. and Western Europe. As a result, subscribers of cable programs could watch not only NBA playoff games and American wrestling, but also the "future" episodes of *Beverly Hills 90210,* which "wired" aficionados of the series followed on German RTL, getting well ahead of those who were only able to watch the "current" episodes on Program II of state television.

The development of Poland's biggest cable television network, Polska Telewizja Kablowa, illustrates the trajectory that the more important players on the market followed. Set up in 1989 by David Chase, a businessman with Polish roots, it managed to persuade Lech Wałęsa to become its first customer. In 1999 it was taken over for half a billion dollars by United Pan-Europe Communications (UPC); currently it has over 1.2 million customers. Its offerings include HBO, which broadcasts predominantly American and relatively recent movie hits and original series. The latest premieres include *The Lord of the Rings, Ocean's Eleven,* and *Pearl Harbor.* The 1997 campaign to launch HBO in Poland played explicitly on the Polish desire to have the latest American products: "To co kocha Ameryka teraz w Polsce. HBO 1997" ("Now you can get in Poland what America loves: HBO 1997").[49]

American culture in Poland is expressed not only in the visual and performing arts and in language and literature but also in the ways of organiz-

ing political campaigns, in business and media practices, and in the creation of NGOs. American multinational companies operating in Poland have become, in the decade or so since the fall of communism, the most desired employers for young people leaving universities. Job fairs organized by AIESEC (Association Internationale des Etudiants en Sciences Economiques et Commerciales, an organization of students in economics and management) at Warsaw University have drawn such companies as Arthur Andersen, Price Waterhouse, Procter and Gamble, and Mars Masterfoods Polska.[50] A survey carried out by AIESEC in 2002 revealed that the top ten "most desirable" employers on the Polish market included PricewaterhouseCoopers (the winner), Masterfoods Polska (2), Ernst & Young (6), and Procter and Gamble (10). According to the survey the promise that America corporate culture holds for Polish students is twofold: they can work in a highly professional environment and earn a lot of money. Academic programs granting MBAs and diplomas in public relations have sprung up, often under the auspices of a U.S. university.[51] New academic programs in gender and queer studies have also grown out of links with their American counterparts. Since 1991 the Network of East-West Women has been active in supporting the growth of women's movements in Poland and other Eastern European countries. In 1998 Polish universities established a university accreditation commission (UAC) that drew on American practice.

In 1999 Poland became a member of NATO and was on the way to joining the European Union.[52] By the year 2000 Poland had "graduated" from the SEED program, the Peace Corps was bringing its Polish program to an end, RFE had moved to Prague and was no longer broadcasting in Polish, and the VOA Polish Service was greatly reduced. The U.S. Consulate in Poznań closed at the end of 1995. The libraries of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw and the U.S. Consulate in Kraków were converted into "Information Resource Centers" and their collections donated to local universities. Official U.S. cultural activities in Poland became comparable to those in other EU countries: modest grants in support of exhibits and performances, educational and cultural exchange visits, and support for American Studies conferences. The transmission of U.S. culture to Poland, carried out increasingly through commercial channels, resembled the transmission to other European markets. However, the reception of that culture was marked by its Polish translations and adaptations, an issue developed below in the voice of the "receiver."

Translations

The story of American culture in Poland is also the history of decoding and encoding messages, of interpreting and, eventually, appropriating various

American voices for people's own purposes in order to oppose, undermine, and maybe even shake off the shackles of the system—the history of a people turning American productions into their own, indigenous fictions.

Tracing the resonance and the actual incorporation of such narratives into Polish culture is sometimes problematic, as is tracking American influences in Poland after 1945 in an orderly and sequential manner. The following points should help the reader understand what limitations might be encountered in trying to investigate the roots and development of Americanization in Poland.

First of all, there is the problem of sources, which were scanty until the early 1990s. In the official culture, for four decades or so, America represented "rotten imperialism," to use the phrase coined and spread by ardent believers in communism. Since the U.S. represented the other end of the political and ideological spectrum, one must not be surprised to find many officially biased voices on America. Then there were the "poetics of silence," the authorities' strategy of simply refusing to acknowledge things that were otherwise obvious to everyone, for instance, the official channels' ignoring America's various successes and achievements. Such a strategy was supposed to prevent people from finding out about America's superiority in practically every field, a ploy that fooled no sane citizen of Poland (including those in power).

Therefore, when studying American influences in Poland after 1945 one must oftentimes resort to evidence that few courts would treat as conclusive. This evidence includes the *Polish Film Chronicles* (*Polskie kroniki filmowe*), newsreels about ten minutes long that played in Polish cinemas before feature films until the late 1980s. Watching them can probably be compared to listening to the English anthem played in UK cinemas before and *after* films, yet they provide the viewer with a unique mixture of sociorealist perspectives on more or less important events taking place in Poland after 1945, including official reactions to various American "utterances."

The most relevant printed sources include old newspapers (*Trybuna Ludu* or *Sztandar Ludu*) and magazines (*Polityka*) as well as memoirs, biographies, and other books published by people of various political stripes, including Leopold Tyrmand's *Dziennik 1954* (Diary 1954), Stefan Kisielewski's *Dzienniki* (Diaries), Zygmunt Kałużyński's *Podróż na zachód* (A Trip to the West) and *Pożegnanie Molocha* (Good-bye to Moloch), Michał Głowiński's *Peereliada* (PRLs Carnival) and *Końcówka* (Endgame), Jerzy Urban's *Alfabet Urbana* (Urban's Alphabet), and others. One has to use these sources very skillfully to avoid getting lost in misinterpretations and "mistranslations." Studying these books requires the reader to engage in the meticulous process of reading between the lines and decoding information, in picking up allusions and references and translating them into coherent pieces of information. In the years

between 1945 and 1989 this strategy was not unfamiliar to members of Polish society, a group used to re-creating or even making up wholes out of the little pieces that were available.

Another important source in helping to restore the multifaceted construct of Polish-American relations after 1945 was word of mouth, a medium that can hardly aspire to be either truthful or objective, but may prove quite useful in researching areas that were never included in other, more formal records. Thus the authors profited from conversations with many Poles who lived through these decades. Given the breadth of the topic, the reader should realize that although this part of the chapter tries to group various American influences in Poland between 1945 and 2004, it does not, by any means, exhaust all the possible exchanges, themes, and directions that might have existed during those years.

In the period between 1945 and 1989 one can distinguish two dimensions to the reception of American culture in Poland: when times were good, reactions to American cultural production had mainly an "aesthetic" character, and when times were bad American cultural products served as tools with which to fight the regime. The deep ideological and political roots of this second dimension made people perceive American products as symbols of anticommunism, which destined them for success. It also meant, however, that even very poor "voices" were likely to have a great influence on Polish culture.

