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PEOPLE OF POLISH ORIGIN AND POLISH NATIONALITY IN THE USSR AND IN THE UNITED STATES. THEIR LANGUAGE SITUATION.

Depending on the size of Polish communities abroad, the duration of their settlement, the form and force with which the society of the settlement country as well as the new State influenced these communities, the Polish immigrants (or else the autochthonic Polish community that settled abroad) and their offspring, differ from each other with respect to national consciousness, or - on the one hand - with what the scale of differences contains between the identification with the Polish nation (Polish national minorities), and - on the other - with the identification with the nation of the settlement country (Polish ethnic groups, with the most characteristic example of Americans of Polish descent in the USA). For this reason it is difficult to speak exclusively about P o l e s abroad, and the areas of P o l i s h settlement abroad. In order to designate the entirety of multigenerational communities consisting of persons connected genetically with the Polish national community, conscious of these bonds (though, for different reasons, the communities in question ended up outside the Polish ethnic territory in Europe, or outside the borders of the Polish state), and settled permanently on the territory of different countries (or beyond the territory of Poland in her boundaries after 1944-45), we adopt the term Polonia.

In my current comments, I shall limit myself to giving just two different examples. In the first one, I would like to speak about P o l e s, i.e. persons identifying themselves with the Polish nation, but living in the Soviet Union. In the second example I would like to speak about P o l i s h e m i g r a n t s and their o f f s p r i n g s who live un the United States of America, i.e. persons identifying themselves with Americans of Polish descent. In both these groups, we are dealing with interesting phenomena as regards the place of the Polish language in the everyday life of these groups, whereas the Polish communities in the United States and the Soviet Union are the two biggest Polish communities of this kind in the world. I would like to present my remarks concerning the linguistic situation of these groups against the background of information relating to the origin of these groups. Discussing the situation of these two groups, I would also like to mention a number of analogous phenomena in some smaller communities.

The Polish community in the USSR is the result of both the 19th and 20th century migration and demographic processes which had taken place in the eastern borderlands of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth before 1772, i.e. before the first partition of Poland. We are then dealing with the old settlement, prior to the year 1772, quite frequently made

up of population whose Polish national consciousness (stimulated by the membership of the Roman-Catholic Church) was shaped there under the influence of impulses reaching back to the earlier Polish national sovereignty and the existence of the Polish social elite on these territories. The second group is made up of communities which had arisen in the effect of migrations of the post-partition period: one can observe here two types of migration - migration of an economic character, comprising also Poles from the areas of the Austrian and even Prussian, and besides this deportations and banishments as part of the repressions connected with the national liberation movements, in the effect of which, on the eve of World War I around 500 thousand Poles lived the borders of pre-1772 Russia.

In the effect of forced evacuation, during World War I another million Poles found themselves on the territory of Russia, whereas around 500 thousand were drafted into the czarist army. Nearly 200 thousand Polish prisoners-of-war from the German and Austro-Hungarian armies were also deported to Russia.

The repatriation in the early post-war period (1918-1922) involved around 12 million people. According to the population census of 1926, a mere 790 thousand Poles lived in the USSR. The migrations of the inter-war period which had led to the creation of new centers of Polish settlement in the USSR, comprised both the forced resettlement of Poles within the pre-1939 borders of the Soviet Union (e.g. from the Markhlevsk-Shitomesh (Zytomir) district in the Ukraine to Kazakhstan) and the emigration from the interwar Polish Republic to contemporary Latvia (where side by side with the Polish minority of around 50 thousand which settled here already earlier, there were around 60 thousand Polish immigrants employed in the local agricultural sector who arrived here on the eve of World War II).

Another factor which determined the distribution of Polish communities in the USSR were the migrations during the World War II - both the deportations of 1939-1941 (at least 800 000 - 1 200 000 forced laborers), those enlisted to the Soviet Army (150 000) and, finally, migration caused by the approaching German-Soviet front in 1914-43 (100 000 evacuees and refugees): the effect of these migrations was, among others, the increase of the number of Polish people in Kazakhstan as well as the creation of new Polish communities (e.g. Karelia). The repatriation in the years 1944-50 involved around 1 million persons, whereas in the latter half of the 50s, around 250 thousand persons.

