

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

History and Characteristics of Polish Migration to Mexico. Angelica CAMACHO Tecnologico De Monterrey

Angelica Camacho-Aranda

Professor, Tecnologico De Monterrey, Epigmenio Gonzalez 500, Queretaro, Mexico

Abstract:

Although it is small in numbers, it is very interesting to analyze Polish diaspora and how it has helped shape Mexico in part. For instance, Polish soldiers came during the Franco-Austrian intervention and joined Emperor Maximilian's army, but later they joined the Mexican army fighting against the invader. By 1924 a little more than 2000 Poles migrated, many of them were Jews. One group studied for this investigation came in 1943 as refugees of World War II came to Santa Rosa in Guanajuato, Central Mexico and formed a Polish community. The other group is composed by university professors, musicians who work in symphonic orchestras, painters or business people. A group of musicians who graduated from different universities in Poland founded the School of Music of the state University of Veracruz and they have been graduating students since 1980s. Czeslawa Prywer worked at the Universidad de Chapingo and helped open the Department of Fitotecnics in 1954. Polish migration to Mexico represents only a few thousands, the legacy they have left is important.

Keywords: Polish migration, Polish diaspora, History of Polish migration.

“Even as the hearts of men hardened, the most incredible acts of kindness and charity towards the weak occurred.”

Wladislaw Rattinger

1. Introduction

This article presents the characteristics of Polish migration to Mexico. It is part of a research study about the identity construction of Polish immigrants in Mexico. Although it is small in numbers, it is very interesting to analyze Polish diaspora and how it has helped shape Mexico in part. For instance, some of them are university professors, musicians who work in philharmonic orchestras, painters or business people. A group of musicians who graduated from different universities in Poland founded the School of Music of the state University of Veracruz and they have been graduating students since 1980's. Czeslawa Prywer worked at the Universidad de Chapingo and helped open the Department of Fitotecnics in 1954. Polish migration to Mexico represents only a few thousands, the legacy they have left is important. This papers do not include Polish diaspora after 1990.

1.1. Mexico-Poland, History of Relations

Poland and Mexico relations go back to year 1919 (Smolana, 1994) after the restoration of the country. By the nineteenth century, while Poland was to return to the political life, Mexico already got its Independence 100 years before. Despite the long distance between these two countries, they had contact that shows how even those countries that are far away from each other have a genuine wish to stay in contact and share political ideas (Smolana, 1994: p. 9).

Although it is scarce, Polish migration to Mexico is interesting because of the way these people integrated. According to T. Lepkowski (1991) “Polish population in Mexico have three specific characteristics: a. a long process without continuity that did not show a pattern; only a small number of Poles came to the country; b. they were dispersed throughout the territory; c. and there was little proximity among the immigrants as well as the minority idea of the Polish ethnic group” (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 5). Very few Poles were interested in visiting New Spain and evangelizing indigenous people, one daring missionary was Jerzy Hostynski who died in 1686 among Tarahumara Indians in Northwestern Mexico (Lepkowski, 1991). Unlike missionaries from other countries, Poles did not leave any writings behind that could let us know about their experiences¹ (Lepkowski, 1991). During the eighteenth century the interest for the “buen salvaje” (the good savage) grew in different regions and Poland was not the exception. Authors wrote praising the pre-Columbian customs and organization of indigenous groups, the education on the young, their civilization, and law and administration system, and “the relatively high level of the civilization and educational system for the young” (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 6). This Romanic idea of the Indio (indigenous people), the fact that Mexicans lived next to an empire made Poles identify with Mexicans mainly

¹“We do not know the names of those daring men who came here, except Jerzy Hostynski, we know he died among the Tarahumara Indigenous people. There is nothing left in writing by other Poles who lived among the Mayans and Aztecs, contrary to what missionaries from other countries did. (Lepkowski, 1991: 6)

because the territory was partitioned and half of it became to be United States of America's property. The Mexican elite knew about the news in Poland and how it came to be part of other countries and that those who had to migrate were known as "pilgrims of freedom" (Lepkowski, 1991). Carlos Beaufort de Beneski (sic) or Karol Bieniewski was an officer of the Prussian Army and helped Mexican Emperor Iturbide. He joined the Mexican army and after the fall of emperor Iturbide, he had to flee in order to save his life. Five years later he came back to Mexico, joined the army for a second time and defended the country in the port of Tampico against the Spaniards who invaded Mexico in 1829. He was close to President Santa Anna and in 1834 was appointed military commander. He committed suicide for unknown reasons after he fought in Texas (Lepkowski, 1991).

Keeping a record of Poles that migrated to Mexico is not an easy task since after the partitions they had Prussian, Austrian and Russian documents (Smolana, 1994). T. Lepkowski did an excellent work trying to record the names of those who came during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and found the names of people like Pawel Edmund Strzelecki, a scientist doing research on geology. Seweryn Galezowski a Medical Doctor who "participated actively in the expansion and strengthening of the Medical School at the University of Mexico" (Lepkowski, 1991: p.10) together with Dr. Ferdynand Gutt from Krakow. Josef Warszawicz was another Pole who did botanical research. Like Karol Bieniewski, Konstanty Pawel Tarnawa-Marczewski joined the Mexican army and was appointed General, he fought against the United States. During the second half of the 19th century "It is known that Antoni Jablonski (Yablonski) took the side of the Conservatives, like the enigmatic Stanislaw Kersikowski (Kersikowski), while Jozef Tabaczynski participated liberal side. The latter was incorporated into the personal guard of liberal presidents: Comonfort and Benito Juarez" (Lepkowski, 1991: p.11). During the war between Liberals and Conservatives, there were Poles in both armies. At the end of the war and the victory of the Republicans, the emperor Maximilian of Habsburg was executed in the city of Queretaro. "We can say that some of the soldiers of Maximilian, surely not very numerous, decided to stay in Mexico, diluted soon in Mexican Society Poles married Mexicans and quickly forgot their first language. Thus deprived of contact with their homeland, they were denationalized" (Lepkowski, 1991: p.19) and assimilated into the Mexican culture.

Some Poles like Antoni Jablonski fought with the Conservatives in the nineteenth century like Stanislaw Kersikowski while Jozef Tabaczynski fought with the Liberals and was part of the personal guard of Presidents Comonfort and Benito Juárez;

Polish soldiers of the Franco-Austrian intervention that moved to Mexico in different transport groups and, from 1863 to 1865. They ended in Mexico for voluntary or forced reasons. Broadly speaking, they fall into four groups: 1) those incorporated into the Austrian army force, mostly insurgents that January 1863 remained in Austria after crossing the border. Both were recruited among the peasants as among the nobility; 2) the official-volunteers, motivated by the conservative-clerical and anti-Communist ideas; 3) volunteers joined by political and patriotic grounds to know, those who believed that the Poles have to support France, because it alone can and will provide support to Poland; 4) the very many volunteers-mercenaries who undertook a long and dangerous journey thinking about the adventurous life and make a fortune (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 13).

By the second half of the nineteenth century the first important contact between Mexicans and Poles happened. More than two thousand soldiers and military officers participated in the Mexican war. Some of them fought on one side and then changed, like Jozef Tabaczynski, who stood out during the Battle of Puebla with the Mexicans (on May 5th, 1862), two years later he joined the French and the "imperial government" with all the contingent under his command to fight the Republicans (Lepkowski, 1991). Many of those soldiers went back to Europe, others, who helped Benito Juarez, lived in the United States. Those of the few who stayed in Mexico married Mexican women and, according to Lepkowski, soon forgot their first language and assimilated to the new culture.

An interesting Pole was Prince A. Radziwill who arrived at the beginning of the nineteenth century and married Prudencia Milmo y Vidaurri. He lived in Monterrey (north of the country) where he was the Russian consul. By the end of World War, I, he lived in the USA and was an active supporter of the restoration of Poland. After 1919 he works at the Polish delegation in the USA and came back to Mexico in 1921 (Lepkowski, 1991).

Excelsior, the Mexican newspaper, published about a growing Polish migration due to the destructions after World War II and the Russian invasion, (Smolana, 1994). Based on Krzysztof Smolana's work, information about A. Radziwill reveal that he might have talked to President General Alvaro Obregon when he was a diplomat and by this time they had the first talks between both presidents from Mexico and Poland Alvaro Obregon y Józef Pilsudski.

During the twentieth century Polish migration was basically a population composed of Jews who refused to be related to Poland since they considered the country as anti-Semitic. 90% of the were people dedicated to business, "But the collaboration of the official representatives of the Republic of Poland with the Polish Jews established in Mexico was not always friendly" (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 41). In 1938-39, the Polish representative in Mexico deprived the Polish citizenship to 25 Jews saying they sympathized with Communism. We can say that was easy for Polish Jews to assimilate into Mexican culture given the enormous distance from the land where they were born and the detachment they had of the Polish culture.