Another important issue that scholars need to consider in their reconstructions of Americanization in Poland after 1945 is the fact that Polish people—and most likely the majority of Czechoslovak, Russian, and Romanian citizens—did not always distinguish between particular Western countries, which were often grouped under one common denomination as "the West." In other words, treating France, England, and the United States as an almost identical triad was common practice in Poland, representing people's desire of that which was absent and unattainable, but also their very vague notion of what the West really was.

The vision of the West—including the U.S.—that was created and sustained in Poland for many years was to some extent idealized and false. Therefore, Americanization in Poland should not be treated as an "official" and sequential process whose frames and mechanisms can be precisely defined. "Americanization" in Poland between 1945 and 1990 involved idolizing, iconizing, mythologizing, and even politicizing many U.S. cultural products. The "real"—or perhaps more precisely, "traditional"—Americanization started in the early 1990s, after the fall of communism, when people's hunger for consumer goods was insatiable.

This section will show particular Polish voices born of Americanization. The five categories into which American influences have been grouped—movies, music, sports, books, and business practices—are by no means definitive and

offer only snapshots of the whole process. In addition, we will examine several published accounts of the U.S. and impressions of American life written by those who traveled there, often under official U.S. sponsorship. The Polish "translations" of "America" demonstrate what interesting and sometimes comic hybrids resulted from such exchanges over almost six decades. While Poland was, among the eastern bloc countries, particularly susceptible to American culture—partly because it was the country with the least censorship and most intellectual freedom, a circumstance recognized by the U.S. and reflected in its cultural policy—the U.S. still could not predict that the results of this freedom would sometimes acquire a somewhat simulacral character.

Several Polish films of the 1990s, Władysław Pasikowski's *Psy* (Dogs) (1992), Janusz Zaorski's *Szczęśliwego Nowego Jorku* (Happy New York) (1997), and Juliusz Machulski's *Kiler* (Killer) (1997) can be considered the best embodiments of both growing Americanization and anti-Americanism. According to reviewer Tadeusz Miczka, *Psy,* a movie "more American than Polish," tells the story of a retired Urząd Bezpieczeństwa (UB, internal security office) agent who goes on to work in the police force and has to solve a case of weapons smuggling in which his former colleagues are involved.[53] Full of obscenities, shooting, and blood, the movie turned Bogusław Linda into the chief "thug" of Polish cinema. In the final scene of the movie Franz—"much like Clint Eastwood's Dirty Harry"—promises to "be *fucking* back," and indeed, like Stallone's Rambo or Schwarzenegger's Terminator, back he was in the sequel to the movie, *Psy II.*[54]

A second movie, *Szczęśliwego Nowego Jorku,* portrays the lives of six Poles living in Greenpoint, New York, brought to this "earthly paradise" by the promise of the American Dream. From having been "someone" in Poland, each of the characters goes to the dogs in America, forced to participate in a cruel rat race in pursuit of the almighty dollar. Blessed with an excellent cast, including Janusz Gajos, Bogusław Linda, and Zbigniew Zamachowski, the movie becomes a *memento mori* to thousands of Poles seeking their (financial) happiness across the Big Pond. In a "footnote" to the movie, Edward Redliński, the author of the novel on which the film is based who had himself spent a decade or so working as an illegal emigrant in New York, gives a very negative picture of the majority of Poles who come to the U.S. in search of work and better opportunities, calling them "ham" or "jeep" emigrants who, unlike citizens of Mexico, Pakistan, Haiti, or the Philippines, never suffered from real poverty.[55]

Kiler, a production of the "Polish Hollywood" (a Hollywood film lacking in means, glamour, and, obviously, power, hence only one 'l' in the film's title!) is a fast-moving crime comedy—and a parody of many American movies as well—whose major characters are played by the biggest stars of Polish cinema, including Cezary Pazura, Jerzy Stuhr, and Katarzyna Figura.[56] The sound-

track's music, performed by Elektryczne Gitary, turns the film into a "superproduction," meant to top all the charts, which indeed it did. A self-reflexive metanarrative that is somewhat shameless about borrowing (or stealing) from various American films—from *Some Like it Hot* to *Midnight Run* to *Pulp Fiction—Kiler* marks the beginning of a purely commercial Polish cinema, where profit margins are far more important than "ambitious marginality."

Another major cultural field in which America has exerted considerable influence on Poland has been music. The 2002 collection *Jazz in Poland—Anthology,* which traces the development of jazz in Poland between 1950 and 2000, demonstrates how close the links between American and Polish jazz have been and how the progress of the genre in Poland corresponded to the state of Polish-U.S. relationships. In the booklet accompanying the anthology, particular sections are titled "1950–1960: The Beginnings," "1961–1970: The Great Opening," "1971–1980: Normalization," "1981–1990: Young Lions," and "1991–2000: Professionals."[57] The anthology presents contributions by many artists and propagators of jazz in Poland, including Glenn Miller, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, John Coltrane, and, of course, Willis Conover. Polish and American artists have produced music together in many exchanges between the two cultures, such as those carried out by the sax player Michał Urbaniak and Urszula Dudziak, who have worked with Lester Bowie, Bobby McFerrin, and Lauren Newton. Other American musicians popular in Poland have included Ella Fitzgerald, Count Basie, Elvis Presley, Bill Haley, Bing Crosby, Perry Como, Doris Day, Connie Francis, Rosemary Clooney, Bob Dylan, and Joan Baez.

Obviously one must not omit the whole gamut of American pop and rock groups—from older groups like the Beach Boys or the Supremes to the more recent phenomena of Nirvana or the Red Hot Chili Peppers—who found ardent followers and inspired imitators in Poland. In this regard we can cite famous Polish musicians and performers like the legendary Czesław Niemen,[58] rock groups like Niebiesko-Czarni or Czerwone Guitary, and more contemporary and still active groups like Kult, Lady Pank, Budka Suflera, and others who have transformed Anglo-American popular music into Polish rock/punk culture.[59] In fact, in his fascinating study on Anglo-American rock and roll music, *To tylko rock'n roll* (It's only rock'n roll), Jerzy Wertenstein-Żuławski claims that "the huge development of rock music in our country [Poland], due to the specific character of social conditions in Poland, demonstrates which part of Anglo-American music has turned out to be important for the world and which was only *depeche mode.*"[60] Wertenstein-Żuławski's list of influential musicians includes Elvis Presley, Bob Dylan, the Doors,[61] and Frank Zappa, among others. The point that one should bear in mind when considering the scale and nature of these influences is that their main source should be labeled Western rather than American, English, or even Australian. In the pre–hip-hop

era Western popular culture was viewed as homogenous by the Poles, just as the Soviet-bloc countries resembled one another in the minds of many Westerners**.**