The contemporary Soviet population censuses provide numerical data as regards the problem under consideration only with respect to nationality and the native language (*rodnyj jazyk*). Unfortunately, the censuses do not contain the definitions of these categories (or information for census takers how one should interpret these categories). The data is limited e.g. to the statement that "when asking questions about the nationality, the census organizers recorded the nationality stated by the respondents themselves, whereas when asking about the native language, they recorded the language which the respondents themselves regarded as their native language (*rodnyj jazyk*)"¹. The Poles constitute 0.4%

¹ *Itogi Vsesoyusnoy perepisy naseleniya 1970 goda (Results of the 1970 All-Union Census of Population)*. Vol. 4, Moskva 1973, p. 4.

of the population of the USSR taking the 21 place among the nations of this country (1979) although in the individual republics of the Soviet Union, their percentage is bigger (appendix D): and thus, in the Lithuanian SSR, they make up 7.3% (3 place), in the Byelorussian SSR 4.2% (3 place), in the Latvian SSR 2.5% (5 place), and in the Ukrainian SSR 0.5% (6 place). The Poles belong to one of the few nationalities of the Soviet Union whose number decreases in the periods in-between the censuses: the Jews, the Mordvins, the Karelians and three other small nationalities are in a similar situation, whereas the greatest decrease in the number of the Polish minority occurred in the period 1959-70. However, if we take into consideration the individual republics of the Soviet Union, it will turn out that in some of them, the number of Poles increased (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, and to some extent, Kazakhstan). The above data refers to those citizens of the USSR who at the same time identify themselves as Poles the size of the Polonia, that is persons identifying themselves as Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians and others of Polish descent and conscious of their origin, is naturally much bigger, though it is not statistically documented². The number of Poles for whom Polish is the native language also decreases: thus, there grows the number of Russian-speaking Poles, as well as Poles speaking other languages (e.g. many state that it is the language of the nations living in the same republic that is their native tongue). It is worth noting that the number of Russian-speaking Poles grows, whereas the number of those speaking other languages decreases similarly as that of the Polish speaking persons. As late as 1959, among the Poles living in the USSR, 45.2% declared that Polish was their native language, in 1970 - 32.5%, and in 1979 - only 29.1%. Thus, it turns out that the growing numbers of Polish people living in the USSR, do not use Polish language for everyday communication, and instead they use the national Russian language which in a multinational Soviet Union takes up the function of a general official language, while the Polish language descends to the role of a regional language, the language of smaller groups, not so much national ones but of social groups representing a smaller prestige: for, one has to remember that repatriation of the prevailing majority of Poles who in 1944/45 found themselves within the new borders of the USSR robbed the Polish community remaining there, of the social and cultural elite³. In this way, except the Lithuanian SSR, the Polish language has descended to the role of a merely home and family language; it is only in the Lithuanian Republic that the Polish language has maintained the status of a literary language. But at the same time,

² Count Jan Plater-Gajewski who spent fifty years as an exile in the Soviet Union stated that Soviet census figures concerning Poles were deliberately lowered, and in reality, they were three times that. Cf. B. Ż m i e w s k a. *Trials of a Patriot*. "The Warsaw Voice". Warsaw 1989. March 5, No 10 (20), p. 8.

³ As regards this problem, compare Z. K u r z o w a. *Język polski w ZSRR. Historia, stan obecny, potrzeby badawcze (The Polish Language in USSR. History, the Present Situation and the Need for Studies)*. "Przegląd Polonijny". Kraków 1981, No. 1, p. 17-38. Personally, I would like to draw attention to the unfavorable structure of the Polish population in the USSR with respect to the educational status, on the basis of population censuses in my article: *Problemy poznawcze chłopskich zbiorowości polonijnych w krajach socjalistycznych (Cognitive Problems among the Polonia Peasant Communities in the Socialist Countries)*. Kraków 1985, No. 1, p. 54 and passim.