According to Lepkowski, the number of Poles who migrated to Mexico between 1918 and 1938 can be seen in Table 1

Year	Number of immigrants
1918-1924	2000-2300
1925	134
1926	279
1927	327
1928	284
1929	285
1930	358
1931	56
1932	87
1933	215
1934	88
1935	104
1936	233
1937	87
1938	14

Table 1: Lepkowski, 1991: p. 25

By 1929, 96% of Polish immigrants to Mexico were Jews, according to the Consul of the Republic of Poland in Mexico, Zygmunt Merdinger, (Lepkowski, 1991). Among them there were tailors, shoe makers, painters, bakers, farm workers. Beside this “lumpen proletariat” and a handful of settlers and scarce intelligentsia like engineers, physicians, civil servants and lawyers. Most of Jews became wealthy by establishing business in different areas like textile and jewelry stores. But “most of Catholic Poles were poor people who always dreamed of going back to Poland or be able to go to the USA” (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 37). Merdinger stated in 1930 that: “Jews have no sense of belonging to Poland for the most part. Immigrants brought their family to Mexico and all connections were lost” (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 38). For Jews who came to Mexico, Poland represented an anti-Semitic country, and this was reinforced by the bad news of the *programs*. In 1938 the Polish Republic canceled the Polish citizenship of 25 Jews established in Mexico (Lepkowski, 1991). As we mentioned before, it was easy for Jews to assimilate in Mexico, they made their own community mostly in Mexico City; new generations speak Spanish and they did not learn Polish since their fathers refused to do it. They had no links to Polish culture. It is important to mention that this research project does not include the Jewish population since it is a very different group that should be studied separately.

1.2. Polish Background. a Few Elements of Its History

Poland has been a strategic territory, the bridge between the Russian Empire and Europe. Krakow had semi-autonomous state status (Prazmowska, 2012: Kindle). The “November Uprising” broke out on November 29th 1830 and on January 25th the Sejm decided that the Tsar of Russia was no longer the King of Poland and declared Poland independent. “This made Russian military intervention inevitable.” (Prazmowska, 2012: Chapter 7, Kindle). Peasants, workers and craftsmen did not join the uprising and the rebels expected help from other nations. The uprising was not successful, thousands of Poles had to migrate so they would not be deportees to Siberia of Tsarist Russia. Those Poles who migrated to Mexico stayed in the country and their arrival was related to their desires to recover Poland’s Independence. Most of them stayed in France, England and the USA, but some “found a house under the sun of Mexico” (Smolana, 1994). Once in Mexico, about 2000 Poles fought against Mexicans since they joined Maximilian of Habsburg’s army during the French intervention (Lepkowski, 1991).

By the time of the Mexico and the United States war between 1846-1848, some Poles joined the Mexican army and others the US army, Poles fought amongst themselves. On the Mexican side Tarwana-Marczewski, Seweryn Galezowski and Antoni Jablonski, who later sided with the conservative movement, fought against the “Reforma o liberal” movement, but another Pole, Jozef Tabaczynski not only fought with the liberals, but worked with President Juarez’s people after the three-year war when Maximilian of Habsburg was defeated (Lepkowski, 1991).

1.3. Migration to Mexico in the Twentieth Century

Mexico has an important history of migration, although the numbers of people emigrate is a lot larger. Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Lebanese, Chileans, Argentinians, Jews from different places and people from the United States among many other countries have come to Mexico to live, establish and have a better live. Some of them faced discrimination in their country for their political or religious beliefs (Iranian Bahá’ís, Catholics from Communist countries, Communists scholars from Argentina or Chile, etcetera). They have assimilated to Mexico, married Mexicans and have changed and enriched the cultural life of the country.

As mentioned earlier, in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century the population of Mexico was small and the authorities decided to open the doors for foreigners to come and help in the development of the country. In 1828 some laws and policies for migration were written, but there was not a real project until 1880-1884 with President Manuel González. There were not as many migrants as the authorities wished, but people from France, Belgium, Russia, Italy China and England moved to the territory. In 1888, Mexico and Japan signed the Friendship, Commerce and Navigation Treaty (Kunimoto, 2008) that allowed Mexico to have a first commercial exchange with Asia. There were consequences of Chinese and Japanese migration in terms of health conditions, this population brought contagious diseases like the Bubonic plague, Cholera, and Beriberi. By 1911, Alvaro Obregon (President of

Mexico 1920-1924) said that the country was “One of the richest countries of the Earth and yet, one of those with less inhabitants and, most of all, the biggest population of illiterate and miserable people” (González Navarro, 1994: p. 9). On 22 December 1908 the first General Migration Law restricted the entrance of immigrants focusing on their health conditions. During the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, intellectuals saw indigenous people as an “economic burden due to their scares productivity, and ugliness. Hence, it was necessary to field those empty spaces with a numerous foreign immigration” (Gonzalez Navarro, 1994: p. 14). In 1912, Atenor Sala proposed to bring European farmers to get fast growing colonization of different territories in the country (Gonzalez Navarro, 1994). This changed during the second half of the Mexican Revolution and the accentuated nationalist feeling was contrary to the presence of foreigners. For instance, when Obregon and Carranza (two revolutionary leaders) were fighting, they refused to accept the help of foreign people to feed the hungry ones in Mexico City in 1915 (González Navarro, 1994); but during their presidencies, they made it easy for immigrants to come to the country (Carreño and Zack, 2001). Another example is that American clergymen could not celebrate Mass nor get the Mexican citizenship. (González Navarro, 1994).

By the 1920's Japanese immigration was forbidden. On 13 March 1926 the Second General Migration Law was clearer in terms of policies, all individuals could enter and get out of the country based on the limitations and restrictions established in the Constitution and the international treaties. In 1921, immigration policies were not clear; French citizens were welcome because their “morality and good behavior could not be questioned” (González Navarro, 1994: p. 30), but people from Switzerland were not allowed to immigrate because they had no means to live in Mexico. It was the same for people from poor countries in Europe and Asia, particularly from India because Indians (who were not wanted in Mexico) are people with “immoral habits ... miserable, sick, bums, rebels with disturbing religions and evil people in general” (González Navarro, 1994: p. 31). Immigration of foreign workers was restricted because of the economic crisis. The government of Mexico City “explained in 1928 that it was necessary to improve the breed by crossbreeding and this could not be achieved by bringing together Mexicans and individuals with negligible lineage” (González Navarro, 1994: p. 34). Therefore, White Europeans were desirable in the country and blacks were not since they could ‘degenerate the race’ (González Navarro, 1994). Between 1921 and 1924, The United States imposed restrictions to immigrants and they headed South to Mexico and other countries in Latin America (Carreño and Zack, 2001). By 1927, the Mexican government did not grant visas to citizens from The Middle East, Syrians, Lebanese, Armenians, Palestinians, and Turks. On August 5th 1930, there was an emphasis on the banning of Polish immigration taking into account that part of that population within the country because they did not improve the economy of the country and would only agitate the working class (Gonzalez Navarro, 1994. Carreño and Zack, 2001).

Physical and moral conditions of immigrants were very important. Requirements to enter the country included a letter of recommendation, to have a profession or to be craftsmen like agriculture workers, carpenters or farmers; and have a health exam; have a work contract or prove they had the money they needed to support themselves. The third General Migration Law was published on 30 August 1930 and it states that “Collective or individual migrations is considered a public benefit if immigrants are healthy, skilled workers, well behaved and whose race and cultural conditions allows them to assimilate to our environment,” (INEGI). By this year, the population of Polish immigrants in Mexico was of 1995 people (González Navarro, 1994). Together with the General Migration Law, the General Population Law published in 1936, 1947 and 1974 provided more information about the conditions that the immigrants should have. There were more restrictions, but Mexico was always open to receive refugees from Spain, Poland, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and other countries.

1.4. Historical Background. Why Poles Left the Country and Were Refugees in Mexico In 1943

World War II started with the invasion of Poland on September 1st, 1939. The territories of occupied Poland were divided in “those that used to be part of Germany before 1918 and the industrial region of Łódź were incorporated into the Reich. Wartherland and Western Prussia-Dantzig were the new provinces; the central part including Krakow and Warsaw and was called the General Government” (Carreño and Zack, 2001; p. 23). Germans living in exile by the Baltic Sea or Germans from Bessarabia were called to go to Poland and live there. Land, machinery and cattle is what they got when they arrived in Polish land. Other people were expelled to make place for newcomers. On the eastern side of the country, Russians entered on September 17th, 1939. By September 30th, the Government in exile was constituted, “created in France in November 1939 under pre Premiership of General Wladislaw Sikorski, and transferred in June 1940 to London, it enjoyed the full official recognition of the Western Powers” (Davies, 2005: p. 361) but it did not mean that France and England would defend them from the Russians nor fight for them. From 1941 to 1943, the Polish government in exile could reestablish relation with Russia, “The soviet leaders, in their hour of need, were willing to treat with their former Polish victims. On 30 July 1941, diplomatic relations were re-established. “The USSR stated its readiness to form a Polish army in Russia, to grant Amnesty to all Polish internees, and to annul the provisions of the Nazi-Soviet Pact regarding Poland” (Davies, 2005: p. 361-362). With this amnesty promise and the order to release prisoners, Poles could join the Russian Army. According to Carreño and Zack (2001), Polish authorities estimate that 1.2 million deportees, “880,000 were displaced to the USSR in four sessions: February, April and June 1940, and June 1941. Close to 150,000 were recruited men by the Red Army and move to the Soviet Union 180,000 were Prisoners of War (POW's) and more migrated hoping to find better opportunities in their lives” (Carreño and Zack, 2001: p. 43). Poland was in deep trouble. On September 17th, uninvited and unannounced, the Soviet army crossed the eastern frontier. The Polish ambassador in Moscow was summoned by Molotov, and was curtly told that “since the Polish Republic was no longer in existence, measures were being taken to protect the inhabitants of Western Byelorussia and Western Ukraine” (Davis, 2005: p. 324).