The genre that will receive the most attention in this text has very little to do with jazz improvisation or instrumental acrobatics. Polish hip-hop—a "phat" example of both Americanization and anti-Americanization—is all about verbal acrobatics. Perceived as anarchic and therefore appealing to the contesters of the new market economy, American rap—the father of Polish hip-hop—was rapidly "domesticated" to produce the Polish rapper, at first glance a very weird hybrid. Such African-American notions as "brothers," "'hood," or "black pride" were translated into indigenous forms, adapting the black heritage to the local, yet remained still very discernable. The influence of American rap music is evident in the clothing styles adopted by various Polish groups (baggy trousers, oversized shirts, baseball caps worn backwards), the themes they touch upon in their music (for example, the loneliness of poor project dwellers or long-distance school commuters), and in the vocabulary used to express these problems. A great number of words and phrases used by American rappers in their productions, including "the yard," "homies," "yo," and "bitches" were translated into Polish, creating some rather comic borrowings: *podwórko, kolesie, trzym się, foki.*

The most important hip-hop groups of the mid and late 1990s included Wzgórze Yapa 3, Kaliber 44, and the verbal acrobat Fisz. Yet the "real hip-hop" soon fell prey to numerous imitations, "dissed" by Polish rappers as *Xerocopies,* whose sole aim was to capitalize on the genre's growing popularity, a process that developed in a similar way in the U.S. "Old school" Polish rappers like DJ Volt and Peja accused many "new kids on the block" of propagating the new American hip-hop, which comes down to sporting cool clothes, pimping and rapping about fucking the police.[62] Even the godfather of Polish hip-hop—Liroy, who records with Lords of Brooklyn (yes, *the* Lords of Brooklyn)—is scorned by the "independent" scene for giving in to Mammon. The latest edition of Poland's most prestigious and commercial festival, and the one most "dissed" by independent musicians, Opole 2004, was won by Sistars, an R&B/soul/hip-hop duet performing excellent but hardly original replicas of recordings by the first ladies of American soul as well as songs by Lauryn Hill, Erykah Badu, and Alicia Keys. Their victory corroborates that Polish show business is "going hip-hop" in an attempt to cash in on the popularity of the once marginal genre.

In the world of sports, many American legends have enjoyed huge popularity in Poland: Jesse Owens, the sprinter and football star Bob Hayes, Harold Connolly, who won three gold medals in three consecutive Olympic games, and the professional boxers Joe Frazier, Rocky Marciano, Jake la Motta, Floyd Peterson, and of course, Cassius Clay, a.k.a. Muhammad Ali.[63] The Carl Lewis vs. Ben Jonson feud kept fans glued to the boxes in Poland, whereas the USSR's

boycott of the 1984 Olympic Games in Los Angeles made people hate the Soviet Union even more and admire the Romanian authorities who said "No" to Big Brother. Yet it was basketball and the best league in the world, the NBA, that, having won the hearts of American fans, went on to cross the Iron Curtain. Little known and appreciated in Europe and still less so in the Soviet bloc countries because of the simple fact that no games were broadcast there, the NBA secretly "videotaped" itself to Poland in the 1980s, and the 1984/85 playoff games between the Los Angeles Lakers and Boston Celtics was played back for friends by the lucky owners of the first VCR machines. The Larry Bird vs. Magic Johnson college and then big-league rivalry was quintessentially about America. When live transmissions began in the early 1990s, the popularity of the game rose considerably. No kid playing street-ball these days wears the jersey of a player other than Bryant, O'Neal, or Iverson, the latter embodying the rapper and athlete. Listing "cool" things to do in Poland, *Gazeta Wyborcza,* the leading opinion-making daily, mentioned playing street-ball in front of Warsaw's Pałac Kultury, Nauki i Sztuki (Palace of culture, sciences and arts), if not the greatest than at least the tallest remnant of communism in Poland.[64]

In any discussion of Polish reception of American literature, it must be stressed that until the early 1990s, when new opportunities became overwhelming, Poles were great readers of books—either because there was nothing else to do, as some say, or because books offered a free pass to worlds that could not be reached otherwise. In addition to the authors and titles discussed earlier, one could also mention the Beat Generation, whose appeal, like that of Janis Joplin, Jim Morrison, or Jimi Hendrix, seems never to subside among certain age groups. Marek Hłasko, the *enfant terrible* of Polish literature, is often compared to Jack Kerouac, but it is Waldemar Łysiak who, in his *Asfaltowy Saloon* (Asphalt Saloon), appears more American than many Americans: a pair of Levi's jeans, a Coke in his hand, and an old "junk" auto going hell-for-leather on the endless highways are the attributes of the new conqueror of America. Original he is not, since his book very much resembles Jack Kerouac's *On the Road;* Łysiak and his companion take an "exemplary trip" to twenty-three states, and the account of the trip is a series of literary snapshots taken in various places. Much as they are mawkish, conventional, and cliché-ridden—since Łysiak assumes the stance of a new Walt Whitman, believing that whatever he infers the reader too will take for granted—they are a thought-provoking foreword to the immigrant vision of America.

The depiction of the community of emigrants in Edward Redliński's *Szczuropolacy* (Ratpolacks) calls into question the advantages of the Land of Plenty. The delineation of this group is rarely present in the official media; its story is hideous and tragic and does not promise well for the future. It seems that the process of assimilation costs much more than the lucky win-

ners of the green card estimated at first. Despite the fact that they hail from different walks of life and social strata in Poland, the new environment merges them into a socially and economically deprived minority possessing a number of common features. Employing a language that parodies English by substituting *dżus* (juice), *kokrocz* (cockroach), *gastrajter* (ghostwriter), *erkondyszner* (air conditioner), and *klinować* (clean) for their Polish equivalents, the "ratpolacks" assume names reflecting their position in the new hierarchy, such as *Azbest* (Asbestos), *Pank* (Punk), *Profesor* (Professor), and *Lojer* (Lawyer), and lead lives of humiliation and hopelessness. This is not the American the reader knows from the narratives Crevecoeur or Łysiak.