in spite of the decreasing range of the Polish language, it turns out that the Polish national consciousness has persisted in this group: the feeling of belonging to the Polish nation has become independent of the knowledge of Polish language as well as recognizing Polish as the native language. This allows one to hope that the Polish national consciousness will continue to survive despite assimilation which is, above all, language assimilation, unaccompanied automatically by the assimilation of consciousness (though the language assimilation is a starting point for assimilation in other spheres, including the sphere of national consciousness). From the point of view of the process of language assimilation, the other cross-sections relating to the knowledge of other languages of nationalities of the Soviet Union which are recorded in the censuses, are also quite interesting (the criterion of using freely another language). However, coming back to the problem of the persistence of Polish consciousness, despite the language assimilation, let us quote here the remark of one of the Polish authors who having noted, that e.g. in the Shitomesh district (which had belonged to the USSR already in the interwar period) in 1970, only 1.6% of Poles stated that Polish was their native language, whereas 93.0% declared that it was Ukrainian, comments that in the case of Shitomesh "the awareness of national identity turns out /.../ to be amazingly persistent"⁴. It is a characteristic thing that in the biggest center of Polonia in the USSR which is the Byelorussian SSR, the range of the Polish language is also exceptionally small: it amounted to 7.7% in 1979, despite the increase in the number of Poles, in absolute figures. The non-statistical sources also tell us about the same phenomenon. In a report from Kazakhstan, we read among others, "the parish community speaks different languages; the Russian language is understandable for everyone. The Polish clergy used several languages in their work, i.e. in delivering sermons and the administration of Holy Sacraments. In Kazakhstan there are many offspring of Polish insurgents who, on the whole, do not speak Polish and they even speak Russian while confessing their sins. Yet, they keep up Polish traditions. On Sundays and other Church holidays they congregate and sing the rosary and religious hymns in Polish, regardless of whether the priest is with them or not"⁵. However, all these materials testify to the progressing language assimilation of Poles (above all Russification) in the Soviet Union. The process of assimilation is the fastest among the Poles living in dispersion (but also in the above mentioned, Polish community in Byelorussia which is the biggest in the USSR). especially in the linguistically similar surrounding of other Slavic nations, the slowest - in the Lithuanian SSR: in the latter one, the factor which favors the persistence of the Polish language is the prestige which this language obtains from the Catholic Church (despite the

⁴ A. Maryński. *Stan i rozmieszczenie mniejszości polskiej w ZSRR (The State and Distribution of the Polish Minority in the USSR)*. "Czasopismo Geograficzne". Warszawa 1974, issue 1, p. 146.

⁵ A. Zwiercan. *Działalność męskich zgromadzeń zakonnych wśród Polonii, 1772-1976 (The Activity of Male Religious Orders Among the Polonia)*. "Studia Polonijne", vol. 3, Lublin 1979, p. 108. Similar examples were recorded much earlier among the Poles in the Ukrainian neighborhood in Canada: "A Pole speaks to other Poles in Rhutenian. When he comes to church, he prays and sings in Polish, but as soon as he comes out the door, he talks in Rhutenian". Cf.: *Pamiętniki Emigrantów. Kanada (Emigrant's Memoirs. Canada)*. Warszawa 1939, p. 279.

use of Latin as the liturgical language - Polish sermons, prayers and other rituals), and also the well-developed system of Polish-language schools (over 100 schools of different types in 1982), as well as press ("Czerwony Szatandar" daily), radio broadcasts, amateur movements (Wilia group), nonprofessional literary activity. It was only recently, that the first Polish organizations appeared in the Soviet Union (starting with the Socio-Cultural Association of Poles in Lithuania), followed by an attempt to establish an Union of Poles in the USSR.

The only national census statistics, which provide numerical data on nationality of the population in countries inhabited by a Polish minority is that in Czechoslovakia: according to the 1980-Census there lived in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 68 167 persons declaring Polish as their nationality; the number of persons of Polish descent, identifying themselves as Chechs resp. Slovaks is unknown (the official estimate for 1945 was 82 thousand persons of Polish nationality)⁶.

PEOPLE OF POLISH ORIGIN: THE UNITED STATES

The Polish mass emigration to the USA was initiated in the latter half of 19th century (1854) and lasted until the outbreak of World War I. It ended with the restrictive immigration legislation introduced by the USA at the beginning of 1920s, i.e. with the introduction of the so called "Quota System". The number of Polish migrants who came to America before 1914 is estimated at around 2.25 to 3 million people; according to some estimates, the total number of immigrants amounted to 4.5 million persons. However, one should rather tend to select the minimal figures. The total number of migrants from the Austrian dominated sector should be estimated at over 1.1 million people having deducted the return migration, the net number of immigrants would amount to 800 thousand persons. The number of immigrants from Russian dominated sector amounts to nearly 1.1 million persons: whereas having deducted the number of return migrants which is minimal in this case, the net number of immigrants would amount to a mere 900 thousand persons. From the Prussian dominated sector there emigrated 450-600 thousand people, whereas the return migration was in this case, a marginal phenomenon. In this way, we arrive at the joint figure of 2.1 - 2.3 million Polish emigrants who left for the USA for good before World War I. At the beginning of our century, the Poles occupied almost permanently the second place, after the Italians, as regards the number of new immigrants arriving in the USA.