Poles defended the city from the Germans, but “The entry of the Red Army into Poland on September 17th has never been properly explained. It prompted Churchill's famous remark that ‘Russia is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma’ (Davis, 2005: p. 325). The Poles did what they could to defend the city.

- At Lwów, General Sosnkowski improvised a line of defense against the German and the Soviets alike. But the inexorable effects of Nazi-Soviet collusion were clear for all to see. The Polish forces were caught in a trap, with no wall against which they could lean their backs and fight [...] In the last few hours before the Soviet forces sealed the southern and eastern frontier, tens of thousands of soldiers and civilians escaped into Romania and Hungary (Davis, 2005: p. 324).

The Polish army was at a disadvantage; it was not ready to resist attacks from the ground nor from the air. It was supposed to resist for two weeks and stop the Wehrmacht and then the western allies would help, but neither France nor the British helped them. Casualties in the first weeks were terrible; 60,000 killed and 140,000 wounded (Davis, 2005). Poland had little possibilities of fighting the Germans; the people would either be completely submitted or would resist (Davies: 2005). With General Karasiewicz-Tokarzewski, known as the Polish Victory Service (PSZ) and together with other organizations like the Union of Armed Struggle (ZWZ) which was created by the exiled Government. "These two organizations gave rise in the course to the Armia Krajowa (Home Army) which would fairly claim to be the largest of European resistance formations". (Davies, 2005: p. 344).

The Polish government in exile was "Created in France in November 1939 under the premiership of General Władysław Sikorski and transferred in 1940 to London, it enjoyed the full official recognition of the Western Powers" (Davis, 2005: 361). Polish soldiers were appreciated in Britain for their bravery (Prazmowska, 2011: Chapter 7, Kindle). From 1941 to 1943 the Government in exile was able to have good relations with the Soviets because of the bad situation they were living in and with the German Army gaining more USSR territory. The Polish enemies became friends and allies; they "stated their readiness to form a Polish army in Russia, to grant Amnesty to all Polish internees and to annul the provisions of the Nazi-Soviet Pact regarding Poland" (Davis, 2005: p. 362). Sikorski had a good relationship with Churchill and "in June 1941 Sikorski followed suit by opening talks with the soviet ambassador to London. The resulting Sikorski-Maisky agreement allowed for the formation of Polish units in the Soviet Union" (Prazmowska, 2011: Chapter 7, Kindle). General Sikorski had conversations with Stalin regarding Poles that were not released, (Davis, 2005: p. 362)

- SIKORSKI: But returning to the question, I have to tell you Mr. President, that your declaration of amnesty is not being put into effect. Many, and some of our most valuable people, are still in labor camps and prisons.
- STALIN: (making notes) That is impossible, since the amnesty concerned everybody, and all the Poles have been released. [...]
- SIKORSKI: It isn't our business to supply the Soviet Government with detailed lists of our people... but I have with me a list of 4,000 officers who were carried off by force... Those men are here. Not one has come back. [...]
- ANDERS: Nonetheless, information is coming in concerning people exactly known to us, together with the names of the prisons and even the numbers of the cells in which they are locked up.
- MOLOTOV: We've detained only those who after the war began committing crimes, provoking diversions, setting up radio stations etc....
- SIKORSKI: Don't discuss cases arising in wartime. It would be a good thing now Mr. President, if you were to give public explanations of this question... After all, these people are not tourists, but were carried off from their homes by force. They didn't come here of their own choice; they were deported, and endured tremendous suffering.
- STALIN: The people of the Soviet Union are well disposed towards the Poles. But official can make mistakes (Davies, 2005: p. 363).

The struggle Polish refugees had to go through before they arrived in Mexico was long, hard (to say the least) and cost the lives of thousands of people, "The Siberian 'taiga' that runs from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, has served since the eighteenth century, when the tzars annexed it to his empire as a giant prison. In this vast area, both the tsarist regime (first) and later on the Soviet regime, established labor camps that were called correctional fields; Polish prisoners were sent to these correctional camps where the intellectual elites lived with the most insensitive criminals. Polish citizens from the eastern part, adults, women, children, the sick without distinction and ironically were called 'free deportees' (Carreño and Zack, 2001). The practice of deporting and separating families in vast territories was used to debilitate and demoralize Polish society as well as avoid them from getting organized; this would help them assimilate to the places they were taken and incorporate Eastern Poland to the USSR. The living conditions were deplorable. They were transported by train, in cattle cars so full of individuals they could not even sit down some times (Carreño and Zack, 2001; Piotrowski, 2004). When they were established in the camps, food was scarce and bad "hot water in a jar, 100 grams of bread per day, a cup of potato soup" (Carreño, and Zack, 2001: p. 54). They were sent to different villages, camps and towns where they had to adapt to the new living conditions, sometimes just a small space in a house, other times 11 people in one room (Piotrowski, 2004: chapter 2, Kindle). It was not frequent, but neighbors were friendly "The neighbors came over to greet us. They are Ukrainians who were deported here ten years ago from their homeland. They were sympathetic to our plight" (Piotrowski, 2004 chapter 2, Kindle). Deportees were constantly sick, lice plagues were usual and food was never enough "There are lice and bedbugs. We have no shoes, underwear or clothing. We are morally crushed. I feel sick and my face is swollen. There is no food. We are depressed. I may have a kidney infection, but how do I treat it?" (Piotrowski, 2004. chapter 2, Kindle). Witnesses talk about the lack of food and how their mothers traded clothes or objects like kitchen silver wear for food (Carreño and Zack, 2001; Piotrowski, 2004). General W. Sikorski tried hard to form a Polish army, establish a government in exile, and rescue Poles deported to Russia, he traveled to England and the United States. On July 30th 1941, General Sikorski and Ambassador Maisky signed a treaty where they mentioned that all Poles in USSR territories were granted amnesty.

In 1942, General Sikorski traveled to Mexico, after he visited Roosevelt for the second time; he wanted support for the People's Army (AK), "at his point, Sikorski lost all sense of reality" "(Carreño and Zack, 2001: p. 72). In February 1942, the Polish Army was evacuated to the South. Tadeusz Piotrowski, in his book *The Polish deportees of world war II: recollections of removal to the Soviet Union and dispersal throughout the world*, mentions that traveling conditions were inhumane, crowds trying to leave Russia had to walk, take overcrowded trains and boats only to face more crowds when they arrived in Uzbekistan. Typhus and other diseases as well as starvation took the lives of many men, women and children. People had to stand in cues for hours or days to get food or clothes (Piotrowski, 2004: chapter 2, Kindle). Those who could travel to Iran and get there safely, were the lucky ones "Poles who were evacuated to Iran was just a small percentage of all those who were deported to the USSR between 1939 and 1941, one million Polish citizens were left behind in the inhospitable Soviet Republics, they lost all contact and help from their government and country" (Carreño and Zack, 2001:p. 82). On 1942, Polish deportees made it to the Iran border and could leave the 'Russian hell'; it is interesting that different authors give different numbers. For example, G. Carreño and C. Zack say that in 1942, 40,000 Polish people were evacuated, 31,030 soldiers, 1,159 women who helped the army, 1,880 young men, 3,007 children, and 7689 adults, mostly women (Carreño and Zack, 2001). Piotrowski says that

- The evacuation of the Polish people forms the USSR, together with the army units of General Wladislaw Anders, took place in three stages. The first lasted from March 24 until the first days of April 1942. In addition to the over 30,000 military personnel, about 11,000 children left Krasnovodsk by sea for Pahlavi. In Pahlavi, primitive transit camps were set up on the shore of the Caspian Sea for the military and civilians. A hospital was reestablished in Kazvin and over 1,400 patients were placed therein. By April 25, 1942, the last of the refugees had left Pahlavi by truck via Kazvin for Teheran, where the Delegation of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare was engaged in establishing a series of temporary camps for the civilians since April 1, 1942. The second stage of the evacuation from the USSR across the Caspian Sea to Iran lasts from August 10 to September 1, 1942. During that time, over 43,000 military personnel and about 25,000 civilians came to Pahlavi. About one third of the civilians were children. The refugees were put in tents along the beaches in five designated regions. After a month-long quarantine the civilians were sent via Kazvin to Teheran while the military personnel were sent mainly to Iraq and other countries in the Near East. The final liquidation of the Polish bases in Pahlavi took place on October 16, 1942. A smaller-scale evacuation of the Polish people from the USSR took place through Ashkhabad-Mashhad" (Piotrowski, 2004. Chapter 2, Kindle).