An important contemporary novel where the thin line between the imported and the "domesticated" suddenly starts to blur is Dorota Masłowska's *Wojna polsko ruska pod flagą biało czerwoną* (*The Polish-Russian War under the White and Red Flag*). Written in "a rotten literary language," as Marcin Świetlicki put it in the cover blurb, the book may be called the first Polish hip-hop or maybe *blokowisko* (urban housing project) novel. Since she was only eighteen years of age when she wrote the book, Masłowska could not possibly have read many of the African-American accounts labeled eventually as predecessors of hip-hop novels, or even hip-hop novels proper: Claude Brown's *Manchild in the Promised Land,* Paul Beatty's *Tuff,* or Nathan McCall's *Makes me Wanna Holler.* Masłowska's method is rather like that of Whitman; it consists of ingesting cultural vibrations present "in the air" and then "spitting" them back to the reader, which probably means that most of the things she is writing about are "out there," in the housing project "culture" that, like Compton or Harlem in the U.S., can be labeled a Polish "ghetto" in that few people want to explore it and even fewer escape.

In language that cuts deeply, bloodily, into the syntax and beauty of the Polish tongue, but also in language that—to quote Toni Morrison—"may be the meaning of life and may be the measure of our lives,"[65] Masłowska tells the story of a group of poor young project dwellers, so-called *blokersi,* whose lives of hassling, gang fights, and drug and sex abuse seem to lead inevitably to either a prison cell or a fatal drug overdose. Masłowska explores the "slums" of the new Polish democracy in a painfully up-to-the-minute manner, forcing readers to confront the whole picture of the new "culture" that they normally try to dodge. When one of the characters says that "Tylko ja wole jak mężczyźni śpiewają. Na przykład hip hop, piosenki angielskie o tym, że dzieje się terror, że żyjemy to w getto, no" ("But I prefer when men sing. For instance hip-hop, English songs about terror going on here, about our living in the ghetto, yeah"),[66] the reader realizes that the Polish ghetto exists *for real,* and that it has much in common with the places that Public Enemy and 2Pac rap about.

It was not only in fiction that Poles could read about America. Accounts by various Polish writers and scholars about visits to the U.S. were available

even before 1989. Some of these introductions to the "real" America written by Polish "writers" (read: members of the communist regime encouraged by the authorities in Poland to "destroy" the enemy system from inside) look naively banal, one-sided, and biased.[67] An early example of such a narrative is Jerzy Putrament's *Dwa łyki Ameryki* (*Two Swallows of America*), published in 1956, in which he describes his "neophyte" trip to the States by focusing mainly on the negative aspects of what he saw. Thus Ellis Island reminds him of a concentration camp, supermarkets are symbols of "customer care resulting from merciless competition," and automobile companies seem to be more interested in laying off employees than making cars.[68] However, Putrament also notices the absurdity of criticizing drinking Coke—"the potion of imperialism"—in Poland, where people guzzle gallons of vodka, and postulates that literary achievements of various Polish emigrant poets and writers (Lechoń, Kuncewiczowa, Wierzyński) should not be diminished by the fact that they are living in America at the moment.

Another diary from an encounter with the American Moloch, "a unique occasion to observe [an] America different from the colorful propaganda,"[69] was published in 1964 by Mieczysław F. Rakowski, editor-in-chief of the opinion-making magazine *Polityka* from 1958 to 1982, later Polish prime minister in 1988/89 and the Party's (PZPR's) last secretary until 1989. Although he had been invited by the U.S. government, Rakowski used this opportunity to write a clearly anti-American journal, although one not devoid of some interesting observations and conclusions. Apart from his general critique of the issues America cannot be proud of—including the terror of the McCarthy era, segregation in the South and racist riots in Mississippi, as well as the inadequacies in the provision of health services, Rakowski makes a number of comments pertaining to less infamous but nevertheless sensitive areas: "the reactionaries from the John Birch Society forcing shop owners to discontinue selling Polish ham" in Urbana, Illinois,[70] Europeans' perception of America as a country of neighbors but not friends, and California "being full of the putrid smell of weapons of mass destruction produced there."[71] In a postscript to his book, written after the assassination of Kennedy, Rakowski concludes that he "does not see in America real social and political forces which could support [Kennedy's] fight against everything which plunges the country into anarchy and conservatism, and which causes the astonishment, reluctance and disgust of other people."[72]

It is interesting to compare Putrament's or Rakowski's accounts with the impressions of Polish scholars[73] who visited America for different periods of time and who offer in their books answers to questions posed at a symposium reported on in *Przegląd Kulturalny* in February 1964: "Does the popular Polish image of America reflect American reality?" (no) and "Is the number of false concepts about the United States increasing or decreasing as a result of

expanding contacts and the growing number of publications on the subject?" (decreasing).[74] They also conclude that "the biggest mistake Poles make is to try to fit the facts about the United States … to 'our own Polish notions,'" that "the level of consumption determines a man's social status in America," that the "prevailing ideology of success determines the common hierarchy of values based on the belief that 'good is what leads up'," and that "the intensity of cultural activities at the American universities is startling."[75]

The discussion of various American "translations" in Poland would not be complete without looking at how certain corporate patterns and practices have been adopted by Polish employers and employees. In a recent insightful study based on the empirical data she collected for her Ph.D. thesis, *Sukces: Amerykańskie wzory—polskie realia* (Success: American Patterns—Polish Realities), Ewa Grzeszczyk presents an analysis of the development of U.S. business and corporate practices in Poland, drawing the reader's attention to the fact that many of them have become so "Polonized" that the previously sharp border between American and Polish practices has blurred. In the first part of her book Grzeszczyk cites some American notions of success, including Benjamin Franklin's recipe for success, Lee Iacocca's corporate self-made man, and the new lifestyles of yuppies, guppies, milkies, and bobos, as well as the critique of the culture of success offered by such thinkers as Thoreau or Christopher Lasch.[76]

The second part of the book, entitled "Made in Poland," discusses the "transfer" of many of these concepts onto Polish ground. Grzeszczyk observes that whereas in the past going to America and working there was the ultimate goal, since the early 1990s it is a job with a big American company in Poland that has become a symbol of professional success.[77] The image projected by employees of such companies is that of a young, dynamic professional, or a "cool dude," or a member of a happy corporate family.[78] Grzeszczyk cites numerous examples of English vocabulary being used in the professional environment despite the fact that their Polish equivalents would not be very hard to find. The examples include "*prawdziwy* off-take," (real off-take), *"launche,"* (launches), *"stepy w zonie"* (steps in zone), and many others.[79] The author then goes on to describe some of the stops on the road to success in American companies in Poland: personality-changing courses and training, career manuals, various "brainwashing" techniques used by companies including Amway. Grzeszczyk concludes *Sukces: Amerykańskie wzory—polskie realia* with a chapter on accepting and rejecting American patterns of success, presenting the respondents' ideas about how the media creates reality and demonstrating their lack of faith in actually achieving such success, but also sharing their opinion on the role of the TV series *Dynasty* in forming people's aspirations.[80]