As a result of over half a century long emigration from Polish territories, on the eve of World War I, quite a big settlement center of Polish population and population of Polish origin, had been formed in the United States. The population census of 1910 quoted 937 884 persons born in Poland and admitting Polish to be their native language, and 725 924 persons of the so called native born referring to the Polish group - altogether 1 663 808

⁶ *Historická statistická ročenka CSSR (Historical Statistical Abstract of the CSSR)*. Praha 1985, p. 62.

persons. The unofficial Polish-American estimates, as well as some American sources defined the size of the Polish ethnic group in the USA with reference to the same period, at the level of 3 million people (1910) whereas the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers, quoted the figure of 3.6 million people⁷. In the inter-war period, besides the return migration of 1919-1922, the number of migrants was relatively small: the net figure of emigrants who left Poland for the USA in the years 1923-1939, amounted to about 126 thousand people.

The Second World War and its consequences brought a significant change in the above-presented tendency to emigrate to the United States. For, in the post-War years a number of transitional changes in the restrictive immigration policy of the United States had taken place: on the basis of new immigration facilities introduced by president Harry Truman's administration, around 165 thousand Poles came to the USA which combined with the numbers of immigrants coming here within the annual quotas (and also above the quotas) gives the number of 300 thousand new immigrants at the beginning of the 70s.

As regards the present-day size of the Polish ethnic group in the USA, up until the 1970s the USA censuses of population examined the population on the basis of the nativity-criterion (place of birth), distinguishing persons born outside the borders of the United States (foreign born), and among those born in the United States (native born) as well as persons whose parents were born abroad (native born of foreign and mixed parentage); jointly, the above categories formed the group referred to as "foreign stock". Moreover the censuses contained data referring to the language. And thus, in the cross section "foreign stock" the 1970 Census recorded the following data under "Poland"⁸:

foreign stock total	2 374 244
including:	
foreign born	548 107
native born of foreign or mixed parentage	1 826 137

As regard the language (mother tongue), the same census recorded in the group "Polish" 2 437 983 persons which were divided into the following categories, in accordance with the nativity-criterion:

native born of native parentage	670 335
foreign stock total	1 767 603
including:	
foreign born	419 912
native born	1 347 691

⁷ A. B r o ż e k. *Polish Americans 1854-1939*. Warsaw 1985, p. 39, 231.

⁸ 1970 *Census of Population. Subject Reports. National Origin and Language*. Washington 1973, p. 473, 475, 492; 1970 *Census of Population. General Social and Economic Characteristics: United States Summary*. Washington 1972, p. 403, 477, 479.

including:

foreign parentage 1 085 041

mixed parentage 262 650

We see, that in the 1970 Census of Population, 2 437 938 Americans stated that Polish was their mother tongue, out of which 2 018 026 were native born (670 335 + 1 347 691) and 419 912 were foreign born. N. B. these figures were higher than the actually recorded number of persons of Polish origin (Polish stock) at the level of 2 374 244 persons (1 826 137 + 548 107). It is characteristically that although in the group of foreign born only 419 912 persons stated that Polish was their mother tongue, yet when one compare this number with the figure of 2 018 026 native born with Polish as the mother tongue, one can see that in subsequent generations (native born of native parentage) another 670 335 persons stated that Polish was their mother tongue.

According to the 1970 Census of Population the Polish stock constituted 1.17% of the total US population. However, for several States this percentage was higher. In New York the Polish stock constituted 3.1% of the State's population (the third largest group after the Italian and that one referred to as USSR), in New Jersey - 3.0% (also the third largest group following the Italian and German), Illinois - 2.7% (second only to the German stock), Michigan - 2.4% (second to the Canadian), Pennsylvania - 2.1% (second to the Italian), Wisconsin - 1.6% (second to the German), Delaware - 1.3% (second to the Italian); in Ohio, a State always included into the area of Polish settlement, this percentage was only 1.1% (with the Polish stock on the third place following the German and the Italian); finally, in Indiana, the Polish stock (second only to the German) constituted 0.7% of the State's population⁹.

