

The  
Australian  
Institute  
of Polish Affairs

1991–2011

CELEBRATING 20 YEARS

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**Visit us at [www.aipa.net.au](http://www.aipa.net.au)**



Jan Nowak-Jezioranski being welcomed by AIPA Secretary Barbara Zagala and Urszula Koziell on his arrival to Australia. Jan Nowak-Jezioranski opened the Institute in 1991. His lifetime devotion to a democratic Poland became an inspiration to AIPA activists.

**Message** From His Excellency Andrzej Jaroszynski,  
Polish Ambassador to Australia for the 20th Anniversary of AIPA

AIPA has become a synonym for an excellent collaborative partnership with the Polish Embassy in Australia. The success of the two huge projects promoting a better understanding of Polish past and present achievements for the Australian audience, that is, seminars celebrating the 20th anniversary of the demise of the communist regime in Poland and Central Europe, and the symposia on multiculturalism and migration, would not have been possible without the collaboration and the Institute's high position. Those academic conferences for the general public with the participation of Polish and Australian experts introduced Australians to a new, democratic and vibrant Poland, and, at the same time, developed promising research links between Polish and Australian partners.

AIPA has also been an invaluable partner in our common activities to build reconciliation and dialogue between the Polish and Jewish communities in Australia by contributing to numerous events commemorating Polish Righteous Among Nations, Irena Sendler and Henryk Slawik, and by inviting speakers from Poland to exchange views and information about relevant developments in Poland.

AIPA's activities have also secured its role in Australia's multicultural policy being open not only to Polish-Australian relations but to presenting them in a broader European perspective which was particularly important during the recent Polish presidency in the European Union.

AIPA, born a few years after the birth of a free and democratic Poland, can be considered its "peer" in Australia, a partner and supporter of "the dream that has come true".

The diplomatic missions of the Republic of Poland in Australia are proud and fortunate to have cooperated with the AIPA enthusiasts and we hope to continue our common endeavours in the years to come.

I congratulate AIPA on reaching this mature milestone and wish it continued success in the future without ever getting old.

**Message** From Her Excellency Ruth Pearce,  
Australian Ambassador to Poland for the 20th Anniversary of AIPA

I am honoured to participate in the 20th Anniversary of AIPA. Your dynamic commitment to strengthening interaction between Poland and Australia is exceptional and greatly valued as far away as the Australian Embassy in Poland!

AIPA is a unique network of expertise and experience across the issues that shape and influence bilateral interests and the global concerns shared by Poland and Australia.

The past 20 years have seen historical shifts across the world. Post-Soviet Poland is now an influential EU member, empowered politically and economically by its EU status. Australia's engagement with Europe is multi-layered, with a special focus on global interests, including strategic engagement in the Asia-Pacific. A key priority for governments and partners such as AIPA is how to shape and influence the risks and opportunities of the 'Asian Century'. Polish President Komorowski's recent official visit to China conveys the central importance of this priority. Australia's increasing interests in Poland, officially and across key business sectors, science and research partnerships and cultural programs all reflect our mutual interests.

Of special value are the active Australia-Polish networks, drawing on the assets of our very successful Australian-Polish community. Foreign Minister Sikorski, in my time as Australia's Ambassador to Poland, has sought to profile the Polish diaspora across the world. AIPA is a role model for the partnerships that are more and more essential to successful relationships across our global community.

Congratulations and best wishes of continuing success.

**Message** From Bernard Brzegowski-Korbman OAM,  
President of the Australian Society of Polish Jews  
and Their Descendents

From common interests and goodwill to good friends.

“Nothing so influences faculties of one's mind as communicating with friends who are striving towards the same goal. Our thinking is shaped and corrected only through the exchange of thoughts with others. An intellect which depends entirely upon itself is prone to stagnation, fantasies or erroneous ideas.”

I begin my congratulatory remarks to the Institute of Polish Affairs on the occasion of its 20th anniversary with this particular quote from the Wisdom Literature, in this case the Book of Proverbs.

The relationship, which began twenty years ago between the Australian Society of Polish Jews and their Descendants, (formerly the World Federation of Polish Jews), and the Australian Institute of Polish Affairs was initiated by people of goodwill from the Polish community who wanted to have an honest dialogue with members of the Jewish community, to try to understand the great divide between the two historical narratives regarding Polish-Jewish relations.

This was in fact a very brave step by members of AIPA, as 20 years ago some members of both the broader Jewish and Polish communities were at best sceptical about this type of dialogue. Twenty years on, after many joint projects, seminars and workshops, the gulf between the two communities has certainly narrowed.

However, no number of symposiums and/or public gatherings alone can enhance relationships between communities or people who wish to maintain stereotypical images of 'the other'. The key to success relies on mutual trust, respect and a deep belief in the dignity and inherent worth of all human beings. AIPA members have personified these values with the most precious gift possible between individuals, communities and nations – the gift of friendship.

On behalf of the Australian Society of Polish Jews and their Descendants, I send a hearty mazel-tov (congratulations and good tidings) to AIPA, on the occasion of its 20th anniversary, and thank our Polish brothers and sisters for their warmth and friendship.

## About AIPA

The Australian Institute of Polish Affairs (AIPA) is an independent, not-for-profit, non-political organisation founded in 1991 in Melbourne.

It seeks to develop stronger and more diversified ties between Australia and Poland by inviting and organizing meetings with expert speakers, both Polish and Australian. The Institute publicises events relevant to Polish-Australian relations, and arranges lectures as well as commemorations and celebrations of important anniversaries.

While actively involved in all aspects of Polish-Australian relations, the Institute pays special attention to promoting Polish-Jewish dialogue and understanding.

AIPA operates nationally, but its key centres are in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. Its principal functions are performed on a voluntary basis, and its main source of income derives from membership fees. In recent years AIPA has received generous financial support from the Polish Embassy and the Consulate General of the Republic of Poland.

The Institute welcomes all those who are interested in Polish culture, politics, economy and society, and in expanding Polish-Australian relations. AIPA's program of activities has contributed to the strengthening of relations between both countries, while enhancing Poland's profile within Australia, and promoting interest in all matters Polish.

## Aims and Activities

AIPA is committed to expanding all aspects of Polish-Australian relations: political, cultural, economic and social.

The major aims of the Institute are:

- to promote knowledge about Poland in Australia
- to foster the development of Polish-Australian relations
- to monitor and promote information on Poland and Polish-Australian affairs
- to organize public lectures, conferences and commemorative meetings
- to take a public stand on matters concerning Poland and Polish-Australian affairs
- to network with academic, political, commercial and cultural organizations in Poland and Australia
- to expand Polish-Jewish dialogue, improve Polish-Jewish relations, and foster Polish-Jewish collaboration in Australia. This is important because Australia is home to the world's largest community of Polish-born Holocaust survivors.

The Past, Present and Future of AIPA:  
reflections on its 20th birthday

The Australian Institute of Polish Affairs enters its 21st year of activities. It is an important anniversary that provokes some reflections on our Institute's two decades of work and its future. Here, I would like to cast a glance at the coming-of-age of our Institute as seen from the perspective of its old supporter and current (2012) president.

AIPA was born out of our collective pride and enthusiasm triggered by the memorable *Annus Mirabilis* of 1989 – the year Poland suddenly regained full national sovereignty, liberty, democracy and her deserved place among the free nations of a soon-united Europe. Our pride reflected not only the triumph of the pro-independence and pro-democracy movements in Poland, but also the leading role played by the Polish Solidarity movement in pioneering a new peaceful revolution and democratic transformation on a world-wide scale. The 'Solidarity model' of negotiated and violence-free change was subsequently applied in Eastern Europe, South Africa and Central Asia. It triggered a new Springtime of the Peoples that liberated Poland, demolished the Wall, and the collapse of communism.

The formation of the Australian Institute of Polish Affairs reflected the enthusiasm and pride, especially among the new Polish immigrants in Australia – those who arrived during and after the 'Solidarity Decade', and who found in Australia freedom and democracy denied to them by communist-dominated Poland. They were in a better position to realise the crucial role played by Solidarity in charting liberal-democratic transformations world-wide, and they appreciated the need for wider publicity for the historical achievements of the Solidarity movement. AIPA was conceived specifically for this new role. Thus from the very beginning the Institute formed a new modern Polish-Australian lobby focussing above all on publicising in Australia the spectacular achievements of Polish transformation.

AIPAs main strategy was to bring to Australia the top Polish artists, politicians, economists and public intellectuals representing all democratic political movements and organisations, economic and cultural, secular and religious. They gave public lectures, participated in symposia, and met members of the Polish diaspora, as well as Australian political and media elites. Such visits invariably generated positive publicity, publications and media appearances, and resulted in scores

of personal contacts and friendships. In addition to such visits, AIPA has also been celebrating important anniversaries, such as the 200th anniversary of Fryderyk Chopin's birth and 100th anniversary of Czeslaw Milosz's birth. They aimed at familiarisation of Australian audiences with Poland, thus overcoming the 'tyranny of distance' between our nations.

The 'founding fathers' of AIPA envisaged the Institute as a small association addressing mainly Australian elites, public bodies and intellectuals. Over the last few years, however, AIPA has transcended this model. Thanks mainly to the dedication of all its members and to the successful collaboration with the Embassy and Consulate of the Polish Republic, AIPA now extends its activity into some new domains, such as exchange of academic social and cultural expertise between the two nations. Thus the Institute has been organising symposia on new challenges facing both nations, such as migrations, multiculturalism and the rapid ageing of populations. We continue to celebrate the past and present achievements of Poland, but also stress the future challenges facing both nations. Above all, we stress Poland's current and future role as a key European nation, a cultural hub of Eastern Europe, a model of successful liberal-democratic transformation, and as a source of expertise in all areas of modern economy, culture and social life. We are proud of Polish courage and solidarity in the face of adversities, of the wisdom of Polish leaders seeking non-violent solutions to crises, of the prudence of new Polish entrepreneurs, and of the creative spirit of Polish artists contributing to European and universal culture. We want the image of Poles and Poland to be enriched by these new accomplishments.

Another aspect of AIPA's uniqueness is the Polish-Jewish dialogue. It is a difficult dialogue between the two suffering nations, both carrying deep wounds of war and genocide, yet both also nurturing negative mutual stereotypes. We confront these stereotypes by exchanging views with members of the Jewish community, discussing often painful historical experiences and, above all, by showing interest and good will in pursuing some common grounds in interpretation of our shared history. This is done in a spirit of understanding and genuine reconciliation, and with a hope of overcoming mistrust and eliminating hostile stereotyping. Poles and Jews, both religious and secular, clearly share common backgrounds and many cultural traditions. Above all, we share an underlying value of human decency that includes tolerance, mutual respect, trust and empathy. This value forms a major foundation of common initiatives and widening individual friendships. We hope to bring Poles and Jews closer together, not only as individuals, but also as communities.