Grzeszczyk's study, published in 2003, validates the results of a much smaller project pursued a decade earlier by Irmina Wawrzyczek and Zbigniew Mazur

of Maria Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, who studied the attitude of Polish youth toward Americans and the American Dream. Wawrzyczek's and Mazur's conclusion was that "America is perceived as the country of great economic opportunities, mainly due to good government, sound policies, capitalist economy and liberalism, [that] the Americans are viewed as strongly materialistic and hedonistic in their pursuits, and that they acknowledged American superiority in many eras, yet do not see it as an excuse for the Americans to be megalomaniac, assertive, arrogant and patronizing."[81]

The reception, therefore, of American culture in Poland, when examined at the micro-level in surveys, interviews, and diaries, appears to have been a nuanced mixture of acceptance and rejection, and to have produced many cultural hybrids.

Anti-Americanism

In the early 1950s the Polish government carried out a program of crude anti-American propaganda, displayed in banners, posters, and other art forms. The U.S. was typically represented by a wild, gun-toting cowboy or a fat, greedy banker clad in stars and stripes along with dollar signs. American products such as Coca-Cola were demonized (one banner proclaimed "The enemy is tempting you with Coca-Cola"), and even an infestation of potato beetles was blamed on the U.S. In a social-realist painting by Wojciech Fangor, healthy, tanned Polish workers and peasants were depicted scorning an "Americanized" Pole wearing oversized sun glasses, bright red nail polish, and lipstick, and a dress imprinted with the words "New York," "Wall Street," and "Coca-Cola."[82] During the 1960s and 1970s the Polish government's official policy was often in open opposition to the U.S., adhering to the Moscow line during the Bay of Pigs operation, the Berlin crisis, and the Vietnam war, and criticizing race relations, poverty, and violence in the U.S. Opponents of the regime, on the other hand, tended to idealize the West, on the principle that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend."

The "normalization" of U.S.-Polish relations after 1989 was followed by an initial period of uncritical acclaim and insatiable consumption of anything "made in the USA." Soon, however, voices in Poland warned of the "McDonaldization" of the country and "a loss of economic independence because the share of foreign capital in Polish market was too large" and expressed fears of "the degradation of Polish culture due to widespread and uncritical imitating of Western patterns."[83] Similar concerns were raised by respondents in Ewa Grzeszczyk's study *Sukces* (Success) who saw the "dark side" of adopting American patterns: "They are flooding us with everything. Our whole business was learning from whom, from Americans, Cartoon Net-

work, marketing…, all these schools and training programs coming to Poland. Also, films, a flood of American pop culture, music … America is pushing its way in here."[84] One character in Edward Redliński's play *Cud na Greenpoincie* (*A Miracle in Greenpoint*), complains that "Poland is already America. A worse America. American prices, Polish salaries."[85] Redliński himself said that "America was flooding the whole world. This is an irreversible process: whoever does not give in to Americanization, will feel like strangers in their own country."[86] This painful "myth-breaking session" was necessary to shift the relations between the countries from the realm of dreams to that of reality.

Many of the outbursts of anti-Americanism in post–Cold War Poland can be grouped (as is true for many of the other countries in this study) under the heading "reaction against modernity." Such antimodern statements are exemplified by "Rynek bez Big Maca" (*Rynek*–Market Square–without Big Mac), a letter from a group of Kraków intellectuals to Polish authorities in 1994, asking them to prevent McDonalds from building a restaurant in the heart of Poland's "cultural capital," and by the Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy's criticism of "American postmodernism" (a term used to denote moral relativism, feminism, and homosexuality), a reaction that parallels the "moral panic" cited in other chapters of this volume. Nationalist groups have been gaining force in Poland in recent years. The publications and broadcasts of the right-wing Catholic radio station Radio Maryja (founded in 1991) are marked by xenophobia within which is an anti-American strain. The League of Polish Families (Liga Polskich Rodzin—LPR), a political party founded in 2001 by elements connected to Radio Maryja, came in second in the 2004 European parliamentary elections after running on a nationalist, anti-American/anti-EU platform. The antiglobalization forces exemplified by Andrzej Lepper's Samoobrona party have also made a strong showing in recent elections. Together these populist/nationalist political forces reflect a rejection of an "America" that is seen as a force for globalization, modernization, secularization, and commercialization and thus a threat to Polish culture. These parties also blame "America" for growth in crime and insecurity and a decline in moral values in Poland.

Frequent complaints about U.S. visa policies can be found in the Polish press. Newspaper editorials have urged the authorities to introduce visas for Americans as a direct response to the U.S. policy of charging Poles high fees for their visa applications, regardless of whether the visa is ever issued. Since Poland has been a loyal member of the "coalition of the willing," there have been many calls in the press for Poland to be added to the list of countries in the "visa waiver" program—and many expressions of resentment that in this respect Poland is treated less favorably than countries that did not participate in the Iraq war. Expectations of "rewards" for participation in the second Iraq war were high, and the actual returns have been disappointing.

In spite of such complaints, however, overall relations between the two countries remain close, so close that French President Chirac has even accused Poland of being a lackey of the U.S.[87] Indeed, in any comparative study of European anti-Americanism Poland would rank at the bottom, i.e. among the least anti-American countries in Europe. In response to a survey conducted for the German Marshall Fund, only 34 percent of Poles polled (as compared with 38 percent of Britons, 50 percent of Germans and Italians, and 70 percent of French) said they found it "undesirable" for the U.S. to exert strong leadership in world affairs.[88] Not only was Poland a member of the "coalition of the willing" during the Iraq war, but its forces have assumed responsibility for a region of the occupied country.[89]

In a comparative trends survey carried out by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, those holding positive views of the United States represented a greater proportion of the respondents in Poland than in any other European country, although this percentage declined from 86 percent in 1999/2000 to 79 percent in 2002 and again to 50 percent in March 2003, the decline in 2003 traceable to opposition to U.S. foreign policy, particularly concerning Iraq.[90] But that 50 percent score put the Poles well ahead of the Germans (25 percent), the French (31 percent), the Italians (34 percent), and even the British (48 percent) in their favorable views of the U.S. In admiration of U.S. popular culture Poland was outranked only by Great Britain. In a 2002 survey 76 percent of Britons and 70 percent of Poles agreed they liked American popular culture. Only 22 percent of Poles professed not to like it,[91] confirming their status as the least anti-American in both the political and cultural realms. Adam Michnik used a medical metaphor to compare the anti-Americanism in Poland with that prevalent in Western Europe. Calling anti-Americanism a "European illness," Michnik diagnosed the Polish variety as having only "the severity of a light head cold," compared to the "very dangerous illness" infecting other parts of Europe.[92]

Conclusion

As the above dialogue between the sender and receiver demonstrates, the paths of Americanization in Poland have been varied and tangled, with what is received often no longer recognizable to the sender. In studying the influence of American culture beyond its borders, translations as well as transmission have to be taken into account. During the Cold War American culture was appropriated in Poland as an emblem of resistance to the Polska Rzeczypospolita Ludowa (Polish People's Republic, PRL). In the post–Cold War era American culture has often come to symbolize the greater social and eco-

nomic changes taking place in Polish society and is therefore resisted and attacked by those who feel threatened by the new system.