A different methodology and different criteria were used in the 1980 Census of Population. The main question concerning ethnic characteristics asked not about the place of birth of the respondents and their parents, but about their ancestry, while one could report not only one ethnic group (single ancestry) but several groups (multiple ancestry): "Ancestry (or origin or descent) may be viewed as the nationality group, the lineage, or the country in which the person or the person's parents or ancestors were born before their arrival in the United States. Persons who are of more than one origin and who cannot identify with a single group should print their multiple ancestry (for example, German-Irish)"¹⁰. In this way the US Census of 1980 (appendix II) recorded 8 228 037 persons who reported Polish (or Polish and other) ancestry, including: single ancestry - 3 805 740; multiple ancestry - 4 422 297.

Persons of Polish descent (single and multiple Polish ancestry) constitute 3.63% (resp. 1.68 + 1.95) of the inhabitants of the USA and the thus defined Polish group occupies the 8th place in the American ethnic spectrum behind the English, German, Irish, Afro-

⁹ *Statistical Abstract of the United States 1980*. Washington 1980, p. 40.

¹⁰ *Census of Population. Ancestry of the Population by State. Supplementary Report*. Washington 1983, p. 9.

American, French, Italian, and the Scottish ones, followed by the Mexican, American Indian, Dutch and others.

The probe conducted shortly before the census on a sample of approximately 56 500 inhabitants (Current Population Survey, November 1979)¹¹, established similar data for the Polish group: 8 421 thousand persons (3 498 thousand single Polish ancestry + 4 923 thousand multiple ancestry). The same Survey established that there were 2 452 thousand persons at the age of 14 and over whose mother tongue was Polish, which constitutes 7.5% of the non-English speaking population, taking the 5th place after English, Spanish (7 652 thousand persons), German (5 138 thousand), and Italian (4 100 thousand), and preceding slightly the French language (2 417 thousand). Thus, the figure referring to the Polish language is slightly higher than that recorded by the 1970 Census of Population.

Moreover, in the Current Population Survey of November 1979, out of 2008 million persons aged 5 and over, the knowledge of their English and other languages was established among 17 985 thousand persons in this group, and it was found that among them there were 731 thousand persons (i.e. 4.1%) speaking Polish. However, in this case, the Polish language occupies only the 6th place after English, Spanish (8 768 thousand persons), Italian (1 354 thousand), German (1 261 thousand), and French (987 thousand). It turned out that the above mother tongues are more cultivated in later everyday life, than is the case with the Polish language.

What is the knowledge of the English language in the group of 731 thousand Polish-speaking persons? From among them, 70.2% defined their knowledge of English as very well (the percentage for the entire group of foreign speaking persons was 58.2%), 13.3% as well (the percentage for the entire group was 20.2% respectively), 11.8% as not well (15.2% in the entire group), and only 4.8% as not at all (the average for the entire group was 6.3%). It was only German-speaking (80.4% among those with very well command), Yiddish-speaking (76.9%), and French-speaking (76.4%) persons, who possessed better coefficients from the Polish-speaking people. In the Italian group, which we use here for comparison, 65.5% of respondents had a very well command of the English language, and only 3.3% referred their ability to speak English as "not at all".

The 1980 Census of Population confirmed slightly these results, obtaining, however, a higher figure of 820 647 persons reporting Polish as the language spoken at home (appendix II). From among those 65.4% defined their knowledge of English as very well, 24.2% - as well, 9.2% - as not well, and 1.2% - as not at all.

The phenomena which interest us here in the case of the United States have a similar character in smaller Polish communities with an immigrational origin. Thus, e.g. we are in possession of analogous statistical materials concerning Canada (404 408 persons reporting in the census of 1981 Polish "ethnic origin", including 254 480 persons of "single

¹¹ *Current Population Reports. Ancestry and Language in the United States: November 1979*. Washington 1982, p. 14.