In Teheran different camps were established to host the Polish deportees and from there, they traveled to other countries, some of them to Mexico. General Sikorski visited Mexico in 1942, he met with President Avila Camacho and talked about the possibility of having Polish refugees. The Mexican government "showed a great deal of understanding in regard to the difficult situation of the Poles and expressed a willingness to allow a certain number of them to come into the country" (Piotrowski, 2004: chapter 2, Kindle). The first transport of forced migrants, consisting of 706 people, arrived by train to Leon on 1 July 1943 from the USA in an exceptional trip by train, because there was the railroad strike at the time and the workers accepted to take Poles to Guanajuato. "The second group arrived in Leon in November 1943 (726 people, including 264 children). In total, they settled in the camp 1432 people" (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 52). During the following three years of its existence, the number of its inhabitants increased by natural growth. At first it was chaotic (Lepkowski, 1991; Carreño and Zack, 2001), but then the government in exile in London, and the diplomatic mission in Mexico helped organizing the camp. The first period of the stay of Polish exiles in Santa Rosa was for them particularly difficult, for lack of space and because of administration malfunction "Migrants adapted the old warehouse buildings for housing needs. They also built a church, a hospital, a school, a theater, a workshop, a shop and administration building." (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 52). Most of them were farmers and artisans from different specialties, including: carpenters, shoemakers, blacksmiths, electricians, etcetera.

1.5. Deportation and the Beginning of a Long Trip to Mexico

In order to gather data for this work, in-depth interviews were conducted. Some of the interviewees are people who came to Mexico during World War II and others are their children who were told about the way their parents arrived in the country. One group was in Persia who came to the Americas with Mr. Wladislaw Rattinger, and the other group came with Mr. Stebelski on a different ship. They were refugees who were to go to San Francisco, California, but the president of the U.S. decided that they could not stay. Talks between the Mexican President, Avila Camacho, and the United States president came to an agreement to bring them to Santa Rosa in Mexico, which became a Polish community with a representative of the Polish government (Carreño and Zack, 2001).

Wladyslaw Rattinger's story offers a good example of the stories of Poles who were exiled. He was born in Lwów and later migrated to Mexico. Decades later, in the early 1990's, he was challenged by his children, and wrote his memoirs where he told his story. As a young man, he worked in the Communications Central Office in Warsaw, where he was drafted and joined the Army. His orders were to take a car and advanced telephone and telegraph equipment. During the occupation, he and other soldiers were taken as POW's in 1939 during the German and Russian invasions, he was caught by the Nazi army and escaped to Lwów where he was safe for a few weeks. He went home and was able to see his mother and grandmother and witnessed the arrival of Ukrainians, dressed in military coats shooting everywhere and, after them, Soviet soldiers. In the eyes of Poles, this reminded them of the 1920's when they fought and defended the city against the Bolsheviks, Mr. Rattinger was among the people in Lwów who were confused to see the Germans a few days before, and now the Soviets. In his memoirs, Mr. Rattinger says that

- Although at that time the People of Poland did not know anything, the USSR, a few days before, August 26th 1939, just signed a secret pact with Ribbentrop, German Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time. In this treaty they decided over

Poland's territory; lands they hoped to own for years since it is rich in natural resources and also because of its geographic position (Rattinger, 1997: p. 24).

Mr. Rattinger was forced to work for the Soviets because he was a prisoner and witnessed police officers and intellectuals being arrested, including judges, lawyers, and other professionals who could be considered a threat to the Soviet authorities. He drove one of the trucks used to transport arrested people and was surprised one night when he drove to his house and noticed that the Soviets were looking for him with the excuse that he was a German spy (because of his last name). After this day, he joined Resistance that was formed in 1939. The partisans had supporting groups in universities and the countryside and Mr. Rattinger was sent to Czerniowice, Romania (close to the Polish border). He would take passports and other official documents across the border and would deliver them in Czerniowice where Polish Army troops were ready for a counterattack. He did the same trip 12 times before he was caught by the Soviet soldiers and trialed for illegally crossing the border. The sentence was at first five years in prison in Lwów; he appealed and got 25 years in a working camp where living conditions were deplorable. He was moved constantly from one cell to another and, according to his testimony, Russians did the same thing in cities so people could not get together and organize: "This practice was used to dominate towns. They constantly moved people, separated families and friends in order to destroy their love for the land" (Rattinger, 1997: p. 60).

Mr. Rattinger traveled from the beginning of World War II until his first mission for the Resistance (Rattinger, 1997). One night when Mr. Rattinger was incarcerated, Polish prisoners were singing Christmas carols. Russian soldiers heard the songs and broke up the celebration. Mr. Rattinger and the other singers were taken outside and were beaten until they passed out. When he recovered Soviet soldiers took him to the outskirts of Leningrad where he met a physician. Mr. Rattinger asked the doctor for fencetina and started telling the story of how he went to Medical School for a few years "bragging a little... the truth is, it was only a year [...] my father was a military surgeon dentist" (Rattinger, 2005: p. 84). With the knowledge he had from one year in Medical School, the Latin he learned and the experience working with his father he had the opportunity of becoming the doctor's assistant. This changed Mr. Rattinger's life; he did not go back to the labor camps, he could clean himself, and wear clean clothes. After a while he became friends with Dr. Daniel Pletniev, who was also a prisoner, accused by Stalin of killing the famous writer Gorky. He was forced to execute people, making it look like they died of diseases. (Rattinger, 2005), Pletniev denied he killed the writer and said he was a scapegoat but was sentenced to 25 years of forced labor.

Wladislaw Rattinger was transferred again and after weeks of traveling in miserable conditions, he arrived in Siberia; he met Communist Spaniards who fled from Franco's dictatorship and found work as guards, cooks, and supervisors in 50 working camps in Siberia. The children were separated from the adults. Once in Naryan-Mar, he worked in the infirmary and he heard rumors about the re-formation of the Polish Army in exile. Right after these rumors Mr. Rattinger suddenly got new shoes, better clothes, better food, "But we could see that the food came not from the Soviet Union, but from the allies [...] individual packets were marked inside with the English and the United States of America Red Cross labels." (Rattinger, 2005: p. 11). Soon after, Mr. Rattinger was liberated and was told he could join the Polish Army in Kuybyshev.

Mr. Rattinger was assigned by the Polish Army to look for Poles in Russian territories to rescue them. He went to Iran and became part of the British army who sent him to India with a group of Poles. Once in Bombay, the person in charge of taking a group to Mexico died, so Mr. Rattinger was appointed as the officer in charge to accomplish the mission. Together with other officers, Mr. Rattinger traveled by the Volga river. They went to Kuybishev where they met General Anders, and Colonel Jacyna and updated them about Poland's situation: "We could then know the truth about the Russian betrayal to Poland, the massive deportations of Poles to hard labor camps and the Jews extermination [by the Nazis] all over Europe. We also heard about the advance of the allied armies on the Western front" (Rattinger, 1997: p. 84). Even though General Sikorski and Anders signed a Declaration of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union on 5th December 1941, the evacuation of Anders's army from the Soviet Union was only achieved after the Soviets had withheld its food rations. Mr. Rattinger arrived in Mexico in 1943 with 750 refugees.

Barbara Batorska was one of those refugees who came to Mexico. Soviet soldiers took prisoner her and her family, and like many others she was placed in regions where Poles enslaved/ forced laborer workers (Piotrowski, 2004). On August 23rd 1943, the Soviet-German pact had a secret protocol that "was also drawn up for the reorganization of central Europe" (Piotrowski, 2004: chapter 1, Kindle). The alliance between Russia and Germany had the intention of completely suppressing the political and socio-cultural life of the Polish forever (Piotrowski, 2004: chapter 1, Kindle). This was extermination through work and resettlement processes. When the soldiers came into towns or villages, they would break into people's homes, "At gunpoint, the family would be given from ten minutes to two hours in which to pack their belongings and then be driven or made to walk to the nearest railway station" (Piotrowski, 2004). Displaced Poles would be taken to the area of the Arctic Circle in the North and the Mongolian border in the south as well as Siberia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan,

In February 1940, Russian soldiers arrived at Basia Batorska's house and took the family early in the morning. They were put in cattle wagons to Russia with no food or water. They were only allowed to take some clothes. Some were taken to Siberia and others to the Ural Mountains. They arrived in a concentration camp; her father and mother were forced to hard labor. He was an engineer specialized in forest studies and was considered dangerous, "The Russians were ready to kill all Polish intelligence, all those who could think" and for that reason, says Batorska, would take them prisoners (Batorska, 2012).

According to her testimony, Russian soldiers had a list with the names of all members of families and would ask about them. Batorska's family stayed in the camp for two years. Her mother would exchange clothes for food. Batorska remembers that they were welcome by the Russians in that area, she remembers that people would "kiss us and say that they were going to be liberated by the Poles", Russians, she remembers, thought Poles were there to help them and did not know they were prisoners (Batorska, 2012).