What will the future bring? I am optimistic about the next decades of the Institute. The strength of AIPA, and the success of numerous AIPA-organised activities can

be attributed, in my view, to a few factors. First, we have chosen a successful model that combines formal organisation with informal networks and close friendships. This is a source of strength, but also carries a danger of exclusivism, which we combat by emphasizing our openness and recruiting new members. Second, we have embraced an extremely wide range of activities. There have been AIPA-sponsored public lectures, symposia, meetings and artistic performances; we have established a strong presence on the Web and collaboration with three universities (Monash, ANU, UTAS). This diversity is an important source of AIPA's strength and vitality, and it bodes well for the future. Third, we cultivate a culture of active involvement of all AIPA members, and this strengthens bonds of solidarity as well as the democratic ethos – both very attractive to our members. Fourth, the cooperation with the Embassy and Consulate is enriching our human and material resources. This cooperation may serve as models of cordial and harmonious relations that we hope to carry into the future.

Finally, one should also mention the challenges we are likely to face in the forthcoming decades. The first and foremost is establishing closer links and collaboration with other organisations in the Polish diaspora and outside. Turning these organisations from occasional partners into regular allies is an important goal for the future AIPA leadership. Similarly, AIPA aspires to a higher profile in the mainstream Australian media. This is another goal for future activists. It will require new energy and organisational skills – which, judging by our past and current accomplishments, the Institute will undoubtedly find.

PROFESSOR JAN PAKULSKI

## In Memoriam Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz (1921-2008)

Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz was the founding father of AIPA. On his arrival to Melbourne in 1987 as Professor Emeritus he brought with him a wealth of experience lobbying at the highest levels on behalf of the Polish cause in the USA in the 1970s and 1980s. He remained the guiding light for AIPA until his passing in April 2008. Andrew, who came from a distinguished Polish family, was born in Warsaw and spent his early years in Wilno, which had a vibrant multicultural population. This early experience instilled in him a deep respect for cultural and religious diversity. In this he followed his famous grandfather, Professor Jan Baudouin de Courtenay, a noted linguist.

Andrew's mother—Cezaria Baudouin de Courtenay Ehrenkreutz-Jedrzejewicz was a founder of the Polish school of anthropology and was a professor at Wilno Stefan Batory University. His father, Stefan, was the last pre-war rector of Wilno University, and served as a senator in the Polish Parliament.

Andrew completed his high school education in Warsaw in June of 1939, and when World War II began three months later, he escaped to Rumania with his mother and step-father. Aged only 17, he made his way alone to France and joined Polish forces that were a part of the French Army at the time. He served with the 1st Polish Grenadiers and was awarded a French Croix de Guerre for his efforts in a special reconnaissance squad. He was taken prisoner by the Germans near Lorraine, and spent almost five years in POW camps.

After liberation, in 1946 he and his wife Blandyna, joined his mother and stepfather, Janusz Jedrzejewicz in Palestine. Andrew became interested in the history of the Middle East, and after transfer to England in 1947 he completed a PhD at the University of London's School of Oriental Studies. In 1953, he accepted a post-doctorate fellowship at Yale University and the following year he became a visiting lecturer in Islamic history at Michigan University, where, from 1967 to 1985, he was professor of Middle-Eastern Studies and History. He specialised in the history of the Crusades and among many publications he wrote a well-known biography of Saladin, the 12th century conqueror.

While in the US in the 1960s, Andrew became active in the Polish-American Congress and in the 1970s, he was the cofounder of the North American Studies



Centre for Polish Affairs. The Centre became a leading source of support for the democratic opposition in Poland and later, the Solidarity trade union. In 1977, the Centre organised successful campaign protesting against the arrest of KOR-activists in Poland. Later it was instrumental in obtaining funding for “Solidarity” in the second part of the 1980s. After arriving in Melbourne and setting up AIPA, Andrew became a key figure in Polish-Jewish dialogue in Australia, and did much to improve contacts between the two communities.

As a friend and mentor Andrew was always a fountain of subtle, ironic humour. His ability to see surprising associations between contemporary events and that of the past made him a delightful conversationalist. Always a gentleman, he liked to be seductive. However, in what seems to be true to his French ancestry, he could use words as one would use a rapier, and he was always able to deliver a painful blow with daring precision, polite but deadly. Generous to a fault, tolerant and wise, he would not forget if let down. This proved to be a vital quality to his public persona, where efficiency was his motto and fools were not suffered.

As his friends and collaborators at AIPA we loved Andrew. Learned, worldly and wise, he was not opinionated. In fact, it was not easy to get his opinion, although you sensed that he always had a clear judgment. Always fair, he understood complexities of living, and never dismissed people or looked down upon them. We sometimes sought his advice and felt better for it, as warmth was always there. He was a man of building consensus, always keen to find and attract new talent. Raised in a patriotic tradition, with a family tradition of holding public office, he was a natural ambassador. He was an inspiration, oblivious to doubt or despair, even in the dark hours of the 1980s. Like diamond forged from the ashes, Andrew turned his hardships and self-sacrifice into a beacon, giving us a sense of direction. AIPA survives as his legacy.

## In Memoriam Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki (1920–2009)

Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki was the first President of AIPA, elected to this post in 1991. It was an obvious choice. Zubrzycki was the most prominent Polish intellectual in Australia, a highly decorated (AO, CBE, Gallantry Cross) hero of the Resistance Movement, a prominent academic, known as the father of Australian multiculturalism, and an important member of the Papal Academy in Rome. Yet, those who did not know him, would never suspect that this gentle and unassuming man was one of the most distinguished independence fighters known for his heroic exploits in the Polish underground.

Zubrzycki's biography can serve as a textbook for European history and resembles in many respects the dramatic life stories of Jan Karski and Jan Nowak-Jezioranski. He was born in Krakow in 1920, during the dramatic Soviet-Polish war. His education occurred under the shadow of political upheavals and economic depressions in the same school and cohort as Karol Wojtyła, the future Pope John Paul II. In 1939 young Jerzy, like most Poles of his generation, joined the Cavalry Officer Cadet School as a preparation for university studies. Alas, it proved to be a preparation for long military service. The German and Soviet invasions in September 1939 caught Jerzy on the rapidly moving front lines. After weeks of chaotic fighting and retreats, he was taken prisoner by the Germans, but managed to escape to join the Underground. The Polish Underground command, impressed by his skills, sent him on a special intelligence mission to the British Legations in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy and France, and after the French surrender in 1940, he was evacuated to Britain. Under the nom de guerre "Plomienczyk", he was assigned to the legendary Polish Parachute Brigade, and the Polish Special Forces, operating under the Special Operations Executive (SOE) – an organisation formed by Churchill to "set ablaze" German-occupied Europe. SOE planned and conducted the most daring and dangerous military operations, including intelligence, sabotage, diversion, coordination of resistance, and supply of materials to Underground forces. The best known operation conducted by Zubrzycki was smuggling out of German-occupied Poland of an in-tact German V2 warhead, the widely feared "flying bomb". For his part in this operation he was decorated with military MBE (Member of the Order of the British Empire).



The end of war found Zubrzycki, now married to Alexandra, the love of his school-years, who survived Soviet imprisonment and forced deportation to Kazakh-

stan, a homeless political refugee. He studied economics and population studies at the London School of Economics, followed by a doctorate at the Free Polish University in London under the supervision of a prominent Polish-American sociologist, Feliks Znaniecki. In the late 1940s and early 50s the LSE became a crucible of the most influential ideas that shaped the post-war era, including the liberalism of Karl Popper, Fabian socialism, and the conservative theories of Friedrich Hayek. Jerzy was most impressed by the climate of open intellectual debates, and the spirit of freedom coupled with a sense of social justice and individual responsibility. He brought this spirit to his studies in social demography and sociology that focused on migrant experience and social adaptation. Most of these studies were subsequently conducted in Australia where the young Zubrzycki family moved in 1955 and where Zubrzycki was offered an appointment as Research Fellow in Demography in the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University (ANU). The rapidly expanding ANU provided an intellectual environment that he was longing for – focussing on applied, socially relevant and politically valued research. He soon became Professorial Fellow, and in 1970 was appointed inaugural Professor and Head of the newly formed Sociology Department, where he served until his retirement in 1986. His main preoccupation remained migration and migrant social adaptation – the area in which his expertise was widely recognised. In 1977 Zubrzycki Chaired the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, writing a number of influential policy papers, reports and recommendations that formed a basis of the multicultural policies subsequently embraced, on a bi-partisan basis, by all Australian governments. These policies are widely seen as a foundation of the successful Australian post-WWII nation-building.

Retirement did not slow down Zubrzycki's work, nor did it limit his social involvement. As Emeritus Professor and Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences (since 1968), Zubrzycki continued research and publications, took part in public debates, and actively participated in the work of numerous organisations, including Lifeline, Australian Family Association, and the National Museum. All this time, he remained the sponsor of pro-independence Polish initiatives, and regularly contributed to Polish and Australian media on social and political issues. He enthusiastically supported the formation of the Australian Institute of Polish Affairs and was drafted by Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz as the Founding President of AIPA. He performed this function with great distinction and charted the direction of AIPA's activities for the next decades. In 1994 he was invited by Pope John Paul II to join the newly formed Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences that advised the Pope on various aspects of the Catholic Church's social doctrine. Work for his beloved Institute and the Academy remained Zubrzycki's major preoccupation and commitment till his death in May 2009.

**2010**

29 October–7 November

**Professor Aleksander Skotnicki**

Scientist from the Department of Hematology from the Jagiellonian University, Kraków who has devoted his life to promoting reconciliation between the Polish and Jewish communities.

**2009**

26 February–10 March

**Zbigniew Nossowski**

Editor of the Catholic monthly *Wież* and co-chair of Poland's Council of Christians and Jews.

26 September–6 October

**Professor Adam Daniel Rotfeld**

Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland in 2005, Co-Chairman of the Polish-Russian working Group on Difficult Matters, Member of the Advisory Board of the International Commission on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament and Member of the Group of Experts on new Strategic Concept of Alliance "Wise Men Group".

**2008**

27 August–1 September

**Professor Leszek Balcerowicz**

The second visit to Australia of this distinguished Polish economist and principal architect of Poland's post-communist economic reforms.

**2007**

8–21 March

**Professor Fr Michał Heller**

Roman Catholic Priest, Professor of Philosophy at the Pontifical Academy of Theology, Founder and Director of the Copernicus Center for Interdisciplinary Studies, Templeton Prize Winner.

**2006**

22 April–2 May

**Dr Gunnar Paulsson**

Historian and writer, Pearl Resnick Fellow at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, Dr Paulsson has taught at the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies and was Senior Historian of the Holocaust project at the Imperial War Museum, London.

28 February–2 March

**Professor Marek Belka**

Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland, 2004–2005, Professor of economics, Director of the National Bank of Poland (since June 2010).