Polish origin": 127 395 persons reported Polish as their mother tongue)¹², and Australia (data of the 1986 Census with information on "ancestral origin" with similar two possibilities - "first response" and "second response" have not yet been published; according to the 1981 Census 45 807 persons from among the population born in Poland is using Polish at home, another 11 634 persons speak English only, while the whole number of inhabitants referring Poland as birthplace was 59 441)¹³. One may only regret that it is not possible to trace the linguistic situation of the Latin American Polonia, e.g. the Brazilian one, as the respective population censuses do not contain such materials, as they do not contain materials on the ethnic structure of the population.

The above review proves that in the case of people of Polish origin and of Polish nationality abroad, language is not equivalent to national identification. For, on the one hand, we have the phenomenon of Polish national identification of persons for whom the Polish language has ceased to be the mother tongue (e.g. in the case of the growing percentage of Russian-speaking Poles and Poles using other languages in the USSR). On the other hand, we are dealing with the persistence of the Polish language among the second and third, as well as the following generations of Polish immigrants overseas, who identify themselves not as Poles but as Americans of Polish origin (USA, and also Canada, Australia, and other countries).

The above observation inclines one to ask the following two questions:

1. to what extent analogous phenomena are taking place in the case of other languages (and other nationalities, resp. ethnic groups),
2. what is the dependence between the language used for everyday communication and national identification.

These questions create the need for an analysis of the vast empirical material and may lead to important generalizations which will have a broader cognitive value from the point of view of a number of academic disciplines.

¹² 1981 Census of Canada. *Population, Ethnic Origin*. "Catalogue" 92-911. Vol. 1, p. 4/19-20; *Census of Canada. Population, Mother Tongue, Official Language and Home Language*. "Catalogue" 92-910. Vol. 1, p. 1/5-6, 6/5, 7/3. Ottawa 1983.

¹³ "Profile '81". Census Data on Persons born in Poland. Canberra, n. d., p. 9, 15.

Appendix I. POLES AND POLISH LANGUAGE IN THE USSR (1959-1979)

Republic	Year	Number of Persons of Polish Nationality									
		Total	including those stating as their mother tongue			Ability to use freely a second language of a nationality of the USSR			other languages		
			Polish	Russian	languages of a given Republic	other languages	Russian	languages of a given Republic	other languages	Russian	languages of a given Republic
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
USSR Total	1959	1 380 282	623 815	203 298		553 169	432 551		147 710		
	1970	1 167 523	379 470	241 774		546 279	514 575		150 220		
	1979	1 150 991	335 148	301 388		514 455					
including:											
Byelorussian SSR	1959	538 881									
	1970	382 600	50 035	39 660	292 420	485	144 408	39 186	870		
	1979	403 169	31 246	73 029	298 486	409	195 702	43 747	796		
Ukrainian SSR	1959	363 297									
	1970	295 107	44 021	47 498	202 379	1 209	76 297	45 331	1 398		
	1979	258 309	36 543	49 755	170 754	1 257	103 964	43 627	1 164		
Lithuanian SSR	1959	230 107									
	1970	240 203	221 891	9 104	7 588	1 621	132 693	25 384	2 678		
	1979	247 022	218 029	17 447	9 536	2 010	150 716	27 506	1 918		
Russian SFSR	1959	118 422									
	1970	107 084	20 725	78 939	x	7 420	25 003	--	8 919		
	1979	99 733	14 923	77 309	x	7 501	20 318	--	8 681		

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Latvian SSR	1959	59 774	27 978	24 679	8 243	2 145	26 877	14 811	1 429	
	1970	63 045	20 923	30 997	8 631	2 130	24 237	13 661	1 829	
Kazakh SSR	1959	53 102	61 445	10 891	30 865	12	19 677	22 283	135	4 251
	1970	61 136	9 038	41 446	19	10 633	14 838	209	3 309	
Moldavian SSR	1959	4 783	630	2 340	135	1 794	1 487	773	436	
	1970	4 899	524	2 867	94	1 476	1 209	686	550	
Estonian SSR	1959	2 256	800	1 337	305	209	1 059	307	251	
	1970	2 651	642	1 707	331	217	892	366	296	
Georgian SSR	1959	2 897	532	1 811	130	92	564	519	118	
	1970	2 565	551	1 435	151	63	459	540	102	