In contrast to most of the countries surveyed in this volume, Poland continues to send a significant number of immigrants to the U.S. each year, continually renewing the ties between the two countries and making the border between transmissions and translations, the sender and the receiver, and even "them" and "us" much less visible and divisive. An important cultural event organized in June–July 2004 by the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, "New New Yorkers and their Friends," illustrates this point as "the biggest cultural exchange in the history of Polish-American relations" according to representatives of the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.[93] The title indicates that the former period of cultural transmissions and translations is now entering an era of "transnations," where the "trans"—meaning "beyond," "crossing," and "on the other side"—is accompanied by "nativization," i.e., blending the "foreign" with the "native," or to put it differently, a "domestication" of foreign influences. Most of the artists participating in the New New Yorkers event—among others, Janusz Głowacki (literature), Michał Urbaniak and Urszula Dudziak (jazz), Rafał Olbiński (poster art), Maria Przybysz and Ryszard Horowitz (photography), and Andrzej Dudziński (painting)— have emigrated to the U.S. and achieved success there also, more recently, re-established their ties with Poland. They consider success in their home country an important part of their artistic fulfillment, and through their work they have blurred the lines between Polish and American culture. To paraphrase the title of Jerzy Durczak's book on ethnic literature,[94] these artists have become transcultural selves rather than selves between cultures, and are able to be both American artists in Poland and Polish artists in the U.S.

Notes

1. Although the Główny Urząd Kontroli Prasy, Publikacji i Widowisk (Main Bureau of Press, Publications and Shows Control) was *officially* established by the decree of the Krajowa Rada Narodowa (National State Council) on 5 July 1946, censorship had existed in Poland since 1944, when a special Censorship Unit was set up in the Public Safety Department of the Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodowego (Polish Committee for National Liberation, PKWN). This action violated the provisions of the March 1921 Constitution, whose article 105 prohibited the introduction of censorship and licensing regulations for publishers. The censor's interventions in newspapers, books, and other printed materials were usually marked by special codes, informing the reader that the text

had been censored. In the case of films, movies considered "ideologically improper" or "dangerous" were stopped from being distributed at all, or "shelved" by censorship officers for many years, something that happened to Kieślowski's *Przypadek* (made in 1981 and officially released in 1987) or Bugajski's *Przesłuchanie* (of 1982, released in 1989). Censorship in Poland was finally abolished in 1990 by the Press Law Bill. For more information on censorship, sometimes referred to as "the greatest poet of People's Republic of Poland," see Jane Leftwich, ed., *Czarna Księga Cenzury PRL* (PRL's Black Book of Censorship) (London: Aneks, 1977) or Aleksander Pawlicki's *Kompletna szarość: Cenzura w latach 1965–1972: Instytucje i ludzie.* (Complete Grayness: Censorship 1965–1972: Institutions and people.) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo TRIO, 2001). For censorship in the 1980s, see Alexander Remmer, "A Note of Post-Publication Censorship in Poland 1980–1987," *Soviet Studies* 41, no. 3 (July 1989): 415–25.

2. Elżbieta Foeller-Pituch, "Catching Up: The Polish Critical Response to American Literature," in Huck Gutman, eds., *As Others Read Us: International Perspectives on American Literature* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991), 206.
3. Robert McG. Thomas, Jr., "Willis Conover, 75, Voice of America Disc Jockey," *New York Times,* 19 May 1966, A35.
4. http://www.west.net/~jazz/bio.html (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
5. Timothy W. Ryback, *Rock around the Bloc: A History of Rock Music in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 867–87.
6. Jan Błoński, "Americans in Poland," *The Kenyon Review* 23, no. 1 (Winter 1961): 39. This "invasion of Americans" was balanced by the more than 1,500 Poles who traveled to the U.S. on cultural and scientific exchange programs between 1 January 1958 and 30 June 1962. See Emilia Wilder, "America as Seen by Polish Exchange Scholars," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (Summer 1964): 243–56.
7. Walter L. Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture and the Cold War: 1945–1961* (New York: St. Martin's, 1997), 111.
8. Stephen S. Kaplan, "Aid to Poland, 1957–1964: Concerns, Objections and Obstacles," *The Western Political Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1975): 155.
9. Hansjakob Stehle, *The Independent Satellite: Society and Politics in Poland since 1945* (London: Pall Mall, 1965), 239.
10. Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 63.
11. Ibid., 147.
12. Tadeusz N. Cieplak, *Poland since 1956* (New York: Twayne, 1972), 413.
13. Yale Richmond, "Margaret Schlauch and American Studies in Poland," *The Polish Review* 44, no. 1 (1999): 54–55.
14. Jerzy Durczak, "Mixed Blessings of Freedom: American Literature in Poland Under and After Communism," *American Studies* 40, no. 2 (1999): 140.
15. Błoński, "Americans in Poland," 32.
16. Ibid., 45
17. Ibid., 48.
18. Pawlicki, *Kompletna szarość,* 57–58. Pawlicki goes on to say that the information was in fact an example of "an attempt to compromise the American army, where the emotionally laden statement 'in cold blood' was to be authenticated by making reference to Washington's UPI."
19. Pawlicki offers other interesting and surprising examples of censors' intervention in Poland at that time, including removing any positive references to the hippie movement in the U.S. from newspapers, magazines, and books and presenting the movement as an excellent illustration of the collapse of moral values in the West.