**2004**

16 – 27 October

**Professor Leon Kieres**

Historian and politician, President of Poland's Institute of National Remembrance (2000-2005).

**2003**

22 March – 2 April

**Professor Jacek Purchla**

Director of the International Cultural Centre in Kraków, Professor of Art History at the Jagiellonian University.

27 August – 9 September

**Eva Hoffman**

Polish/American writer, literary critic and academic. Her visit was co-sponsored by the Melbourne Writers' Festival.

**2003**

5–13 October



**Professor Bronisław Geremek**

Social historian and politician, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland 1997–2000, a prominent dissident during the Solidarity years. One of the principal architects of Poland's transition to democracy

**2002**

20–26 July



**Dr Krzysztof Zagórski**

Sociologist, Head of the Public Opinion Research Centre in Poland (CBOS).

10–20 September



**Archbishop Józef Zycinski**

Philosopher, publicist, Roman Catholic metropolitan Archbishop of Lublin and Professor of the Pontifical Academy of Theology in the Vatican.

**2001**

4–17 September



**Krzysztof Zanussi**

Film producer and director, Professor of European Film at the European Graduate School in Saas-Fee, Switzerland, and at the Silesian University of Katowice, Poland.

**2000**

8–21 March



**Czesław Bielecki**

Politician, journalist and architect, Chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee. In the 1980s he was a well-known opposition figure.

15 – 30 May



**Dr Stanisław Obirek**

Jesuit priest, Director of the Centre for Culture and Dialogue in Cracow. One of his main interests is the development of Christian-Jewish dialogue. Between 1994 and 1998 he was the rector of Cracow's Jesuit Seminary.

20–29 August



**Professor Timothy Garton Ash**

Writer and Senior Research Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford, specialist on Central European affairs. His visit was co-sponsored by *The Age* and The Goethe Institute.

**1999**

24 April–6 May



**Henryk Grynberg**

Distinguished Polish/Jewish/American writer, poet and journalist, member of the Polish Writers Association and American Pen Club. Grynberg's visit to Australia was sponsored jointly by AIPA and the Federation of Polish Jews.

3–13 November



**Dr Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz**

Economist and politician, the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland (1992–2000). She won a prize awarded by the British economics magazine *The Central European* (1995 and 1998).

**1998**

22 November–1 December



**Dr Janusz Lewandowski**

Economist and politician. He was Minister for Privatization in two Solidarity-led cabinets and a deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for State Treasury and Privatization.

**1997**

10–19 November



**Adam Michnik**

Michnik's second visit to Australia.

**1995**

19–30 July



**Dr Jan Krzysztof Bielecki**

Prime Minister of Poland in 1991, a Chief Delegate of the Polish Parliament to the European Parliament in 1991-92 and in 1993 appointed to the Board of Directors of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development based in London.

**1994**

13–25 March



**Dr Hanna Suchocka**

Prime Minister of the Republic of Poland in 1992-93, a specialist in Constitutional Law, member of the Pontifical Academy of Social Science in the Vatican.

19 September–9 October 1994



**Professor Daniel Grinberg**

Director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw. His visit was co-sponsored by AIPA and the Federation of Polish Jews.

**1993**

15 March–4 April 1993



**Professor Władysław Bartoszewski**

Politician, social activist, writer, historian, Polish underground activist, twice the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland.

18 April–1 May



**Professor Leszek Balcerowicz**

Economist and former chairman of the National Bank of Poland and Deputy Prime Minister, famous for implementing Poland's economic transformation program, known as shock therapy, in the 1990s.

29 October–19 November



**Professor Jan Karski**

The Second World War resistance fighter who first informed the world about the Holocaust. Scholar at Georgetown University and writer.

**1992**

27 April–9 May



**Adam Michnik**

Historian, essayist, political commentator, Editor-in-Chief of the largest Polish daily paper *Gazeta Wyborcza*, one of the leading organizers of the illegal, democratic opposition in Poland and Helena Łuczywo, one of the founders of *Gazeta Wyborcza* and for some years its Deputy Editor-in-Chief.

**1991**

11–22 November



**Jan Nowak-Jezioranski**

War hero, journalist, writer, politician. From 1952 Head of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe. A security advisor to US presidents Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Jan Nowak-Jezioranski officially opened the Institute.

**Reflections**/From Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki  
(reproduced from *Expanding the dialogue: 10 years of  
The Australian Institute of Polish Affairs*)

The first decade of the Australian Institute of Polish Affairs (AIPA) coincides with the first phase of Poland's history since the country regained its independence from Communist rule in 1989. The same decade also coincides with the often slow, painful and poorly understood historical and sociological process during which the Emigracja was slowly transformed into a diaspora-like collectivity usually referred to as Polonia.

The Polish Emigracja (capital E) was a product of processes as old as human-kind. The exile experience seen in the paradigm of the Wandering Jew, of the early Christians and their religious successors such as the Huguenots and the Puritans of a later age was followed by those whose flight was the legacy of the English Civil War, the Glorious Revolution of the seventeenth century and later the Terror in France after 1789. Some of these exiles survived to witness restoration. But most other exile groups in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not return to their country of origin for fear of persecution. Adam Czartoryski and his countrymen in Paris, London and Brussels, the German 48ers in America, Russian revolutionaries like Herzen and Bakunin, did not live to see the awaited upheaval. Nor did the Russian emigration of 1917 which was torn apart by divisions among the monarchist, liberal and socialist camps.

Considered against this historical perspective the Emigracja, with its largely political objective of remaining outside Poland and working for the country's independence and promoting the survival of Polish culture with its plethora of organizational forms, has been exceptionally fortunate. The political objectives of the Emigracja have been, by and large, fulfilled. And this has few, if any, precedents in the history of European political emigrations. What are the consequences of the changes which took place in Poland after 1989 for those who, until then, proudly declared their abiding commitment to the Emigracja in its various organizational forms, largely linked to the overriding political objective? A sociologist studying this continuing process is looking not at fixed attitudes which had been *de rigueur* for many decades of an émigré life, not at structures and forms of social organization, but at the dynamics of change affecting the Polish minority group in all the generational, functional and cultural divisions.

Using this approach we begin to perceive the Polish ethnic group in Australia no longer as Emigracja but as Polonia – or a collectivity of persons whose attachment to Poland can be perceived by reference to a shared culture such as language, customs and infrequently shared social institutions. Australian multiculturalism has favored maintenance of a Polish-shared culture in much the same way as it has enabled other ethnic groups to retain their cultural distinctiveness. This has enabled Polish-Australians to claim distinctiveness without being perceived as culturally inferior and therefore politically subordinate.

Their cultural and political emancipation in Australia has, by and large, succeeded and is assisting an ever-growing number of Polish-Australians to participate in the political structures of Australian democracy. Upon its foundation AIPA set itself a goal of becoming a successful Polish lobby to build bridges between our two democracies and to promote Poland in Australia and, more recently, to promote Australia in Poland. This stand puts AIPA in the vanguard of those sections of the Polonia which strive to maintain pride in their roots while being able to cross and recross those cultural boundaries which identify Polish-Australians as an ethnic minority.

AIPA has succeeded in showing the way for those who still hanker after the days of the seemingly safe, predictable, inward looking structures which were the mainstay of the Emigracja. We have been transformed into an ethnic group, which calls itself the Polonia, a group conscious of its roots, necessarily assimilated yet proud of its cultural heritage as one of a myriad of elements enriching a multicultural Australia. As I watch the reins of power within AIPA gradually pass on to the younger generation of those born in Australia I am conscious of a generational change in search of new horizons and new goals for the future. I wish the much-rejuvenated AIPA well for the next decade.

PROFESSOR JERZY ZUBRZYCKI (PRESIDENT 1991-1995)

**Reflections**/From Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz  
(reproduced from *Expanding the dialogue: 10 years of  
The Australian Institute of Polish Affairs*)

My time as AIPA's second president was made much easier by the accomplishments of the preceding "administration", which were inspired by the ideological and practical leadership of the inaugural president, Professor J. Zubrzycki. The Institute's record during the terms of office of all three Presidents can be gleaned from the Chronicle which follows Professor Krygier's statement, so I will focus on AIPA's operational mechanisms.

Sometimes the sphere of the imponderable overcomes the world of economic realities. The thing that has made AIPA work is the enthusiasm of its members, and their many and varied contributions. Its elected Executive Board, centred in Melbourne, its Trustees, its rank and file members, who are widely dispersed and led by dynamic regional "activists" (in Sydney and Canberra for instance) have all given much personal expertise, and energy. Full-board hospitality to AIPA's guests from across the seas, for instance, has often included their hosts taking them to scenic places outside the main cities at their own expense. Such contributions have always been totally voluntary. Equally important has been the timely payment of annual dues, which are indispensable for the Institute's existence. It goes without saying that this situation will prevail as long as the membership continues to trust AIPA's executive leadership.

The main feature of AIPA's activities has been public lectures delivered by authoritative speakers on different aspects of contemporary Poland. So the Institute has been continually searching for suitable specialists, whether academic or not, though preferably with an adequate command of English. This search has covered not only Australia, but Europe (mainly Poland) and the USA. In trying to invite the selected candidates, the Institute has had to overcome one fundamental disadvantage. It could not afford to compensate them with any honoraria, beyond covering the costs of round-trip economy class flights, including travels in Australia, and sustenance. However, these modest offers were always happily augmented by one major inducement: the journey to Australia with an attractive program of visits to Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne and sightseeing trips to many renowned places while they were here. Establishing contacts and negotiating the journeys, though, has given AIPA's executive one unavoidable difficulty. In these days, of course, they use email and

faxes. But differences in transcontinental time-zones have led to many late-night or pre-dawn conversations on the phone.

To grasp the scope of AIPA's communications, my experience may help. While I was President from 1995–97, I made 661 local phone calls, 264 long-distant ones and 24 internationally, a total of 949 telephone calls. Also, I sent 216 fax messages, 179 letters, 1000 printed invitations and five internal newsletters. And those were only my communications. If you combine these figures with the contacts made by other members of the Institute, you might multiply the figures by five. Add that all up in terms of invested money and time, and you can appreciate why AIPA's fruitful operations should be attributed to its collective, dynamic and voluntary nature.

PROFESSOR ANDRZEJ EHRENKREUTZ (PRESIDENT 1995–1997)

**Reflections**/Professor Martin Krygier  
(reproduced from *Expanding the dialogue: 10 years of  
The Australian Institute of Polish Affairs*)

It has long been known that dwarfs do well to stand on the shoulders of giants. And so I am fortunate to have become President of AIPA after Professors Zubrzycki and Ehrenkreutz. They are representatives of the Polish *inteligencja* at its finest; people of nobility, intellectual distinction, and selfless devotion to what has been best in Polish traditions.

They also share direct personal links with pre-War and pre-Communist Poland which none of their successors will be able to boast. As an organization, we are exceedingly fortunate to have been founded and shaped by them.