S o u r c e: Vsesoyuznyy perepis naseleniya 1959 goda, SSSR (Svodnyy tom) [Results of the 1959 All-Union Census of Population, USSR (Summary volume)], Moskva 1962, p. 184, 202, 206 - 208, 226; Ispol' Vsesoyuznyy perepis naseleniya 1970 goda [Results of the 1970 All-Union Census of Population], Vol. 4, Moskva 1973, p. 20, 44, 152, 192, 223, 253, 273, 276, 280, 317; Vsesoyuzna perepis naseleniya, Naionalnyy sostav naseleniya SSSR* [All-Union Census of Population, National Composition of the Population of the USSR], Vestnik Statistiki, Moskva 1980, No. 7, p. 41; No. 8, p. 64, 69; No. 10, p. 71, 72; Statistical data delivered by the State Committee of the USSR on Statistics, Moscow, in a letter of September 30, 1988, to the author.

Appendix II. POPULATION OF POLISH ORIGIN IN USA (1980)

States	Number of Persons Who Reported Polish Ancestry			Number of Persons Born in Poland	Number of Persons Speaking Polish at Home						Persons under 6 by language of parent	
	Total	Single Polish Ancestry	Multiple Ancestry Group		Total	5 to 17 years	18 years and over	Including persons				not at all
								With Ability to Speak English				
								very well	well	not well		
USA Total	8 228 037	3 806 740	4 422 287	418 128	40 934	779 713	537 240	198 309	76 249	9 849	31 178	
Including:												
New York	1 178 173	607 871	570 302	113 262	6 336	135 938	91 129	36 288	12 989	1 856	4 589	
Illinois	892 009	470 517	421 492	64 293	9 433	126 706	83 880	33 978	17 018	3 465	6 018	
Pennsylvania	840 741	394 407	448 334	21 214	7 645	74 140	53 803	17 044	6 456	1 943	1 943	
Michigan	824 721	400 708	424 013	26 988	3 500	86 878	60 801	21 254	7 709	614	2 180	
New Jersey	582 172	287 678	304 494	40 788	4 808	73 625	48 621	19 377	8 411	1 122	3 398	
California	485 877	177 840	287 737	27 380	1 646	21 267	14 902	5 740	1 548	147	1 001	
Wisconsin	482 145	189 694	272 451	7 070	1 270	28 508	20 840	7 107	1 883	146	1 088	
Ohio	403 786	188 200	217 588	14 260	1 704	35 027	25 949	8 423	3 381	278	1 425	
Massachusetts	337 518	162 565	174 953	18 923	1 953	47 716	33 714	11 580	4 039	368	1 525	
Connecticut	287 016	140 036	146 981	19 163	2 883	39 722	26 939	10 781	4 904	681	1 839	
Florida	284 237	136 763	128 484	26 730	560	19 752	13 533	5 303	1 401	95	662	
Minnesota	204 819	83 518	141 301	2 804	403	7 184	5 425	1 663	489	20	465	
Missouri	169 709	73 505	86 204	3 244	589	9 818	7 350	2 377	824	54	380	
Maryland	167 485	70 688	86 777	3 308	672	10 026	6 859	3 084	605	39	658	
Texas	165 520	73 018	82 502	4 138	734	14 739	10 809	3 448	1 148	70	609	
Indiana												

Source: 1980 Census of Population, Ancestry of the Population by State, Supplementary Report, Washington 1983, p. 15-20, 33-38, 51-56; 1980 Census of Population, Vol. 1: Characteristics of the Population, Chapter C: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Part 1: United States Summary, Washington 1983, p. 1-17, 1-68, 1-291 - 1-296; 1980 Census of Population, Vol. 1: Characteristics of the Population, Chapter D: Detailed Population Characteristics, Washington 1983-1984, Part 1, p. 1-16; Part 6, p. 6-9, 6-32; Part 8, p. 8-8, 8-19; Part 11, p. 11-8, 11-25; Part 15, p. 15-8, 15-20; Part 16, p. 16-8, 16-22; Part 22, p. 22-8, 22-18; Part 23, p. 23-8, 23-20; Part 24, p. 24-9, 24-23; Part 25, p. 25-9, 25-18; Part 32, p. 32-8, 32-25; Part 34, p. 34-9, 34-25; Part 37, p. 37-8, 37-26; Part 40, p. 40-8, 40-26; Part 45, p. 45-9, 45-24; Part 51, p. 51-8, 51-20.