20. Stehle, *Independent Satellite,* 239.
21. Durczak, "Mixed Blessings of Freedom," 140.
22. George R. Urban, *Radio Free Europe and the Pursuit of Democracy: My War Within the Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 297.
23. Jane Leftwich, ed., *The Black Book of Polish Censorship* (New York: Random House, 1984), 135.
24. Ibid., 399–400.
25. Durczak, "Mixed Blessings of Freedom," 142.
26. Foeller-Pituch, "Catching Up," 214.
27. Wojciech Liponski, "Western Teachers and East European Students," *Polish–Anglo Saxon Studies* 6–7 (1997): 35.
28. Joseph Brodsky, in Anna Husarska, "A Talk with Joseph Brodsky," *New Leader,* 14 December 1987, 9.
29. Tomas Venclova in Yale Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain,* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 201.
30. Agnieszka Gadomska, "The Theatrical Distribution of American Films in Poland After 1989," in Cynthia Dominik, ed., *Is Poland Being Americanized?* (Warsaw: American Studies Center Warsaw University, 1998), 18.
31. Stehle, *Independent Satellite,* 209–10.
32. Gadomska, "The Theatrical Distribution of American Films in Poland After 1989," 18–19.
33. The book was also prohibited.
34. Pawlicki, *Kompletna szarość,* 104.
35. Tadeusz Pikulski, *Prywatna historia telewizji publicznej* (Warsaw: Muza, 2002). The whole interesting study is also available online at http://ww2.tvp.pl/tvppl/12,2003111268480.strona (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
36. http://renma.w.interia.pl/playlista.htm (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
37. Joan Baez, well known for her support for Polish dissidents, first came to Poland in 1970 and then in 1985 with her fellow activist, Ginetta Sagan. During her visit she met Lech Walęsa.
38. Wick quoted by Bernard Gwertzman, "Now, the Star of the Show: Poland," *New York Times,* 20 January 1982, A24.
39. Peter Schweizer, *Victory: The Reagan Administration's Secret Strategy that Hastened the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1994), 89.
40. Leonard J. Bałdyga, "The 20th Anniversary of the American Studies Center at the University of Warsaw: An Historic Overview," in Andrzej Bartnicki and Zbigniew Kwiecień, eds., *Pochwała Historii Powszechnej* (Warsaw, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warzawskiego, 1996), 571.
41. Liponski, "Western Teachers and East European Students," 42.
42. Franciszek Lyra, "Is Poland being Americanized? American Literature in Poland, 1989–1997," in Dominik, *Is Poland Being Americanized?* 32.
43. Ronnie D. Carter, "Paradigm Shifts in Polish Academic Writing on American Literature, Arts and Culture," Paper presented at Warsaw University, 14 June 1997.
44. Agnieszka Salska, ed., *Historia Literatury Amerykańskiej XX Wieku,* 2 vols. (Cracow: Universitas, 2003).
45. Lyra, "Is Poland being Americanized?" 33.
46. Ibid., 38–39.
47. Gadomska, "The Theatrical Distribution of American Films in Poland After 1989," 18.
48. Ibid., 22.
49. Ibid., 25.
50. Ewa Grzeszczyk, *Sukces: amerykańskie wzory—polskie realia.* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii, Polska Akademia Nauk, 2003), 131.

51. Among the oldest and most prestigious of such programs are the Executive MBA Program run by Warsaw University's International Management Center and School of Management and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne, and the Warsaw Executive MBA offered by the Szkoła Główna Handlowa (School of Economics) in Warsaw and the University of Minnesota.
52. Poland became a member of the EU on 1 May 2004.
53. http://www.arts.uwaterloo.ca/FINE/juhde/micz952.htm (last accessed: 24 July 2004).
54. http://www.warsawvoice.pl/old/v520/Buzz00.html (last accessed: 24 July 2004).
55. Wiesław Kot, "Za szynką;" rozmowa z Edwardem Redlińskim" (Interview with Edward Redliński), *Wprost,* 10.03, no. 10 (1996): 83–84.
56. Figura is an interesting *figure* herself and an example of transmissions and translations merging into one. She starred in Radosław Piwowarski's *Pociąg do Hollywood* (Train to Hollywood), a comedy about a girl living in a train car and working in a buffet but dreaming, at the same time, of making a career like that of Marilyn Monroe in Hollywood. The girl keeps writing letters to American director Billy Wilder, hoping against hope that she may get an invitation from him one day. The *real* Figura actually did go to Hollywood and played a minor role in Robert Altman's *Prêt-a-Porter*.
57. Jan Borkowski, "Jazz in Poland—Anthology" (Warsaw: Polskie Radio S.A., 2002).
58. During the 1969 Sopot Festival Niemen met the famous Radio Luxembourg DJ Alan Freeman, who then played Niemen's "Przyjdź w taką noc" on the radio.
59. As far as Polish rock music is concerned, the word "transform" stands dangerously close to the word "plagiarize." In the case of many groups it is not difficult to recognize their musical "fascinations"—Lady Pank being in love with The Police, TSA with AC/DC, and RSC with Kansas.
60. Jerzy Wertenstein-Żuławski, *To tylko rock'n roll* (It's only Rock'n'Roll) (Warsaw: Związek Polskich Autorów i Kompozytorów, ZAKR, 1990), 5.
61. During student strikes at Warsaw University in the Solidarity era, music by The Doors was omnipresent.
62. Bartek Chaciński, "Hymny biedy i wkurwienia wykrzykuje Peja, nowa nadzieja polskiego rapu." *Przekrój,* Nr 32/33 (10 sierpnia, 2003): 65.
63. Discussing boxing one should not forget, of course, about Poland's hero in America, Andrzej Gołota, or Andreeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeew, Goooooooooooooolota!!! Wanted by the Polish judiciary for a minor offense, he escaped to America, where, promoted by Ziggy Rozalsky and eventually Don King, he was transformed from the "rag" he had been in Poland into the "white men's hope against the black," as many Polish newspapers put it, clearly unaware of the racist connotations of the expression. The stardom of the former illegal immigrant and truck driver reached its peak when he fought against Riddick Bowe, Lennox Lewis, and Mike Tyson, in matches broadcast by HBO and state television in Poland.
64. Wojciech Staszewski, "Spoko Alfabet," *Gazeta Wyborcza: Duży format,* 31 July 2003, 26.
65. http://www.literature-awards.com/nobelprize_winners/toni_morrison_nobel_lecture.htm (last accessed: 5 March 2005).
66. Dorota Masłowska, *Wojna polsko ruska pod flagą biało-czerwoną* (Warsaw: Lampa i Iskra Boża, 2002), 107.
67. One should not forget that until the early 1990s Poles were not allowed to keep their passports at home but had to apply for them at the Internal Affairs Offices each time they wanted to travel. In practice, most of the dissidents were not allowed passports, which meant they had no chance to go abroad.
68. Jerzy Putrament, *Dwa łyki Ameryki* (Two Swallows of America) (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1956), 88–106.