After the Bolshevik Revolution, millions of Soviet citizens “were dumped into the land known as The Gulag Archipelago” far from cities where they could have updated news, or they might have thought things were changing for the better (Piotrowski, 2004). Batorska, her sister, grandmother and mother benefited from the Allies treaty. They got documents and could walk to the train that would take them to Uzbekistan. There, her mother picked up cotton and they lived in a stable. Her mother heard that transportation was provided and could take them to Persia. They made it to Teheran where British soldiers welcomed them. Batorska emphasizes that she could eat steamed rice and dates “presents from the English soldiers”. At the time, these were considered wonders, says Batorska during the interview. Barbara Batorska relates how bad the Russians were, she says during an interview that “during war times, people can turn into monsters, they are capable of doing anything”, but still, she describes common Russians as oppressed, almost slaves when she refers to common people, or Russian soldiers as barbarians who would treat Poles like animals. At that time, she was four years old, and she does not mention and does not seem to realize that the war affected Russians in the same way it affected Poles. Russia also lived in a difficult situation and much oppression. His men had to join the army and were absent from their places of origin. Her father was tortured and unable to walk, and was separated from Barbara Batorska, her sister and mother. When they could leave Russia, he stayed behind. From Russia she went to Iran “To accommodate the refugees, a sprawling stationary camp was established in Isfahan. Because it housed several camps for the thousands of orphaned children, it came to be known as the ‘City of Polish children’” (Piotrowski, 2004). After traveling for two years, Batorska arrived in Mexico in 1943 and was part of the Hacienda de Santa Rosa Polish community. The place was improvised, they had to remodel the rooms and build areas, “[G]rade school classes were held in an old mill which had been rebuilt” (Piotrowski, 2004). Soon they organized to have masses and other religious ceremonies, festivities to remember Poland and its traditions.

After that long journey, the first transport of forced migrants, consisting of 706 people, arrived by train to Leon [Mexico] on July 1st 1943. From the US border, where they were welcomed with orchestras. It was an exceptional trip by train, because there was a railroad workers strike at the time which was interrupted by the strikers only to transport the Polish guests. The second contingent arrived to Leon in November 1943 (726 people, including 264 children). In total, they settled in the camp 1432 people (Lepkowski, 1991: p. 52-53).

The 20,000 visas that General Sikorski intended were not granted.

1.6. Mexico Facing Its Own Problems: Lack of Professional Diplomats, Nationalization of Private Property and Civil Struggles That Slowed the Possibilities of Receiving Immigrants.

Before the 1930's Mexican diplomacy had poor results due to the lack of information and experienced personnel, this made it hard for migrants to get visas easily. The country did not have professional diplomats, “it would have had no school nor tradition therefore it ignored the international issues after World War I” (Ojeda, 2012). During President Adolfo de la Huerta's government (June-November 1920), relations between Mexico and the United States were difficult (Lajous, 2012). The American government demanded, prior to the resumption of diplomatic relations, an agreement that involved the recognition of the rights acquired by the American oil companies before 1917. It also requested the payment of compensation to U. S. citizens affected by the Mexican Revolution. Things were not easy for President de la Huerta. He also tried to get the recognition of the European nations, but Great Britain and France did not want to confront the United States after World War I.

The Great Depression in the United States also triggered a crisis in Mexico that lasted for years. This changed with President Cardenas (1936-1940), he worked with professional diplomats whose work was very efficient. Mexico became a member of the League of Nations and took the first steps towards its participation in the international arena (Ojeda, 2012). Lazaro Cardenas' Expropriation Act authorized the government to take any property for public use. The compensation to the owners would be the taxable value of the property within the last 10 years. He improved the country's economy, was also in solidarity with the people of Spain and motivated workers and peasant's activities, so that his government was considered populist. He protested the annexation of Austria to Germany, and nationalized the Mexican oil in 1938 (Lajous, 2012). As a result of the expropriation Act “The owners of the expropriated companies established a blockade that prevented Mexico from selling oil and gasoline. As further retaliation, those companies did not sell maintenance equipment to Mexican oil company Petroleos Mexicanos so the industry could not grow. On top of that, the Department of Treasury did not buy more silver to Mexico.” (Lajous, 2012: p. 209). In other areas, the crisis did not affect the population that much; for instance, agricultural products were consumed by producers themselves; silver and oil were in great demand abroad even in times of crisis (Ojeda, 2012). At the outbreak of World War II,

- Mexico not only protested against the invasion and subsequent occupation of Poland by the Nazis and against Soviet aggression against Finland, but also objected to the violation of the neutrality of Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg by the armies of the Third Reich (Ojeda, 2012: p. 125).

In 1938, Lazaro Cardenas, President of Mexico, after analysing the way oil companies from England, The Netherlands and the United States were working, he decided to nationalize the oil. As a result of that and due to the boycott on Mexico, in 1940, the Nazi government suggested Mexico the possibility of having a special relation. Once the Nazis would defeat England, they would help Mexico to cancel the national debt it had with the foreign Oil Company El Aguila. President Lazaro Cardenas refused to do this and any other kind of association with the Nazis (Ojeda, 2012; Lajous, 2012), but this did not help to have diplomatic relations with the United States.

- Since 1935 the relations between workers and owners of oil companies had deteriorated. The workers tried to improve their contractual terms but foreign oil companies, especially those in the United States, refused. The conflict reached the Justice Supreme Court in late 1937. Early next year, the highest court in Mexico ruled in favour of workers. Entrepreneurs, mainly

from the United States, refused to abide by the decision of the highest court in the country. And then opened the way for the oil expropriation, for which the federal government would have an expropriation law (Aboites and Loyo, 2010: p.639).

Meanwhile, Mexico sold oil to Italy, Japan and Germany as well as some Latin American countries, Lazaro Cardenas broke relations with England, after he nationalized oil properties of their citizens, as I mention before (Ojeda, 2012; Lajous, 2012). In 1941, the Mexican President and the American President finally overcame their differences due to the oil conflicts and Mexico agreed to cooperate with the United States and build three military bases. He made it clear to General John L. De Witt that those bases would be managed only by "Mexican soldiers and officers" (Lajous, 2012: p. 222). Lazaro Cardenas' government had a bad image since public opinion in the U. S. talked about a 'communist red' regime (Carreño, and Zack, 2001). The fact that the Catholic Church had limitations and its temples were closed, emphasized that image of a Communist government. The resolution of the religious conflict "ended the bad propaganda distributed by American press that presented the Mexican government as an atheist and communist dictatorship" (Ojeda, 2012: p. 103). With the advance of European Nazism, the United States eased its interventionist attitude in Latin America and promoted the political, economic and military integration of the Western Hemisphere on the grounds of protecting the 'continental security', a situation that was exploited by the Mexican government to negotiate its bilateral problems in the framework of the Pan-American conferences, such as Buenos Aires held in 1936 (Carreño and Zack, 2001). On September 4th, 1939, President Cárdenas made a statement against the invasion of Poland by the Wehrmacht:

- The whole nation is united with me to deeply regret the fact that a group of large states [...] has resorted to armed struggle to find the solution of their differences and overcoming violence to the rule of law and justice. Given the state of war [...] the Government I preside declares its resolution to remain neutral in the conflict, holding its conduct to the standards set by international law [...] reaffirming its legal conviction on political settlement of international conflicts. (Ojeda, 2012: p. 131).

The outbreak of hostilities in Poland in the fall of 1939 and the British naval blockade in the Atlantic Ocean meant the closure of European markets for Mexican exports.

Latin American countries in general sympathized with Germany because that country reacted to the British imperialism and because the population did not know of the atrocities of the Nazis until the end of the war (Ojeda, 2012). On the other hand, in Mexico relations with the United States were very difficult, as I mention before, after the nationalization of the oil companies three factors were determinant: "bilateral commerce went down considerably; economic cooperation was almost non-existent; and Mexican society professed a strong hostility to the United States for its attitude after the oil expropriation and the blockade" (Ojeda, 2012: p. 131). The proximity of Mexico to the United States provoked a fast solution of the conflicts with the America oil industry led by President Roosevelt in 1941. During the war, Mexico had significant advances in the development of food and textile industries, among others (Ojeda, 2012; Lajous, 2012). Mexico became an ally with the United States against the Axis Powers after the German attack that destroyed two Mexican important cargo ships. Besides that, the Good Neighbour Policy made the Latin American society believe that the United States changed its attitude and interventionist actions. On April, 1941,

- The Mexican government seized eleven ships of the Axis Powers anchored at ports of Veracruz and Tampico. One hundred and fifty-five sailors from their crews were captured and taken to the city of Guadalajara. The alleged pretext was that the crews of these ships were planning acts of sabotage against the Mexican port facilities. The Mexican government offered to pay compensation for confiscated ships once the war ended. In the meantime, Mexico would make use of such vessels under the prerogatives it had as neutral power conferred by International Law. The strategy took place just ten days after Mexico granted over-flight rights to United States" (Ojeda, 2012: p. 136).

1.7. Spanish Migration, another Important Factor for Admitting Only a Small Number of Poles

In the second half of the 1930's and in the 1940's there were many requests for asylum in Mexico, not only from Spain or Poland, but from other Latin American countries like Chile. President Lazaro Cardenas was concerned about the people of Spain. He supported the Republican cause by buying weapons and ammunition (Pi-Suñer, Riguzzi and Ruano, 2011). In 1937 he also helped to transfer of refugees: first orphans who became known as the 'children of Morelia' and a select group of scholars who founded La Casa España (The Spain House). This migration continued and " 1942 the number of refugees in Mexico was around 10,000 people and by 1948 reached 16,700" (Pi-Suñer, Riguzzi and Ruano, 2011: p.310).