We may not be able to match their example, but we can strive to be faithful to it.

I say this not out of conventional politeness or routine piety, but because the present and future AIPA, whatever its fortunes, will be different from its founding generations. I am the first President born in this country. No doubt there will be more. That is an inevitable development and not an unhealthy one, if only because, as long as it lasts, it indicates that Poland is not suffering from the tragic events which so often expelled so many of its citizens to distant ends of the earth. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind our Institute's heritage and founding values, so well represented, indeed incarnate, in its first two Presidents. They, having lived through the worst tragedies of the last century, had a fine sense of the central values at stake. We, living in easier times, might be tempted to forget them. We should never do so. For we would lose something precious, instead of building on it and sustaining it in an organization which is at the same time, and without diminution of either element, an Australian Institute of Polish Affairs.

One of the central aspects of our former Presidents' activities, and indeed of the activity of AIPA as a whole, has been its largeness of sympathies and its commitment to mutual regard and tolerance among different peoples.

The particular issue to which that sensibility speaks most significantly among Poles is that of relations between Polish Catholics and Jews. However the issues raised there arise in many contexts and countries, as Australians will quickly recognize, if they think for a moment about controversies over multiculturalism wherever they occur.

It is perhaps my greatest source of pride in the Institute that it has at all times, and as a matter of sustained policy, fought for openness, dialogue and mutual respect. For though these values have plenty of distinguished Christian and Jewish exemplars, sadly they are not, nor have they been, unchallenged in Poland or elsewhere.

My parents were Poles of Jewish origin. Both elements of their identity had deep significance in their lives. They caused them pride and they caused them pain. As their Australian son, I inherited their affinities without having to suffer their pain, but I have thought often about both. I am therefore delighted, indeed honored, to be involved with an organization which has seen affirmation of its loyalties to Polish culture as involving integrally, indeed centrally, the affirmation of the most civilized human values.

Because of its commitment to these values, the Institute has become not merely a beneficiary of Australian multiculturalism but a model of what, at its best, that complex achievement can be. That gives a depth and significance to the juxtaposition of the two nationalities in our title, Polish and Australian, which might otherwise seem simply to be a fortuitous product of historical dislocation on the one side, and a need for immigrants on the other. In fact the multicultural development of Australia has amounted to something altogether grander than the historical accidents which called it forth. AIPA is a fine example, and a fitting symbol, of that grand achievements.

PROFESSOR MARTIN KRYGIER (PRESIDENT 1997–2001)

It was August 1991, two years after the historic Polish elections that paved the way for the creation of the first non-communist, Solidarity-led government in the Soviet bloc. For the first time in 50 years, Poland was free and the dream of a post-war generation of the Polish Diaspora was fulfilled. But it also meant that the *raison d'être* of the Diaspora's existence had to undergo serious re-examination. A group of Polish-born enthusiasts representing different walks of life, backgrounds, biographies and generations met in Melbourne to discuss what to do in this new situation. What they shared was experience in community work and commitment. The question they faced was – if Poland was free, did the role of a Polish émigré community need to change?

I was one of those who attended this meeting and remember vividly how, through internal debates and consultations, we looked for solutions. What we arrived at was a concept that entailed establishment of an organisation which would provide authoritative information to professional bodies, academic institutions, media, and Australian government on matters related to the transformation of Poland. The concept, while novel in the Polish-Australian context, was not entirely new elsewhere. In the early 1970s, Professor Andrew Ehrenkreutz, the *spiritus movens* behind many of AIPA's activities and the guiding light for the organisation, established and presided over a similar body – the North-American Study Center for Polish Affairs.

From the onset, AIPA adopted the principle that it is primarily an Australian rather than Polish organisation – which was a reflection of its outward focus. AIPA adopted three strategic objectives: to develop and foster close relations between Australia and Poland; to build and maintain harmonious relations with communities that have historical ties to Poland and to defend the “good name” of Poland.

As the two last objectives are already addressed elsewhere in this publication, let me concentrate on the first one. AIPA's trademark strategy has been organisation of lecture tours of people who have made significant contributions to the systemic transformation of Poland or who, because of their prominent position in their respective professional fields, would be interesting and sought-after interlocutors for the Australian public, media and academia and thus would serve as good

ambassadors of Poland. AIPA has sponsored or co-sponsored 26 such visits to Australia. The list of our guests is very impressive and contains names without which one could not talk about the history of contemporary Poland and in some cases the history of Central-Eastern Europe. The fact that the Institute has been able to organise and publicise these visits successfully is a testimony to its maturity and strength. I think all members of the Institute should feel proud of these achievements. But I must say that our main draw card in bringing the guests was Australia, a country not known directly by many Poles but one which invariably carries positive associations: freedom, tolerance, good governance and successful multicultural policy. It is fair to say that all of our guests left Australia with a feeling of admiration for what they had seen and their experiences usually exceeded prior expectations. After completing his visit, Prime Minister Belka remarked that he was trying in vain to find a sign of imperfection in Australia. It is through this encounter between Polish opinion-makers and Australia that the Institute has contributed to the deepening mutual relations between Australia and Poland.

During the twenty years of its existence the Institute has been privileged to have, at its helm, such distinguished persons as Jerzy Zubrzycki, Andrew Ehrenkreutz, Martin Krygier and Jan Pakulski. All provided AIPA with vision and instilled in the organisation a sense of confidence, purpose and direction. The fact that we have been able to engage, as equal partners, with so many important organisations, government departments, academic institutions, think tanks and mainstream media, is the most important legacy of AIPA's leadership. I would like to thank all the committee members and volunteers for working assiduously over the last twenty years in making the Institute an important vehicle for a dialogue between Poland and Australia. I hope that the next 20 years will be equally successful and productive for our dear Institute.

ADAM WARZEL (PRESIDENT 2005–2009)

My presidency of AIPA was to a large extent a continuation of previous activities, with some new elements, which – I hope – will form a springboard for our future activism.

First and foremost is a diversification of our initiatives. AIPA has always organised cultural, academic and social events, including presentations for the Polish community, events for Polish and Australian audiences, as well as public meetings with our guests-visitors. Collaboration with the Embassy and Consulate of the Republic of Poland resulted in some new and welcomed developments. Thus in 2009 we organised two academic symposia: on the 20th anniversary of the June 1989 elections in Poland that marked the beginning of the Solidarity-led democratisation in Poland and Eastern Europe (at the University of Melbourne), and on the achievements of the ‘Solidarity Decade’ of 1980-1989 (hosted by the Australian National University). Both symposia were very well attended by Australian and Polish academics, politicians and community leaders. Importantly, they also resulted in the first publication co-sponsored by AIPA and the Embassy of the RP: the special issue of the *Humanities Review* edited by Jan Pakulski and Stefan Markowski, titled ‘Solidarity Decade: An Australian Perspective’ (2010). It included a dozen articles – mainly papers presented at the 2009 and 2010 symposia – as well as short preface-messages by Lech Walesa and the Ambassador of the RP in Australia, HE Andrzej Jaroszynski.

These events started a close and very successful cooperation between AIPA and the Embassy and Consulate of the Polish Republic. Many important AIPA events in 2009–11 were either co-sponsored or co-organised with representatives of the RP. This became a cordial and fruitful partnership that increased the effectiveness of both organisations on all fronts. Two examples of this collaboration suffice. In October 2010, in collaboration with the Embassy, Consulate and the Jewish Holocaust Centre, AIPA organised a public symposium on “Henryk Slawik, the Polish Wallenberg”. It took place in the Melbourne Jewish Holocaust Centre and was attended by the ambassadors of Israel, Hungary and Poland (HE Andrzej Jaroszynski), as well as local and federal politicians, numerous community leaders and a public at large. Also in attendance was the Consul General of Poland, Daniel Gromann who brought to Australia a documentary film on Slawik. All three ambassadors addressed the

audience. Adam Warzel, the Coordinator of the Slawik Project, gave an overview of Slawik’s achievements and Professor Jan Pakulski, AIPA President, moved the votes of thanks at the end of the proceedings. The speeches were followed by a screening of the documentary *Henryk Slawik the Polish Wallenberg*, produced by Polish TV under the auspices of the Presidents of Israel, Hungary and Poland. The symposium was followed by a dinner attended, among others, by all the diplomats and the Hon. Michael Danby, Federal Member of Parliament for Melbourne Ports.

One year later, in November 2011, AIPA co-organised and co-sponsored – mainly with the Embassy of the Republic of Poland – a series of public symposia on ‘Migration and Multiculturalism Today: European and Australian Perspectives’. The symposia were organised in Hobart (in the State Parliament House), Sydney (University of Western Sydney), Melbourne (Monash University) and Canberra (Australian National University) and brought together leading academics, public servants, public intellectuals, community leaders and local politicians. Among the guests were three prominent Polish academics from Warsaw University: Marek Okolski, Magda Lesinska and Pawel Kaczmarczyk, who spoke about immigration and multiculturalism in Europe. Their visit was sponsored by the Embassy of the RF, the Consulate General and AIPA in recognition of the Polish presidency of the European Union. The symposia were very successful in exchanging views on the challenges posed by immigrations, and in publicising the contributions of Polish scholars, especially the late Jerzy Zubrzycki (the first President of AIPA) to the theory and policy of Australian multiculturalism. They generated a wide discussion in ethnic media. Selected papers from the four symposia will be published in a special issue of the *Journal of Sociology* (2012) guest-edited by Jan Pakulski and Stefan Markowski.

I hope that these exceptionally good relations and most effective collaboration between AIPA and the diplomatic staff of the Republic of Poland continue in the future.

On the front of the Polish-Jewish dialogue perhaps the most important two events during my presidency were the joint celebration of the memory of Henryk Slawik in the Jewish Holocaust Centre, inspired and organised mainly by Adam Warzel, and

a visit of Professor Aleksander Skotnicki, a prominent historian of Polish-Jewish relations. Skotnicki's lectures in Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and Hobart attracted large audiences and positive publicity, including reports in the Polish and Jewish press.

2010 and 2011 witnesses also some other important – this time digital – developments. AIPA established a strong presence on the Web, mainly thanks to the dedication and hard work of Irenka Zdanowicz, Stas Hempel, Gosia Dunwill and Basia Zagala. This presence of our Institute, especially on Web and in the Wikipedia, in turn, helped AIPA in publicising such successful and popular events as the evenings of poetry and music celebrating the 100th birthday of Czeslaw Milosz. The performances were repeated in Sydney and Canberra and attracted large Polish and Australian audiences.

In fact, I should mention the sterling contributions of all our members-activists. They have organised visits and meetings, have written and edited articles and book chapters, have offered papers, given interviews to the media, written letters to editors and taken an active part in important community events. All these activities have proven very important in influencing the Australian scene, in achieving our constitutional aims, and in highlighting the issues that are close to our (collective) heart.