69. Mieczysław F. Rakowski, *Ameryka wielopiętrowa* (Multi-storied America) (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1964), 5.
70. Ibid., 83. Urbana-Champagne is an important place in the discourse on translation as the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champagne was one of the first American universities to establish commercial cooperation with Polish institutions after 1989. Offering courses on human resource development, marketing, logistics, and strategic planning, first in cooperation with OIC Poland and then with Polish universities (Warsaw University, Politechnika Lubelska), it has contributed to the development of business, particularly small-medium enterprises, the target group for which most of the courses were designed. Currently, in addition to the courses mentioned above, the University of Illinois runs two MBA programs for business executives in Lublin and Warsaw. For more details visit http://hre.ed.uiuc.edu/poland.htm (last accessed: 5 March 2005).
71. Rakowski, *Ameryka wielopiętrowa,* 117.
72. Ibid. postcriptum.
73. These books include: Józef Chałasiński, *Kultura Amerykańska: Formowanie się kultury narodowej w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki* (American Culture: The Formative Development of a National Culture in the United States of America) (Warsaw: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1970); Stanisław Ehrlich, *Władza i interesy: studium struktury politycznej kapitalizmu* (Power and Interests: A Study of Capitalism's Political Structure) (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974); Stanisław Ehrlich, *Grupy nacisku w strukturze politycznej kapitalizmu* (Pressure Groups in the Political Structure of Capitalism) (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962); Aleksander Matejko, *Socjologia przemysłu w Stanach Zjednoczonych Ameryki* (Industrial Sociology in the United States of America) (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962); Edmund J. Osmańczyk, *Współczesna Ameryka: Stany Zjednoczone Ameryki* (Contemporary America: The United States of America) (Warsaw: Ludowa Wspóldzielnia Wydawnicza, 1961); Jan Strzelecki, *Niepokoje amerykańskie* (American Anxieties) (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii Polska Akademia Nauk, 2004); Włodzimierz Wesołowski, *Studia z socjologii klas i warstw społecznych* (Studies in Sociology of Social Classes and Strata) (Warsaw: Książka i wiedza, 1962); Jerzy J. Wiatr, *Amerykańskie wybory* (American Choices) (Warsaw: Książka i wiedza, 1962); Janusz G. Zieliński, *Big Business: Z problematyki nowych technik zarządzania* (Big Business: Problems of New Management Techniques) (Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1962).
74. Emilia Wilder, "America as Seen by Polish Exchange Scholars," *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1964): 243–56.
75. Ibid., 253–55.
76. Grzeszczyk, *Sukces,* 131.
77. Grzeszczyk rightly observes that few accounts of "successful" trips to America do more than mention the places and conditions in which many Poles have traditionally worked in the U.S.: slaughterhouses, cleaning jobs, removing asbestos insulation, etc.
78. Ibid., 133.
79. Ibid., 134.
80. Ibid., 263.
81. Irmina Wawrzyczek and Zbigniew Mazur, "Do Polish Youth Dream American? The Penetration of American Cultural Values in Poland," in Agnieszka Salska and Paul Wilson, eds., *The American Dream, Past and Present. Polish Association for American Studies, Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference, Skierniewice, November 26–28, 1992* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 1994), 21.

82. The image actually represented the figure of the so-called "*bikiniarz*" (from Louis Réard's chic bikini costumes), someone dressing in a flashy and caricaturedly "fashionable" manner, a loafer and hooligan imitating American gilded youth and not contributing to the building of socialism. Jacek Kuroń, one of Poland's dissidents, who before spending many years in prison was one of the builders of socialism, describes *"bikiniarzí"* in the following way: "they wear colorful checked shirts with a colorful striped t-shirt. The colors may not have matched, although different sets of colors were fashionable; chives on the scrambled eggs, which was green on yellow. The neckerchief was also very American, very colorful too, or a tie, very wide, hand-painted. Ties with an island and a palm were particularly fashionable, a naked girl under the palm and a little mushroom above it, because it was supposed to represent the Bikini atoll. Girls wore long skirts with long slits on the side. *'Bikiniare'* liked jazz, danced boogie-woogie. There were few real believers in the American lifestyle among them, although some of them may have realized they were for the United States and against the Soviet Union or maybe for the colorful West against the drabness of life in Poland." Jacek Kuroń, "Trzeba wierzyć partii" (One has to trust the Party), *Gazeta Reporterów* (*Gazeta Wyborcza*), *Duży Format,* 21 June 2004, 4–5.
83. Karolina Zawieska, in *Poland in Europe; SWOT Anlayses.* http://info.wizytowka.pl (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
84. Grzeszczyk, *Sukces,* 263.
85. Kot, "Za szynką;" 83.
86. Ibid., 83.
87. Wiesław Godzic, *Oglądanie i inne przyjemności kultury popularnej* (Kraków: Universitas, 1996), 168.
88. Thomas Crampton, "Europeans' doubt over U.S. policy rises," *International Herald Tribune,* 4 September 2003, 8.
89. The scale of the changes in the Polish-U.S. relationship may also be illustrated by a somewhat comic situation. The Polish premiere of Michael Moore's *Fahrenheit 9/11* (originally scheduled for 16 July 2004) was postponed, giving rise to speculation that political pressure had been brought to bear because of the film's questioning of the foreign policy of Poland's ally, the U.S., and by extension the policies of President Kwaśniewski regarding Iraq. It seemed as if Poland was now using censorship to placate the U.S., just as previously it had aimed to placate the USSR. However, when Marcin Piasecki, director of Kino Świat International, the Polish distributor of the movie, later announced that the film would open on 23 July, one week later than originally scheduled, his announcement provoked suspicions that the postponement and talk of political influence had been a means to increase public interest in the film—in other words, censorship in the interest of increasing profits. http://film.onet.pl/ (last accessed: 3 March 2005)
90. Support for the Iraq war continues to decline among the Polish public, while opposition to the war grows. In April 2004 an opinion poll found only 29 percent of Poles supported the role (down 7 percent from the preceding November), while opposition had increased to 66 percent (up 6 percent). http://www.cbos.com.pl/SPISKOM.POL/2004/K_076_04.PDF (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
91. Pew Reearch Center for People and the Press, "What the World Thinks in 2002." http://people-press-org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=165 (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
92. Adam Michnik, "What Europe Means for Poland," *Journal of Democracy* 14, no. 4 (2003): 133–34.
93. http://www.newnewyorkers.pl/docs/prconf.htm (last accessed: 3 March 2005).
94. Jerzy Durczak, *Selves Between Cultures: Contemporary American Bicultural Autobiography* (San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1997).