The situations of Mexico were not easy, President Cardenas y Avila Camacho were struggling to rebuild the country after the civil war of 1910-1921, national unity was the goal as well as security and peace. The nationalization of oil industry and oil itself caused problems and blockades that Mexico had to overcome. Countries like the United States, England and The Netherlands were pushing the government to return the companies to their former owners. In Mexico, President Cardenas was facing internal problems,

- the National Synarchist Union composed of groups of western Mexico linked to the Cristeros was created. They were conservatives who wanted to stop Cardenas' government regarding the 'socialist education', land reform and actions that weakened the economic power of the Catholic Church [...] Foreign policy also generated dissatisfaction. Suspicious of the proximity to the Soviet Union and even the United States, and regretted the animosity toward Hitler and Mussolini. Furthermore, proposed that Mexico recognized the Franco government. Cardenas realized that he had touched the limits, the border as possible, and it would be wrong to increase the division (Aboites and Loyo, 2010: p. 641).

World War II was closer to Mexico due to the proximity to the United States. In conclusion, it was not easy for Mexico to open doors for many immigrants, therefore it was not easy for Poland to get many visas for its refugees.

General Sikorski visited Mexico to talk to President Avila Camacho. The Mexican President was focused on generating national union and trying to neutralize clash of classes and socialist ideology. After the Mexican Revolution and the Guerra de los Cristeros (Christians war), the country had to be reconstructed. He was also trying to collaborate with the U.S.A. in economic, military and political issues, he “declared war to Germany to try to make them respect our sovereignty and being coherent with the traditions of our History” (Carreño, and Zack, 2001: p. 16).

1.8. Second Migration Wave 1978-1990. Poland's Historical Background

Since November 1949, Soviet Marshal “Konstanty Rokossowski, a Russian of Polish descent who had spent his entire career in the Tsarist and the Soviet service, was installed in Warsaw in November 1949 as Vice-Premier, Minister of Defence and member of the Political Bureau” (Davis, 2005: p. 434). He was imposed as commander of the Polish Army and this was a clear sign of the Soviet power over Poland. In December 1954 “the dreaded Ministry of security was abolished, and its Director, Stanislaw Radkiewicz, dismissed. At the same time Wladislaw Gomułka and his associates were released from house arrest” (Davis, 2005: p. 436). Wladislaw Gomułka became an important figure in Poland. He joined the Communist Party in 1926 and during World War II he was part of the Resistance (Bazant, 2005). “In September 1948 Wladislaw Gomułka, Secretary of the PZPR, was dismissed from his party post and relieved of all his governmental duties as deputy prime minister and minister with special responsibilities for the recovered territories” (Davies, 2005: chapter 1, Kindle). He was committed to Communism in Poland and accepted the Soviet model after the war, but he looked for one with national characteristics

- Unlike the Soviet model of forced collectivization, Gomułka favored the dissolution of agricultural cooperatives and strengthening of rural private property. In 1956, only 9% of farmers was part of the production cooperatives [...] In 1962 private farmers worked 87% of total agricultural land and produced 89 % of total agricultural output of the country. Most were small landowners; 53 % of them had one-half to five hectares. Also the small traders and artisans increased during the government of Gomułka, a number that rose from 96,000 in 1956 to 136,000 in 1962 (Bazant, 2001: p. 64).

Gomułka complained to his “Politburo in April 1945 that the population at large thought of the PPR as nothing more than ‘an agency of the NKVD’” (Davis, 205: chapter 1, Kindle). One of Gomułka’s highlights was the state authorization to implement voluntary religious instruction in schools. The Church and had no property but the priests received generous voluntary contributions. This led to the extent that Cardinal Wyszyński supported to some extent the communist regime (Bazant, 2001). In 1961 W. Gomułka declared that religion is deeply rooted in the great majority of our population. It is difficult to say how much longer religion will last. Surely for decades, maybe more [...] There is no contradiction between our social system and religion (Bazant, 2001: p. 64). He was a key element to avoid a soviet invasion after the war. He was incarcerated in 1954 and released a few years later. In 1956, during the riots where 50,000 workers participated, he was able know to have the capacity of talking to the workers and bring peace (Davis, 2005; Davis, 2001; Bazant, 2001). In June 1956 industrial workers of Poznan went on a general strike and a demonstration of 50,000 people. They demanded bread, freedom, free elections and of Russian presence out of the country ... soon he was the only man capable of restoring peace. All fractions wanted him to join the Politburo even when the Stalinist imagined it could handle the situation. Thus Gomułka was officially rehabilitated and reinstated the Communist Party on August 4th. On October 19th, 1956, Khrushchev and his closest collaborators unexpectedly came to Warsaw (Bazant, 2005; Davis, 2005). There were rumours that “Soviet Army units were on Warsaw, and that Nikita Krushchev had landed at Okęcie Airport in an apoplectic mood of undisguised rage” (Davis, 2005: p. 439). His relationship with Krushchev was complicated

- The confrontation between Gomułka and Krushchev was dangerous while it lasted; but it was resolved in amicable lines. Gomułka could argue with reasons that his loyalty to the communist movement was beyond reproach, that his brand of communism was based on a special understanding of Polish problems and that the preservation of Stalinism was no more justified in Poland than in the USSR (Davis, 2005: p. 439).

W. Gomułka helped Poland to avoid a Soviet invasion (Davis, 2005; Davis, 2001; Prazmowka, 2011; Bazant, 2001). By the 1960’s

- Poles experienced a degree of stability and economic well-being which made life under communism bearable. The state policy of maintaining full employment meant that, irrespective of the economic consequences to enterprises, workers could always find works.” (Prazmowska, 2011: chapter 8, Kindle),

it was also a “in which appearances conflicted with realities in a paradoxical way. It was ruled by a Communist Party which came to appreciate the need for some public consensus” (Prazmowska, 2011: chapter 7, Kindle), with a massive building program but where construction material was not available for common citizens (Davis, 2005, Prazmowska, 2011: chapter 8, Kindle). The educational system received high priority. The amount of people attending school was higher than in Western countries, but at the same time

- Alcoholism, bad drains, long queues, peeling plaster, overcrowded homes and buses, polluted air, heavy falls of soot and chemical dust, unmade pavements, sub-standard service, endless delays and arguments with petty officials, all had to be accepted as part of everyday life (Davis, 2005:p. 451).

The average monthly wage was 3,500 zł, by the 1970's but the cost of products was high, "1 kg of bread (8 zł), 1 kg of ham (120 zł), a pair of shoes (300 zł), a gent's suit (2,000 zł)" (Davis, 2005: 450). The idea of a classless society was only that, the new class or red bourgeoisie. As Norman Davis calls it, had silk suits, fast cars, private villas and other privileges (Davis, 2005). It is interesting how Poland, was considered a satellite country of the USSR, but it had a certain degree of independence (Prazmowska, 2011).

Between 1968 and 1970 the economic situation deteriorated. "The sense of well-being that was the bedrock upon which the Communists had built the regime crumbled." (Prazmowska, 2011: chapter 8, Kindle). There were strikes like the one in 1970 that ended up with 100 dead workers. In 1976, prices raised up to 60%, the national debt increased enormously, shops were empty and citizens learned to live buying and selling in the black market. One of Poland's Communism feature was the fact that agriculture workers and farmers were free to sell their products in the cities, which was not seen in other countries of the Socialist bloc (Bazant, 2001; Davis, 2001; Davis, 2005; Prazmowska, 2011). On the other hand, there were things that attracted attention of foreign visitors,

- To Western academics visiting the Polish Academy of Science, the sight of respected academicians queuing in the canteen to obtain cheese, tea or even socks that the provisioning agent, presented a very odd sight might have laid his hands on (Prazmowska, 2011: chapter 8, Kindle).

On February 1980, General Wojciech Jaruzelski was appointed Prime Minister. He lived in Russia during World War II. He refused to use violence against strikers while he was the Minister of Defence, but the repression towards Solidarity began with his government. In March, three activists were beaten and Solidarity called for a 4-hour strike. (Davies, 2005). On August 14, 1980 17,000 workers of the Lenin shipyard in the Port of Gdansk went on strike led by Lech Wałęsa. The next day the strike spread to nearby cities. Their demands were:

- acceptance of independent free trade unions of the Communist Party; b) right to strike; c) freedom of speech and press; d) restitution of workers dismissed after the strikes of 1970 and 1976; restitution of students expelled from universities for their convictions; and e) release of political prisoners (Bazant, 2005: p. 68)

In 1980, the Gdansk shipyard workers were very active,

- In the shipyard, the sacking of the popular, politically active woman crane driver, Anna Walentynowicz, sparked the first strike. Quick the strike committee added other grievances to the original one for the reinstatement of Walentynowicz. Negotiations with the management were taken over by male workers, but it was the women who refused to accept compromises and called the men back from the brinks of surrender. On 14 August the workers started an occupation strike. At this point they were joined by Lech Wałęsa (Prazmowska, 2011: chapter 8, Kindle).