I would like to thank all active AIPA members for this dedicated work on multiple fronts and in all AIPA centres: in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra. Their work brings fruits in the form of a vibrant and extremely successful AIPA – which I am very proud to represent as President.

PROFESSOR JAN PAKULSKI (PRESIDENT 2001–2005; 2009–)

## AIPA: 20 years of activities in review

*The major inspiration for AIPA was the Solidarity-led political, economic and cultural transformations that resulted in the free, democratic, and increasingly prosperous Poland of today. Most of the AIPA guests over the last two decades were key figures in these great transformations. Therefore we would like to highlight the key aspects of these transformations – as seen from Australia.*

## The Great Transformation of Poland 1989–2011

Political transformation: the peaceful revolution and democraticizations  
1980–1989

Great historical breakthroughs, like great inventions, are seldom appreciated by their contemporaries – probably because their greatness appears more clearly only from a broader historical perspective, when their full social impact and consequences become visible to lay observers. This is particularly true of the Polish model of ‘peaceful revolution’ and ‘democratic transformation’ forged during the Solidarity Decade of 1980–89, and subsequently ‘exported’ to more than two dozen countries, first in Eastern and Central Europe, and then world-wide. Both the ‘peaceful revolution’ (also called ‘velvet revolution’) and ‘democratic transformation’ were Polish inventions, and both had a truly epochal impact that transformed the physiognomy of the modern world.

Yet, this impact is seldom appreciated – the fact that formed the moral foundation and a main motivation for the formation of AIPA. In many ways, AIPA was formed to publicise the importance of these great Polish inventions and their long-term, world-wide consequences. Similarly, most AIPA members have been motivated by the realization that the unprecedented historical success of the Polish ‘peaceful revolution’ and ‘democratic transformation’ have been largely overlooked or even ignored. Hence our eagerness in not forgetting these great historical achievements, and hence the invitation by AIPA to Australia of the principal actors and heroes of these momentous events, people like Geremek, Balcerowicz, Bielecki, and Michnik.

What was the importance of the Polish Solidarity ‘model’ of peaceful revolution? Until the 1980s, all major revolutions – by which we mean sudden changes of political regimes, as well as in the social, economic and political orders – occurred in a French and Russian manner. They were emulating the ‘classic’ model of revolutionary change invented by the Jacobins in 1789 and subsequently re-enacted by the Bolsheviks in Russia in 1917, Maoists in China in 1949, and by the Iranian Islamists in 1979. As Timothy Garton Ash, a leading British historian, aptly summarized it, these ‘old’ revolutions, in all their versions, shared a number of key characteristics: they were violent, typically glorifying revolutionary violence as a social catharsis; utopian, based on secular or religious vision of ‘ideal order’; professedly class based, appealing to

the disgruntled and oppressed; radically egalitarian, and promoting progressive ‘distributive radicalization’ to the point of justifying terror and tyranny. This is why all ‘old’ revolutions – without a single exception – progressed through stages of radicalization, suppression and dictatorship. They produced ‘paradoxical’ results or illustrated the ‘cruel irony of history’: while they professed prosperity, fairness, equality and democracy, their outcomes were typically impoverishment, arbitrary violence and political dictatorship.

Solidarity created a new model of revolutionary change – in fact the mirror image of the French-Bolshevik model. First, it was programmatically non-violent, and its leaders promoted negotiation and compromises – both motivated by overarching national interest and based on explicitly evoked Christian ethics. Violence became the widely despised tool of the ‘powers that be’ – the communist establishment. Second, the Solidarity revolution was programmatically anti-utopian. It was guided not by a vision of an imaginary ‘ideal order’, but by the concrete Western European models of market economy, rule of law and parliamentary democracy. In the words of the key activist, Bronislaw Geremek, the goal of the revolution was ‘return to Europe’ – the reconstruction of major institutional foundations tried successfully by the advanced West. The plan of revolutionary reforms – was firmly guided by the Western European liberal-democratic models of market economy, rule of law and parliamentary democracy. Thirdly, the Solidarity revolution promoted national solidarism, and rejected all forms of social divisions, working class, religious or ideological. The very name of the movement stressed the ‘forgotten value’ of the French Revolution – *solidarite* (replacing a somewhat sexist *fraternite*). The revolutionaries declared their national bonds, and a mixture of national and universalistic (mainly Christian) commitments. The leaders of the movement declared themselves just ‘solidary Polish people’. Finally, Solidarity prevented radicalization, especially cathartic terror. Instead the leaders promoted ‘round table’ negotiations (politically under-written by the Church) followed by prompt but systematic reforms. The success of this ‘round table’ negotiated change was so great, that the very model was emulated (literally!) in about a dozen countries, including almost all East European countries and South Africa. They resulted in a relatively smooth transition of political power and swift reconstruction of liberal-democratic regimes.

This new model of revolutionary change – under different names (‘velvet revolution’, ‘negotiated revolution’, revolution, etc.) has proven immensely popular – and successful. It has proven itself not only in Eastern and Central Europe, but also in the Baltic states, South Africa, Chile, the Balkans, Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and Lebanon. It has not always succeeded (in China, Burma and Iran the Solidarity-like movements were suppressed), but it triggered a broad family of ‘coloured’ revolutionary changes: rose (Georgia), orange (Ukraine), cedar (Lebanon), tulip (Kyrgyzstan), and saffron (Burma).

The Polish Solidarity reformers achieved much more than liberal transition and democratization. They also created a strong agent of reform: the government protected by the ‘political umbrella’ extended by the Solidarity movement. This government proved not only coherent and competent, but also determined to start an immediate systemic transition. The organized union movement, in turn, extended a ‘protective umbrella’ over the painful process of transformations. It became an example and an inspiration to reformers in other countries.

Perhaps the least appreciated, yet crucial, achievement of the Polish transition was a successful engagement of pro-reformist communists in the democratic process. Transforming them from enemies into rivals, drawing them into the ‘democratic tent’, and obliging them to play the democratic political game was a major success of the transition period. And this also proved the key condition of democratic consolidation. Without this engagement of all political forces, including ex-communists, the process of democratization would not continue – as amply demonstrated in Bulgaria, Romania and Yugoslavia.

The Polish model of transition avoided conflict and bloodshed typically accompanying changes of regimes. The sequence of Polish reforms – democratization first, full sovereignty later – helped in avoiding violence and nationalistic pathologies that could lead Eastern Europe into the ‘Serbian trap’, where the energy of the reformers were channeled into the ‘national liberation’ path that frequently degenerated into violent and illiberal nationalism involving ethnic cleansing and territorial vindications changing not only the pace, but also the general direction of Eastern Europe. Glasnost was radicalized into democratisation, *perestroika* turned into transformation. They led firmly and clearly in a West European direction. The Solidarity government insisted on liberal parliamentary democratization emulating the familiar West European models. The importance of this insistence may not be obvious today, but at that time it was crucial in directing the transformations onto the civic and liberal-democratic track or, as Bronislaw Geremek put it, ‘back to Europe’. These great accomplishments need to be remembered and reminded to all.

AIPA invited to Australia the key actors and architects of these political transformations: Bronislaw Geremek, Leszek Balcerowicz, Adam Michnik, Hanna Suchocka, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, as well as those who were involved in the construction of democratic institutions. Professor Bronislaw Geremek was among the key advisors to Solidarity and Lech Walesa. He was the main architect of successful Round Table negotiations, the organizer of the 1989 election campaign, and one of the key figures in the first democratized Solidarity Government formed in September 1989.

## The Great Transformation of Poland 1989–2011

Economic Transformations: building market economy and mass prosperity

From the perspective of 2011 and looking back to the time merely 20 years ago the contrast could hardly be more pronounced. Poland of the early 1990s was in economic ruins. The centrally-managed system of production resulted in inefficiency and corruption. Finances were bankrupted – the result of both uncontrolled ‘Gierek’s loans’ (which Poland finished repaying only in 2010) and the ‘lost decade’ of Jaruzelski’s inept rule. The first Solidarity government was facing a wasteland of a state-run and strike-ravaged economy, and a mistrustful impoverished society.

The contrast with today’s picture is astounding. In 2008-9 only two OECD countries did not fall into recession – Poland and Australia. In 2010 Poland was the only EU country with a growing national economy – and at the impressive rate of 3.5-4.5%. In 2011 the EU Presidency passed into Polish hands in the middle of a EU sovereign-debt crisis triggered by Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Italy’s excessive indebtedness. The painful memory of financial troubles in the 1970s and 1980s was one of the factors that explained why a policy of financial and fiscal responsibility left Poland in a relatively good position to weather the storm of the Global Financial Crisis (GFC). However, at the core of the economic success of the last 20 years was a group of economists and politicians unwavering in their vision of pro-growth yet balanced management of Poland’s national economy. It started with the plan of economic transformation, known as “shock therapy”, embraced by the first post-communist government. The plan was prepared by Professor Leszek Balcerowicz and implemented under his stewardship as Deputy Prime minister in 1989–1991. This was a lesson in “tough love” which involved a shutdown of obsolete industries and for many a temporary reduction of their standard of living. Balcerowicz himself initially faced hostility from the public, but has been credited with success following the reforms.

AIPA was very fortunate in being able to bring Professor Balcerowicz to Australia as early as 1993 and then again in 2008. In a range of public appearances Professor Balcerowicz presented the difficult choices faced by his government. In liberating the economy the government risked a backlash from post-Solidarity unions and the wider public; their courage and sacrifice brought about political change which was to be tested again by the painful adjustment to a market economy. Unlike Hungary

and to a lesser extent Czechoslovakia, Poland stood firm in delivering only what could be sustained and thus avoided hanging a sovereign-debt millstone around its neck. AIPA seminars featuring Professor Balcerowicz raised keen interest in the Australian political and academic community. Australia itself entered the path of deep economic reform in the mid-1980s. For decades Australia's political system and economic policy favoured a currency and tariff regime protecting local manufacturing and agriculture. Initiated by the ALP governments of Bob Hawke and Paul Keating, the new economic policy of open trade and liberalisation faced a popular backlash. Professor Balcerowicz's first visit in 1993 coincided with the tail-end of "the recession we had to have" (Paul Keating), a second phase of tariff reductions and still uncertainty associated with the 1983 floating of the Australian dollar. Polish experiences brought into sharp relief the value of leadership and ability to make difficult decisions, and so were very much of contemporary interest to Australia. On his second visit Professor Balcerowicz brought with him extensive experience as head of the Polish Reserve Bank (Polish National Bank) but also as a sought-after adviser and a member of international think-tanks (such as the Brussels-based Bruegel). In 2008 Professor Balcerowicz was awarded an honorary doctorate by The University of NSW.

AIPA introduced to Australia two further senior economists and politicians actively involved in the Polish economic transformation to market economy. Dr Jan Krzysztof Bielecki became the second Polish Prime Minister in 1991, acting in tandem with Leszek Balcerowicz. Subsequently he held the ministerial position responsible for the European Integration Project and then joined the board of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. His tour of Australia in 1995 brought new global experiences of dealing with the now defunct Soviet Union and breakaway former republics such as Kazakhstan. Australia faces on-going challenges with resource-rich but politically unstable countries in its vicinity, PNG being the primary example. Successful engagement requires a multi-faceted strategy, both on a political and economic level. Jan Krzysztof Bielecki brought to Australia a rare insight into the politics of such transformational projects.

Dr Janusz Lewandowski's 1998 visit to Australia highlighted another critical aspect of market economy transformation. As a minister for Privatisation in the governments of Jan Krzysztof Bielecki (1990–1991) and Hanna Suchocka (1992–1993) he was in charge of liquidating state-industry assets and passing them on to private-enterprise. A parallel project in Russia ended in unmitigated disaster, mired by corruption and giving rise to the political class of "oligarchs". It is a tribute to Dr Lewandowski that he was able to accomplish this task with an unblemished record and lay the foundations for the rebirth of Polish industry. Today, as EU Commissioner for Financial Programming and Budget Dr Lewandowski oversees the

allocation of huge financial resources of the EU. AIPA seminars gave Australia's political and academic elite a direct opportunity to learn about the challenges and inherent difficulties of the privatisation program. In recent years the new and controversial concept of Public-Private-Partnership (PPC) gained a lot of currency in Australia, but unsettled large sections of the community due to a lack of transparency in the use of public funds. Dr Lewandowski's experience in interfacing as a minister of state private enterprise interests offered a valued insight and opportunity. For economic and political analysts pondering the development of China's hybrid state-private economic model, Dr Lewandowski is a source of highly privileged information.

The GFC focused attention on the global reach of financial markets and their direct impact on sovereign economies including Australia. This is a relatively new phenomenon, although it has registered in the economic press for the best part of the last 20 years. John Hewson a noted Australian economist and Liberal leader observed the destabilising power of short-term capital inflows after his term at the IMF. On our part AIPA facilitated contacts between the economists-politicians deeply involved in modern nation-state financial management. Dr Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz visited Australia in 1999 while Governor of the Polish Reserve Bank (Polish National Bank). This visit was followed in 2006 by Professor Marek Belka soon after he completed his term as Polish Prime Minister (2004/5). An accomplished economist, Professor Belka serves today as Governor of the Polish Reserve Bank, a job he transferred to from a previous posting as a Director of IMF's European Department.

In the last 20 years Australia has changed beyond recognition. We are now a highly developed country with a dynamic economy, although not free of remarkable challenges. At AIPA we pride ourselves that we have been able to present substantial talent on a global level to the Australian elite and academic community. We are convinced that this engagement has been mutually beneficial.



(Left-Right) Jan Karski with Adam Warzel. Jan Karski's visit to Australia took place in November 1993. His visit opened the door to AIPA's on-going and successful dialogue with the Jewish community in Australia.

*One of AIPA's major achievements has been in progressing Polish-Jewish dialogue, initiated by Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz in the late 1980s. This dialogue has progressed into what can be described as 'friendly conversations'.*

In AIPA's 20 year history, the establishment of an ongoing conversation between the Polish and Jewish communities in Australia constitutes, arguably, one of its finest achievements. Many public figures who visited Australia at the invitation of AIPA came specifically to participate in Polish-Jewish dialogue. Among them were such luminaries as Jan Karski, a war hero who informed the world about the tragedy of the Holocaust; Wladyslaw Bartoszewski, one of the founders of Zegota; Adam Michnik, a human rights activist and journalist; Daniel Grinberg, former director of the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw; Gunnar S. Paulsson, historian; Zbigniew Nossowski, co-chair of the Polish Council for Christians and Jews and Aleksander Skotnicki, author of many books about the history of Polish Jewry. The visits of Leon Kieres, the former President of Poland's Institute of National Remembrance, the Archbishop of Lublin, Jozef Zycinski, and Father Stanislaw Obirek were also, in part, devoted to promoting Polish-Jewish dialogue.

This dialogue was spearheaded by the late Andrzej Ehrenkreutz, one of the founders of AIPA and its leading strategist. Coming to Australia from the US with its large Polish and Jewish communities, Ehrenkreutz understood better than most how important it was to examine the mutual distrust that developed over the years between the two communities. He saw the genesis of this distrust in the lack of adequate knowledge about the other's historical experiences and consequential lack of empathy in, and sensitivity to, each other's perceptions. He soon found soulmates in the Jewish community. Central among them was Tadeusz Zygiel, Vice-President of the Federation of Polish Jews in Victoria. Zygiel shared Ehrenkreutz's commitment and perspective and soon invited others, such as Mieczyslaw Nadworny, Janek Landau, Leon Lew and, particularly, the President of the Holocaust Jewish Museum and the Federation of Polish Jews, Shmuel Rosenkranz. Early on, the group was also joined by AIPA's Piotr Koziell and Adam Warzel.

The first two projects undertaken by the group were the visits of the giants of Polish-Jewish history, the above-mentioned Jan Karski and Wladyslaw Bartoszewski. Their meetings attracted hundreds of people hungry for fresh insights into what had always been a fraught and painful debate in Melbourne, a city whose Jewish

community was largely shaped by Holocaust survivors from Poland. The scene of a large crowd desperately trying to gain entrance into the already-packed Glen Eira Council's public hall, where the meeting with Karski was held, tells volumes about how important the exploration of a common history became for both communities. And who can forget the moment at the Holocaust Centre when Karski recognised his Jewish underground boy guide in Melbourne (Janek Landau) who had led him through the Warsaw ghetto all those decades ago? Many tears were shed in that silent room as the two old men stood and hugged one another.

Polish-Jewish dialogue has gone through a number of phases. The first, which developed in the early to mid-1990s, was primarily devoted to bringing to Australia figures of great historical importance for both communities. The visits of Karski and Bartoszewski were also aimed to dispel negative stereotypes held by many Jews about Poles and to remind everyone about historical facts so often overlooked in impassioned debates. Most importantly, however, it gave both communities an opportunity to reacquaint with each other and to go back together, in memory, to the most traumatic events of the past which so often intertwined for the two peoples.

During the second and the most difficult phase, when the dialogue already gathered momentum and created some ripple within both communities, AIPA widened the focus and began countering anti-semitic attitudes of some sections of the Polish community and, in particular, the Polish media. An open letter to the editors of the Melbourne-based *Polish Weekly* (*Tygodnik Polski*), known commonly as “the letter of the 13”, questioned the editorial line of the Weekly and its lack of objectivity in portraying Polish-Jewish relations. Although it was not an official AIPA letter, the majority of its signatories were members of the Institute. A similar action was undertaken in 1997 in relation to the anti-Semitic overtones of the Melbourne Polish Radio program *3ZZZ*. AIPA spearheaded a response by lodging an official protest with the Australian Broadcasting Authority. A similar complaint was lodged later by The Anti-Defamation League B'nai B'rith and the Federation of Polish Jews. As a result, the Polish program was forced to offer a public apology.

The third phase of the dialogue began in the early 2000s and coincided with a major public discussion sweeping through Poland at that time, concerning Polish complicity in the tragedy of Jedwabne. True to form, AIPA responded to this development by inviting to Australia Leon Kieres, the then President of the Institute of National Remembrance, which presided in Poland over an official enquiry into the Jedwabne atrocity. Public meetings with Leon Kieres gave both communities a chance to ask difficult questions and provided a unique educational opportunity. Meetings with the late Archbishop of Lublin, Jozef Zycinski, who was deeply committed to ecumenism and inter-faith dialogue, and with father Stanislaw Obirek, re-focused the dialogue on the attitude of Poland's Catholic church to Judaism and an emerging Jewish life in Poland.

Recently, the dialogue has moved into its mature phase. The number of organisations with which it collaborates has widened to include Monash University's Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation, The Jewish Holocaust Centre, The Australian Society of Polish Jews and their Descendants (ASPJ) and The Council for Christians and Jews in Victoria. Issues that were considered too “difficult” in the past or were simply unknown are now openly discussed. This has been particularly evident during meetings with visiting AIPA guests such as the Polish-Canadian Holocaust historian, Gunnar S. Paulsson, the then Co-Chair of the Polish Council for Christians and Jews, Zbigniew Nossowski and the Krakow-based activist for Polish-Jewish dialogue, Aleksander Skotnicki.

In 2010, in conjunction with the Jewish Holocaust Museum, AIPA organised a commemorative function acknowledging the heroic deeds of the largely unknown Henryk Slawik in saving thousands of Polish Jews during the Second World War in Hungary. A highly successful function was attended by the Ambassadors of three countries: Poland, Israel and Hungary.

A testament to the success of the dialogue is the number of events initiated directly by the Jewish community. A recent visit by the Chief Rabbi of Poland, Michael Schudrich, for example, attracted a strong and positive response from the Polish community, with members of AIPA invited to join meetings held in honour of the Rabbi. AIPA members were also invited to participate in panel discussions at the Holocaust Aftermath Conference with the American-Polish sociologist and author, Jan Gross, whose visit was organised by the Australian Centre for Jewish Civilisation. In October 2011, the ASPJD inaugurated its “Henryk Slawik Award”, acknowledging the contribution of contemporary Poles to Polish-Jewish dialogue. This function was also attended by senior Israeli and Polish diplomats, which further attests to the determination of both communities to find common ground on which to explore their troubled histories.

Looking back at the short but eventful history of Polish-Jewish dialogue in Australia, and especially in Melbourne, one cannot help but wish that visionaries like Andrzej Ehrenkreutz were still alive today to see the fruits of their work. He, Tad Zygiel and many others like them, fought long and hard for the bridges which would enable the two communities to come together and explore their histories with mutual respect and empathy. AIPA has been at the forefront of these developments. It has aimed to present to the Australian community the most eminent and passionate proponents of the need for dialogue in all its forms, and in doing so, it has reflected the state of the debates and discussions in Poland and internationally. More than this though, it has engaged the Polish and Jewish communities of Australia in those same debates, creating a dynamic platform for change far from the land where the two peoples had once co-existed for centuries.

Another area of successful initiatives was a collaboration between AIPA and the leading journals in Australia (*Quadrant*) and Poland (*Wież*). This collaboration resulted in some important contacts – including a visit to Australia of the Chief Editor of *Wież*, Zbigniew Nossowski – and numerous publications.

One cannot talk about the history of AIPA without making references to its relations with *Quadrant* magazine. This once mighty anti-communist publication was for several years an important enabler in AIPA's conversation with the Australian public.

In fact, one could say that this contact was almost inevitable given the history of the monthly. Established in 1957 by Richard Krygier, a refugee from war-torn Poland, *Quadrant* espoused strong liberal-democratic values and attachment to the principles of freedom.