In 1981, Wojciech Jaruzelski became the First Secretary of PZPR (Communist Party). He was a military General and had to face the growing Solidarity movement. The Soviet Union tried to weaken the movement even using propaganda with "leaflets which caricatured Wałęsa as the leader of a South American style putsch which were distributed in Gdansk to discredit the strikers" (Davies, 2005: p. 486). According to N. Davis (2005), the situation in Poland with Jaruzelski was not clear. People speculated if whether he was following Soviet orders or if he was acting on his own. Solidarity had a hard time with police provocations at Bydgoszcz, debates with the Communist Party in July, but in September it organized a national congress. In 1981 the situation of the common citizen was chaotic, lack of food and house products was terrible. People had to queue for gasoline, bread, meat, detergent,

- The bread queues of 1980-1 turned into the biggest social, political, and historical seminar that Poles ever attended. The mood deteriorated when meat rationing was introduced. In every town and city, people stoically standing together day after day, rain or shine, talked about anything and everything, and from their common hardship developed a strong sense of togetherness. They talked about their families' experiences during the War and under Stalinism; they talked about the glaring contrast between their own knowledge and the false information still served up by the state-censored media; and they talked openly about the cruelties and corruption of the ruling regime. (They couldn't help but notice, for example, that the Party comrades who had access to private Party shops whoops with preferential supplies, did not have to stand in line with ordinary folk). Above all, they told jokes. Polish political humour came into its own. 'What word is the same in English and in Polish? They would ask. And the answer was meat (a synonym of the Polish *mit* or 'myth'. Nothing could have been more corrosive of the Party's reputation. The Censorship was irrelevant. After thirty-five years of so-called 'socialist progress', everyone could see that the Communist system had fail (Davis, 2005: p. 489).

The economic situation prorgued more protests and on December 13, 1981 there was a Coup led by General Jaruzelski which

- took almost everyone by surprise. It surprised the Western academics [...] It surprised the members of the council of State [...] Leaders of solidarity most of whom were arrested in their beds during the first night. Most Poles awoke on the morning of the 13th, to find tanks on the streets, army checkpoints at every crossroads, and the Proclamation of Martial Law [...] In the course of the next week, most of the spontaneous protest strikes in mines, shipyards, and factories up and down the country were broken by mobile squads of the ZOMO police (Davis, 2005: p. 491).

By the end of the year, the armed forces were in control of the country, "Throughout 1982, Poland was officially ruled by a Military Council of National Salvation (WRON) popularly known as *wrona* or the 'The Crow' [...] Tens of thousands of innocent citizens were arrested without charge" (Davis, 2005: p. 492). About 10,000 people were detained and taken to internment camps, "Countless people were coerced into signing 'pledges of loyalty'... The principal industrial enterprises were militarized... The rules of martial

law permitted the authorities to impose a night-time curfew, to curtail all transport and travel” (Davis, 2005: p. 492). Phone conversations were monitored; people could not get together in groups because they were suspected to disagree with the government or to plan some kind of movement (Davis, 2005). The year 1982 “began with a slogan, widely chalked on walls by Solidarity sympathizers: *Zima wasza, wiosna nasza* - the winter is yours, the spring will be ours’. But spring never came.” (Davis, 2005: p. 492). On October 8th, free unions were weakened; in fact, the government said they had been eliminated as well as other associations “The Journalists’ Association (SDP) was abolished in March; the Film Makers’ Union and the Actors’ Union (ZASP) were dissolved in December” (Davis, 2005: p. 493). Official propaganda tried to blame Solidarity for the problems, including the bad economy of the country. Prices raised up 300 per cent (Davis, 2005; Bazant, 2005; Prazmowska, 2011). W. Jaruzelski managed to stay in power despite the conflicts he had to face. In 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev became the First Party Secretary, that meant a different kind of leadership and more freedom for other countries in Central and Eastern Europe. For Jaruzelski’s government, struggling to cope with a foreign growing debt of (which in 1988 amounted \$45 billion), this meant that the social approval for difficult reforms would have to be secured” (Prazmowska; 2011: chapter 8, Kindle).

As an outsider and non-historian I would say that during the 1980’s there were different facts that led the country to a social and political changes. One of them was the assassination of Father Jerzy Popieluszko, who organized weekly ‘masses for the homeland’ on October, 1984. Jaruzelski had to act and the police officers who killed the priest were trialled and sentenced to log periods in jail (Bazant, 2001; Davis, 2005; Prazmowska, 2011;). According to Norman Davis, “In a society where the Communist dictators had never been held to account, this event was a milestone” (Davis, 2005: p. 498). Second, the Catholic Church gained more respect since it was the real protector of the people with the exception of some Catholic leaders like Archbishop J. Glemp. The visits of Pope John Paul II were important to strengthen the hearts of Poles looking for freedom. Third, Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985. Although he did not seem to be eager to change at first, spoke against Solidarnosc and did not recognize the massacre of Polish officers in Katyn in 1940, in 1989 did not interfere in the following events in Poland like the round table negotiations,

- Between 6 February and 4 June the newly legalized Solidarity Trade union, led by Wałęsa, in the course of long debates hammered out conditions under which they could support the government’s reforms (Prazmowska; 2011: chapter 8, Kindle).

This allowed Poles to make their own decisions, Solidarity made clear demands and “In the end the achieved far more than they could ever have dreamed of. Not only Solidarity was to be re-legalized, but thirty-five per cent of the Sejm and all seats in the Senate were to be open for elections” (Davis, 2005: p. 503). Fourth, the external debt and unbearable price increase on all products. In 1989 prices increased 240 % over the previous year (Bazant, 2001; Davis, 2005; Prazmowska, 2011;) was the triggering factor for Jaruzelski to look for popular acceptance.

Between 1978 and 1990 professionals came to Mexico to work, in the city of Xalapa in southern Mexico they formed a small community. Forty-six artist and professors (some of them with their families) arrived during Communism times.

1.9. Agnieszka Makliakiewicz, an Example of Those Who Migrated between 1979-90.

Agnieszka Makliakiewicz is a musician (violinist) graduated in Poland and migrated to Mexico to work with the Symphonic Orchestra of the Universidad Veracruzana in 1980. Her husband was in Mexico for six months and went back to Poland to finish his university studies. At this time came the Martial Law Jaruzelski and she lost contact with her husband. For four months there was no phone or way to travel. They did not know about each other, Agnieszka Makliakiewicz already had her plane ticket to go back to Poland because his ticket was for the December 16, 1982. She watched the news in Mexico where they talked about the presence of the Russian army in both borders. There was using military bases in different parts of Poland. In his case he changed his life because he could not travel for a while, lost contact with her husband. At the end she got divorced and stay in México (Makliakiewicz, 2009).

PAGART was a headhunting agency that provided Mexico with musicians for the Xalapa Symphonic Orchestra in the city of Veracruz. Poles that came from 1978 to 1984 designed the curriculum for the Music School at the Universidad Veracruzana. Rector Bravo Garzon opened art programs. In the early 1980’s, the orchestra disappeared by the musicians transferring to the city of Xalapa where another Orchestra needed musicians. The motivation for immigrants was money; salaries were very attractive compared to the ones in Poland; on top of that the idea of living in a sunny country was a good motivation for Poles to come. They worked three hours in the morning and had the afternoons free to go to the beach, teach private classes and or form independent camera groups, play in special events and make more money. They were new in Mexico, formed a Catholic community and lived in the same neighbourhood. They liked Mexico, but they longed for Poland. They made a family with their Polish friends who lived in the same street,

- In Candido Aguilar street, in short time we [Poles] became friends, we had everything... We took yoga classes with a neighbour... next to him lived Ely Nuñez, a poet, her husband played the guitar, every Friday we organized reunions to read poetry, sing... next to the lived Father Olive who was an open minded person... who became the priest of the Polish community. Next to him lived Alicia Jastrzębska and Irek Mikołajczuk and their son Piotr, Julia was born here... All of us [Poles] were still new in Mexico... by 1983-84... we were fascinated by the country because we liked it from the beginning, the truth is that any foreign person who comes to Mexico, does not want to leave, because we are enchanted by Mexico. But we longed for Poland (Makliakiewicz, 2009).

By 1980 the economic situation of Poland was bad, and salaries were very low. On August 31st, representatives of workers at the Gdańsk Shipyard, led by a charismatic leader, Lech Wałęsa, signed the Gdańsk Agreement with the government that ended their strike. Similar agreements were signed at Szczecin and in Silesia. Agnieszka Makliakiewicz is an example of the immigrants that arrived in Mexico between 1978 and 1980. She lived here already, but went back to Poland after six months to see her husband and

daughter, she came back to Mexico with them, but her husband returned to Poland to finish his university studies. In 1982 Wojciech Jaruzelski declared a Martial Law, Agnieszka Makliakiewicz then lost communication with him for months, and she could not travel, could not call her husband nor write. All communications were prohibited and when she finally could communicate with him, he had a girlfriend and did not want to come to Mexico and reunite with A. Makliakiewicz. She explains that Martial Law as

- Makliakiewicz: A reaction to the Solidarność movement because Russia saw it with bad eyes... the Party Secretary Jaruzelski, up to the date is has not been clear if the declared Martial Law out of his own free will or if it was imposed by the Russians or because he anticipated a Russian invasion to protect Poland from the Soviet Army; as if he was stating that us Poles can fix problems with us owns hands. When I saw the news in Mexico, they reported the presence of Soviet troops in the borders of Poland, but I was here and could not tell what really happened. I think there was a threat coming from Russia (Makliakiewicz, 2009).

Polish migration in Mexico is scarce, but important. Many more could have come, specially refugees during World War II, but the economic and political situation of Mexico, plus the thousands that came from Spain made it difficult for Poles. General Sikorki's dream of bringing 20,000 people in exile was not probable. On the other hand, the necessity of universities and colleges for having Professors with Masters degrees and Ph. D. studies open doors for Poles to come, otherwise, the Polish population would be even smaller. It is important review in future studies what are the characteristics of Polish migrants to Mexico.

2. References

- i. Aboites, Luis, and Engracia Loyo.(2010) "La construcción del Nuevo Estado." Pp. 595-651 in Nueva historia general de México. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.
- ii. Alcalá Campos, Raul and Mónica Gómez Salazar eds.(2008) Construcción de Identidades. México City: Facultad de Estudios Superiores Acatlán, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- iii. Andrews, Molly, Shelley Day Sclater, Corinne Squire, and Maria Tamboukou.2012. "Narrative Research." Pp.97-112 in Qualitative Research Practice, edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- iv. Appadurai, Arjun.(2006)Fear of Small Numbers. USA: Duke University Press.
- v. _____ (2003) "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." Pp. 25-47 in Theorizing Diaspora, edited by Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- vi. Aurell, Jaume, Catalina Balmaceda, Peter Burke, and Felipe Soza.(2013)Comprender el pasado: una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico. Madrid, Spain: Akai.
- vii. Babbie, Earl.(2011)The Basics of Social Research. USA: Wadsworth.
- viii. Barth, Frederik.(2000) "Boundaries and Connections." Pp. 17-35 in Signifiyng Identities, edited by Anthony P. Cohen. London, UK: Routledge.
- ix. Batorska, Barbara. (2010, 03, 09). (Angelica Camacho interviewer) Mexico City.
- x. Bazant, Jan.(2001)Breve Historia de Europa Central (1938-1993). Checoslovaquia, Polonia, Hungría, Yugoslavia y Rumania. Mexico: El Colegio de México.
- xi. Blancarte, Roberto.(2007)Cultura e identidad nacional. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- xii. Bornat, Joanna. (2012) "Oral History." Pp. 34-47 in Qualitative Research Practice, edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- xiii. Brown, Michael E.(2010) "Causes and implications of ethnic conflict". Pp. 92-110 in The Ethnicity reader, edited by Monserrat Guibernau and John Rex. Malden, USA: Polity Press.
- xiv. Burke, J. Peter. (2005)History and Social Theory. USA: Cornell University Press.
- xv. Burke, J. Peter, and Jan E. Stets.(2009)Identity Theory. New York: Oxford University Press.
- xvi. Cañizares-Esguerra, J. (2003) "Postcolonial avante la letter? Travelers and clerics in Eighteenth Century Colonial Spanish America". In After Spanish rule: Postcoloniasl Preicaments of the Americas. Edited by Thurner, Mark and Guerrero, Andrés. U.S.A.: Duke University Press.
- xvii. Carreño, Gloria, and Celia Zack Zukerman. (2001)El Convenio Ilusorio. Mexico City: Cartapacio.
- xxviii. Chelius, Calderon Leticia. (2008) "De tierras extrañas. Un estudio sobre la inmigración en México 1950-1990." Migraciones Internacionales 4(4): 1-4.
- xix. Connerton, Paul.(2014)How Societies Remember. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- xx. Davies, Norman.(2001)Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present. New York: Orxford University Press.
- xxi. _____ (2005)God's playground. A History of Poland (Vol. 1). New York, USA: Columbia University Press.
- xxii. _____ (2005) God's playground. A History of Poland (Vol. 2). New York, USA: Columbia University Press.
- xxiii. Denzin, K. Norman, and Yvonna S. Lincoln, eds.(2005)Qualitative Research. USA: SAGE Publications.
- xxiv. Figueroa, Raúl. (2012) "El tiempo eje de México, 1855-1867". In Estudios, vol. X.
- xxv. Florescano, Enrique. (2012)La función social de la historia. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- xxvi. _____ (2012)Historia de las historias de la Nación Mexicana. Mexico City: Taurus.
- xxvii. Gleizer, Daniela.2011. El exilio incómodo. México y los refugiados judíos. México, D.F.: Colegio de México, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Cuajimalpa.

- xxviii. Gordon, Milton M. (1975) "Toward a General Theory of Racial and Ethnic Group Relations" Pp. 84-110 in *Ethnicity: theory and experience*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan. USA: Harvard University Press.
- xxix. Grassi, Davide.(2012) "México en el mundo." Pp. 75-126 in *México: La búsqueda de la democracia*, edited by Alicia Hernández Chávez. Madrid: Fundación Mapfre.
- xxx. Hall, Stuart.(2003) "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." Pp. 223-245 in *Theorizing Diaspora*, edited by Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur. Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- xxxi. Hirsch, Marianne. (2005) "Post Lives: Postmemories in Exile" *Poetics today Jstor* 17(4):659-686.
- xxxii. Jankelewicz, Pablo. (2009)*Nación y Extranjería*, edited by Pablo Jankelewicz. Mexico city: UNAM.
- xxxiii. Makliakiewicz, Agnieszka (2011, 04, 11). (Angelica Camacho, Interviewer). Xalapa, Veracruz.
- xxxiv. Maurer, Noel.(2010) "The Empire Struck Back: Sanctions and Compensation in the Mexican Oil Expropriation of 1938." *Journal of Harvard Bussines School Economic History* 71(3):590-615.
- xxxv. Ojeda, Revah Mario.(2013) "México en el mundo." Pp. 93-184 in *México: Mirando hacia dentro*, edited by Alicia Hernández Chávez. Madrid, Spain: Taurus.
- xxxvi. Pérez Vejo, Tomás.(2008)*España en el debate público mexicano, 1836-1867. Aportaciones para una historia de la nación*. Mexico city: El Colegio de México, Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- xxxvii. ____ (2009) "La extranjería en la construcción nacional mexicana." Pp.147-185 in *Nación y extranjería*, edited by Pablo Jankelewicz. Mexico city: UNAM.
- xxxviii. ____ (2010)*Elegía Criolla*. México city: Tusquets Editores.
- xxxix. ____ (2010) *Historia, política e ideology en la celebración del centenario mexicano*. Pp. 31-83. I *Historia Mexicana*. Vol LX, num. 1. Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico.
- xl. Pi-Suñer, Antonia, Paolo Riguzzi and Lorena Ruano.(2011) "Tiempos Revueltos: Crisis, Nacionalismos, Guerra Mundial, 1930-1945". Pp. 295-322 in *Historia de las relaciones internacionales de México 1821-2010 (Vol 5)*, edited by Mercedes de Vega. México city: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.
- xli. Piotrowski,Tadeusz. (2004)*The Polish Deportees of World War II: Recollections of of removal to the Soviet Union and dispersal throughout the world*. USA: McFarland & Company Inc.
- xl.ii. Prazmowska, Anita.(2011)*A History of Poland*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- xl.iii. Pula, James. (1993) "Recent Perspectives on the Polish Diaspora" Pp. 3-12 in *Eastern European Monographs*. Columbia University Express.
- xliv. Rattinger, Wysocki Wladyslaw, and Andrzej Rattinger Aranda.(1997)*¿Con qué derecho? Tres años de vida... sin vida*. Mexico city: La Cebra.
- xlv. Rosenthal, Gabriele.(2012) " Biographical Research." Pp.48-64 in *Qualitative Research Practice*, edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- xlvi. Ryen, Anne.(2012) "Ethical Issues." Pp. 218-235 in *Qualitative Research Practice*, edited by Clive Seale, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- xlvii. Seale, Clive, Giampietro Gobo, Jaber F. Gubrium, and David Silverman, eds.(2007)*Qualitative Research Practice*.UK: SAGE Publications.
- xlviii. Silva Herzog , Jesús.(1972)*Breve historia de la Revolución Mexicana. Los Antecedentes y la etapa Maderista*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- xlix. Smolana, Krzysztof.(2004) "Relaciones polaco-mexicanas en el Siglo XX." Pp. 9- 30 in *Actas Latinoamericanas de Varsovia*. Mexico city: University of Varsovia.
- l. ____ (1993) "Prólogo." Pp. 7-8 in *Los polacos en Chile*. Chile: Universidad de Varsovia.
- li. ____ (1993) "Introducción" Pp. 9-11 in *Los polacos en Chile*. Chile: Universidad de Varsovia.
- lii. ____ (1993) "Desde la mitología hasta los comienzos reales." Pp. 13-17 in *Los polacos en Chile*. Chile: Universidad de Varsovia.
- liii. ____ 1993. "La Figura legendaria de Ignacy Domeyko" Pp. 19-22 in *Los polacos en Chile*. Chile: Universidad de Varsovia.
- liv. Stola, Dariusz. (2006) "Anti-Zionism as Multipurpose Policy Instrument: The Anti-Zionist Campaign in Poland, 1967-1968"*Journal of Israeli History* 25(1):175-201.
- lv. Vansina, Jan.(1985)*Oral Tradition as History*. United States: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- lvi. Vega-Delgado, Gustavo. (2003) "Migración, identidad, cultura y poder" *Archipielago UNAM* 11(42): 4-6.
- lvii. Zamojski, E. Jan. (2007) "Departamento de Migraciones Masivas del Instituto de Historia de la Academia Polaca de Ciencias." *Migraciones y sociedad* 64(1): 370-380.
- lviii. Zarnecki, Anna.(2008)*Polonia viento y tinieblas*. Mexico city: Ediciones Ruz.
- lix. ____Zarniecki, Anna. (2013, May, 08), (Angelica Camacho, Interviewer), Mexico, City.