Right at the onset of its existence, AIPA held a strong conviction that to be effective, it must establish links with mainstream media or other types of organisations through which it could communicate with the Australian public. We were well aware that to be relevant we had to operate well beyond the boundaries of the Polish community. This idea was neither particularly new nor original but contacts with mainstream media were only partially developed at the time of AIPA's establishment. While ABC radio was very responsive and willing to disseminate information during the high days of Solidarity, AIPA was also looking for a new vehicle that would engage the mainstream public in a more direct and in-depth way.

In the 1980s, the pro-Solidarity milieu in Australia was in many ways a reflection of a broader anti-communist stream and comprised right-wing union activists, politicians from both sides of the political spectrum, academics, journalists and ethnic community leaders. One of its key players was the lecturer in politics from LaTrobe University and a public intellectual with a steadily rising media profile – Robert Manne. Manne had three qualities which made him immediately attractive to AIPA. He was an anti-communist who was well versed in the politics and

history of Eastern and Central Europe, editor of *Quadrant* and, most importantly, he was interested in collaboration.

In his capacity as *Quadrant's* editor, Manne organised periodic public lectures, held usually in Melbourne restaurants where, over dinner, people engaged in intellectual discourse. That fitted particularly well with AIPA's planned *modus operandi*. Manne responded enthusiastically when approached by us with an offer of providing occasional speakers for *Quadrant's* lectures. This was the beginning of a fruitful collaboration. The first speaker that AIPA linked with *Quadrant* was Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, legendary director of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, a close associate of Zbigniew Brzezinski and an advisor to the US State Department. Nowak was in his usual fine form. Sharp and articulate, providing exhaustive answers to sometimes curly questions. It was obvious that he was an excellent choice for the inaugural *Quadrant-AIPA* lectures. The place was packed and it was an obvious success. A month later, *Quadrant* published Nowak's article on the subject of Poland's democratic transformation.

Encouraged by the success of the first lecture, we came up in 1992 with an even better known name – Adam Michnik. Manne was extremely pleased with this choice and this time he managed to hire a bigger restaurant in Carlton. The name of Michnik acted like a magnet. The restaurant was packed to the rafters with people wanting to see and hear one of the true animators of the democratic revolutions that had swept Central Europe only a few years earlier. Pro-Solidarity union officials, well known anti-communists, public intellectuals hardened in debates about communism, members of the Polish community and representatives of the Polish embassy were in attendance. The atmosphere was electrifying. Michnik put on display all of his charisma, mesmerising those present with his witty, razor-sharp responses full of historical references. Next to him, translating into English, was Helena Luczywo, one of the key movers behind establishing Central Europe's first independent newspaper. Michnik talked about major public debates taking place in Poland about the future directions of the country.

Our next speaker was the former Prime Minister of Poland and the first woman in this position, Hanna Suchocka. Again, the attendance was very good and Manne

remarked that we should never underestimate the interest of the Melbourne intelligentsia in European affairs. And he was right. Among those attending the event were the former Governor General, Sir Zelman Cohen, and the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, George Pell.

After Manne left *Quadrant* in 1997, we continued our association with the monthly under the editorship of the late Paddy McGuinness and in 1998 organised our last joint dinner lecture, this time for the former minister for privatisation (and now the EU Budget Commissioner), Janusz Lewandowski. Lewandowski, a pioneer of privatisation schemes in the post-Soviet bloc, tried to explain to the audience the seemingly paradoxical situation of how, in the early 1990s, the countries of Central Europe were trying to build capitalism without capital. And the audience, which involved a few economic professors from Melbourne University, loved what they were hearing.

Although Robert Manne was no longer in *Quadrant*, our association with him continued. In 1999, he became the recipient of the AIPA media prize for an article he wrote for *The Australian* on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of Poland's historic 4 June 1989 election. In it he made an observation that on the 4 June, 1989, two events took place at two ends of the world. While at one end people were freeing themselves up from the communist yoke (Poland), at another one (Tiananmen Square), that yoke was tightened up around those who longed to live in freedom.

In 2009 AIPA invited a young Catholic intellectual, Zbigniew Nosowski, the Chief Editor of the Catholic monthly *Wienz* and co-chair of Poland's Council of Christians and Jews. His visit ended with not only the widening of personal contacts, but also a collaboration between AIPA and *Wienz*. The result of this collaboration was the publication of an essay by AIPA's president, Professor Jan Pakulski, titled 'The Jagiellonian Poland in Australia' devoted to Australian multiculturalism and its intellectual creator, Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki, in the April 2011 issue of *Wienz*. This relationship continues to flourish with further publications anticipated in the near future.

## AIPA'S Cultural Engagements

AIPA's initial emphasis was on realising a political agenda. However, with the passage of time it became clear that members were also interested in attending cultural events. Both AIPA members and their circle of friends wanted to meet Polish artists and experience Polish culture. The best known and most accessible to the widest possible audience were naturally the achievements of Polish filmmakers. But some of the most memorable events have been poetry readings, involving interpretation by Polish and Australian actors and combined with musical performances. We are aware that AIPA occupies a unique space, and without our initiative these exceptional Polish cultural events would simply not have happened.

### Polish Film Retrospectives

Melbourne Cinematheque in cooperation with AIPA and the Polish Consulate General screened films by the following directors:

ANDRZEJ WAJDA (2008) The Wajda retrospective opened the 2008 Melbourne Cinematheque series and included his most influential films, to the delight of Melbourne audiences.

JERZY SKOLIMOWSKI (2009) One of the most colourful personas of Polish cinema, but also active as a poet and painter. The retrospective included his most recent movie *Cztery noce z Anna* (2008) created after a 17 year hiatus from filmmaking.

KRZYSZTOF ZANUSSI (2010) Krzysztof Zanussi visited Australia as a guest of AIPA in 2001. Zanussi remains one of the most influential directors of Polish cinema since the 1970s.

AGNIESZKA HOLLAND (2011) Melbourne audiences had a chance to see two films banned in Poland, *Fever* (1980) and *A Lonely Woman* (1981) along with one of her more popular films, *Europa, Europa* (1990). All screenings were advertised in the mainstream media and were attended by both Polish and non-Polish audiences.

## Poetry and Music Events

Our poetry and music events have been audience favourites, touching audiences deeply. Audiences have asked for “more, please”.

*Czeslaw Milosz: A Celebration in Words & Music*

This event, commemorating **Milosz’s** 100th birthday anniversary was arguably the most ambitious and rewarding public event organised by AIPA in 2011 with generous support from the Polish Embassy in Canberra and the Consulate in Sydney.

With small changes the same program was delivered by the same group of artists in Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra.

Marcel Weyland: *Slowo*

In July 2010 at the Polish Embassy in Canberra, *Slowo (The Word)* was launched by the Ambassador, Andrzej Jaroszynski, and the event was well received by audiences and local media. The meeting was attended by the representatives of ministries, diplomatic corps and the Polish community.

In Melbourne the poetry reading was combined with a Chopin Recital by international concert pianist, **Elyane Laussade**, in celebration of the bicentenary of Chopin’s birth. This recital took place on the 24 July 2010 and was very well attended.

*Holocaust Poems on the 65th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising*

To commemorate the 65th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, AIPA organised a recital of Polish poems selected from the collection *Echoes – Poetry of the Holocaust* translated by **Marcel Weyland**. This event was staged in April 2008 in cooperation with the Jewish Holocaust Centre and the Council of Christians and Jews. Well over 200 people attended the event.

## Arts-History-Philosophy-Science Guests

Since the late 1990s AIPA has sponsored many distinguished Polish guests renowned for their contribution to the arts, culture, philosophy, science and religion. These visits have generated a lot of interest in the community and expanded Australia’s knowledge of Poland in these fields.

- In 2010 AIPA invited **Professor Aleksander Skotnicki** for a tour of public meetings on topics including the history of Gen. Wladyslaw Sikorski and the social history of the XIX century Jews of Krakow.

- In 2009 AIPA sponsored a visit by **Zbigniew Nossowski**, the editor of *Wiez* and long-standing contributor to KIK (Klub Inteligencji Katolickiej). Since 2008 Nossowski has been the program director of the think-tank Laboratorium Wiezi.

- In 2007 AIPA sponsored **Professor Michael Heller’s** visit to Australia and arranged several public meetings with him. This was very prescient as in March 2008 Professor Heller was awarded the \$1.6 million Templeton Prize for his extensive philosophical and scientific probing of “big questions”. Heller is a Professor of philosophy at The Pontifical Academy of Theology in Krakow.

- In 2006 AIPA organised a meeting with **Dr Gunnar Paulsson** who presented his research on the assistance rendered to Jews during WWII in Warsaw and the chances of survival outside of the Warsaw ghetto. The research was published in a book *Secret City: The Hidden Jews of Warsaw 1940–1945* for which Paulsson received the inaugural Kazimierz Moczarski Prize for “the best historical book published in Poland in the past year” (2009).

- In March 2004 **Wanda Wilkomirska**, a world renowned violinist and distinguished AIPA member now based in Sydney, appeared in Melbourne and Sydney where she talked about her career and life experiences.

- In 2004 AIPA sponsored a visit by **Professor Jacek Purchla** and organised public meetings on topics related to preserving cultural heritage and challenges in urban development. Jacek Purchla was Vice-President of Krakow 1990–1991.

- In 2001 AIPA organised public meetings with noted Welsh historian **Professor Norman Davis**, taking advantage of his appointment as writer-in-residence at ANU in 2001. Davies’ books achieved the unusual honour of being set as secondary education curriculum textbooks in Poland. Professor Davis covered a range of topics associated with WWII history.

- In 2001 AIPA arranged **Krzysztof Zanussi’s** visit to Australia (with help from the Polish Embassy and the General Consulate as well as several Polish businesses and organisations). The filmmaker had a full program of speaking engagements in Sydney, Canberra and Melbourne and his visit received wide media coverage.

## Book Launches

In the last few years new books written by Polish community identities, including AIPA member **Marcel Weyland**, have been published. Forthcoming and eagerly awaited is Jerzy Zubrzycki’s biography, some years in the making, and initially drafted by our former Executive Committee member John Williams. The book launch is expected later in 2012 with Barbara Williams as a guest of honour.

In 1997, AIPA organised the launch of a biography of Sir Paul Strzelecki, explorer and scientist, written by Melbourne-based Polish historian, **Lech Paszkowski**.

The book was officially launched by the Federal Minister for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Philip Ruddock and the father of Australian multiculturalism, AIPA's first President, Jerzy Zubrzycki.

- **Bogumila Zongolowicz's** latest book, a biography of Gwidon Borucki, was published in 2011 – *Jego były czerwone maki* (*His were the red poppies*). Borucki was well known as an actor and performer during and after WWII. He was active in the Melbourne Polish community and was a much-valued AIPA member.

- **Barbara Nawratowicz–Stuart** was co-founder and star of the legendary cabaret theatre from Krakow, *Piwnica pod Baranami*. Her book on the subject was launched in 2011 with a performance by Nawratowicz–Stuart.

- **Marcel Weyland** is one of the most gifted translators of Polish poetry into English. In 2005 AIPA was proud to launch *Pan Tadeusz* in Melbourne, Sydney and Perth. Sections of *Pan Tadeusz* were read by the actors Phillip Hinton and Krzysztof Kaczmarek at the event.

- *The Word: 200 Years of Polish Poetry*, a bilingual anthology translated by Marcel Weyland was launched in 2010. Weyland, together with the actors Philip Hilton and Andrzej Siedlecki introduced audiences to many poems in Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney.

### Melbourne Writers Festival Collaboration

- In 2003 AIPA organised a speaking tour of much-loved émigré author, **Eva Hoffman**. The visit was the result of a collaboration with the Melbourne Writers Festival. Hoffman is a Polish-American writer, literary critic and academic. She has published many books. However, she is best-known for *Lost in Translation* (1998), Hoffman's account of migrating from Poland to Canada. The book resonated deeply with Polish immigrants, and this was evident by full-house sessions both at the Melbourne Writers Festival and AIPA venues.

- In 2000 AIPA collaborated with the Melbourne Writers Festival to bring **Professor Timothy Garton Ash** to Melbourne. Professor Garton Ash is a noted historian, author and commentator with a particular interest in the contemporary history of Central and Eastern Europe. He is an authority on the Polish peaceful–revolution of 1989 and also on the Solidarity movement.

### Media Watch: Correcting Falsehoods

One of the most important tasks undertaken by AIPA members is the monitoring of mass media and reacting to anti-Polish slander, especially the use of the term “Polish concentration camps” (depressingly frequent in the Australian media).

For anybody familiar with modern history, it is obvious that the Nazi concentration camps were built by Germans, run by Germans and guarded by Germans. Auschwitz and the many other killing factories were products of German engineering and both Jews and Christians were murdered there.

However, for the uninformed reader the term “Polish concentration camps” often used by newspapers, radio and television creates the impression that the camps were built and run by Poles. As an explanation, editors usually justify the use of this term as geographical shorthand for a “German concentration camp in occupied Poland”. Founder and President of the Kosciuszko Foundation, Alex Storozynski, initiated a world-wide protest against this shorthand Orwellian doublespeak that distorts history and turns victims into perpetrators. Additionally this term perpetuates total ignorance about the Holocaust by giving readers the impression that it was not Germans but the Poles who were guilty of murdering millions of people.

Adolf Hitler wrote in *Mein Kampf* “in the big lie there is a certain force of credibility, because the broad masses of a nation are easily corrupted ... and thus in the primitive simplicity of their minds they more readily fall victims to the big lie than the small lie”.<sup>1</sup> Although corrected hundreds of times this lie continues to circulate.

Chief Rabbi of Poland, Michael Schudrich, remarked that “accusing Poles of participation in the Holocaust is a sin”, yet on a regular basis journalists do just that by using terminology which is entirely inaccurate, deeply unjust and offensive to all Polish people. Polish citizens, most of them of Jewish origin, were just the victims. It is remarkable that no one ever called Guantanamo a “Cuban concentration camp” but Auschwitz is repeatedly described as a “Polish concentration camp”. One wonders whether this constant media slander of Poland is simply ignorance, lazy editing or malicious libel.

1. A Hitler (1925). *Mein Kampf*. trans. J Murphy, 1939. London: Hurst & Blackett, Chapter 10.

2. *Rzeczpospolita*, 14 March 2001, interview with Michael Schudrich.

AIPA has always strongly protested about this form of Holocaust revisionism. Over the years AIPA arranged meetings with editors and written in this matter numerous letters to journalists, program producers and media personalities. Furthermore, our members forwarded their own protests. Many of our submissions were published, some with apologies, some without, however quite a number were totally ignored. In these instances we asked for assistance from the Australian Communication and Media Authority or Commonwealth Ombudsman.

The most productive of our actions was a meeting in 2005 with Dr Brendan Nelson, then Federal Member for Bradfield and Minister of Education. He spoke to the Prime Minister, Mr John Howard, regarding our grievances and issued strong letter to Australian Broadcasting Authority and all key executives of Australia’s media saying that he is “writing in relation to what might on the face of it seem a trivial matter, but one which I consider to have significant and adverse consequences.”<sup>3</sup>

In the conclusion of his letter, he said that he is asking “that the ABA earnestly take this matter to its heart and work to insure that Australia’s media consider not only historical fact but the sensitivities of Australian Poles, more than a few of whom were themselves subject to the most heinous treatment in these camps”.

Furthermore, Brendan Nelson spoke with passion in Canberra during the National History Challenge regarding the importance of the proper teaching of history. He quoted the case of Polish history, which could be falsified if one is accepted the term “Polish concentration camp”. Such camps, he stressed, did not exist; they were German concentration camps located in occupied Poland.

For over two years, until the change of government, there was most likely not a single case of “Polish concentration camp” cited in Australia’s media. Unfortunately at the end of 2007, the reference to “Polish concentration camps” reappeared again.

It is possible that in order to finally end this shifting game it will be necessary to start legal proceeding against media that uses this defamatory phrase. This would require significant financial resources not available to AIPA. The problem is world wide and will need the involvement of other parties who similarly feel hurt and deeply offended.

3. Brendan Nelson letter dated 3 December 2005 to Lyn Maddock, Acting Chair ABC.

## Appendix 1/**Organisation**

### **EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:**

President **Jan Pakulski** (Hobart)

Vice-President **Marek Burdajewicz** (Sydney)

Vice-President **Aleksander Gancarz** (Canberra)

Secretary **Barbara Zagala** (Melbourne)

Treasurer **Stas Hempel** (Melbourne)

Member **Adam Warzel** (Melbourne)

Member **Julian Dunwill** (Melbourne)

### **AUDIT COMMITTEE:**

Piotr Graszekiewicz

Piotr Lada

Zofia Skarbek

The Australian Institute of Polish Affairs is governed by an Executive Committee. Elections to these committees are held every two years, the last one being in November 2009.

Appendix 2/**Membership  
of AIPA Management  
Committee 1991–2001**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(1991–1993)**

Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki AO, CBE,  
FASSA **President**  
Adam Warzel **Vice President**  
Barbara Zagąła **Secretary**  
Piotr Koziół OAM, BEM **Treasurer**  
Dr Seweryn Ozdowski OAM **Member,  
Canberra**  
Halina Zandler **Member, Melbourne**  
Henryk Sikora **Member, Sydney**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(1993–1995)**

Professor Jerzy Zubrzycki **President**  
Adam Warzel **Vice President**  
Piotr Koziół OAM, BEM **Treasurer**  
Barbara Zagąła **Secretary**  
Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz  
**Member, Melbourne**  
Dr Seweryn Ozdowski **Member,  
Canberra**  
Henryk Sikora **Member, Sydney**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(1995–1997)**

Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz  
**President**  
Adam Warzel **Vice President**  
John Williams **Secretary**  
Anna Kijek **Treasurer**  
Dr Seweryn Ozdowski **Member,  
Canberra**  
Dr Wojciech Poplawski **Member,  
Brisbane**  
Dr Olga Scaramuzzi **Member,  
Sydney**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(1997–1999)**

Professor Martin Krygier **President**  
Adam Warzel **Vice President**  
John Williams **Secretary**  
Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz  
**Treasurer**  
Anna Kijek **Member, Melbourne**  
Jerzy Boniecki **Member, Sydney**  
Professor Jan Pakulski **Member,  
Hobart**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(1999–2001)**

Professor Martin Krygier **President**  
Adam Warzel **Vice President**  
John Williams **Secretary**  
Professor Andrzej Ehrenkreutz  
**Treasurer**  
Jerzy Boniecki **Member, Sydney**  
Aleksander Gancarz **Member,  
Canberra**  
Ryszard Randla **Member,  
Melbourne**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(2001-2003)**

Professor Jan Pakulski **President**  
John Williams **Vice President**  
Katarzyna Wróbel **Secretary**  
Jacek Olszanka **Treasurer**  
Ryszard Randla **Member,  
Melbourne**  
Aleksander Gancarz **Member,  
Canberra**  
Jerzy Boniecki **Member, Sydney**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(2003–2005)**

Professor Jan Pakulski **President**  
Barbara Zagąła **Vice President**  
Katarzyna Muehlhaeuser **Secretary**  
Piotr Graszekiewicz **Treasurer**  
Aleksander Gancarz **Member,  
Canberra**  
Irena Zdanowicz **Member,  
Melbourne**  
Jerzy Boniecki **Member, Sydney**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(2005–2007)**

Adam Warzel **President**  
Marek Burdajewicz **Vice President**  
Anna Sedek **Secretary**  
Piotr Graszekiewicz **Treasurer**  
Aleksander Gancarz **Member,  
Canberra**  
Irena Zdanowicz **Member,  
Melbourne**  
Andrzej Snarski **Member, Tasmania**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(2007-2009)**

Adam Warzel **President**  
Marek Burdajewicz **Vice President**  
Stefan Ehrenkreutz **Secretary**  
Piotr Graszekiewicz **Treasurer**  
Aleksander Gancarz  
**Member, Canberra**  
Irena Zdanowicz **Member,  
Melbourne**  
Andrzej Snarski **Member, Tasmania**

**EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
(2009–2011)**

Professor Jan Pakulski **President**  
Marek Burdajewicz **Vice President**  
Barbara Zagąła **Secretary**  
Stas Hempel **Treasurer**  
Aleksander Gancarz **Member,  
Canberra**  
Adam Warzel **Member, Melbourne**  
Sophie Maj **Member, Melbourne**

### Appendix 3/AIPA Members with gratitude to current and past members

Adamson, Margaret  
Amber, Ludwika  
Bajkowski, Eugene  
Bajkowski, Yolanta  
Białkowski, Tomasz  
Białkowski, Molly  
Barbara, Richard  
Basinski, Jan †  
Basinska, M. †  
Besemeres, John  
Bilski, Andrew  
Boniecki, Jerzy †  
Boniecki, Zofia  
Borucki, Ewa  
Borucki, Gwidon †  
Brodzki, Jerzy  
Buchan, Maryla  
Buckingham, Joanna  
Buras, Izabella  
Buras, Juliusz  
Burdajewicz, Marek  
Burdajewicz, Ileana  
Collins, Ewa  
Czajor, Waldemar †  
Czernkowski, Robert  
Czarnota, Adam  
Deakin, Anna  
Deakin, Jerome  
Drabarek, Andrzej  
Dunwill, Aleksandra  
Dunwill, Julian  
Doktor, Hania  
Doktor, Karol  
Dowoyna-Millicer, Krystyna †  
Dunin-Karwicki, Jan †

Duszniak, Dariusz  
Duszniak, Krystyna  
Ehrenkreutz, Andrzej †  
Ehrenkreutz, Blandyna †  
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